

Engel, Ute

Kings and Clergy : The Portals of the Former Liebfrauenkirche to the East of Mainz Cathedral

In:

Albrecht, Stephan; Engel, Ute; Knoblauch, Anna Chiara (Eds.), Die Archäologie des mittelalterlichen Portals, Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, p. 36-63. 2025. DOI: 10.20378/irb-106973

Bookpart - Published Version

DOI of the Article: 10.20378/irb-110174

Date of Publication: 02.09.2025

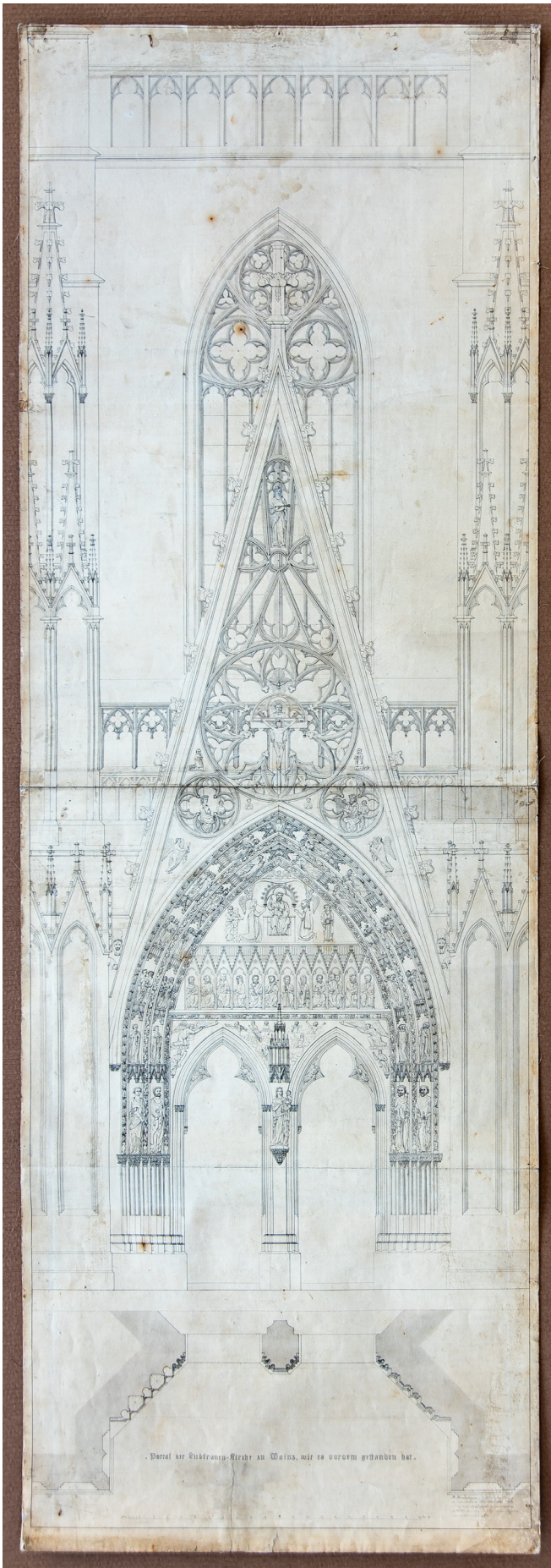
Legal Notice:

This work is protected by copyright and/or the indication of a licence. You are free to use this work in any way permitted by the copyright and/or the licence that applies to your usage. For other uses, you must obtain permission from the rights-holder(s).

This document is made available under the **Creative Commons License CC BY**.



This licence information is available online:
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>



III. 1 Bernhard Hundeshagen and J. Ch. von der Emden: East portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, elevation drawing, 1818–1820, Feder, 188 x 63.5 cm, Landesmuseum Mainz, Graphische Sammlung, GS 0/2029

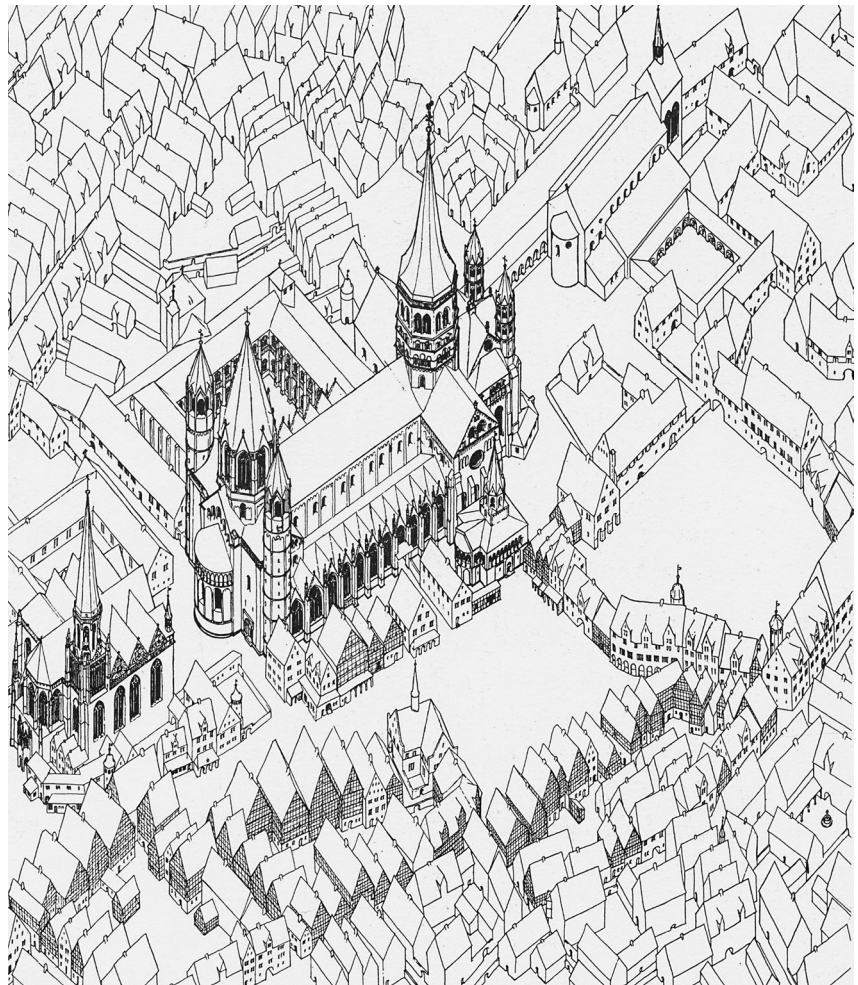
Ute Engel

Kings and Clergy

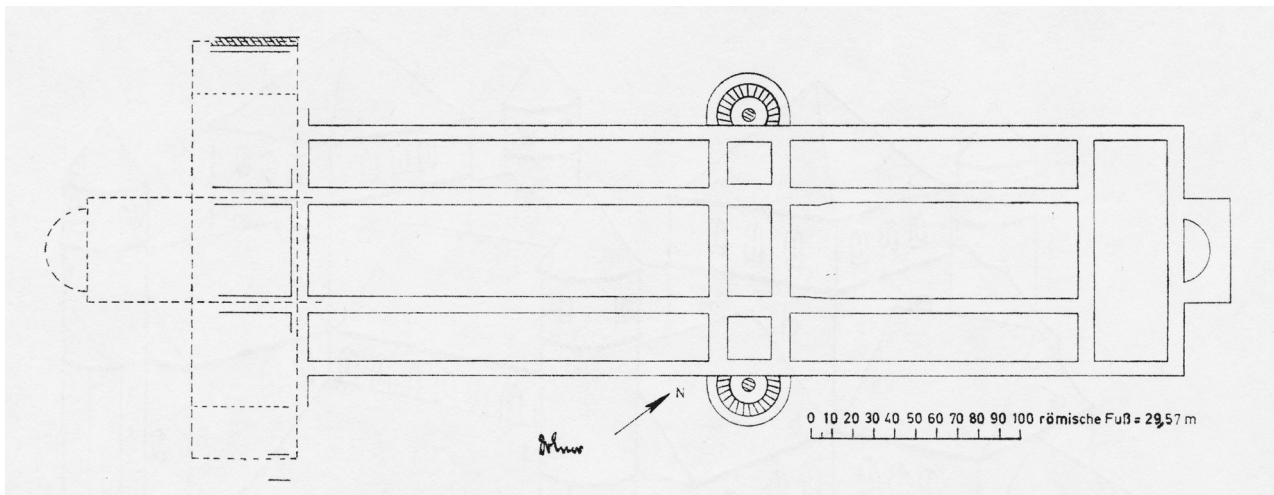
The Portals of the Former *Liebfrauenkirche* to the East of Mainz Cathedral

In the Middle Ages, the majestic, double-apsed cathedral of St Martin and St Stephen in Mainz, seat of one of most powerful archbishops of the Empire,¹ was integrated into a family of secondary churches within the cathedral precinct (Ill. 2).² To the west the cathedral was connected to the collegiate church of St John (*Johanniskirche*), the ancient cathedral up to c. 1000, which still exists with its many transformations.³ To the east the cathedral was aligned to a second church on the same axis, St Mary's (*Liebfrauenkirche*), also called *Sancta Maria ad gradus* (*St. Maria zu den Staffeln* or *Mariengreden* in German), because of the flight of steps, which led to the river Rhine and to one of the main city gates (*porta piscium* or *Fischtor*). The three churches were closely linked to each other by covered walkways and processional routes.⁴

The *Liebfrauenkirche* was a spectacular building of around 1300, a hall church on a centralized plan lit by large traceried windows, and it incorporated two major portals adorned by figurative sculpture: a monumental double portal to the east, towards the Rhine, and a portal to north, towards the market place and city centre of Mainz. The church was destroyed in 1803–07, but it is well documented by a set of plans, drawings and paintings produced prior to its destruction, by excavations and by fragments of its architecture and sculpture kept at the *Landesmuseum* in Mainz and in the cloister of the cathedral.⁵ This essay will discuss the fragmented portals of the *Liebfrauenkirche* and their iconography in the context of the historic functions of the building in relation to the cathedral and especially to the claims of the archbishops of Mainz to the right of coronation.



III. 2 Mainz, Cathedral with adjoining churches of *Liebfrauen* to the east and St. Johannis to the west, reconstruction drawing of the situation around 1500, Carl Bittens 1937



Ill. 3 Mainz, Cathedral of archbishop Willigis c. 1009, reconstruction drawing of the foundations including the atrium and the eastern transverse building

Mainz Cathedral and St Mary's in the time of archbishop Willigis

As recent excavations have shown, St John's was in fact the first, the ancient cathedral of Mainz. It was built on top of earlier structures of the Roman city of *Moguntiacum* from the 4th century onwards and it still incorporates substantial remains of major building phases from the 10th to the early 11th centuries up to the crown of its walls.⁶ Archbishop Willigis (975–1011) built a new, much larger cathedral to the east of St John's, which burnt down at the day of its consecration in 1009. It was immediately repaired and finally consecrated in 1036 by the successor of Willigis, archbishop Bardo.⁷ The ancient cathedral was transformed into a collegiate church with the new dedication to St John the Baptist in 1028.⁸

The new cathedral of Mainz of the late 10th and early 11th century was designed to represent the assumption of archbishop Willigis to a position of pre-eminence among the clergy of the Empire.⁹ Willigis was one of the main advisors of the Ottonian emperors.¹⁰ In 975, the year of his accession to the archbishopric, Willigis received the privilege of *praeeminere* by Pope Benedict VII which prescribed the role of the archbishops of Mainz as the vicar of the pope and the primate of all the bishops of the Empire, probably with the support of Emperor Otto II himself.¹¹ Part of this pre-eminent position of the archbishops of Mainz was the right to crown the Roman king – in relation to the coronation of the Roman kings as emperors by the pope in Rome since the *renovatio imperii* of Charlemagne in 800.¹² The archbishops of Mainz connected their claim of coronation to the founding figure of their diocese, the

Anglo-Saxon Boniface, who allegedly anointed and crowned Pippin, the first Carolingian king, in 751.¹³

The claim of the archbishops of Mainz to crown the kings of the Holy Roman Empire was continuously threatened by the archbishops of Cologne, in whose diocese the church of coronation, the palace chapel built by Charlemagne in Aachen, was situated.¹⁴ In competition to Aachen, Willigis consciously created the monumental new cathedral complex in Mainz as especially suited to fulfil its representative role as the stage for imperial coronations.¹⁵ Archbishop Willigis in fact managed to crown Henry II, the last of the Ottonian emperors, in the ancient cathedral of Mainz in 1002, and Conrad II, the first of the Salian kings, received the royal insignia by archbishop Aribo in Mainz in 1024.¹⁶ Only from the coronation of Henry III in 1028 onwards was the tradition of crowning the Roman kings (and queens) in Aachen fully established.¹⁷

Willigis' cathedral of Mainz of c. 1000 was modelled on the coronation church of the Emperors in Rome itself, Old St Peter's (Ill. 3): It had its main choir in the west, adjoined *more romano* by a large, projecting western transept, a long three-aisled nave and a monumental eastern building with a straight east end, flanked by round staircase towers, probably containing an eastern choir.¹⁸ The exterior walls of the cathedral continued as passage ways accompanying an open atrium in the east and this in turn finished with a transverse building towards the river Rhine, which was the full width of the cathedral and terminated in a rectangularly encased apse, possibly crowned by a



Ill. 4 Mainz, Cathedral, nave, market portal on the north side with the bronze doors of archbishop Willigis

tower.¹⁹ This transverse building was excavated below the eastern half of the later *Liebfrauenkirche*.²⁰ The dedication of this eastern annex building is not known, but there is the possibility that it already was to St Mary.²¹ Evidently, the eastern atrium and transverse building of Mainz Cathedral were related to the model of the atrium and the church of *Sancta Maria ad gradus*, also called *Sancta Maria in turri* to the east of Old St Peter's in Rome.²² K. H. Esser, who excavated the area east of Mainz cathedral in 1973/74, interpreted the eastern transverse building as a "Vorkirche", as an ante-church to the cathedral, which could have been intended to fulfil the same functions in the coronation rite as *Sancta Maria ad gradus* in Old St Peter's:²³ This was the place where the king was met by the clergy at his arrival, a function which is documented for St Mary's in Mainz as late as 1473 and 1486.²⁴

According to the antiquarian sources of the early 17th to 18th centuries, the first building on the site of the *Liebfrauenkirche* was started c. 988, i.e. during the

time of archbishop Willigis.²⁵ Willigis is also credited with the donation of two bronze doors to St Mary's sited in a portal leading to the market place on the north of the *Liebfrauenkirche* and the cathedral: "... *duas illas valvas aeneas, quae ad forum ferunt, donavit*".²⁶ The bronze doors of Willigis still exist, transferred in 1804 to the north portal of Mainz cathedral (Ill. 4), the *Marktportal*, and they belong to the famous set of early Carolingian and Ottonian bronze doors in Germany, from Aachen to Hildesheim.²⁷ The doors of Mainz are cast in one single piece each, divided by a rectangular framework and adorned by closing rings in the form of lion heads. A contemporary inscription in Roman majuscules informs the reader along the horizontal frames about the artist, Berenger, the donor, archbishop Willigis, and his intention: Willigis is praised as the first who endeavoured to produce bronze doors since the death of Charlemagne.²⁸ In this way, Willigis' bronze doors with their classifying design and inscription, relate to the set of doors which Charlema-

gne donated to his palace chapel in Aachen and their Roman predecessors, and Willigis further underlined his claims in the competition with Aachen and the archbishopric of Cologne.²⁹ Additionally, Willigis could again have emulated the ensemble of Old St Peter's in Rome: There, Pope Hadrian I (772–795) equipped *Sancta Maria ad gradus* or *in turri* with bronze doors, too.³⁰

When the bronze doors were positioned into the north portal of Mainz Cathedral in 1804, due to the ongoing destruction of St Mary's, the wings seem to have fitted perfectly into the doorframe.³¹ This observation led to the assumption up to recent scholarship that - contrary to the testimony of the 17th and 18th century antiquarian sources quoted above - the doors originally were donated to the cathedral and that its market portal, built c. 1190/1200,³² was constructed with the intention to frame archbishop Willigis' bronze doors.³³ A later archbishop, Adalbert I of Saarbrücken (1111–1137), had a privilege of freedom which he granted to the citizens of Mainz been inscribed into the upper parts of the doors in 1135.³⁴ Together with the adjoining double chapel of the archbishop's palace, St Godehard, which Adalbert built as his

burial place, this seemed to support the hypothesis that Willigis' s bronze doors were originally intended for the cathedral and its main entry from the market place, and not for St Mary's.³⁵ Yet the documentary evidence is unequivocal: A hitherto overlooked source makes it clear that the bronze doors were sited in the north portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in 1215, as well as in 1274 and up to the destruction of the church in the early 19th century.³⁶

St Mary's as collegiate church

Taking up the model of Old St Peter's in Rome, archbishop Siegfried I of Epstein (1059–1084) installed a collegiate church called *Sancta Maria ad gradus* on the site of the first, transverse building to the east of Mainz Cathedral and initiated the construction of a new church on top of the earlier foundations, but enlarged towards the west, which was dedicated in 1069.³⁷ Due to the excavations, the second building on the site of the *Liebfrauenkirche* was an unusual, compact structure of two bays and three aisles with an elongated choir in the east: a rectangular choir bay and a three-sided, polygonal apse. In the central bay of the western part, a



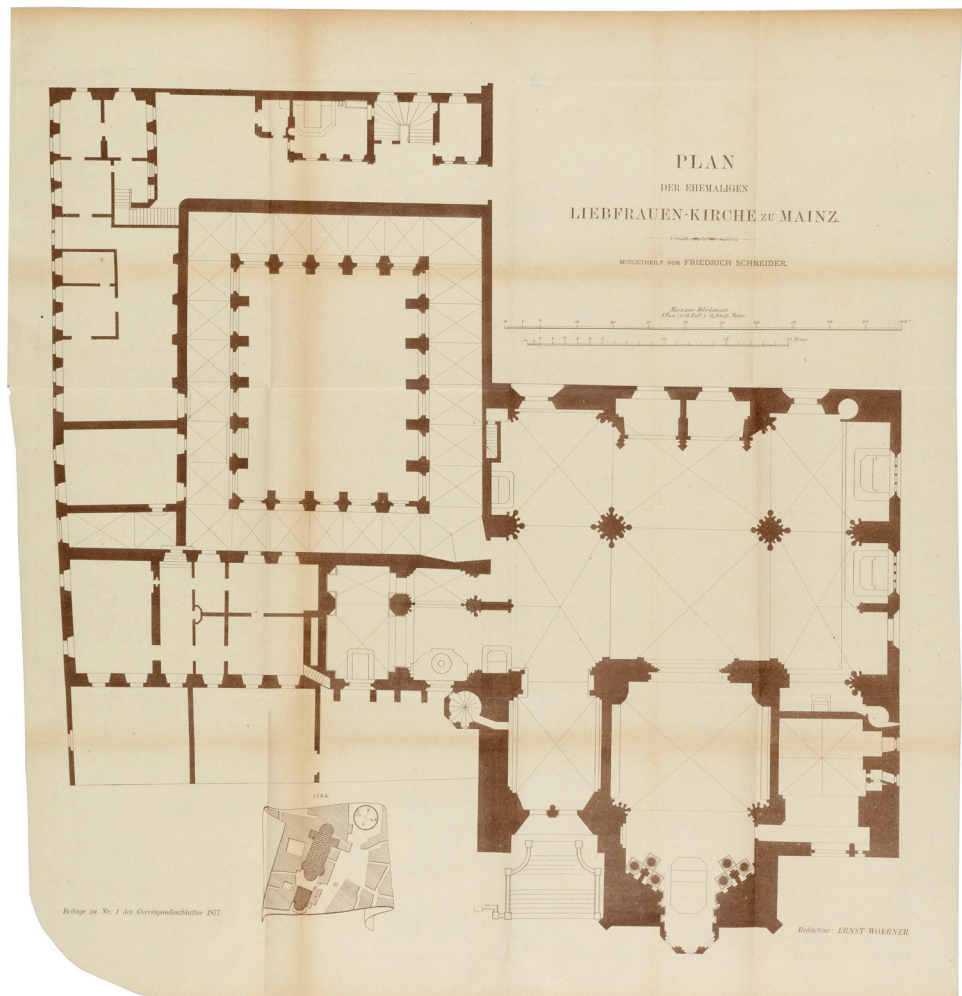
Ill. 5 Caspar Schneider: The *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, view from the east prior to its destruction, 1793, Feder, Aquarell, 47.2 x 67.7 cm, Landesmuseum Mainz, Graphische Sammlung, GS 0/4425 C

crypt based on four columns and 3 x 3 square bays was inserted.³⁸ Presumably, the crypt was the place where a font was installed and so the *Liebfrauenkirche* served as the baptistery of the cathedral complex.³⁹ As in the first, transverse building by archbishop Willigis, the excavators were not able to find any evidence of the position of doors into the second church of St Mary's and so it can only be guessed that its main entry, where the bronze doors were placed, was in its northern wall.⁴⁰ Interestingly, voussoirs of a monumental portal with zigzag orders were re-used as spolia in the lower walls of the later eastern extension of St Mary's, dated by the excavators to c. 1220.⁴¹ They can be connected to repair works documented in 1211.⁴²

The collegiate church of St Mary's continued to be in close connection to the archbishops and the cathedral chapter of Mainz up to the dissolution. The cathedral chapter (*Domstift*) decided on the building activities of the *Liebfrauenstift* and members of the clergy of St Mary's regularly served in the household of the archbishops, some of the deans and provosts even became archbishops of Mainz.⁴³ The provosts used to be members of the cathedral chapter.⁴⁴

The transformation and enlargement of St Mary's to a collegiate church obviously was devised by the clergy of Mainz Cathedral in reaction to the enhanced position of their competitors in Cologne: In 1049, Pope Leo IX had granted the right to crown the Roman kings within the archdiocese of Cologne solely to its archbishops, and as Aachen, by this time the established place of coronation, was situated within their archdiocese, the archbishops of Cologne in fact had taken over the pre-eminent role in the coronation process against Mainz.⁴⁵ The competition between Cologne and Mainz was carried out by building activities, too: A collegiate church of *Sancta Maria ad gradus* was established to the east of Cologne Cathedral in 1057, with a flight of steps towards the banks of the Rhine, i.e. in a similar position as *Sancta Maria ad gradus* of 1069 in Mainz.⁴⁶

On 17 April 1285, St Mary's burnt down.⁴⁷ Immediately after the obviously devastating fire the collecting of money for a new church started, supported by a wide range of donors: the archbishops of Mainz, the clergy, the monasteries and collegiate churches of the city, various German bishops, even Pope Nicolas IV and, especially prominently, the citizens of Mainz.⁴⁸



III. 6 Mainz, *Liebfrauenkirche*, copy of a plan of 1810 formerly belonging to Conradi-Miltenberg, printed on behalf of Friedrich Schneider in the *Correspondenzblatt*, 1877, Stadtarchiv Mainz, BPSP 1435 D

We can assume a rapid start of the reconstruction and the building was dedicated by archbishop Peter of Aspelt (1306–20) in 1311.⁴⁹ As the evidence of a large number of historical views shows, the new *Liebfrauenkirche* was an amazing Gothic structure, which was conceived as a hall church, lit by large traceried windows (Ill. 5).⁵⁰ The earlier foundations of the 11th century were re-used, but the western crypt was given up and the building was enlarged to the east by an additional bay and a projecting polygonal, three-sided apse encased in rectangular masonry in its lower part, due to the sloping ground towards the river.⁵¹ A delicately ornamented small apse, called *Chörlein*, extended from this rectangular structure to the east, crowned by small, crocketed gables and pinnacles. In this way, the apse of the *Liebfrauenkirche* became two-storeyed: The lower part of the wall opened into the extra space of the small *Chörlein*, the upper into the large traceried windows of the polygonal apse above – a highly unusual solution which was copied shortly afterwards in the church of the Carmelite order in Mainz.⁵²



Ill. 7 Mainz, portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in the south wing of the cloister of Mainz Cathedral

The new St Mary's again was a compact structure on a nearly square plan with three aisles and three bays (Ill. 6). The southern aisle formed in its eastern bay a porch for a large double portal oriented towards the steps of *Sancta Maria ad gradus* down to the river Rhine; the easternmost bay of the northern aisle served as a sacristy. Another portal featured in the centre of the north wall, where archbishop Willigis' bronze doors were installed. The west wall had two doors in the outer bays which lead to the passage ways of the atrium and from there to the two eastern portals of the cathedral. An additional door in the central bay of the south wall was connected to the cloister of St Mary's adjacent towards the south-west of the church. As the walls of the south-eastern and the north-eastern bays of the *Liebfrauenkirche* were reinforced, the excavators assumed that two towers were intended to be built on top of them.⁵³ Only the south-eastern tower was executed, probably by a "*magister Heinricus lapicida de Bohemia*" employed in 1314 as the master of the fabric for his lifetime by the dean and chapter of St Mary's.⁵⁴ The *Liebfrauenkirche* of around 1300 is depicted on all the ancient city views of Mainz (Ill. 5), enfolding a splendid eastern façade in front of Mainz Cathedral towards the river with its monumental south-east portal, its ornate *Chörlein* below the polygonal apse, lit by large traceried windows, and the high south-west tower.⁵⁵

The destruction of St Mary's, its historical documentation and its existing fragments

Unfortunately, St Mary's was destroyed in 1793 and the years following, when Mainz was occupied by the French revolutionary army, and the allied German troops attacked the city from the opposite bank of the Rhine. In June 1793 Mainz was besieged and bombed for several weeks and a large part of the major buildings of the city centre were set on fire, among them the *Liebfrauenkirche*.⁵⁶ The building was partly ruined, but could have been restored, as confirmed by the eye-witness Heinrich Brühl. Yet in 1803, the destruction of the building was decided on by the French Government, and it was sold and completely dismantled until 1807.⁵⁷

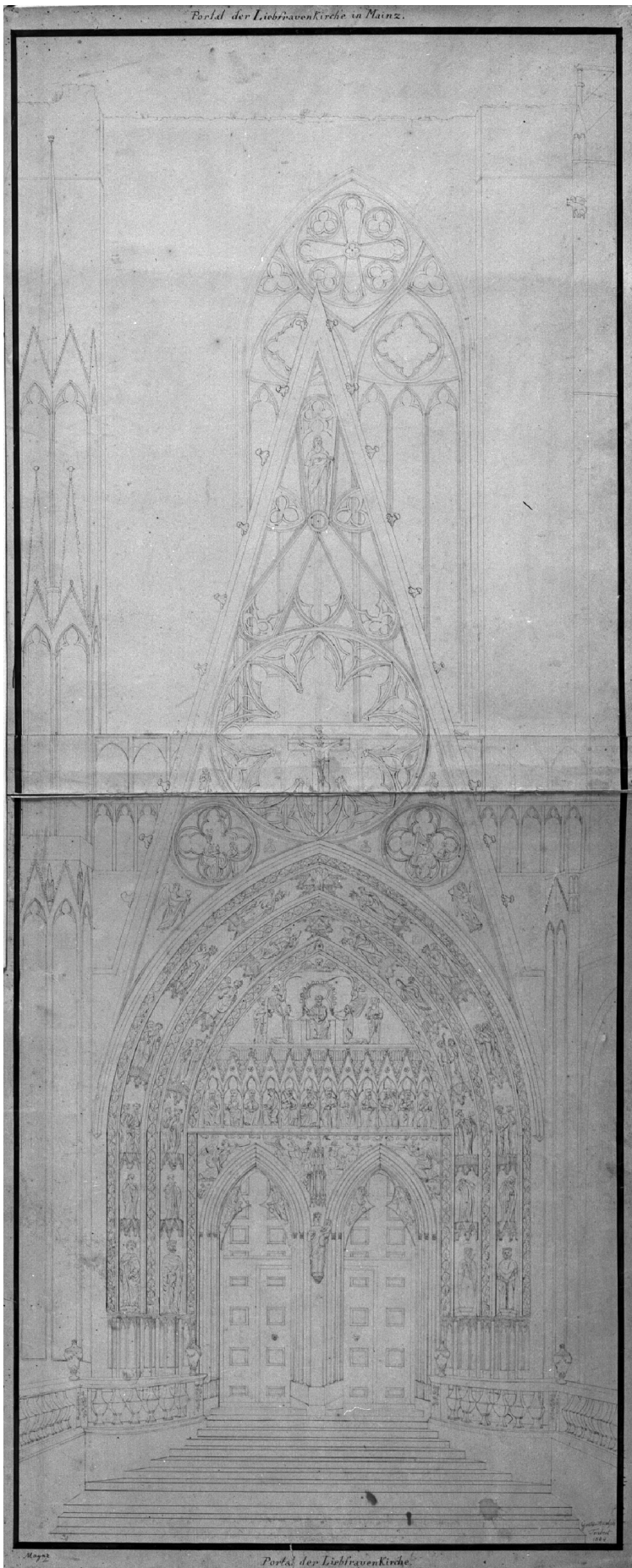
During these years, a group of antiquarians, artists and architects documented the ruin of the church in several views and plans from the exterior and the interior, some of them fairly detailed.⁵⁸ The antiquarian Helfrich Bernhard Hundeshagen (1784–1856) produced especially detailed plans and elevations of St Mary's and Mainz Cathedral, but he arrived in Mainz as late as 1818.⁵⁹ He was only able to see a small part of the southern jamb of the south-east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* with the lower part of the adjoining ex-

terior wall of the church still standing up.⁶⁰ Therefore, Hundeshagen based his own plan and a large elevation drawing of the eastern portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* on earlier material which he partly made up (Ill. 1), as can be proved by detailed comparisons.⁶¹ Hundeshagen became especially important for St Mary's because he bought several of the sculptures which adorned the eastern portal of the church and additionally recorded them in pencil drawings.⁶² He obviously took the figures with him when he moved to Bonn in 1820,⁶³ and in 1893 23 sculptures were acquired by the *Landesmuseum* in Mainz, where most of them still are on display.⁶⁴ The *Stadtarchiv* and the *Landesmuseum* in Mainz keep historic black and white photographs of the sculptures, prior to their restoration once they had been bought by the museum in 1893⁶⁵ and set in an earlier display in the so-called *Steinhalle* when the museum was located in the *Kurfürstliches Schloss* up to 1937.⁶⁶

Additionally, one of the smaller portals of the *Liebfrauenkirche* was rescued and put up in the south walk of the cloister of Mainz Cathedral (Ill. 7).⁶⁷ The portal frame is complete with three thin shafts, two of them rolls with fillets (*Birnstäbe*), between deep hollows, running without bases and capitals around a tympanon of one piece of stone and adorned by a thin layer of a moulded trefoil in relief. The portal consists of red sandstone, but the left jamb of a lighter colour could be a later repair. A figure of the Virgin and Child is positioned on a corbel with a delicate foliated head (*Blattmaske*).⁶⁸ The keystone of the arch projects above her forming a polygonal canopy with a miniature architecture of openwork tracery windows and gables between pinnacles. As the interior width of the portal is only c. 140 cm, it was probably the portal that led from the south wall of the *Liebfrauenkirche* into its cloister.⁶⁹



Ill. 8 Anonymous, east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, c. 1800, Aquarell und Feder, 31.2 x 19.5 cm, Landesmuseum Mainz, Graphische Sammlung, GS 0/2388



III. 9 Gustav Adolph Trabert: East portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, 1804, Feder, 93.7 x 36.9 cm, Landesmuseum Mainz, Graphische Sammlung, GS 0/4216

The reconstruction of the *Liebfrauenkirche* and its portals, designed and built between 1285 and 1311, can therefore be based upon:

1. The material evidence of 22 figures of the east portal still extant in the *Landesmuseum Mainz* and a portal frame transferred to the cloister of Mainz Cathedral.
2. Historic views prior the destruction of the building in 1803–07.
3. Plans and elevation drawings of c. 1800 to 1818–20, including the eastern and the northern portal of St Mary's.
4. Pencil drawings of single figures of the east portal, produced by Bernhard Hundeshagen in 1818.
5. Photographs of around 1900 and of the 1920s to 1930s documenting the historic conditions and the different displays of the figures of the east portal.

The east portal

The east portal of St Mary's was approached by a flight of steps from the lower place of the *Fischtor* and the border of the Rhine. The portal is documented in great detail by several elevation drawings, which differ in certain respects, obviously because the artists had some difficulties with the linear representation of the perspective of the lofty portal structure and the architecture rising behind it. Especially valuable are the images which were produced by eye-witnesses prior to the final destruction of the portal: by an anonymous artist (Ill. 8),⁷⁰ by Heinrich Brühl in 1801⁷¹ and by Gustav Adolph Trabert in 1804.⁷² Bernhard Hundeshagen and J. Ch. Emden obviously used Trabert's drawing for their large reconstruction of the elevation of the portal of 1818–1820 (Ill. 1),⁷³ which was additionally printed as a lithograph in two parts.⁷⁴

Based particularly on Trabert's drawing of 1804, we can provide an analysis of the portal's structure (Ill. 9). It was flanked on the south side by a projecting, rectangular buttress with blind tracery panelling and two storeys of polygonal, open canopies above, terminating in a high pinnacle. On the northern side there was only space for a small buttress due to the adjoining rectangular base of the apse.⁷⁵ The portal featured two doors flanking a central trumeau, where a Madonna and Child were positioned, crowned by a high canopy. The sculpture of the Madonna still exists (Ill. 10).⁷⁶ Her right lower arm is lost; originally, she seems to have held a sceptre,⁷⁷ and a small coronet sits on her veiled head. The Child, which today is without feet, arms and head, held a small bird on his breast, the traces of which still survive.

The door jambs consisted of three slender shafts between hollows, similar to the portal extant in the



Ill. 10 Madonna and Child from the trumeau of the east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, *Landesmuseum Mainz*, Inv. Nr. S 3108

cloister of the cathedral, but with small leaf capitals. Reliefs of censuring angels were set into the pointed openings of the doors, transforming them into two trefoil arches. Both doors are framed by a large pointed arch with multi-stepped outer jambs. These included two large, male jamb figures under canopies on each side on top of a panelled basement. The jamb figures wore long garments and held scrolls, presumably representing Old Testament prophets:⁷⁸ On the outer left side a young figure without a beard possibly can be identified with Daniel. The inner sculpture on the left showed a bearded man with a flat cap. The jamb figures on the right side of the portal represented two kings, bearded and crowned. The interior figure wore a mantle fixed on the centre of his breast and held a sceptre. The outer figure had the mantle wrapped around him and presented a sword turned downwards.⁷⁹ Hundeshagen and Emden added sections through the jambs of the portal,⁸⁰ which show the niches behind the figures to be rectangular, flanked by thin shafts and rounded hollows in between. The hollows are filled with a kind of knobbly oak leaf (*Buckellaub*).⁸¹ The thin mouldings and the



Ill. 11 Apostles from the tympanum of the east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, Landesmuseum Mainz: pair of apostles and St Bartholomew, Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. S 3112

three large hollows continued uninterrupted around the main portal arch. A horizontal string course formed a narrow lintel separating the two inner arches of the portal from the tympanum above. Below the lintel, the spandrels were filled with reliefs of trumpeting angels and the dead rising from their tombs.

The tympanum consisted of two registers: First, seated apostles are lined up in a horizontal row under trefoiled gables, interestingly totalling 13 figures, as the third apostle from the right is accompanied by a second figure behind him. St Peter with his key and St Paul with the sword were positioned in the centre. St Andrew was marked by his cross, seated to the left of St Peter; St Bartholomew held a knife and his skin in the fifth niche from the right. All the other apostles held books. Nine figures still exist, but only four of them are on display in the *Landesmuseum*: the ones with their original heads, among them St Bartholomew and the double group (Ill. 11).⁸²

In the upper register of the tympanum a Deesis was depicted with Christ enthroned between the kneeling figures of St Mary and St John the Baptist.⁸³ Christ opened his mantle with his left hand in order to present his side wound, his right hand was held up in blessing. The Deesis was flanked by two figures hol-

ding the signs of Christ's Passion, the cross and the lance and crown of thorns. Flying angels with wings spread out a kind of *velum* or draping around Christ's throne. Only the two figures with the signs of the Passion still survive (Ill. 12). They never had wings, although they should represent angels.⁸⁴

It is obvious that the general subject of the portal was the Last Judgement. The blessed and the damned were distributed in the archivolts to the south and the north side of the portal. At the bottom, single figures were positioned in niches directly above the canopies of the prophets in the lower jambs and still in the area of their vertical part, flanking the spandrel reliefs with the trumpeting angels around the central doors. At the height of the tympanum, when the archivolts started to turn inwards, the niches were filled with double groups of figures, four pairs in each of the archivolts to either side of the portal, which makes eight groups of the blessed on the south side and eight pairs of the damned on the north. The groups stood on the top of the canopies of the lower pairs, and the form of the canopies changed regularly between larger gables set polygonally and smaller trefoil arches with a rectangular block of panelling above. Four of the pairs of the blessed still exist and six of the damned.⁸⁵

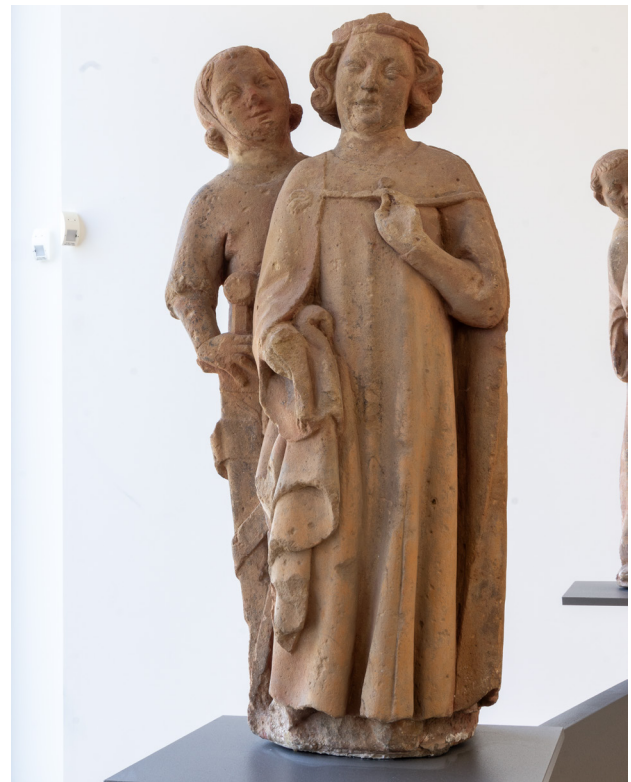


Ill. 12 Angel holding the cross from the tympanum of the east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. S 3109 a



Ill. 13 Pope and cleric belonging to the blessed from the archivolt of the east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. S 3111 b

As can be observed on the existing sculptures, the groups of the blessed and the damned deserve special attention because of the vivid expression of their respective emotions by facial features and gestures (as far as they are original). Linked to their original position in the portal, it becomes evident that they were distributed according to a defined hierarchical order which mirrored the social classes of medieval society to a certain extent,⁸⁶ and in each pair the more important figure was placed to the front. Thus, at the highest point on the south side, at the position immediately to Christ's raised right hand, we find a pope drawing a cleric with him to paradise (Ill. 13).⁸⁷ Besides him, in the outer archivolt, was a king or rather an emperor carrying an orb and accompanied by a servant holding a sword.⁸⁸ Below the pope, there was an archbishop in liturgical vestments and with a pallium, a cleric putting his hand on his shoulder.⁸⁹ In the exterior archivolt a king holding a sceptre was installed with a servant presenting his sword (Ill. 14).⁹⁰ Further down, in the third niches from the top on the south side, we find two groups of monks, in the interior archivolt marked by an abbot with his staff.⁹¹ In the groups below, the laity was represented: The inner pair wore long garments with surcoats of wide, long



Ill. 14 King und servant belonging to the blessed from the archivolt of the east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. S 3111 a



Ill. 15 King und servant belonging to the damned from the archivolt of the east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. S 3111 a



Ill. 16 King and servant belonging to the damned from the archivolt of the east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. 3110 e

sleeves and V-shaped necks, one figure held a book and was distinguished by a flat cap, the back figure was bare-headed; the outer pair obviously belonged to the knights, as the front figure presented his sword.⁹² The single figures at the lowest level depicted members of the secular clergy raising their arms in prayer, canons, like those belonging to the chapter of *Liebfrauen* itself.⁹³

The same sequence of archbishops, emperors and kings, monks, nobles and knights or patricians and finally canons was displayed on the right, northern side of the portal, among the damned - with one exception: there was no pope. These figures and their companions show an astonishingly wide array of sorrowing and despair. On top there were two groups above each other showing a bishop or archbishop towards the interior and an emperor with an orb, its cross turned downwards (Ill. 15), as well as a king weeping into his mantle (Ill. 16).⁹⁴ The pairs of monks in the third niches from above had an abbot with his staff in the interior voussoir and two friars, marked by their girdles, on the exterior.⁹⁵ In the fourth row from the

top, the inner group with a nobleman or a patrician mirrored the group of the blessed on the south side, too, featuring a mantle with a V-shaped neck and a flat cap or hat (Ill. 17). The exterior group again represented a knight with his sword and a servant.⁹⁶ The single figures of the canons in the lowest register showed highly expressive signs of despair in their gestures, but they do not survive. The portal's iconography in this way appealed to the viewers of all parts of the medieval society with an astonishing degree of intense emotions in the lower parts of the portal which could be easily seen by the audience, comparable to the group of emotionalised figure portals in Germany from the second half of the 13th and the first half of the 14th century, mostly representing the tale of the wise and foolish Virgins, as in the north portal of Magdeburg Cathedral.⁹⁷

The portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz was crowned by an enormously high gable of very delicate, open tracery work (Ill. 1, 9). It reached up to the head of the large six-light tracery window in the east wall of the church behind it. The gable comprised two oculi



III. 17 Nobleman or patrician with servant belonging to the damned from the archivolt of the east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. S 3110 a

framing cusped quatrefoils in its lower spandrels and a large, cusped rosette of eight foils and pointed trefoils in the open spandrels. The top of the gable was filled by a large triradial. Through all of the tracery formations it was possible to view the wall layer behind: two arcades, possibly with passage ways, the lower one with narrow trefoiled arches, the upper one with wider pointed arches in a rectangular framework; and the tracery window above. Heinrich Brühl described how the freestanding gable was fixed to the back wall in a technically and aesthetically refined manner:

*“Was ihn [the gable] mit der Hauptmasse verband und ihm zur Festigkeit diente, waren von der Mauer abstehende, scheinbar durchbrochene Bogenstellungen, rosenähnliche Windungen, mannichfaltig an einander gereichte Bogen und Cirkelstücke, welche, indem sie den verschiedenen Theilen halt und Dauer gaben, eine Zierde des Ganzen ausmachten.”*⁹⁸

This technique of connecting a front layer of open tracery work with a more solid back wall is related to the west façade of Strasbourg Cathedral. Evidently, a lot of iron cramps were used in the build-



III. 18 King and servant belonging to the damned from the archivolt of the east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, rear view with holes for iron hooks, Mainz, Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. S 3111 a

ding of the *Liebfrauenkirche*, as equally documented by Brühl.⁹⁹

In a surprising, fascinating way, figurative sculpture was integrated into the high tracery gable of St Mary’s. Several reliefs figures were fixed to the arcades in the wall of the church in the back and the openwork screen of the gable figured visually as their frame.¹⁰⁰ The two lower oculi framed two kings accompanied by their servants: King David identified by his harp on the right side; on the left probably King Solomon bearing a sword and an orb.¹⁰¹ The central rosette enclosed a Throne of Mercy (*Gnadenstuhl*), with Godfather holding the dead Christ on the cross,¹⁰² and angels carrying chalices in the lower spandrels of the gable relate to the eucharistic meaning of Christ’s death and sacrifice.¹⁰³ In the spandrels adjoining the roundels small reliefs of praying figures were inserted, two of them showing clergymen kneeling on a bank of clouds.¹⁰⁴ The triradial in the top of the gable was filled in its upper part by the figure of an angel playing a lute, which might have either been fixed to the frame of the triradial or, more likely, to the central post of the tracery window behind.¹⁰⁵

Turning to the more technical details of the sculptures of the portal still extant, it becomes clear that the figures were carved separately from the architectural frame.¹⁰⁶ They were worked out of fairly slim blocks and were fixed into the building with large iron hooks set into holes in their back (Ill. 18). The back side of the sculptures is left fairly rough and the holes are placed at about the height of the lower part of the shoulders of the figures. In some cases, even fragments of the iron cramps are still present. A couple of sculptures show a second, larger hole in the back, which might stem from a later presentation in the museum. After their acquisition in 1893, the sculptures were displayed in a structure imitating the origi-

nal arrangement of archivolts around a tympanum on the rear wall of the so-called *Steinhalle*, which is documented by a series of black and white photographs.¹⁰⁷ Six of the pairs of the blessed and six pairs of the damned figures were inserted into the reconstructed archivolts, standing on canopies very similar to the depictions of the portal from the early 19th century. Although there are differences in the mouldings of the archivolts, it might be that the canopies were the original ones belonging to the portal sculptures. Unfortunately, after the move of the museum to a new building in 1937 and the destruction of the *Steinhalle* in World War II every trace of this architectural frame has disappeared.¹⁰⁸



Ill. 19 Rouen, Cathedral, north transept with the *Portail des Libraires*

Rhenish and French models

Concerning their formal design, the existing sculptures of the east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* can be divided into three different groups: the apostles with the two figures holding the symbols of Christ's Passion; the pairs of the blessed and damned from the archivolts; finally the trumeau Madonna.¹⁰⁹ The first two groups clearly were inspired by the sculptures on the western pulpitum of Mainz cathedral, which equally depicted a Deesis and a Last Judgment, and of which today only a number of fragments exist, attributed to the so-called Naumburg Master and probably finished by the time of the cathedral's dedication in 1239.¹¹⁰ Clearly a large part of the sculptures of the *Liebfrauenkirche* was executed by a group of artists who continued to work in and around Mainz Cathedral in the second half of the 13th century.¹¹¹

This local reference interestingly is not valid in the case of the trumeau Madonna, and maybe also for the large figures which formerly accompanied her in the jambs of the portal.¹¹² The Madonna, as is easily seen, consists of a different material to the other figures, not the yellowish sandstone, but a more fine-grained red sandstone.¹¹³ The figure of St Mary is marked by slender proportions and an elegant sway to her body, by a broad, rather flat face (in German *schildförmig*) with fine features,¹¹⁴ and especially by the very thin layers of the fabric of her dress and her veil, which is drawn in a characteristic motif across the upper part of her body, in contrast to a reduced number of more voluminous vertical folds of her dress below. She cannot be compared to any sculpture in the Middle Rhenish region, but must have rather been produced after French models of the court circle around Paris or workshops in Champagne, maybe transmitted via Lotharingia.¹¹⁵ However the Madonna of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz was not an import from these regions, because in contrast to the sculpture from Lotharingia, Champagne or the Ile-de-France usually produced in bright lime stone, she consists of a local material, the red sandstone from borders of the river Main. Perhaps the sculptor of the Madonna in Mainz based it on a small-scale model of ivory or metal.¹¹⁶

The same outlook for supra-regional models is relevant for the architectural design of the portal. Evidently the east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* belonged to a group of portals from around 1300, which were inspired by the inventions of the transept portals of Notre-Dame in Paris:¹¹⁷ especially the idea of an uninterrupted interconnection between jambs and archivolts

filled with figures as well as the spectacular gables with open-work tracery, through which the viewer can see the layers of the architectural design behind. Traditionally, the models for middle Rhenish architecture have been sought along the Rhenish axis, either to the south, to Strasbourg, which was a suffragan diocese to the archbishopric of Mainz, or to the north, to Cologne, the seat of the most important competitor of the Mainz archbishops.¹¹⁸ On the famous western facades of the cathedrals of Strasbourg and Cologne, you can find portals surmounted by gables with open-work tracery, opening up to the layers of the harp-like tracery on the walls of Strasbourg or to a large traceried window in the southern part of the Cologne west front which was completed in the Middle Ages.¹¹⁹ Also, the marked motif of triradials is present in the apexes of the gables at Strasbourg and Cologne. Yet we have to take into account the dates when these buildings were constructed – or conceived, considering that the planning of St Mary's at Mainz must have started immediately after the fire in 1285. The west façade of Strasbourg was begun in 1277, but how much of it was actually built up to the 1280s in order to be seen by a master mason coming from Mainz?¹²⁰ The south portal of Cologne cannot have been executed before 1357, the date of a coin discovered in its foundation.¹²¹ So, it seems reasonable to assume that the designer of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz had got knowledge of these projects via architectural drawings, like the plan set of the Strasbourg façade, especially Riss A1 of c. 1275 or Riss B1 of c. 1300, a variant of Riss B, after which the façade was executed.¹²² At Cologne, the south portal was executed after the famous Riss F, which was dated by Marc Steinmann to before 1283, but by Hans-Josef Böker to c. 1370.¹²³

Other supra-regional outlooks could be considered, too. It was Klaus Niehr who first pointed out to the parallel use of open tracery roundels filled with figures, one of the marked and especially delicate features of the east portal of *Liebfrauen*, at the *Portail des Libraires* at Rouen Cathedral (Ill. 19), and Niehr proposed that in both cases the common source of this refined idea might be Paris itself.¹²⁴ In fact, the *Portail des Libraires*, the portal of the north transept of Rouen Cathedral built between 1281 and 1300/05,¹²⁵ is exceedingly close to the east portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in so many aspect that it has to be concluded that the workmen of Mainz had got knowledge of the Norman building site or even came from there:¹²⁶ The Rouen portal is conceived with

jamb and archivolt between slender mouldings running uninterruptedly around the portal; the gable with the open tracery work rises high up into the area of the windows above, in the case of Rouen a large rose window; the sculpture filling the lower oculi of the Rouen gable is fixed to the wall in the back of the open tracery, comparable to the technical solution in Mainz, and even in relation to the iconography of the two portals there are common traits: Both figured a Last Judgment and had a Madonna and Child on the trumeau of the double portal; the unusual iconography of a Throne of Mercy is depicted in one of the roundels of the traceried gable, interestingly without a dove as in Mainz (Ill. 20); and even the small animal heads which can be detected on the historical plans of the Mainz portal find their equivalents in Rouen. Additionally, the formal design and style of the Mainz Madonna with her slender proportion and the thin layering of clothing, including the motif of the veil drawn across her upper body, can be compared to the

large figures standing in the niches on the flanking walls of the portal in the courtyard in front of the *Portail des Libraires*, only the heads of which were renewed in the 19th century (Ill. 21).¹²⁷ Nevertheless, these flanking figures as well as the jamb figures of the Rouen portal originally were standing in niches as separate figures, but the archivolt sculptures were worked as reliefs and part of the voussoirs in Rouen (Ill. 20), contrary to the obviously new solution in Mainz where all the sculptures were worked separately from their architectural frame.

In this way, the workshops in Mainz emerge not only as rather innovative in technical as well as aesthetic and programmatic respects, but they also had a fairly cosmopolitan perspective. Positioned in the centre of the economically and politically important region along the river Rhine, Mainz and the Middle Rhine area around it seem to have been a dynamic artistic centre functioning as a cross-point of exchange for artists, artistic ideas and their patrons alike.¹²⁸



Ill. 20 Rouen, Cathedral, north transept, *Portail des Libraires*, detail of the lower, right-hand side of the gable, quatrefoil including the relief of the Throne of Mercy



Ill. 21 Rouen, Cathedral, north transept, courtyard in front of the *Portail des Libraires*, two female saints standing on the west side

The north portal

The *Liebfrauenkirche* was distinguished by a second portal with a figurative tympanum: the north portal which was set up in the central bay of the church in the north wall, below a large traceried window.¹²⁹ The portal was designed to frame archbishop Willigis' bronze doors, on which, in 1135, the privilege of archbishop Adalbert I of Saarbrücken to the citizens of Mainz had been inscribed into the upper half of the door wings.¹³⁰ The north portal of St Mary's was oriented towards the market and the city centre of Mainz and therefore the doors with the city's privilege of freedom was aptly represented in its position in the *Liebfrauenkirche*. The north portal is documented by a detailed, tinted drawing, possibly by Trabert, of 1803 (Ill. 22)¹³¹ and a lithograph produced after it by K. M. Ernst in 1805, both of them presumably on behalf of Franz Joseph Bodmann.¹³²

The mouldings of the frame of the north portal corresponded to the sequence of slender shafts between hollows which is known from the extant portal in the cloister of Mainz cathedral. However, the mouldings of the north portal were further enhanced: The jambs consisted of five shafts, the width of which was carefully differentiated as the second and the fourth shafts from the exterior were thicker than the ones in between. As in the east portal, the shafts had small leaf capitals, but no bases. The tympanum was articulated by a very thin, openwork trefoil arch with small quatrefoils in the spandrels, fixed to the innermost moulding of the arch. The slab of the tympanum formed a secondary layer behind this openwork structure, as is made clear by the shades drawn by the artist onto the back layer.

Above the lintel, an enthroned Madonna and Child sit in a rectangular frame with an incised trefoil. She is accompanied by a veiled, female saint to her right, holding a book, and a male, bearded saint to her left. The saint has an object in his left hand, turned downwards, which is difficult to identify, perhaps part of a scroll. He seems to have held a staff in his right hand. Both saints serve as intercessors to further figures kneeling and praying in the outer corners of the tympanum: a king beside the male saint and a (arch-)bishop beside the female saint. Above them, small figures kneel on a band of clouds and hold the edges of an enfolded draping, comparable to the *velum* around Christ's throne on the east portal. The drapery forms a kind of canopy above St Mary where it is held up by an inner pair of little upright figures, presumably representing angels. Christ enthroned is positioned on top of the canopy in the upper register of the tympanum. He holds an open book and his right hand is lifted in blessing. The top

part of the trefoil substitutes for a mandorla around Christ. The combination of the two enthroned figures above each other is unusual: St Mary with the infant Christ below and Christ as the heavenly King above.

In an equally individual manner the saints and their protégées were chosen. The saints could relate to altars dedicated within the *Liebfrauenkirche*, maybe St Elizabeth of Thuringia,¹³³ and St James.¹³⁴ As both saints seem to be characterised as elderly, it is possible that they represented Anna and Joachim, the parents of Mary, although a depiction as single and intercessory figures would be unusual.¹³⁵ As St Mary presents an apple in her right hand, this might relate to her immaculate conception by Anna and Joachim at the Golden Gate.¹³⁶ Relating to the (arch-)bishop and the king kneeling in the position of donors, there are several possible identifications, too. The bishop is not marked by a pallium as an archbishop, but given the close relationship of St Mary's to the archbishops of Mainz and the proximity to the cathedral, it is reasonable to identify the figure as one of the archbishops of Mainz. It could either be a commemorative representation of Willigis as the founder of the church and the donor of the bronze doors, and with him Henry II, whom he crowned as Roman king in Mainz Cathedral in 1002 and both of them were venerated as saints additionally. The second possibility is that contemporary personalities were represented, i.e. one of the archbishops of Mainz during whose reign the *Liebfrauenkirche* was erected and by whom the funding of the rebuilding was initiated: This is the case with Henry II of Isny (1286–1288) in 1285¹³⁷ and 1288,¹³⁸ and with Gerhard II of Eppstein (1289–1305) who is documented as an especially fervent supporter of St Mary's.¹³⁹ Archbishop Peter of Aspelt finally dedicated the church in 1311,¹⁴⁰ but is not documented as a special supporter of it. The king on the right-hand side of the tympanum could, respectively, be either Rudolf of Habsburg, who visited Mainz together with archbishop Henry of Isny in 1286 and 1288,¹⁴¹ or one of the kings crowned or "made" by Gerhard II of Eppstein, if not in Mainz cathedral: Gerhard II was involved in a leading position in the coronation of Adolph of Nassau in 1292 and of Albrecht of Habsburg in 1298, and he crowned Wenzel II as King of Bohemia in Prague himself in 1297.¹⁴² King Albrecht of Habsburg interestingly renewed the royal privileges of the city of Mainz in 1298 and confirmed the charter of freedom of the archbishop, as engraved into the bronze doors in the north portal of St Mary's, in 1306.¹⁴³ Peter of Aspelt finally crowned John of Luxembourg as King of Bohemia in Prague in 1311 and Louis of Bavaria as Roman King in Aachen in 1314.¹⁴⁴



III. 22 Anonymous (Gustav Adolph Trabert or Johann Lindenschmidt?): North portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz with bronze doors of archbishop Willigis, 1803, Aquarell, 54.0 x 37, 4 cm, Landesmuseum Mainz, Graphische Sammlung GS 0/1745

Conclusion

The former *Liebfrauenkirche* in Mainz, an outstanding example of Rhenish architecture and sculpture of around 1300, was distinguished by two major portals adorned by figurative sculpture. The portals, as well as the church itself, can be reconstructed due to a variety of sources: Archaeological excavations, fragments of sculpture and architecture, historical descriptions and drawings of partially outstanding graphic quality. The portals emerge with a refined architecture of the highest standards of their day and with an unusual, sophisticated iconography. Especially noteworthy is the remarkably large number of kings and archbishops figuring in the portals' programmes: On

the east portal two kings amongst the blessed, two amongst the damned in the voussoirs, two Old Testament kings in the portal's jambs, plus the Kings Solomon and David in the roundels of the imposing traceried gable; added by the archbishops among the blessed and the damned. On the north portal, a king and an archbishop are commemorated, most likely archbishop Gerhard II of Eppstein and King Albrecht of Habsburg, as explained above. The clergy of the collegiate church of St Mary's was represented, too, as canons in the archivolt of the east portal. Possibly the small relief figures praying to the Throne of Mercy in the gable could be identified with dean Conrad Unrue,

who is distinguished by the documentary evidence as an untiring collector of donations to the fabric of the *Liebfrauenkirche*,¹⁴⁵ and one of the provosts.¹⁴⁶

In this way, the highly specialised iconography of the portals of the *Liebfrauenkirche* was interconnect to one of the main political issues of the Mainz archbishops since the time of the founding figure of archbishop Willigis: the right to crown or to “make” the Roman kings and therefore to occupy the leading position among the electors of the realm. On the portals, the kings are subordinated to Christ as the eternal judge, and the archbishops of Mainz, holding the official title as a papal legate or vicar, served as the pope’s and in this way also as Christ’s substitutes. Interestingly, during the time of the reconstruction of the *Liebfrauenkirche* after the fire of 1285, the archbishops of Mainz entered into a renewed effort in order to secure their position in the Empire. This was especially the case with Gerhard II of Eppstein (1289–1305), who also can be marked out as one of the main supporters of the reconstruction of St Mary’s. Similar to his uncle, archbishop Siegfried III of Eppstein, Gerhard II was commemorated in the east choir of Mainz Cathedral by one of the famous so-called coronation tombs, of which only the exquisite head still exists,¹⁴⁷ testimony to the high quality of sculpture in Mainz around 1300 to which the sculpture of the *Liebfrauenkirche* belonged, too. The dove on the mitre of Gerhard’s head can be related to the liturgy during the election of the Roman king. In fact, it was Gerhard II of Eppstein who secured the right of pre-eminence during the election of the king by a confirmation of King Albrecht of Habsburg. The election of the king therefore became upgraded in relation to the coronation, a process which led to the codification of the Golden Bull in 1356 as a kind of constitution of the Empire.¹⁴⁸ As in the time of archbishops Willigis and Siegfried I of Eppstein in the late 10th century and the 1060s, the archbishops of Mainz used architectural and sculptural commissions in order to surpass their competitors in Cologne. The *Liebfrauenkirche* continued to be part of these undertakings around 1300. It was equipped with an ultra-modern architectural design forming an impressive eastern façade of the cathedral complex towards the river Rhine and its sculptural programmes addressed the function of the church as the place of the *adventus* for high-ranking visitors to the city, among them the kings of the Empire especially. In this way, the *Liebfrauenkirche* and its portals played a decisive role in the architectural and visual representation of Mainz Cathedral, its family of churches and its clergy.

Notes

- 1 On the role of the archbishops of Mainz in the Empire see e.g. Hartmann, Peter Claus (ed.): *Der Mainzer Kurfürst als Reichserzkanzler. Funktionen, Aktivitäten, Ansprüche und Bedeutung des zweiten Mannes im Alten Reich*, Stuttgart 1997; Generaldirektion Kulturelles Erbe Rheinland-Pfalz (GDKE)/Schneidmüller, Bernd (ed.): *Die Kaiser und die Säulen ihrer Macht. Von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich Barbarossa*, Kat. Ausst. Mainz 2020/21, Darmstadt 2020.
- 2 Kosch, Clemens: *Die romanischen Dome von Mainz, Worms und Speyer. Architektur und Liturgie im Hochmittelalter*, Regensburg 2011, pp. 11–16; compare Freigang, Christian: *Die Trierer Liebfrauenkirche als Domannexkirche*, in: Tacke, Andreas/Heinz, Stefan (eds): *Liebfrauen in Trier. Architektur und Ausstattung von der Gotik bis zur Gegenwart*, Petersberg 2016, pp. 81–92, on Mainz see pp. 89f.
- 3 Winterfeld, Dethard von: *Der Alte Dom zu Mainz. Zur Architektur der Johanniskirche (Forschungsbeiträge des Bischöflichen Dom- und Diözesanmuseums, 1)*, Regensburg 2013.
- 4 Kosch, Clemens: *Zur sakralen Binnentopographie des Mainzer Domes im Hochmittelalter*, in: Janson, Felicitas/Nichtweiß, Barbara (eds): *Basilica Nova Moguntia. 1000 Jahre Willigis-Dom St. Marin in Mainz. Beiträge zum Domjubiläum*, Mainz 2010, pp. 137–158.
- 5 Dengel-Wink, Beate: *Die ehemalige Liebfrauenkirche in Mainz. ein Beitrag zur Baukunst und Skulptur der Hochgotik am Mittelrhein und in Hessen*, Mainz 1990.
- 6 St. John’s in Mainz has been the subject of major excavations since 2013, see Wilhelmy, Winfried (ed.): *Von Bonifatius zum Naumburger Meister, Meisterwerke des bischöflichen Dom- und Diözesanmuseums, 1 (Publikationen des bischöflichen Dom- und Diözesanmuseums Mainz, 12)*, Regensburg 2020, pp. 68–73; Faccani, Guido: *St. Johannes. Der Alte Dom von Mainz*, Regensburg 2021.
- 7 Esser, Karl Heinz: *Der Mainzer Dom des Erzbischofs Willigis*, in: Brück, Anton Philipp (ed.): *Willigis und sein Dom. Festschrift zur Jahrtausendfeier des Mainzer Domes 975–1975 (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhochrheinischen Kirchengeschichte, Bd. 24)*, Mainz 1975, pp. 135–184; Winterfeld, Dethard von: *Willigis und die Folgen. Bemerkungen zur Baugeschichte des Mainzer Domes*, in: Janson/Nichtweiß 2010 (see note 4), pp. 105–136; Winterfeld, Dethard von: *Zur Baugeschichte des Mainzer Doms*, in: Kotzur, Hans-Jürgen (ed.): *Der verschwundene Dom. Wahrnehmung und Wandel der Mainzer Kathedrale im Lauf der Jahrhunderte*, Kat. Ausst. Mainz 2011, Mainz 2011, pp. 44–97, here pp. 45–54; Wilhelmy 2020 (see note 6), pp. 139–146, with a summary of the discussion about the start of Willigis’ cathedral, either c. 975, 983 or 997.

- 8 Winterfeld 2013 (see note 3), pp. 5–11; Wilhelmy 2020 (see note 6), pp. 69.
- 9 Hehl, Ernst-Dieter: Ein Dom für König, Reich und Kirche. Der Dombau des Willigis und die Mainzer Bautätigkeit im 10. Jahrhundert, in: Janson/Nichtweiß 2010 (see note 4), pp. 45–78; Decot, Rolf: Der Martinsdom in Mainz. Zeuge einer wechselvollen Geschichte, in: Kotzur 2011 (see note 7), pp. 22–43, here pp. 24–28.
- 10 Metz, Wolfgang: Willigis im Rahmen der Beziehungen des Erzstiftes Mainz zum Deutschen Königtum in Ottonischer und Salischer Zeit, in: Brück 1975 (see note 7), S. 1–30; Hehl, Ernst-Dieter: Die Mainzer Kirche in ottonisch-salischer Zeit (911–1122), in: Jürgensmeier, Friedhelm (ed.): Handbuch der Mainzer Kirchengeschichte, 3 vols, Würzburg 1997–2002, vol. 1: Christliche Antike und Mittelalter, 2000, pp. 195–289, here pp. 223–256.
- 11 Hehl 2000 (see note 10), pp. 223–228.
- 12 Hehl, Ernst-Dieter: Die Erzbischöfe von Mainz bei Erhebung, Salbung und Krönung des Königs (10. bis 14. Jahrhundert), in: Kramp, Mario (ed.): Krönungen. Könige in Aachen – Geschichte und Mythos, Kat. Ausst. Aachen 2000, 2 vols, Mainz 2000, vol. 1, pp. 97–104.
- 13 Hehl 2000 (see note 12), pp. 97–99; Wilhelmy 2020 (see note 6), pp. 87–89.
- 14 Hehl 2000 (see note 12), pp. 100f.
- 15 Esser 1975 (see note 7), pp. 177–180; Hehl 2000 (see note 12), pp. 97–100; Wilhelmy, Winfried: “... in Mainz die Königsweihe“. Heinrich II., Erzbischof Willigis und der Mainzer Dom, in: GDKE/Schneidmüller 2020 (see note 1), pp. 188–191.
- 16 Falck, Ludwig: Mainz im frühen und hohen Mittelalter, Mitte 5. Jahrhundert bis 1244 (Geschichte der Stadt Mainz, 2), Düsseldorf 1972, pp. 65–67.
- 17 Müller, Silvinus: Die Königskrönungen in Aachen (936–1531). Ein Überblick, in: Kramp 2000 (see note 12), vol. 1, pp. 49–58, here pp. 49f.
- 18 Winterfeld 2013 (see note 3), pp. 44–54; Wilhelmy 2020 (see note 6), pp. 142–146.
- 19 Esser 1975 (see note 7), pp. 141–143; Vorromanische Kirchenbauten. Katalog der Denkmäler bis zum Ausgang der Ottonen, ed. vom Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in München, bearbeitet von Friedrich Oswald/Leo Schäfer/Hans Rudolf Sennhauser, 3 vols, München 1966–1971, here vol. 2, 1968, p. 193; *ibid.*, Nachtragsband, bearbeitet von Werner Jacobsen, München 1991, pp. 261f.; Winterfeld 2013 (see note 3), pp. 50–52.
- 20 Esser, Karl Heinz/Paço Quesado, Anibal do: Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Liebfrauenplatz in Mainz, in: Mainzer Zeitschrift, 70 (1975), S. 177–193, here pp. 179–182 (Bau I).
- 21 Dörr, Margarete: Das Mariengredenstift zu Mainz (Geschichte, Recht und Besitz), Diss. Phil. Mainz 1953, pp. 2f., 6f. The first documentation of a dedication to St Mary relates to the second building on the site, dedicated in 1069. This church was called “*Sancta Maria ad gradus*” in 1119, *ibid.*, pp. 1–4.
- 22 Vierengel, Rudolf: Ad gradus Beatae Mariae Virginis. Kirchen und Kapellen mit dem Titel „Maria zu den Stufen“, in: Mainzer Zeitschrift, 60/61 (1965/66), pp. 88–96; Falck 1972 (see note 16), S. 95f.; Kosch 2011 (see note 1), p. 114; Winterfeld 2011 (see note 7), p. 51f. The Carolingian church of the monastery of Fulda, where St Boniface was buried, had an atrium to the east with an adjoining eastern chapel, too, as mentioned e.g. by Kosch 2010 (see note 4), p. 141.
- 23 Esser 1975 (see note 7), pp. 174–177; Esser/Paço Quesado 1975, pp. 188–190. On Mainz in comparison to the functions of *Sancta Maria in turris* in Rome see Beuckers, Klaus Gereon: Atrienkirche, Kanonikerkirche, Pfarrkirche. St. Johann in Essen, in: Röckelein, Hedwig (ed.): Frauenstifte – Frauenklöster und ihre Pfarreien (Essener Forschungen zum Frauenstift, 7), Essen 2009, pp. 77–116, here pp. 91–97, 99f.
- 24 Dörr 1953 (see note 21), p. 7; Decot 2011 (see note 9), p. 27. Planned visits to Mainz by Emperors Frederic III and Maximilian I in 1473 and 1486, respectively, did not actually take place, see Arens, Fritz: Der Dom zu Mainz, Darmstadt 1982, pp. 16, 18.
- 25 Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 17f., with documentation.
- 26 Joannis, Georg Christian: Rerum Mogntiacarvm, quo continentvr Nicolai Serarii, Societatis iesv theologi, Rerum Mogvntinensivm libri qvinque [...] Svpplimento ad praesens vusque tempvs, 3 vols, Frankfurt a. M. 1722–1727, vol. 2, 1722: Ecclesiae B. Mariae Virginis ad gradus collegiatae chronicon, pp. 643–684, here p. 643. Georg Christian Joannis continued the “*Rerum Moguntinensium libri quinque*” of the Mainz Jesuit Nicolaus Serarius of 1604.
- 27 Mende, Ursula: „Was das Feuer nahm, das Erz hat es wiedergegeben“. Das Bronzeportal am Dom zu Mainz, in: Janson/Nichtweiß 2010 (see note 4), pp. 79–104.
- 28 „*POSTQVA[M] MAGNV(S) IMP(ERATOR)/KAROLVS SVV(M) ESSE IVRI DEDIT NATVRAE/WILLIGISVS ARCHIEP(ISCOPV)S/EX METALLI SPECIE VALVAS EFFECERAT PRIMVS/BERENGERVS HVIVUS OPERIS ARTIFEX LECTOR/VU P(RO) EO D(EV)M ROGES POSTVLAT SVPPLEX*“, quoted after Deutsche Inschriften Online, DIO 1, Mainz, SN1, Nr. 5 (Rüdiger Fuchs, Britta Hedtke, Susanne Kern), in: www.inschriften.net, urn:nbn:de:0238-di002mz00k0000505 [3.10.2024]; see also the commentary on the inscription *ibid.* and Kern, Susanne: Die Inschriften des Mainzer Doms und des Dom- und Diözesanmuseums von 800 bis 1350, auf der Grundlage der Vorarbeiten von Rüdiger Fuchs und Britta Hedtke bearbeitet, Wiesbaden 2010, pp. 11–14.
- 29 Mende 2010 (see, note 27), pp. 88–91.

- 30 Beuckers 2009 (see note 23), p. 94.
- 31 Werner, Franz: Der Dom von Mainz und seine Denkmäler. Nebst Darstellung der Schicksale der Stadt und der Geschichte ihrer Erzbischöfe, 3 vols, Mainz 1827–1836, vol. 1, 1827, p. 333: “*Merkwürdig ist, daß diese Thüren, als sie im Jahr 1804 von der französischen Regierung zurückgegeben wurden, in die mittlere Markthüre des Doms genau paßten, und ohne eine Veränderung gerade eingehängt wurden.*“; see also note 28.
- 32 Schwoch, Juliane: Die spätromanische Bauzier des Mainzer Domes, Regensburg 2010, pp. 83–124.
- 33 Kern 2010 (see note 28), pp. 10f.; Mende 2010 (see note 27), pp. 98–100.
- 34 Deutsche Inschriften Online, DIO 1, Mainz, SN1, Nr. 12 (Rüdiger Fuchs, Britta Hedtke, Susanne Kern), in: www.inschriften.net, urn:nbn:de:0238-di002mz00k0001208 [3.10.2024]; Kern 2010 (see note 28), pp. 15–24. Archbishop Adalbert first granted the privilege in c. 1118/19, in gratitude for the support of the citizens of Mainz during his imprisonment by Emperor Henry V in 1112–15, and he re-issued it in 1135; see Jürgensmeier, Friedhelm: Das Bistum Mainz. Von der Römerzeit bis zum II. Vatikanischen Konzil, Frankfurt a.M. 1988, pp. 81f.
- 35 Kosch 2011 (see note 1), pp. 16f., 31f.
- 36 The chronicle of St Mary’s collected by Serarius 1604 and Joannis 1722, based on older, medieval material, lists a document about a litigation relating to the bronze doors of St Mary’s in 1215, “*De lite super area ante valvas aeneas*”, Joannis (see note 26), vol. 2, p. 654. Additionally, the bronze doors are documented to be in St Mary’s by a donation to an altar of St Quirin there “*iuxta valvas aeneas*” on 20 March 1274, Dertsch, Richard: Die Urkunden des Stadtarchivs Mainz, Regesten von Richard Dertsch, vol. 1: bis 1329 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Mainz, 20.1), Mainz 1962, p. 76, no. 206.
- 37 Falck 1972 (see note 16), p. 93, 95f.; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 18f. with documentation.
- 38 Esser/Paço Quesado 1975 (see note 20), pp. 182–187 (Bau II).
- 39 Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), p. 19; Kosch 2010 (see note 4), pp. 141f.; Kosch 2011 (see note 1), p. 11.
- 40 Esser/Paço Quesado 1975 (see note 20), pp. 181, 189.
- 41 Esser/Paço Quesado 1975 (see note 20), p. 187. The excavated spolia still exist in the lapidary of the *Landesmuseum* in Mainz. I would like to thank Gernot Frankhäuser, curator at the *Landesmuseum*, Generaldirektion Kulturelles Erbe Rheinland-Pfalz (GDKE), for this and further information, his support of my research and the possibility to get access to the collections of the museum.
- 42 Joannis (see note 26), vol. 2, 1722, pp. 653–654; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), p. 20.
- 43 Dörr 1953 (see note 21), pp. 1, 8, 11, 14–17, 34, 38, see the list of the officials of the *Liebfrauenstift* *ibid.*, pp. 43–53.
- 44 Dörr 1953 (see note 21), p. 9.
- 45 Vierengel 1965/66 (see note 22), pp. 89f.; Hehl 2000 (see note 12), p. 100; Militzer, Klaus: Der Erzbischof von Köln und die Krönungen der deutschen Könige (936–1531), in: Kramp 2000 (see note 12), vol. 1, pp. 105–111, here p. 106; Beuckers 2009 (see note 23), pp. 98f.; Kosch 2010 (see note 4), p. 141f.
- 46 Beuckers 2009 (see note 23), pp. 99–103; Kosch 2011 (see note 1), pp. 11, 14.
- 47 Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), p. 20, with documentation. Astonishingly, on 1 September 1284 already the dean and chapter of Liebfrauen asked the bishops of the Empire gathered at Orvieto for an indulgence in favour of the new and amplified building which they intended: “*cum igitur [...] ipsam opere sumtuoso proponant honorifice edificare ad ampliare*”, Dertsch 1962 (see note 36), p. 96, no. 263.
- 48 Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), with documentation; see esp. the testimony of the many sources in Dertsch 1962 (see note 36), pp. 98–100.
- 49 Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 22f. with documentation; see also n. 140.
- 50 Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 81–107, 116–155. On the Gothic rebuilding of St Mary’s see also Engel, Ute: Mainz als Schaltstelle der Gotik um 1300. Der gotische Mainzer Dom, die Liebfrauenkirche und der überregionale Kunsttransfer am Mittelrhein, in: Horn, Hauke/Müller, Matthias (eds): Gotische Architektur am Mittelrhein. Regionale Vernetzung und überregionaler Anspruch (Phoenix. Mainzer Kunstwissenschaftliche Bibliothek, 5), Berlin/Boston 2020, pp. 129–151; Köhl, Sascha: Notre-Dame – Liebfrauen – und zurück? Zur „Internationalität“ der Gotik um 1300, in: Horn/Müller 2020, pp. 153–170; Sebold, Eduard/Westerhoff, Ingrid: Formtransfer und -transformation in Mainz um 1300. Beobachtungen zur Ostseite der ehemaligen Liebfrauenkirche, in: Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 74 (2022), pp. 83–106.
- 51 Esser/Paço Quesado 1975 (see note 20), pp. 187f. (Bau III).
- 52 Engel, Ute: Virtuositum. Hängemaßwerk, Lufttrippen und Tugendmänner als Import-/Exportgut der Gotik in Mainz und am Mittelrhein im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert, in: Büchsel, Martin/Droste, Hilja/Wagner, Berit (eds): Kunsttransfer und Formgenese in der Kunst am Mittelrhein, 1400–1500 (Neue Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst, 20), Berlin 2019, pp. 87–113, here pp. 94–98.
- 53 Esser/Paço Quesado 1975 (see note 20), p. 187; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 107–110, 155–158.
- 54 Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 23–25, 191–194; on the relation of Mainz to Bohemia see Engel 2020 (see note 50), pp. 147–150.

- 55 Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 33–80 on the historical views of St Mary's and the cathedral.
- 56 Several eye-witnesses reported on the siege of Mainz of 1793, among them Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Brühl, Heinrich: Mainz, geschichtlich, topographisch und malerisch, Mainz 1829, p. 136 mentions the destruction of St Mary's in the night 28/29 June 1793: "So wurde vom 28. auf den 29. Juni der Dom, und die Herrliche Liebfrauenkirche mit dem Häuserviertel nach der Gräbergasse [...] in einem großen Glutmeer verzehrt."; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 27f. gives the date 27 June 1793.
- 57 Brühl, Heinrich: Ueber die ehemalige Liebfrauen-Kirche. Ein Vortrag zur ausführlichen Erklärung einer im Jahr 1801 nach der Natur gezeichneten Ansicht des Portals dieser Kirche, und des hierauf Bezug habenden Geschichtlichen, gehalten den 30ten Oktober 1826, in der Versammlung der Freunde für Literatur und Kunst, Mainz 1826, pp. 16–18; Brühl 1829 (see note 56), p. 249; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 28f.
- 58 The collections of the *Landesmuseum* and the *Stadtarchiv* in Mainz keep paintings, water colours, drawings and prints by the contemporaries Franz Joseph Bodmann, Heinrich Brühl, Georg Heilmann, Johann Caspar and Georg Schneider and Gustav Adolph Trabert. Johann Jacob Hoch documented St Mary's in the 1770s by a plan and several views, which unfortunately are not very detailed; see the evaluation of the historic documentation of St Mary's in Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 30f., 44–83. The achievements of the antiquarians of Mainz around 1800 have been hardly researched, in contrast to the much more famous group around Sulpiz Boisserée in Cologne.
- 59 Hundeshagen, trained as a lawyer, worked as a librarian in Wiesbaden 1813–1817, where he was in contact with Goethe, and he lived in Mainz 1818–1820, see Wagner, Wolfgang: Helfrich Bernhard Hundeshagen, 1784–1858. Leben und Werk eines Romantikers, in: Zeitschrift des hessischen Vereins für Geschichte und Landeskunde, 93 (1988), pp. 111–128, here pp. 118–123.
- 60 See the painting of Hundeshagen: Der Dom von der Morgenseite, c. 1820, Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. GS 1907/18; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 66–68.
- 61 Compare the plan by Bernhard Hundeshagen and Johann Wetter, Stadtarchiv Mainz, BPSP, 1433 D/Baa 2, to the plans *ibid.* Nr. 1432 B/Baa 1 of 1779 and Nr. 1434 D/Baa.3 of 1810. On the elevation drawing by Hundeshagen and J. Chr. von der Emden of the east portal of 1818–1820, Landesmuseum Mainz, Graphische Sammlung, GS 0/2029 and the earlier elevation drawings of the east portal of St Mary's see below. Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 77f., 81, 196f. to the contrary establishes the Hundeshagen's drawings as the most reliable visual sources on St Mary's.
- 62 36 small pencil drawings by Hundeshagen are kept in his legacy in Stadtarchiv Mainz, Nachlass Bernhard Hundeshagen, Fasc. 2, Nr. 16. A larger drawing of the trumeau Madonna of the east portal of St Mary's, signed by Hundeshagen and dated to 1818, is in Stadtarchiv Mainz, BPSP, 1445 B/Baa 9. It bears the inscription "Bilsäule der Maria mit dem Kinde Jesu. Stand vordem an dem Portal der zerstörten Liebfrauenkirche". Only recently, Gernot Frankhäuser discovered 12 further drawings of the portal figures, but they seem to be copies after Hundeshagen's drawings, possibly, according to Frankhäuser, by Ludwig Lindenschmidt, Landesmuseum Mainz, Graphische Sammlung GS 0/4270–4281.
- 63 Brühl 1826 (see note 57), p. 29 mentioned only the trumeau Madonna which came to Bonn by Hundeshagen.
- 64 Arens, Andrea: Skulpturen des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts im *Landesmuseum* Mainz, Mainz 1997, pp. 21–43. Hundeshagen's drawings show additional figures of the portal, of which there is no trace any more. Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 196–245 discusses the sculptures in the Landesmuseum along with the drawings. According to Arens 1997 (see note 64) there remain 22 figures in the museum, but a note in the Nachlass Hundeshagen, Stadtarchiv Mainz, Fasc. 2, Nr. 16, Archivkarton 2, mentions that 23 figures could have been found in the museum since 9 December 1893.
- 65 Stadtarchiv Mainz, BPSF 2345a, 2346a/Baa 9.a and 2347a, 2348a, 2349a/Baa 9.e: The black and white photographs show the figures standing as single pieces prior to restorations and additions; compare the illustrations in Stix, Alfred: Die Plastik der frühgotischen Periode in Mainz, in: Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der k.k. Zentralkommission, 3 (1909), pp. 99–132, here pl. XXIII–XIV; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), p. 198.
- 66 Archiv Landesmuseum Mainz. Some of these photographs are identical to photographs in the Bildindex der Kunst & Architektur of the Deutsches Dokumentationszentrum für Kunstgeschichte – Bildarchiv Foto Marburg of c. 1920, <https://www.bildindex.de/> [13.10.2024]. On the earlier display in the museum see the essays by Gernot Frankhäuser and Eva Brachert in Dobras, Wolfgang (ed.): Eine Zeitreise in 175 Geschichten. Der Mainzer Altertumsverein 1844–2019 (Mainzer Zeitschrift, 114), Mainz 2019, pp. 72f., 222f., 350f.
- 67 Kautzsch, Rudolf/Neeb, Ernst: Der Dom zu Mainz (Die Kunstdenkmäler im Freistaat Hessen. Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt und des Kreises Mainz, 2.1: Die kirchlichen Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Mainz), Darmstadt 1919, pp. 436f.
- 68 The figure is dated by Kautzsch/Neeb 1919 (see note 66), p. 437 to the second half of the 15th century.
- 69 Compare the historic plans in Stadtarchiv Mainz, BPSP 1433 D and 1434 D, see note 61. Kautzsch/Neeb 1919 (see note 67), pp. 437f. state that the portal cannot be identical to the north portal of St Mary's.
- 70 Landesmuseum Mainz, Graphische Sammlung GS 0/2388, water colour and Feder, 32,2 x 19,5 cm.

- 71 The drawing by Brühl is only known from a lithograph made after it by Caspar Zimmermann, Stadtarchiv Mainz, BPSP 1444 c/Baa.8, produced for Brühl 1826 (see note 57). Brühl declared that he produced the drawing in 1801, but finished it only much later: “[...] aus dem gegenüberliegenden Gasthause zum goldnen Lamme nach der Natur gezeichnet, aber erst vor einigen Jahren völlig ausgearbeitet“, *ibid.*, p. 4. He also described taking part in a final visit to the building in 1803, when the portal was still complete, *ibid.*, pp. 16–18. Interestingly, Brühl also commented on the transfer of Willigis’ bronze doors to the market portal of Mainz cathedral and he, as an eye-witness, is the only one who did not mention that the doors fitted into the cathedral’s door frame perfectly: “[...] jene zwei Thüren von Erz [...], welche sich an dem Eingang gegen den Markt befanden [Brühl refers to the north portal of St Mary’s], und die später an den Dom versetzt wurden“, *ibid.*, p. 6; compare the evidence in notes 28 and 31.
- 72 Landesmuseum Mainz, Graphische Sammlung, GS 0/4216, pencil drawing, 36,9 x 93,7 cm, signed and dated at the bottom: “Maynz, Portal der LiebfrauenKirche, Gustav Adolph Trabert 1804“. On Trabert’s intention to produce a print of his drawing and his death in 1806, see below note 132.
- 73 Landesmuseum Mainz, Graphische Sammlung, GS 0/2029, line drawing, 188 x 63,5 cm, signed and dated in the right lower corner: „B. Hundeshagen u. J. Ch. von der Emden in den Jahren 1818. 1819 u. 1820 nach Original Materialien zusammengestellt, und im Besitze vieler Figuren aus rothem Sandstein“.
- 74 Stadtarchiv Mainz, BPSP 1443 D/Baa 7.
- 75 Hundeshagen to the contrary added the large buttress with its canopies mirrored from the south side and in this way made up the portal’s image symmetrically.
- 76 Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. S 3108, red Main sandstone, height 144 cm; compare the drawing by Hundeshagen, which documented the figure in the same state as it is today, Stadtarchiv Mainz, BPSP 1445 B/Baa 9; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 198–201; Arens 1997 (see note 64), pp. 42f.
- 77 Trabert 1804 shows the Madonna’s upright hand holding a fragment of an object which could have been a sceptre.
- 78 The figures were drawn by Hundeshagen, Stadtarchiv, Nachlass Hundeshagen, Fasc. 2, Nr. 16; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 202–204.
- 79 Hundeshagen made a drawing of the interior figure, but without the sceptre, see note 62. Trabert’s plan of 1804 presents the interior figure in a slightly different way than the other figures, drawn with a lighter pencil, but shown with the sceptre, see also Sebald/Westerhoff 2022 (see note 50), pp. 92f., n. 29. Hundeshagen drew a further jamb figure on a separate sheet of paper and in a smaller scale. The figure on this drawing wears the mantle like the figure on the inner right jamb of the east portal, but with a hat and not a crown on its head. The figure does not seem to have belonged to the east portal of St Mary’s.
- 80 Hundeshagen could have taken the sections from the fragment of the south jamb which still existed in 1818–20, see above.
- 81 Trabert 1804 and the anonymous artist show fairly identical leaves all around the hollows of the portal; Hundeshagen and Emden in 1818–20 to the contrary depicted various leaf forms (see notes 70–72).
- 82 Landesmuseum Mainz Inv. Nr. S 3112 a–h, yellow sandstone, height 57–80 cm, depending whether the heads are still extant or not, Arens 1997 (see note 64), pp. 36–41; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 209–221. On display are Inv. Nr. S 3112 a, b, c, g. Hundeshagen documented 11 of the groups in his single drawings, see note 62. It has been proposed that the double group represented a pair of apostle brothers, because St Paul was included into the line additionally, Dengel-Wink 1990, p. 220; Arens 1997 (note 64), p. 40; or that St Matthias was included, who was venerated in Trier especially, Sebald/Westerhoff 2022 (see note 50), p. 99. Interestingly, an altar of St Matthias was mentioned in the Liebfrauenkirche on 8 January 1305, Dertsch 1962 (see note 36), p. 144, no. 403.
- 83 Brühl 1826 (see note 57), p. 29 seems to have misunderstood the Deesis as a group of St Mary with the Three Magi. He noted about sculptures of the upper tympanum which do not survive today: “Ein kleineres Marienbild, und zwei der hier erwähnten heiligen drei Könige, die in den Schlußsteinen des Spitzbogens sich befanden [...]“ were brought by a Professor Braun to the “Galerie-Inspektor Müller“ in Darmstadt. Brühl made a couple of mistakes in identifying the iconography of the portal figures.
- 84 Landesmuseum Mainz Inv. Nr. S 3109 a, yellow sandstone, height 82 cm, the figure with the cross, of which only the left-hand shaft is original; Inv. Nr. S 3109 b, yellow sandstone, height 82,5 cm, the head of the figure is an addition, only the lower shaft of the lance exists, Arens 1997 (note 64), pp. 34f.; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 205–209. Hundeshagen made drawings of both figures and of the kneeling figures of St Mary and St John, see note 62.
- 85 Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. S 311 a–d (the pairs of the blessed) and S 3110 a–e (the pairs of the damned), yellow sandstone, height 72,5–77,5 cm, Arens 1997 (see note 64), pp. 26–33; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 223–241. The figures are all on display in the *Landesmuseum*, although not in the right order. Several of them have heads added to in later restorations. Hundeshagen drew 12 of the groups; compare the 12 drawings newly discovered in the *Landesmuseum*, see note 62.
- 86 This has already been noted by Brühl in his description of the portal figures, Brühl 1826 (see note 57), p. 31.
- 87 The head of the pope has been renewed, Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. S 3111 b, Arens 1997 (see note 64), p. 28, but Hundeshagen documented the figure with a pope’s crown on his head, Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), p. 229.

- 88 This group is no longer extant and was not drawn by Hundeshagen, but it can clearly be recognised on Trabert's drawing of 1804.
- 89 Today and already shown in Hundeshagen's drawing, the figures lack their heads, Landesmuseum Mainz Inv. Nr. S 3111 e, Arens 1997 (see note 64), p. 28; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), p. 228. Trabert 1804 depicted the figure of the archbishop with the head of a pope irritatingly, and the figure above with the head of a bishop.
- 90 Landesmuseum Mainz Inv. Nr. S 3111 a, Arens 1997 (see note 64), p. 26f.; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), p. 231.
- 91 Only the interior group remains but both are documented by Hundeshagen's drawings, Landesmuseum Mainz Inv. Nr. S 3111 c, Arens 1997 (see note 64), p. 28f.; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 226f., 330.
- 92 Only the interior group survives and is documented by Hundeshagen's drawing where the figures are shown without heads. The current heads may not be accurate replacements, Landesmuseum Mainz Inv. Nr. S 3111 d. This may explain why Arens 1997 (see note 64), p. 28f. identified the group as monks; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 224f.
- 93 These figures are neither extant nor are documented by Hundeshagen; his view of the fragment of the portal shows the niches empty; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 224, 229.
- 94 Only the two pairs with the emperor and the king are extant and documented by drawings by Hundeshagen, Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. 3110 d and e, Arens 1997 (see note 64), pp. 32f.
- 95 Both pairs are extant and documented by a drawing by Hundeshagen, Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. S 31110 b and c, Arens 1997 (see note 64), pp. 30f.
- 96 Both groups exist and are documented by Hundeshagen, Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. S 3110 a and d, Arens 1997 (see note 64), pp. 30–33.
- 97 See e.g. Jung, Jacqueline: *Eloquent Bodies. Movement, Expression, and the Human Figure in Gothic Sculpture*, New Haven/London 2020, pp. 133–181.
- 98 Brühl 1826 (see note 57), p. 36.
- 99 Brühl 1826 (see note 57), p. 18: „[...] an den Seitenmauern waren die gewaltigen Quadersteine mit starken eisernen Klammern in einander gefügt, und als eine Masse für die längste Dauer verbunden.“
- 100 The method of fixing the sculpture to the arcades in the back wall is made evident on the drawings by the anonymous artist and by Trabert in 1804. Hundeshagen and Emden in 1818–20 to the contrary depict the sculpture as if it had been fixed within the open tracery work, see notes 70–74.
- 101 Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 242–244. Both figure groups were drawn by Hundeshagen, see note 62.
- 102 The upper arch as well as the dove on Hundeshagen and Emden's plan of 1818–20 seem to have been their invention, as they are not depicted on the earlier drawings.
- 103 On the iconography of the Throne of Mercy from c. 1100 onwards see Schiller, Gertrud: *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, Gütersloh, 6 Bände, 1966–1991, vol. 2: *Die Passion Jesu Christi*, 1968, pp. 133–36.
- 104 Drawn by Hundeshagen as separate figures, see note 62.
- 105 Trabert's drawing of 1804 is not clear about this and he shifted the gable's perspective out of the axis of the six-part tracery window behind.
- 106 Tebel, Magdalena Maria: *Das Westportal der Nürnberger Lorenzkirche. Architektur – Bauforschung – Skulptur* (Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte, 200), Petersberg 2024, pp. 164–168 highlights that the technical method of fixing archivolt figures separately into the voussours presumably was introduced in the portal of St Mary's in Mainz for the first time, at least in the Empire.
- 107 Bildarchiv Foto Marburg; Collection of the Landesmuseum Mainz; see note 66 and the essay of Eva Brachert in Dobras 2019 (see note 66), pp. 350f.
- 108 This has been confirmed by Gernot Frankhäuser who has taken part in a re-ordering of the lapidary of the *Landesmuseum* recently.
- 109 Schmol gen. Eisenwerth, Josef Adolf: Mainz und der Westen, in: Friedrich Gerke (ed.): *Mainz und der Mittelrhein in der europäischen Kunstgeschichte. Studien für Wolfgang Fritz Volbach zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1966, pp. 289–314, here p. 302. The stylistic characterisation of the *Liebfrauen* sculptures cannot be dealt with in detail in this essay, see Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 246–289.
- 110 Ecker, Diana: *Der Westletztner des „Naumburger Meisters“*. Ein neuer Rekonstruktionsvorschlag für ein rätselhaftes Bauwerk, in: Kotzur 2011 (see note 7), pp. 168–207; Wilhelmy 2020 (see note 6), pp. 194–334; Sebald/Westerhoff 2022 (see note 50), pp. 100–103.
- 111 On the sculptures of the second half of the 13th century in the Dom- and Diözesanmuseum in Mainz see Wilhelmy 2020 (see note 6), pp. 446–483. Sebald/Westerhoff 2022 (see note 50), pp. 103f. hint to the south portal of Worms Cathedral as a further model for the *Liebfrauen* portal within the region.
- 112 The figure of a prophet with a pointed hat, which Hundeshagen depicted in one of his single drawings, see note 79, seems to be especially similar to the prophets which adorned the west façade of the *Liebfrauenkirche* in Trier, above the west portal of c. 1240, compare Stadtarchiv Mainz, Nachlass Bernhard Hundeshagen, Fasc. 2, Nr. 16, to the sculpture of the prophet Isaiah from Trier in Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bodemuseum, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. Nr. 8246. On the portals of St Mary's in Trier see the essay by Andreas Waschbüsch in this volume.
- 113 Arens 1997 (note 64), p. 42.
- 114 Schmol gen. Eisenwerth 1966 (see note 109), pp. 303, 309.

- 115 Several comparisons to sculptures of around 1300 have been proposed in relation to the *Liebfrauen* Madonna, see Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 247–255. Schmollgen. Eisenwerth 1966 (see note 109), pp. 302–314; Sebald/Westerhoff 2022 (see note 50), pp. 98–110. On the contemporary Lotharingian sculpture see Schmollgen. Eisenwerth, Josef Adolf: *Die lothringische Skulptur des 14. Jahrhunderts. Ihre Voraussetzungen in der Südchampagne und ihre außerlothringischen Beziehungen*, unter Mitarbeit von Ilse Paula Dolinschek (Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte, 29), Petersberg 2005; Niehr, Klaus: *Vorüberlegungen zu einer Geschichte des Figurenportals in Deutschland vom 13. bis zum 15. Jh.*, in: Erwin Emmerling/Detlef Knipping/Franz Niehoff (eds): *Das Westportal der Heiliggeistkirche in Landshut. Ein Symposium zur Geschichte und Farbigeit des spätgotischen Figurenportals* (Arbeitshefte des bayerischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege, 106), München 2001, pp. 160–196, here pp. 165f. draws comparisons with the statue of Isabella, daughter of Louis IX., in Poissy and the fragmented trumeau Madonna of the right western portal of Mantes.
- 116 On sculptural models see Kurmann, Peter: *Il ruolo dei modelli nella creazione della sculture gotica*, in: *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, 4. Ser., 16, 2003 (2008), pp. 123–128.
- 117 Engel 2020 (see note 50), pp. 142–146; Köhl 2020 (see note 50), pp. 156–158; Engel, Ute: *Raffinement und Reduktion. Nach den Querhausfassaden von Notre-Dame in Paris*, in: Schüppel, Katharina Christa/Tebel, Magdalena (eds): *Kunstgeschichte(n). Festschrift für Stephan Albrecht* (Schriften aus der Fakultät für Geistes- und Kulturwissenschaften der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg, 44), Bamberg 2023, pp. 64–77, here pp. 73–76.
- 118 Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 140–152. On the position of the workshops in Mainz between Cologne and Strasbourg see Schurr, Marc Carel: *Gotische Architektur im mittleren Europa, 1220–1340. Von Metz bis Wien*, München/Berlin 2007, pp. 247–253; Engel, Ute: *Ummanteln oder neu Bauen? Die rheinischen Kathedralen in Konkurrenz im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, in: Bürger, Stefan/Kallweit, Ludwig (eds): *Capriccio & Architektur. Das Spiel mit der Baukunst*, Festschrift Bruno Klein, Berlin/München 2017, pp. 91–99; Engel 2020 (see note 50), pp. 139–142.
- 119 On the south portal of Cologne Cathedral see the essay by Anna Knoblauch in this volume.
- 120 On the west façade of Strasbourg Cathedral see e.g. Schurr 2007 (see note 118), pp. 209–219; Sauv , Jean-S bastien: *Notre-Dame de Strasbourg. Les fa ades gothique* (Studien zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters und der fr hen Neuzeit, 10), Korb 2012.
- 121 Steinmann, Marc: *Die Westfassade des K lner Domes. Der mittelalterliche Fassadenplan F*, K ln 2003, p. 56.
- 122 On the plans of the fa ade of Strasbourg Cathedral see B ker, Hans Josef: *Architektur der Gotik – Rheinlande*, Salzburg 2013, pp. 162–176, compare Engel 2020 (see note 50), pp. 140–142. The role of drawings as important media in exchange processes has been addressed fairly frequently recently, see e.g. K hl 2020 (see note 50), pp. 158–160; Sebald/Westerhoff 2022 (see note 50), p. 104; Engel 2023 (see note 117), p. 76.
- 123 Steinmann 2003 (see note 121), p. 88; B ker 2013 (see note 122), pp. 335–353.
- 124 Niehr 2001 (see note 115), pp. 165–167; Engel 2020 (see note 50), pp. 142f.
- 125 Schlicht, Markus: *Un chantier majeur de la fin du Moyen  ge. La cath drale de Rouen vers 1300. Portail des Libraires, portail de la Calende, chapelle de la Vierge* (M moire de la Soci  t  des Antiquaires de Normandie, 61), Caen 2005, pp. 25–82, 183–216, 242–308 presents a detailed analysis of the architecture and the sculpture of the *Portail des Libraires* of Rouen Cathedral; on the dating see *ibid.*, pp. 210f., 300.
- 126 Engel 2020 (see note 50), pp. 142–146; Sebald/Westerhoff 2022 (see note 50), pp. 96–98; Engel, Ute: *Ma werk als Gitter und Schleier. Durchsichtigkeit und Durchl ssigkeit in Kapellen des 13. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich, Deutschland und England*, in: Abe, Florian/Beese, Christina (eds): *Festschrift Christian Freigang*, Berlin 2024, pp. 29–42 on further connections between the workshops in Mainz and Normandy around 1300.
- 127 Schlicht 2005 (see note 125), pp. 184f.
- 128 See Engel 2020 (see note 50); K hl 2020 (see note 50) and the other essays in Horn/M ller 2020 (see note 50).
- 129 An interior view of Johann Jakob Hoch of 1779 shows the north portal from the interior, Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), pp. 70f., although Dengel-Wink does not deal with the north portal.
- 130 Kern 2010 (see note 28), pp. 15–24; Mende 2010 (note 27), pp. 99f, see note 28.
- 131 The drawing is listed in the archive of the Stadtarchiv Mainz, Baa 10, but as missed since 1970. Fortunately, Gernot Frankh user only recently discovered the drawing in the Graphische Sammlung of the *Landesmuseum Mainz*, Inv. Nr. GS 0/1745. On the authorship of Trabert see the following note 132.
- 132 The lithograph exists in two copies in the Stadtarchiv Mainz, BPS 144 B/Baa 11. The second copy is added to by two slips of paper: One of them is a printed announcement by Trabert. He explained that he made a drawing of the portal of the Liebfrauenkirche “ [...] in Kontur gezeichnet [...] und es von B rger C ntigen stechen lassen, um, da die Kirche jetzt abgebrochen wird, dasselbe so dem Ged chtnisse [zu] erhalten“. The subscription for the print was open until 1 February 1804. A handwritten note remarked: “M. Nov. 1803. Dieser junge K nstler starb darauf an der Auszehrung, und so blieb die Ausf hrung

- aufsich beruhen.*“ Trabert’s death is documented besides his name: “† 1806”. As the drawing of the north portal was in fact printed, Trabert’s announcement presumably related to his drawing of the east portal, see note 72. Nevertheless, as the note referring to Trabert was fixed to the print of the north portal, it can be assumed that Trabert was the author of the drawing of this portal of St Mary’s, too. Frankhäuser to the contrary proposes that Johann Lindenschmidt might be the artist, personal communication. A second slip of paper is stamped “B”, probably referring to Bodmann, who transcribed the inscription of Willigis on the bronze doors on the sheet of paper. Compare the information by Werner 1827 (see note 31), p. 329: “*Der verdienstvolle Diplomatiker Bodmann hat im Jahr 1803 die Thüren, wie sich solche an der Liebfrauenkirche befanden, abzeichnen lassen, und im August 1805 dem Original ganz gleichförmig in Kuper stechen lassen.*“.
- 133 An altar of St Elizabeth is mentioned in 1300, Dertsch 1962 (see note 36), p. 129, no. 360 and 361; Dörr 1953 (see note 21), pp. 109–117 on the altars in the *Liebfrauenkirche*.
- 134 An altar of Saints John the Evangelist, James (*Jakobus*) and the Three Magi is mentioned in 1301, Dertsch 1962 (see note 36), p. 262, no. 764.
- 135 Usually, Anna and Joachim are depicted in narrative scenes based on apocryphal writings, see e.g. in the St Anne portal of the west façade of Notre-Dame in Paris, see Stephan Albrecht/Imke Bösch: Anna und Joseph. Eine Bilderzählung des 13. Jahrhunderts im rechten Westportal der Kathedrale von Paris, in: Jurković, Miljenko/Scirocca, Elisabetta/Timbert, Arnaud (eds): *Repenser l’histoire de l’art médiéval. Recueil d’études offertes à Xavier Barral i Altet*, Zagreb 2023, pp. 131–156. I would like to thank Magdalena Tebel and Angelika Marinovic for discussing the iconography of the north portal of the *Liebfrauenkirche* with me.
- 136 On the iconography of the Immaculate Conception of St Mary see Schiller (see note 103), vol. 4.2: *Maria*, 1980, pp. 154–147. Interestingly, the *festum conceptionis*, much debated during the 12th and 13th centuries, was introduced by the Franciscans at their General Chapter in Pisa in 1263, and Henry of Isny, who was archbishop of Mainz when the rebuilding of St Mary’s started in 1285, was a Franciscan monk.
- 137 Henry granted an indulgence for the rebuilding of St Mary’s on 16 May 1285, when he still was archbishop of Trier, Dertsch 1962 (see note 36), p. 98, no. 268.
- 138 2 January 1288, Regesta Imperii, RIplus Regg. EB Mainz 2, no. 2990, in: Regesta Imperii Online, URI: <http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/a043af48-bbe2-4c5f-b6a7-ed1c5836320d> [13.10.2024]; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), p. 20.
- 139 Gerhard granted indulgences for St Mary’s on 28 August 1298 and on 19 September 1299 and he made donations to the church on 6 September 1304, Regesta Imperii, RIplus Regg. EB Mainz 1,1, no. 89, no. 603, no. 840, in: Regesta Imperii Online, URI: <http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/a0ae01a9-d470-4408-9d6c-96a57cf3e1b9>, <http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/ca526219-0dda-4d6f-af66-913d93244450>, <http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/c07a3cc6-8e79-47df-b243-a83df6f33d05> [13.10.2024]; Dertsch 1962 (see note 36), p. 107, no. 294; Dengel-Wink 1990 (see note 5), p. 21.
- 140 Regesta Imperii, RIplus Regg. EB Mainz 1,1 no. 1445, in: Regesta Imperii Online, URI: <http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/ffa269ea-812b-461c-a552-af166506ccb1> [13.10.2024] (see note 49).
- 141 Regesta Imperii, RIplus Regg. EB Mainz 2, no. 2886 and no. 2990, in: Regesta Imperii Online, URI: <http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/eb00d525-770f-4f66-bb5e-4125aa66cddb>, <http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/a043af48-bbe2-4c5f-b6a7-ed1c5836320d> [13.10.2024].
- 142 On the leading position of Gerhard II of Eppstein in the Empire and his role in the election of kings and ante-kings see Heinig, Paul-Joachim: Die Mainzer Kirche am Ende des Hochmittelalters (1249–1305), in: Jürgensmeier 2000 (see note 10), pp. 347–415, here pp. 387–415.
- 143 Falck, Ludwig: Mainz in seiner Blütezeit als Freie Stadt, 1244 bis 1328 (Geschichte der Stadt Mainz, 3), Düsseldorf 1973, p. 142; Dertsch 1962 (see note 36), pp. 123f., nos 344–346.
- 144 Hehl 2000 (see note 10), pp. 101f.
- 145 Dean Conrad Unrue is documented 1268 to 1309, Dörr 1953 (see note 21), p. 46; on his activities for the reconstruction of the *Liebfrauenkirche* see the documents in Dertsch 1962 (see note 36).
- 146 During the time of rebuilding St Mary’s the following provosts are documented: Eberhard vom Turm (1262 to 1300), Heinrich von Rodenstein (1302 to 1307) and Rudolf von Rodenstein (1307), Dörr 1953 (see note 21), p. 44.
- 147 The tomb was excavated in 1804 – i.e. at the same time as the drawings of St Mary’s were produced – and its fragments were documented by a drawing of Bodmann, see Kessel, Verena: Sepulchralpolitik. Die Krönungsgrabsteine im Mainzer Dom und die Auseinandersetzungen um die Führungspositionen im Reich, in: Hartmann 1997 (see note 1), pp. 9–34, here pp. 15f. The two existent “coronation tombs” in Mainz Cathedral belong to archbishop Siegfried III of Eppstein (d. 1249) and to Peter of Aspelt (d. 1320), on the tombs of the archbishops of Mainz see also Baxter, Ron: The Tombs of the Archbishops of Mainz, in: Engel, Ute/Gajewski, Alexandra (Ed.): Mainz and the Middle Rhine Valley. Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology (British Archaeological Conference Transactions, 30), Leeds 2007, pp. 68–79.
- 148 Kessel 1997 (see note 147), pp. 14f.; Hehl 2000 (see note 12), p. 101f.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Gernot Frankhäuser of the Generaldirektion Kulturelles Erbe Rheinland Pfalz, Landesmuseum Mainz, for his support of my research and Professor Jennifer Alexander for checking my English text.

Credits

Ills. 1, 22: GDKE RLP, Photo A. Garth

Ill. 2: Arens, Fritz: *Der Dom zu Mainz*, Darmstadt 1982, p. 21, ill. 6

Ill. 3: Esser, Karl Heinz: *Der Mainzer Dom des Erzbischofs Willigis*, in: Brück, Anton Philipp (ed.): *Willigis und sein Dom. Festschrift zur Jahrtausendfeier des Mainzer Domes 975–1975 (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhessischen Kirchengeschichte, Bd. 24)*, Mainz 1975, p. 142, ill. 2a

Ills. 4, 7, 19–21: Photo Ute Engel

Ills. 5, 8: GDKE RLP, Photo Ursula Rudischer

Ill. 6: Stadtarchiv Mainz

Ill. 9: GDKE RLP, Photo anonymous

Ills. 10–18: GDKE RLP, Photo Ute Engel