The Sculptures of the Fürstenportal of Bamberg Cathedral: The Eschatological Salvation of Brides in Mystical Marriage

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Introduction: Bamberg Cathedral in the thirteenth century and the Fürstenportal

Bamberg Cathedral was established in the eleventh century by Heinrich II (973–1024, Holy Roman Emperor 1014–1024, canonized 1146). In the thirteenth century, after the devastating fire of 1185, a rebuilding project was carried out in the reign of the Bamberg bishop, Ekbert II von Andechs-Meran (1203–1237)[1]. On this occasion, the interior eastern choir, the Georgenchor, whose main liturgical use was for the feasts of the Virgin Mary, and its surrounding exterior portals, were greatly extended[2]. These sculptures are prominent representative works of German Gothic sculpture, which have been long studied and have yielded various interpretations[3]. However, much remains unclarified.

In this article, I consider the sculptural program of the Fürstenportal, the main portal of the cathedral on the north side (fig. 1). First, I would like to be clear about two points, the cult of the imperial couple, especially that of Empress Kunigunde (c.980–1033, canonized 1200), and the importance of this portal in the thirteenth century. In the first place, the Bamberg diocese was established by Heinrich II as a marriage gift for Kunigunde (Morgengabe), and the thirteenth-century rebuilding of the cathedral took place on the occasion of her consecration. Heinrich II and Kunigunde were the only imperial couple to be consecrated in the Holy Roman Empire, and the Vita Cunegundis (c.1200) praises the renewed cathedral as Kunigunde’s work[4]. She was venerated as the second Mary, especially for her virtues as a virgin (virgo) and bride (sponsa). In the thirteenth century, her cult exceeded even that of her husband, as the main altar of the cathedral consecrated to the couple was titled only with her name[5].

The Gnadenpforte in the east, the Adamspforte in the southeast, and the Fürstenportal in the north were created in the time of this emerging cult of Kunigunde and its background, the cult of the Virgin Mary. Above all, the Fürstenportal, facing a plaza with a court and the bishop’s residence, was the most significant entrance, used on special occasions, whose users seem to have been ecclesiastical elites and special guests of the bishop[6].

Fig.1 Fürstenportal, Bamberg Cathedral c.1220-35
1. The Fürstenportal and the problems of previous studies

Two workshops, which took responsibility for rebuilding of the cathedral, created the sculptural program of the Fürstenportal. The “older” workshop’s (activity c.1200-c.1220) stylistic mark was German Romanesque, while its successor, the “younger” workshop (activity c.1220–c.1235) used the French Gothic style, as represented by Reims Cathedral. The current location of the sculptures has been proven to be the same as in the thirteenth century. The tympanum and columns seem to have been created by craftsmen from both the “older” and “younger” workshops, while the figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga with their pillars were newly conceived sculptures by the “younger” workshop[7].

The tympanum depicts the scene of the Last Judgment (fig. 2). In the midst, Christ as the Man of Sorrow, with his wound of passion on his upper right body, tells of his second coming. Also, as a judge, he pronounces the separation, dividing the saved on his right side from the damned on his left side. Beneath Christ’s feet, the Virgin Mary kneels on the right side, and John the Baptist, on the left, as intercessors petitioning for the salvation of mankind. On the heavenly right side, angels and women are carrying arma christi and leading a secular king to Christ by the hand. Meanwhile, on the left “hell” side, a devil forces a cluster that includes a king and clergy into obedience by keeping them on a chain. On the archivolt, a trumpeting angel announces the resurrection of the dead, while Abraham embraces souls in his arms. On the jambs, apostles stand on the shoulders of the prophets, and together they gaze at the judgment scene on the tympanum (fig. 3). Furthermore, on both sides, the female figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga represent the church and the synagogue respectively. On each of their pillars, a sitting figure, Ezekiel, and the symbols of the four evangelists—a lion, a cow, a man/angel, and an eagle—and a devil with a blinded Jew, are sculpted (figs. 4 and 5).
In addition to conveying the conventional eschatological meanings, the previous studies in general have interpreted this whole iconographical program as the manifestation of the typological harmony of the old and the new testaments, especially through the representations of Ecclesia and Synagoga, or the prophets and apostles[8]. Beside the monumental postures of Ecclesia and Synagoga, the rich emotional expressions of the blessed and the damned are analyzed to emphasize the new naturalistic style in a way never before accomplished in medieval sculpture[9].

However, these sculptures have not been sufficiently analyzed from the viewpoint of the veneration unique in Bamberg at the period, that is, the cult of Kunigunde based on the bridal mysticism of the Virgin Mary. In this article, I consider the visual program by focusing on the motifs and expressions that even seem to be unique here and have not been studied sufficiently before, and reconsider their iconographic marks in the light of their theological background. These motifs could provide important clues to understanding the overall constellation of portal sculptures and testify to the main religious background that was prevalent during the rebuilding of the cathedral.

Therefore, in the second chapter, I consider the motif of the intercessors, the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist kneeling at Christ’s feet and touching the soles of his feet in the iconographical tradition and the meaning of Christ’s humanity and incarnation through the body of the Virgin Mary. In the third chapter, I analyze the meaning of the virgins leading the blessed on the heavenly side, and also the representations of Ecclesia and Synagoga. Through these examinations, I argue that these motifs relate to bridal mysticism, and indicate their important role in the setting of the scene of the Last Judgment—the salvation of the brides in a mystical marriage at the End of Time.

Bridal mysticism, which dates back to Judaism and the Christian tradition of Origen of Alexandria (c.182–251), interprets God or Christ as a bridegroom, and Maria, Heavenly Jerusalem, Ecclesia or the souls as brides, based mainly on the Song of Songs, the Apocalypse, and Ephesians (5:22f). In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in particular, Mariology flourished under Rupert of Deutz (c1070–1129), Honorius of Autun (1080–1154), and Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), when the Song of Songs became the main spiritual source of the cult of the Virgin Mary[10].

2. The Virgin Mary and Christ’s feet in the Deësis: the corporality of incarnation and the mystical marriage at the End of Time

Compared to the conventional representation in Gothic churches, there are mainly two points that are unique about the representation of the Deësis group on the Bamberg tympanum, Christ as a judge and the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist as intercessors. Conventionally, it is John the Evangelist who intercedes together with the Virgin Mary, but here as in Reims, John the Baptist inherits the original Byzantine iconography[11]. Moreover, in addition to the posture of praying and kneeling, the two intercessors are stretching out both of their hands at the soles of Christ’s feet. Robert Suckale has interpreted this unique iconographic mark and the meaning of the gesture as follows: “The Virgin Mary touches the bottom of Christ’s foot in the way which
The Sculptures of the Fürstenportal of Bamberg Cathedral seems unfamiliar to us. This is a highly humble gesture originated in the Late Ancient imperial cult, which we rarely find in Germany. For in the north people did not practice or attach significance to the absolute obedience. Otherwise church introduced this act as gesture for complete submission to God’s will[12].” Other than this important insight about the relation to the ancient imperial cult, we still do not know why this portal presents this gesture as one of the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist.

The act of kneeling under the feet of Christ and touching the soles of his feet belongs to the lineage of the Greek practice, proskynesis, indicating adoration together with obedience and humility to a superior being like God or a secular ruler[13]. As Suckale has pointed out, as a form of cult of the ancient emperor, proskynesis has its origins in Late Ancient imperial iconography. It was introduced into Christian art, as we can see, in the emperor’s gesture at the imperial gate of Hagia Sophia (c.900), who is kneeling next to Christ’s throne. The emperor is about to touch Christ’s feet, in the role as Christ’s first servant or agent on earth, emphasizing the privilege granted by God for preferentially receiving mercy[14]. On the Basel altarpiece (Basel Cathedral, c.1020, Paris, Musée de Cluny, fig. 6), proskynesis is represented as the act of the imperial couple, Heinrich II and Kunigunde, the founders of the cathedral, indicating their holiness and the authority granted to them by Christ[15]. The Fürstenportal seems to have adopted the motif of proskynesis in relation to this traditional representation of the cult of Heinrich and Kunigunde based on the imperial iconography of ancient Rome and Byzantine. As already mentioned, Kunigunde was venerated at that time as “the second Virgin Mary,” and it is easy to imagine that Kunigunde is also superimposed on the figure of Virgin Mary in this portal. Furthermore, in the relief work of the early Christian funeral stone caskets, proskynesis is represented in relation to the resurrected body of Christ as a prayer for the equal resurrection of the dead[16].

The significance of this iconographical tradition, which is, as suggested above, the privileged acceptance of Christ’s mercy and a prayer for the resurrection of the dead, is inherited by the tympanum of the Fürstenportal as well. The efficiency of the intercession by the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist petitioning for the eschatological resurrection of mankind is indicated in the representation of the resurrected dead between the two, showing salvation results from their intercession. Additionally, Mary's superiority to John is not only indicated by her sitting on Christ’s right side, which is also the side for heaven, but also by the postures of the resurrected dead responding to the roundness of her back and her facial direction. This figure of the Virgin Mary (fig. 7) was mostly completed by the “older” workshop, so it was created in the
early stage of the production of the Tympanum, and her significance next to Christ is obvious[17]. The contemporary emerging veneration of the Virgin Mary, the consecration of the cathedral to her since the eleventh century, her higher status over other saints inscribed on her altar in the thirteenth century[18], and the fact that the main use of this portal connecting with the interior Georgenchor was for the feasts of the Virgin means we can presume the importance of Virgin Mary in the iconographical program of this portal.

In the iconography of Christ’s Ascension, the feet or soles of Christ are emphasized as part of Christ’s body that apostles witnessed last[19]. Not only visually, but also in Matthew (28:9), the soles of Christ’s feet signify the body part for the apostles whereby they will directly and physically experience their connection with the Second Coming of Christ[20]. In addition, immediately after his resurrection, Christ offered the three Marys his own soles to demonstrate his flesh[21].

With this immediate connection of flesh through Christ’s soles, which is emphasized by this motif, the important meaning of Christ’s humanity deriving from the incarnation through the body of the Virgin Mary can be discerned. The reason why the Virgin Mary takes the role of “intercessor” is in the first place not only because she is the mother of Christ, but also because the incarnation is done via the body of the Virgin Mary[22]. In this way, the implied humanity of Christ, who ascended as the Logos, guaranteed the resurrection of all mankind in their bodily form and their ascension to heaven at the Last Judgment.

Next, the act of Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, in touching Christ’s feet and looking at his shins while Christ himself is holding up his hands for the judgment, reminds us of the following: “Look at my hands and my feet that it is I myself. Touch me, and see. For a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see that I have” (Luke 24:39). According to Rachel Fulton, this passage can be interpreted as an explanation of the incarnation as the unity of Christ’s and Mary’s flesh[23].

The touching of Christ’s sole by the Virgin Mary is also represented immeasurably as an act of love in the iconography of the Mother and Child. For instance, in Luke (7:36-50), Lazarus’s sister, Mary of Bethany, puts balm on Christ’s feet and wipes them with her hair. According to Matthew L. Bowen, proskynesis is not only a sublime and ultimate expression of love, it is also an expression of mutual love[24]. As is well known, this proskynesis, as an act of love by Mary of Bethany, is represented in the iconography of the resurrection of Lazarus[25]. In the first place, the direct connection of Christ’s and Mary’s bodies is the theme often discussed in bridal mysticism based on the Song of Songs, indicating the incarnation of the Logos as the connection between the bride, Mary, and the bridegroom, Christ, by love[26]. Thus, from the unique motif of touching the soles in the eschatological setting of the Last Judgment in this portal, this implication of incarnation and love is not only inferred, but also the connection to the bridal mysticism in the Apocalypse.

In the Apocalypse (19:10, 22:8-9), the only definite reference to proskynesis in the Bible, it is prohibited to do it onto others except God or the Lamb of God, that is Christ as the ultimate ruler of the world[27]. There, proskynesis is depicted particularly as an act of the twenty-four elders. As the story of the Lamb of God comes to the climax in marriage (Apoc. 19:6-10), this scene is the prototype of a mystical marriage as the eschatological salvation fulfilled by
rediscovery of the Lamb of God[28]. The eschatological bride of the Lamb of God could be not only heavenly Jerusalem (Apoc. 21:2), but also the Virgin Mary, the souls of the dead, and, as Ecclesia, the congregation of the church. Thus, as in this portal, the example accompanies a female personification of Ecclesia (Apocalypse, 1245–1255, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms.fr. 403, fol. 35r., fig 8). Furthermore, a motif in the iconography of mystical marriage can also be found where Ecclesia touches the sole of the Lamb of God as an act of love for the connection between the bridegroom and bride (Alexander commentary, The latter half of thirteenth century, Cambridge University Library, Ms. Mn. 5.31., fol. 131v, fig.9). Similarly, in Christ’s figure on this portal, his property as the Lamb of God in mystical marriage can be implied, which is an aim of the act of eschatological proskynesis.

Lastly, the priority of the two intercessors can also be explained by the representation of Virgin Mary and John the Baptist in the bridal mysticism. As mentioned above, the Virgin Mary is the supreme bride in bridal mysticism, and the incarnation of her body signifies the connection of the bride and bridegroom. In addition, John the Baptist was the first to call Christ the Lamb of God (John 1:20, 29, 36) and first acknowledged him as a bridegroom, declaring himself as a friend of the bridegroom (John 3:28f). As is commonly accepted, in the theme of mystical marriage, he plays the role of a witness of the marriage.

In this way, the Virgin Mary intercedes for the salvation of mankind and her important role is as an “intercessor” through her body, where the incarnation is represented by the quality of the eschatological bride based on bridal mysticism.

3.Salvation of the eschatological brides: The bridal mysticism of the Song of Songs

Through the Virgin Mary conducting a proskynesis on the tympanum and fulfilling the meaning of the bride in bridal mysticism, Ecclesia and Synagoga, as well as the women on the heavenly side of the tympanum, are inferred to be likewise represented within the theme of mystical marriage.

The crowned Ecclesia stands with her dignified frontal pose and facial expression. On the
other hand, Synagoga is blindfolded, holding a broken spear and a law board, and maintains an exhausted pose (fig. 5). They certainly follow the conventional expression of the victory of the Christian church. Also through the characteristics of the Bamberg Cathedral sculpture, which displays multiple appearances according to the standpoint of the viewer, the contrast of the stalwart Ecclesia and the languid Synagoga are analyzed to be expressed efficiently[29]. It is possible that these two figures play an important role in the iconographical program as they stand out in their colors and monumental appearances, appearing larger than life on the tympanum[30]. These female personifications are popular motifs in the portals of the thirteenth century French kingdom and German empire, and this portal is one of the earliest examples of this, together with Reims and Strasbourg[31]. As many researchers agree, the style and expression of the clothing and bodies are remarkably similar to the works of Strasbourg (fig. 10)[32].

One of the main sources of the female personifications of Ecclesia and Synagoga as brides of Christ is conventionally the Song of Songs[33]. The relationship of the Song of Songs with the Strasbourg Cathedral sculpture of the south transept was firstly analyzed in detail by Otto von Simson. They are based on the tradition of exegesis of the Song of Songs by Honorius of Autun, whose works were influential in the Holy Roman Empire, particularly in south Germany. On the tympanum, Christ stands as the judge in the middle as the bridegroom, together with the Virgin Mary, while Ecclesia and Synagoga stand on either side in their monumental expressions as the representatives of the eschatological brides[34]. Therefore, it can be pointed out that in the iconographical program of the Bamberg portal, Ecclesia and Synagoga are represented as eschatological brides along with the Virgin Mary.

Moreover, what is remarkable is that the relation of the bridal mysticism of the Song of Songs and the Apocalypse can be pointed out for both statues of Bamberg Cathedral, which has been overlooked in previous analyses. At first in the pillar under Ecclesia, four Evangelist symbols—the lion, the cow, the man/angel, and the eagle—are represented with Ezekiel[35]. It is rare that this motif is represented together with Ecclesia. However, it is seen in the iconography of the Lamb of God, for example, in the above-mentioned proskynesis of the twenty-four elders[36]. Also, in Prüfening, which was integrated into the Bamberg diocese by Heinrich II, the Closter of St. George has the iconographical representation of a Romanesque wall painting based on the Song of Songs, created under the Bamberg bishop, Otto I von Bamberg (Bamberg bishop 1102–1139, consecrated 1189)[37], and the sitting figure of a dignified Ecclesia as bride in the ceiling painting of a choir is surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists (fig. 11). Heidrun Stein pointed out that these motifs as indicating the Ecclesia’s property as a bride of the Lamb of God, as well as the throne of Christ or the Lamb of God[38]. Likewise, in the Ecclesia of Bamberg Cathedral, the symbols of the Evangelists remind us of
Christ in Revelation as well as the throne of the Lamb of God. Thus, here also, Ecclesia could be represented as the bride of Christ.

On the other hand, as regards Synagoga, her blindness to the throne of the bridegroom, Christ, is implied by her blindfold and the blinded Jew represented beneath her. However, as is clear when compared to other works of Synagoga, for example in Reims, the Bamberg Synagoga is represented as elegant as Ecclesia and her aesthetic value is remarkable[39]. From the subtle smile on her lips and the facial expression showing joy beneath the blindfold, one can feel the future fulfillment of her redemption by marriage (conversion) at the end of time, which gives the defeat of Synagoga a double impression. The Strausbourg Synagoga (fig. 12) is analyzed to represent dynamically the moment when she twists her body in order to face the bridegroom of Christ in conversion[40]. This is derived from the reference to the body of Shulamith, King Solomon’s bride in the Song of Songs (6:13) “Return, return, O Shulamith, return, return, that we may look upon you.” In this sentence, the eschatological conversion of Synagoga as a bride is thought to be prophesied[41]. In addition, in relation to the Bamberg Synagoga, compared to Ecclesia’s stiff and expressionless stance, “the effect of rotation” showing her as twisting is analyzed to give the viewer an expression of movement (fig. 13)[42]. In this way, the representation of Synagoga indicates the hope for conversion and, likewise in Strasbourg, it can be understood from the bridal mysticism. In addition, what is remarkable is that the above passage in the Song of Songs in expectation of the conversion of Synagoga urges Shulamith to dance naked, and the sensuality is emphasized[43].

In the corporal expression of the Bamberg Synagoga, her bodyline is visible beneath the drapery, and the sensuality of her naked body is sensationaly emphasized in a way no other example could offer. Achim Hubel analyzes this as one of the most beautiful thirteenth-century female figures: “The sculptor put his effort into granting the figure the brilliant sensuality by the bodily expression which has never been accomplished in medieval sculpture[44].” This sensual expression could have a significant origin in the bridal mysticism based on the Song of Songs[45].

The other unique expression of sculpture on this portal is the existence of the cluster of virgins, even if it is normally angels who carry arma christi and lead
the blessed to Christ (fig. 14). The reason for this has not been sufficiently analyzed in previous studies, but in relation to the works at Bamberg Cathedral, the meaning of virgins representing brides can be inferred. In one of the most precious treasures of Bamberg Cathedral, the Ottonian manuscripts Commentary on the Song of Songs (c.1000, Staatsbibliothek Bibl. 22, fol.4v, fig. 15), next to the sitting figure of the bridegroom Christ as the incarnation of Logos (fol.5r, fig. 16), the scene of Ecclesia pointing to Christ on the cross and the virgins as representative brides, Ecclesia leading the procession to the bridegroom, Christ, is depicted. According to Stein, not only is the Virgin Mary superimposed on Ecclesia’s figure, but also in the representation of the virgins, the description of Mary’s virtue as virgo inter virgins is implied[46]. Similarly to the iconography of this manuscript, the women of this portal could also be said to emphasize the property of virgo inter virgines, as in the Virgin Mary’s role of leading the souls as supreme bride.

This chain of the Virgin Mary and virgins as brides is also supported by the positions of their feet. The toe of the kneeling Mary touches the virgin’s foot, and also the secular king, who is led by her hand, stretches out his left foot and tries to touch the other side of her foot[47]. That is to say, it is not just as if the Virgin Mary not only intercedes, but also, firstly, that she receives grace as the representative bride of whole church and then, through the virgins, passes it down to the souls, including the secular king. This alliance of the Virgin Mary, the virgins, and the secular king could be interpreted as the chain expressing the brides of bridal mysticism.

Meanwhile, in the illumination in the Bamberg Commentary on the Song of Songs, we see a suggestive iconography. In the “O” initial of the beginning scene of the Song of Songs (1:2) “Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth” (Osculetur me osculo oris sui) indicating the incarnation of Logos in the body of the Virgin Mary, the angels, taking the role of leading the procession, touch the soles of the bridegroom, Christ, on the throne of mercy (fol. 5r, fig.16)[48].
Conclusion

Following analyses of the unique gesture of the Virgin Mary in Deësis, the unique details in the representation of Ecclesia and Synagoga, and the meaning of the existence of the virgins, I conclude that one of the main themes of the iconographical program of Fürstenportal, the main portal of Bamberg Cathedral, is the salvation of the brides by a mystical marriage at the End of Time[49]. The high-status viewers, who were the main viewers of this portal, could probably easily read in this whole iconographical program the theological background of bridal mysticism, as part of their knowledge had already been based on such a cultural education at that time[50].

This article has also shed light on the relationship between the main religious background of the time, the cult of Kunigunde, and the sculpture, in that only by the feature of an eschatological bride with the virtues of virgo and sponsa, can we understand fully the meaning of the figure of the Virgin Mary.

Notes


[16] For instance, sarcophagus in Milan, Basilica di Sant’Ambrogio (3C).


[27] Bowen, *op.cit.*, 83f.

[28] *Ibid.*. The prophets and apostles on jambs could also imply the twenty-four Elders.


[34] Otto von Simson, „Ecclesia und Synagoge am südlichen Querhausportal des Strassburger Münsters“,

[35] Achim Hubel analyzed the pillar motif of sitting figure as Ezekiel visioning the four creatures (Ezekiel 1:1-28). (Hubel, *op.cit.*, 2006, 483.) They are the prototypes of the Evangelists’ symbols in the Apocalypse.


[39] Rowe, *op.cit.*, 158-159; For example, Otto von Simson points out the Synagogue’s beauty as her attribute based on the Song of Songs. (Otto von Simson, *op.cit.*, 113.)

[40] Simson, *op.cit.*, 115.


[47] On the other hand it is not fulfilled on the hell side.


[49] One of the names of Fürstenportal in 1583-4, Ehethür (the door of marriage, Cf. Kroos, *op.cit.*, 110-112) could indicate this meaning of the iconographical program.


**Resouces of figures**

Fig. 1, 3, 4, 5, 14: Schuller, *op.cit*.

Fig. 2, 7, 13: Suckale, *op.cit*.

Fig. 6: Suckale-Redlefsen (2000), *op.cit*.

Fig. 8, 9: Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, Bd. 5, Bildteil, Gütersloh 1991

Fig. 10, 12: Rowe, *op.cit.* /11: Stein, *op.cit*.

Fig. 15, 16: Suckale-Redlefsen (2004), *op.cit*.