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Synagoga under Erasure:

Ecclesia and Text in Santa Sabina



The glittering blue and gold *tesserae* of Santa Sabina's inscription mosaic reflect the eastern light, causing visitors to stop and stare; opposite the apse, the mosaic looms above the doors, taking up the entire width of the entry wall. The inscription is commanding, as the letters occupy the most space within the mosaic, much like the imperial inscriptions found throughout Rome. On either side of the inscription stand two imposing women, labeled as *Ecclesia ex circumcisione* and *Ecclesia ex gentibus* (Fig. 1 and 2), Church out of the circumcised and Church out of the gentiles respectively.¹ They confront the viewers directly, staring downwards and holding open codices. As they leave, visitors are reminded of the two roots of the Catholic Church: the Jews and the Gentiles.

This mosaic, created in 422-432 CE, has been left untouched by most scholarship, and is only passingly mentioned in the context of the much later medieval motif of women as *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*, which first appeared in the mid-9th century.² *The Crucifixion* (Fig. 3), an ivory carving made c. 860 in Mertz, France illustrates how these women were typically portrayed in conflict; *Ecclesia* stands facing Christ, receiving his blood and thus his blessing, while *Synagoga* appears blindfolded and is walking away from Christ and salvation. How then do the women of Santa Sabina, portrayed as equals, connect to this later trend? Miri Rubin's study of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* suggested that the *ecclesiae* of Santa Sabina are part of the "making of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*;" yet her only remark about the mosaic and its possible meaning is that the women "represent an exegetical tradition according to which the future church was already foretold in Jewish history and scripture: the Jews who were to convert to Christianity at the coming of Christ, and the Gentiles who came to him."³ Rubin views the women in the mosaic as a representation of the Jewish and Gentile converts to Christianity. This understanding and connection to a later trend is problematic, as it fails to take into account the theological and geopolitical atmosphere of Rome in the 5th century; this context is necessary, as it allows for the labeling and appearance of the women and the texts they hold to be understood.

The women hold open codices, representing the two sources for the Bible: the Hebrew scripture and the Greek/Latin New Testament. The councils of Rome (382) and Carthage (397 and 419) issued the first codified

biblical canon within the Western Church, thus making the theme of text and ecclesial unity tremendously important during the 4th and 5th centuries, as the Church had become legalized throughout the Roman Empire. This desire for unity was further emphasized within the Council of Ephesus in 431, which reaffirmed the Nicene Creed and condemned the heretical teachings of Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople. Tensions between the bishop of Rome and the Bishop of Constantinople were always present, despite the ruling of the Council of Constantinople in 381, which had stated that both bishops were of equal power. These tensions are evident in the various documents that attempted to draw a connection between Jerusalem and Rome. This tension, which will be discussed later, can be seen within the visual program of Santa Sabina.

This connection between Rome and Jerusalem is one that both asserts the aspects of Judaism that benefited Christianity and negates the presence of the actual Jewish communities in the empire. This simultaneous assertion and negation found within the art of Santa Sabina is best understood through the notion of erasure. A literary concept established by Jacques Derrida, erasure is used "to indicate to the reader that the ontology of Being, for example, is problematic and that its elusive status should be marked accordingly: **Being** in this sense both is and is not."⁴ This concept can be used to understand the labeling and visual representation of *Ecclesia ex circumcisione*; she is not just *Ecclesia*, but also *Synagoga*, a Jewish matron holding a Jewish text under the name of the Church.

By placing the mosaic within its 5th-century context, it becomes clear that the artwork addresses complex issues that have not been examined by scholars. The changing desire of contemporary theologians and Roman Church leaders both to connect the Christian Church with and to separate it from its Jewish roots makes it apparent that Santa Sabina's artwork attempts to forge a connection with the history of the Church in Jerusalem, while presenting the Church in Rome as unified and powerful. Through an examination of the inscription and its historical and theological implications, followed by a thorough iconographic analysis, it is evident that the mosaic of Santa Sabina represents a unified Church, bringing Judaism under its fold, sanctifying it as a form of *Ecclesia*.

The inscription of Santa Sabina (Fig. 4) allows the mosaic to be placed within a theological and historical context, which in turn allows the entire mosaic to be read in a complex manner. The inscription reads:

CULMEN APOSTOLICUM CUM CAELESTINUS
HABERET
PRIMUS ET IN TOTO FULGERET EPISCOPUS ORBE
HAEC QUAE MIRARIS FUNDAVIT PRESBYTER
URBIS
ILLYRICA DE GENTE PETRUS VIR NOMINE TANTO
DIGNUS AB EXORTU CHRISTI NUTRITUS IN AULA
PAUPERIBUS LOCUPLES SIBI PAUPER QUI
BONA VITAE
PRAESENTIS FUGUES MERVIT SPERARE
FUTURAM

[When Celestine held the apostolic eminence shining as the foremost bishop in the whole world, Peter, a priest of the city, brought into being these things that you look at with wonder, a man Illyrican by descent and worthy of such a great name, nourished from birth in the household of Christ, wealthy to the poor, a pauper to himself, feeling the good things of the present life, he deservedly hopes for the life to come.]⁵

Examined in his article “Looking at Letters: ‘Living Writing’ in S. Sabina in Rome,” Eric Thunø identifies the type of letters and style of presentation as harkening back to imperial Roman inscriptions, those that were typically exterior inscriptions carved into stone or marble.⁶ What this connection does is link the power and wealth of Roman emperors to Peter of Illyrica and Pope Celestine I, portraying them and Christianity as the victors over the pagans.

While there is nothing known pertaining to Peter of Illyrica outside of the inscription, it is possible to examine Pope Celestine I. He took the Apostolic See in 422, a time when Christianity was being defined against Judaism. Various Church councils attempted this distinction by separating the Lord’s Day and the Jewish Sabbath, Easter from Passover, and banning marriages between Christians and non-Christians.⁷ Other canons in the fourth century attempt making a stronger separation between spaces and religious leaders; Christians were forbidden to enter

a synagogue, celebrate Jewish feasts, receive gifts from Jews, and if any priest prayed in a synagogue, “he [was] to be removed from the clergy and segregated from the flock.”⁸ Internally the Church was struggling with the concept of the Human and Divine natures of Christ in one person, attempting to define what was canon and what was heretical.

Along with these internal struggles, Pope Celestine I had several heresies to combat as well as the barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire.⁹ His actions can be seen as an attempt to consolidate and conform various Christian thoughts and beliefs to those in Rome. Pope Celestine I’s upholding of the Roman Church’s right to rule on all issues throughout the Empire caused conflict with the Church of Africa, and in 428 the Nestorian heresy put him in conflict with the Bishop of Constantinople.¹⁰ Nestorius began preaching of the duality of Christ and did not believe that Mary was the bearer of the divine, but rather the human person of Christ. When this news reached Rome, Pope Celestine I condemned and excommunicated Nestorius. He then called the Council of Ephesus.

The Council of Ephesus, held in 431, reaffirmed the teachings, decisions, and creed produced at the first council of Nicaea. Doing so was an attempt to unify the Church, specifically moving more of the power towards Rome. The council accepted twelve *anathemas* that state, in various forms, which teachings would be rejected as a way to charge Nestorius, the Bishop, and his servant Celestine, bishop of the church of the Romans, as heretics.¹¹ The synod also issued a letter excommunicating eastern bishops that held allegiance with Nestorius, and agreed to enact power over the churches in the eastern section, trumping the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Rome and Byzantium’s relationship was in constant tension throughout the 3rd and 4th centuries, both politically and religiously.¹² As Constantine moved the capital of the Roman Empire to Byzantium (Constantinople) between 324 and 330, the political and militaristic power shifted. Although Rome was still the capital of the Western empire, the various barbarian invasions led to a weakening of political and military power in that city. This weakening of power led to tensions between the Patriarchs of Rome and Byzantium, as both vied for theological and political dominance, and thus both vied for control over Jerusalem. A connection

with Jerusalem and its sacrality would ensure theological power. Although Jerusalem was the birthplace of Christianity, it was not until Constantine that the city was built as a Christian city; the building of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 335 along with Helena's pilgrimages to the city further connected the city's Jewish traditions and history to Christianity. By making the city Christian, Constantine and others were asserting that the Jewish history was one that belonged not to the Jews, but to the Christians, thus placing the Jews under erasure.

This assertion also comes into play with the names of the mosaic. Although Santa Sabina is the first time the names *Ecclesia ex gentibus* and *Ecclesia ex circumcisione* appear in writing, the ideas that these name encompass were not original to the 5th century. Oded Irshai examined the political and theological history of Jerusalem in "From the Church of the Circumcised to the Church of the Church of the Gentiles: The History of the Jerusalem Church up until the Fourth Century," and points to the 1st-century group of Christians who still maintained Jewish law; these Jewish-Christians, as they became called, were the foundation for the Church in Jerusalem, which in turn was nicknamed the Church out of the Circumcised by various theologians. By the mid-1st century, this connection with Judaism was causing a power shift from Jerusalem to Rome, as the Church was beginning to define what it believed in an attempt to separate itself from Judaism. Thus James, the first Patriarch of Jerusalem, attempted to divest himself and his Church from a Jewish name by attempting to gain more political power in various Church councils. Yet in Santa Sabina, over three centuries later, this connection was being made in an attempt to connect to the Jewish tradition that "belonged" to Christianity and to connect Rome to Jerusalem. What the Christians were attempting to connect to was not, however, the Jews of the synagogue.

Hostility surrounding Jews and their sacred space—synagogues—is not a post-5th-century notion. Despite the lack of visual representations of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*, there is textual evidence from this time, including the text *Alercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae*, which was written between 420 and 475, and is based on various 3rd century *adversus iudaes* texts.¹³ This work places two aristocratic women—one *Ecclesia* and one *Synagoga*—before a judge, to make their case to "determine which one has the right to rule the earth."¹⁴ The battle is an inheritance battle, which utilizes Biblical quotes from the

Hebrew scripture to prove that Jews do not understand their own faith, a common trope within the works of the early Church Fathers. *Ecclesia* presents the ignorance of *Synagoga* (and thus all the Jews) as a fulfillment of the prophets: "Therefore Isaiah spoke rightly:...For the heart of this people has become hard and they have heard and they have heard reluctantly with their ears and they have closed their eyes."¹⁵ The theological arguments continue on the theme of circumcision, which was also a debate in the early Church. *Synagoga* attempts to argue that circumcision is necessary for salvation. *Ecclesia*'s response reveals the ignorance that the author of this text had; *Ecclesia* states, "For if you say that your people is going to be saved by the sign of circumcision, what will your young women do... the women, who cannot be circumcised, are neither Jews nor Christians, but pagans."¹⁶ Circumcision was a sign of the covenant, not of salvation, and thus the author must not have known any real Jews. It also reflects the debates within the early Church over the role of the Torah for Christians. These theological arguments are backed by contemporary Roman laws that restricted the rights of Jews within the Empire. According to *Ecclesia*, laws that restrict Jews are a fulfillment of the prophets.¹⁷

Emperors began placing restrictions upon the Jews, stripping them of legal power and "protecting" Christians. Beginning in the late 3rd century, synagogues were viewed in negative ways by Church fathers and various officials of Rome. St. John Chrysostom of Antioch, one of the most vocal anti-semitic Church Fathers, viewed synagogues as "the homes of idolatry and devils. [...] the presence of the Bible makes the synagogues more detestable, for the Jews have introduced it not to honor God, but to insult and dishonor Him."¹⁸ St. Ambrose rejoiced in the burning of the synagogue of Callinicum, as he believed that any place in which Christ was denied should be destroyed.¹⁹ In the 4th century, Constantius issued legislation stating that Jews were not "permitted to disturb any person who, once a Jew, [had] become a Christian, or inflict other injury upon him."²⁰ This law illustrates the fear Christians had of Jews attempting to prevent converts of Christianity to remain Christian. Constantius also referred to synagogues as *conciliabula* or brothels, defaming the religious space of the Jews. Again, *Synagoga* was being put in opposition with *Ecclesia*.

In the 5th century there appeared a shift in legal thinking, a shift which marked the respect of synagogues as a

religious space. Honorius began issuing decrees that emphasized the sanctity of Sabbath and attempted to protect synagogues from destruction. Thus while Church Fathers were defaming Jews and their sacred places, emperors and Roman officials began attempting to protect them. Moving specifically to Illyricum, the Roman province from which came Peter, the patron of the mosaic, shows these specific tensions between the synagogue as profane and the synagogue as sacred. In the late 4th century edicts were issued to the governor of Illyricum restricting the freedom and political powers of the Jews. In 420, however, Theodosius issued a law that “protect[ed] Jews from attack and prohibit[ed] the burning of synagogues.”²¹ Coming just five years after the Jewish Patriarch was stripped of his powers, this edict illustrates the shifting relationship of Jews and Christians. These shifting relationships can be examined within the women of the inscription mosaic.

The two *Ecclesiae* within Santa Sabina's mosaic flank the inscription, standing at the same height, with open eyes and open codices. *Ecclesia ex circumcissione* holds a text with black dots, while *Ecclesia ex gentibus* holds a text with continuous black lines. Although the text represented is meaningless, this distinction of representation is important. By choosing to represent the text in two ways, it was clear that two different languages are being portrayed: the unconnected characters are most likely a reference to Hebrew, representing the Hebrew Scripture that became the Old Testament for Christians, while the continuous characters are most likely a reference to Greek or Latin, representing the Greek/Latin New Testament.²²

While the women appear as equals, they are clearly distinguishable. The women are dressed as matrons, each wearing a *stola* and *palla*. In her book *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-presentation and Society*, Kelly Olson analyzes the dress of women, noting that clothing was used to distinguish status.²³ The *palla* was “draped around the left shoulder and brought round the back where it could either be brought over the right shoulder... or brought under the right arm...need[ing] one hand to keep it in place.”²⁴ The *stola* was a long garment used to distinguish not only the social rank of the wearer, as it represented that the woman was married in a *iustum matorimonium*, but also the sexual morality of the wearer, as it also represented chastity. These are both fitting for *Ecclesia*, as she is the bride of Christ and embodies this

virtue.²⁵

While the women are dressed similarly, their head coverings differ, suggesting that they represent different types of women: *Ecclesia ex gentibus* appears to be dressed as a Roman matron, while *Ecclesia ex circumcissione* appears to be dressed as a Jewish matron. *Ecclesia ex gentibus* wears her *palla* as a veil, as was expected by matrons when they went out in public as a sign of sexual modesty. Her veil is looser than *Ecclesia ex circumcissione*, possibly indicated that this was more of a costume than a religious expectation; although there are textual sources that reference the rules regarding Roman matrons covering their hair, it seems to have not been part of the daily life of most women; if a woman covered her hair at all, it would have been done loosely. *Ecclesia ex circumcissione*'s head covering, however, follows her head closely, covering most of her forehead. This difference in headdress links itself to Jewish rules and customs; women were expected to cover their hair when leaving the household, as hair was viewed as sexually charged. The Mishnah contains regulations on how women are to adorn themselves, and most of the punishments for not following these “adornment rules” involving uncovering a woman's hair.²⁶ On the *palla* of each woman is a gold medallion; *Ecclesia ex gentibus*' medallion is an empty gold oval, while *Ecclesia ex circumcissione*'s is a gold oval with a cross. Thus *Ecclesia ex circumcissione* is being sanctified, visually bringing themes of Judaism under Christ and the Church, while placing the actual Jewish community of Rome under erasure.

Placing these women within the visual program of Santa Sabina proves challenging, as no other mosaics have survived. However, it is possible to examine some of the “missing mosaics” through the work *Vertera Monimenta: In quibus praecipuè Musiva Opera Sacrarum, Profanarumque Aedium Structura, Ac nonnulli antiqui Ritus, Dissertationibus, Iconibusque illustrantur*, by the 17th-century ecclesiastical archaeologist Giovanni Ciampini.²⁷ In chapter 21, Ciampini describes Santa Sabina's mosaics, presenting a drawing of the inscription mosaic and what was above it (Fig. 5). Above each *Ecclesia* stood a figure: St. Paul above *Ecclesia ex gentibus* and St. Peter above *Ecclesia ex circumcissione*. This is done purposefully, as a reference to the Council of Jerusalem held in 50 CE; this council ultimately decided on the separation of Christianity from the Jewish traditions, specifically circumcision. St. Paul proselytized

to Gentiles, and recognized the need for Christianity to separate itself from Torah Law, and thus is placed above *Ecclesia ex gentibus*. St. Peter proselytized to the Jews, in the area around Jerusalem, and thus it makes sense that visually he is above *Ecclesia ex circumcissione*, a name for the 1st-century church in Jerusalem.

The connection between St. Peter and *Ecclesia ex circumcissione* is one that directly links Jerusalem to Rome, as St. Peter represents both Rome and the Papal See. Thus Rome is portrayed as the inheritor of the sacrality and rich spiritual history of Jerusalem and Judaism, without acknowledging Jews, once again placing them—and their traditions—under erasure. The Jews no longer have their inheritance. This is continued throughout the visual program, as above St. Peter is a hand from heaven holding a a closed codex, possibly representing the Old Law. Although missing when Ciampini made his drawing, it can be assumed that a similar image—a hand from heaven holding the closed codex of the New Law—was above St. Paul. This connection implies that the open codices held by the *ecclesiae* come not only from two great Church fathers but from God, and that the Jews no longer own their sacred text. Rather, their text has been inherited and given to the Christians by God. This sanctifies the usurping of Judaism, as it is portrayed as heavenly ordained

Examining contemporary Roman churches for a visual comparison to Santa Sabina's mosaic has led several scholars, including Fredric Schlatter, to the apsidal mosaic in Santa Pudenziana (Fig. 6). This mosaic, completed in 417, has visual similarities to Santa Sabina, including the presence of two women (though unlabeled). Christ sits on a throne of wisdom, hand outstretched holding a codex with the words "DOMINUS CONSERVATOR ECCLESIA PUDENTIANAE."²⁸ Behind Christ are the four evangelists—Mathew, Mark, Luke, and John—in the sky, analogous to the representation in Santa Sabina. In front of Christ stand Apostles, the most prominent of which are Paul, on the viewer's left, and Peter, on the viewer's right. Behind these men stand two veiled women, each holding a crown towards Christ.

Schlatter's exploration of the theological inspiration of Santa Pudenziana's apsidal mosaic leads him to St. Jerome, a 3rd-4th-century theologian. Examining St. Jerome's exegesis of "Hosea," one of the Old Testament prophets, suggests that the Church Fathers were not only familiar with the idea of a dual *Ecclesia*, but that they

were familiar with the idea of *Ecclesia ex circumcissione* and *Ecclesia ex gentibus*, as these were both prefigured in the Old Testament.²⁹ St. Jerome and others believed that the Church was a double figure in the Old Testament (i.e. the Jews and the Gentiles) that would become a single figure in the New (i.e. the Christians). Through this understanding of St. Jerome's exegesis, it is possible to read the two women within Santa Pudenziana's mosaic as more than representations of victory, but as *Ecclesia ex circumcissione* and *Ecclesia ex gentibus*. Schlatter's examination of Santa Pudenziana is thorough, but he leaves unanswered the possible theological connection between Santa Pudenziana's mosaic and Santa Sabina's. Understanding St. Jerome's exegesis is important, as it sheds light on his interpretation of scripture, a key theme in Santa Sabina's mosaic.

St. Jerome's deep appreciation of scripture and his gift with languages gained him the commission to create a new translation of the Bible in Latin. St. Jerome's translation took place in three distinct stages, as noted by Teppe Kato: the first stage, which took place in 384 in Rome, where he revised the Gospels and the Psalter; the second stage, which took place from 389 to 392 in Bethlehem, where he revised "Job," the Books of Solomon, and "Chronicles"; and the third stage, which took place in Bethlehem from 392 to 405, where Jerome focused on translating the Hebrew text into Latin.³⁰ St. Jerome referred to the Hebrew text as the *veritas Hebraica* and preferred it over the Septuagint, despite several admonitions from St. Augustine and other Church Fathers, who suggested that he rely solely on the Greek text. As Kato's research concludes, St. Jerome was extremely proficient in reading Hebrew and he often references his Jewish Hebrew instructor, one whose interpretations of text he held in high esteem. This respect for the Hebrew text explains the representation of *Ecclesia ex circumcissione*'s codex; the representation of Hebrew shows a recognition of the original source for the Bible and, in turn, the roots of the Church.

St. Jerome's understanding of the Old Testament is one that included the notion of *Ecclesia ex circumcissione* and *Ecclesia ex gentibus*, as he held the belief that everything in the Old Testament was a prefiguration of everything that occurred in the New Testament. Specifically examining his exegesis of the Old Testament book "Ezekiel," this becomes clear. Ezekiel gives specific regulations for the priesthood; priests

were encouraged to marry *uiginem de semine domus Israel*, which St. Jerome links to “the intimate embrace of wisdom and truth.”³¹ They are forbidden to marry *uiduam et repudiatam*, which St. Jerome links to “the Judaism of the Synagogue.”³² Thus, St. Jerome saw the current Jews as those meant to be rejected by Christians, while the rich Jewish traditions were inherited by Christians in *Ecclesia ex circumcissione*.

It is in the New Testament, according to St. Jerome, that a single *Ecclesia* is present. This single *Ecclesia* is also present in Santa Sabina, in the New Testament scene of the *Parusia* (Fig. 7) on the doors of the church. Although these doors were not specifically commissioned by Peter of Illyrica for Santa Sabina, they were moved to the church during the 5th century. The original arrangement of the panels has been lost, but was most likely one that paralleled the Old Testament and New Testament scenes.³³ These parallels are not meant to be read as prefigurations, as they are representations of distinct events, important to both Judaism and Christianity. The focus of the Old Testament scenes is the receiving of the law, while Christianity focuses on the Passion of Christ. These images, presented to viewers as they enter the church, show the divine nature of the Old Law and the moment — in the eyes of Christians — when this divine law was inherited and appropriated by Christ and the Church.

In the *Parusia*, the figures of Peter, Paul, Christ, and *Ecclesia* appear. Christ is in a mandorla, between the Greek letters *Alpha* and *Omega*, holding a scroll. Surrounding the mandorla are the personifications of the Evangelists, further connecting Christ with scripture and text.³⁴ Below Christ are Peter and Paul, who stand on either side of a female figure, *Eccleisa*. This *Ecclesia* is in a New Testament scene, thus explaining the lack of a dual representation. Her position between Peter and Paul indicates a desire to connect the two heritages of the Church into one figure. This one figure becomes two inside Santa Sabina, representing the gained heritages that belong to Christianity, fully placing Judaism under erasure.

The mosaic of Santa Sabina is much more than a work of art tangentially connected to a later medieval theme. Rather, the mosaic represents the various political and theological relationships of the 5th century, as it was created and commissioned in an atmosphere of political tension, as Pope Celestine

I was attempting to gain more control over the Church and end the Nestorian heresy. Peter of Illyrica, the direct patron of the artwork, came from a province in which Jews and synagogues were being defamed and defended simultaneously; this in turn reflected the Church leaders' attempts to connect the Church with and define it against Judaism. They were attempting to divest the Church from the Jews, who were viewed as heretics by most Church Fathers, and adopt the Old Testament and the sacrality of Judaism as Christian.

Ecclesia ex gentibus and *Ecclesia ex circumcissione* not only represent the two roots of the Church, but also the tension occurring within the leadership of the Church itself in the 5th Century. This tension is most clearly read in *Ecclesia ex circumcissione* and the theme of text. The missing mosaics and the door panels emphasize the divine nature of scripture and Law. By representing the moment when Christianity usurped Judaism on the doors, it becomes clear that the art of Santa Sabina is negating the real presence of Jews. Rather, it is asserting Christianity's dominance over the Hebrew Scripture and connecting Rome to Jerusalem to ensure Papal power and authority. Returning to Derrida, it becomes possible to view *Ecclesia ex circumcissione* as a figure that simultaneously negates and asserts. She is not only a representation of the Church, but also a representation of Judaism. *Ecclesia ex circumcissione* is a figure which brings the inheritance of the Jews into and under the sacrality of the Church.



Endnotes

- 1 I have regularized the spelling to “ecclesia”—spelled eclesia within the mosaic—throughout this paper.
- 2 This mosaic can be dated to 422-432 CE due to the mention of Pope Celestine I within the inscription.
- 3 Miri Rubin, “Ecclesia and Synagoga: The Changing Meanings of a Powerful Pairing,” in *Conflict and Religious Conversation in Latin Christendom: Studies in Honour of Ora Limor* (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2014), 58.
- 4 This concept is established by Martin Heidegger and expanded upon by Jacques Derrida, as quoted by Joan R. Branham, “Sacred Space Under Erasure in Ancient Synagogues and Early Churches,” *The Art Bulletin* 74, no. 3 (1992): 392.
- 5 Translated by Erik Thunø, “Looking at Letters: ‘Living Writing’ in S. Sabina in Rome,” *Marburger Jahrbuch Fur Kunstwissenschaft* 34 (2007).
- 6 The inscription on the Arch of Constantine is a good visual comparison to the inscription mosaic. Ibid. 27.
- 7 Council of Laodicaea (360) and Council of Nicaea (325)
- 8 James Everett Seaver, *Persecution of the Jews in the Roman Empire, 300-438* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1952), IV.35.
- 9 These included the Manichæan, Donatian, Novatian, and Pelegian heresies.
- 10 *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, s.v. “Pope Celestine I.”
- 11 Nestorius was summoned to the Council three separate times, but never attended. *Papal Enclyclical Online*, s.v. “The Council of Ephesus.”
- 12 The information from this paragraph is drawn from: *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, s.v. “Rome,” and *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, s.v. “The Byzantine Empire.”
- 13 *Altercatio* includes many references to Cyprian of Carthage’s *Ad Quirinum*. Michael J. Brinks, “The *Altercatio Ecclesiae Et Synagogae* as a Late Antique Anti-Jewish Polemic.” (Ph.D. Thesis Western Michigan University, 2009) 12.
- 14 Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 49.
- 15 (*Altercatio* II. 188-192) *Recte ergo Esaias ait: ... incrassauit enim cor populi/ huius et auribus grauiter audierunt et oculos suos clause-/runt*. Brinks, “The *Altercatio Ecclesiae Et Synagogae* as a Late Antique Anti-Jewish Polemic,” 95.
- 16 (*Altercatio* II.225-7, 233-5) *Nam si dicis po-/pulum tuum in signo circumcisionis esse saluandam, quid/ facient uirgines tuae. ...mulieres autem, quae cir-/ cumcidi non possunt, nec iudaeas nec christianas sed pa-/ganas esse profiteor*. Ibid. 97.
- 17 See *Altercatio* II. 124-137.
- 18 Ibid. V.39-40
- 19 Ibid. V.40-41.
- 20 Seaver, *Persecution of the Jews in the Roman Empire, 300-438*, II.30.
- 21 Ibid. IX.69.
- 22 Erik Thunø, “Looking at Letters: ‘Living Writing’ in S. Sabina in Rome,” 22.
- 23 Kelly Olson, “The clothing of women,” in *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-presentation and Society* (London; Routledge, 2008) 27, 31, 33-4.

- 24 Ibid. 33.
- 25 This connection to chastity is also important, as Mary is also a representation of *Ecclesia*.
- 26 For more information regarding Jewish women's dress see Naftali S. Cohn "What to Wear: Women's Adornment and Judean Identity in the Third Century Mishnah," in Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughos and Alicia J. Battan, eds, *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity* (Ashgate: 2014) 21-36.
- 27 "Ancient Monuments: In which especially artistic sacred works, profane and temple structures and several antique ceremonies, discussions, and images are being illuminated."
- 28 Lord, protect the Church of Pudenziana
- 29 Fredric W. Schlatter, "The Two Women in the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3, no. 1 (1995): 17.
- 30 Teppei Kato, "Jerome's Understanding of Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament,*" *Vigiliae Christianae* 67, no. 3 (2013): 293.
- 31 Schlatter, "The Two Women in the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana," 20.
- 32 Ibid. 20.
- 33 Ernst H Kantorowicz, "The "King's Advent": And The Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *The Art Bulletin* 26, no. 4 (1944): 223.
- 34 Above the inscription mosaic are also the four evangelists.



Figure 1: *Ecclesia ex Circumcisione*, 5th Century, Santa Sabina, tesserae



Figure 2: *Ecclesia ex Gentibus*, 5th Century, Santa Sabina, tesserae



Figure 4: 5th Century, Santa Sabina, tesserae



Figure 6: *Apsidal Mosaic*, 5th Century, Santa Pudenziana, tesserae



Figure 3: *The Crucifixion* c. 860 C.E., Ivory



Figure 9: *Parusia door panel*, 5th century, Santa Sabina, wood

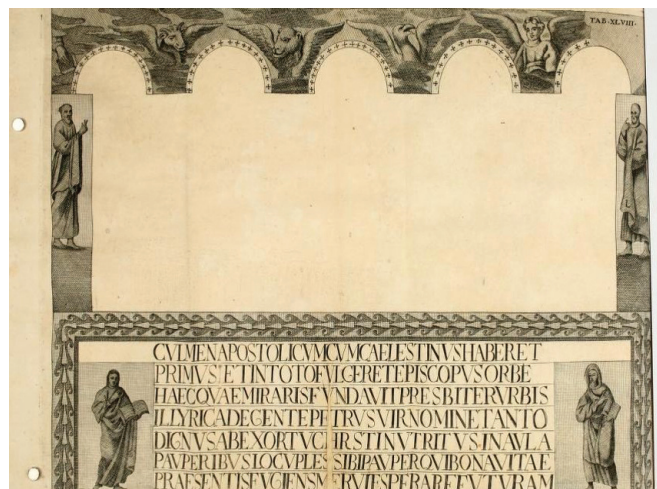


Figure 5: *Drawing of Santa Sabina*, Ciampini, 17th Century, ink on paper.