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### Spolia as Signifiers in Twelfth-Century Rome

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# SPOLIA AS SIGNIFIERS IN TWELFTH-CENTURY ROME

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*Opinions on the meaning of the reused objects known as spolia range from Michael Greenhalgh's position that in 95% of cases, reuse was purely pragmatic to Maria Fabricius Hansen's claim that the spolia in fourth-century church colonnades represented a Christian worldview in which spolia were potent metaphors of a new world order. Studies of twelfth-century Rome have tended to interpret the use of spolia as an expression of papal ideology and the spirit of the twelfth-century renovatio. This essay evaluates these alternatives and proposes an interpretation informed by semiotic theory but grounded in contextual terminology and the physical and intellectual ambience of the time and place of reuse. It appears that in twelfth-century Rome, reused objects were thought of in their original capacities (as columns, sarcophagi, etc.) and as antiques, rather than as spolia. Semiotic theory offers models for reconstructing the connotative and affective meanings of such antiques, while Biblical exegesis confirms that metaphor was a predominant mode of interpretation in the twelfth century and is especially relevant to Roman church interiors.*

Key words: *spolia*, reuse, Rome, signifier, column, marble, *renovatio*, ruins, Hildebert, Mirabilia

“*Spolia* as signifiers” are fighting words. How to interpret the foreign (older or alien) artifacts reused in medieval churches, tombs, treasury objects, and domestic structures is the most hotly contested issue – indeed, almost the only contested issue – in the blossoming field of *spolia* studies. Taking an extreme view, Michael Greenhalgh recently denounced the “baggage and prejudices” entailed by the word *spolia* itself, including “memory, power, prestige, self-image, civic pride, the pedigree of personal and community aspirations, appreciation of ancient beauty, desire, intention, triumph of Christianity (or Islam), and other generalised, over-inflated and frequently nebulous claims which the subject generates among some art historians”.<sup>1</sup> Greenhalgh advocates a minimalist approach, especially to the reuse of functional architectural elements (column shafts, capitals, revetments, etc.), on the grounds that reuse was “the only way to get cheap stone, or much cheaper than carting it from afar, let alone quarrying it. This is an economic reason for re-use, and probably covers some 95% of all blocks of stone or marble re-used from ancient monuments”.<sup>2</sup>

At the opposite extreme, Maria Fabricius Hansen declared that “when *spolia* ... even now are often perceived as an economically determined solution..., it is a sign of how strong a grip the traditional image of Renaissance aesthetics with its ideal of classicism still has on our profession”.<sup>3</sup> In other words, in her view, to deny or ignore the signifying role of *spolia* is atavistic. Memory, power, ideals of beauty, and Christian triumph all are ingredients of Hansen’s interpretation, according to which reused architectural elements encoded an entire “metaphorical” world view that debuted in the fourth century and was characteristic of Christianity. “A church built of *spolia* was a figuration in stone of [the] principles and values of late antique and early medieval man”.<sup>4</sup> Conceiving *spolia* as primarily the components of a colonnade, Hansen claimed that they instantiated a new aesthetic – an “aesthetic of rupture” – that rejected classical coherence, rationality, and homogeneity in favor of an “unstyled” effect that fostered attention to variety, temporality, and worldly imperfection. *Spolia* in a

Christian basilica were double-coded objects. As vehicles of *translatio*, *spolia* transmitted materials, aesthetic norms and formulas, destroyed sites and structures, and history itself from past to present. Their “desirable duality” of old and new constituted the material correlative of the early Christian mindset in which the Old and New Testaments, and classical and Christian cultures were both differentiated and assimilated.<sup>5</sup> They were capable of signifying multiple, sometimes contradictory ideas simultaneously.

Between these extremes is the standard twentieth-century view that *spolia* signified the survival of classical antiquity. This is the position of the only general survey of *spolia*, by Lucilla de Lachenal, as well as of the seminal ruminations of Arnold Esch.<sup>6</sup> Esch’s conspectus of the motives for using *spolia* in medieval Italy embraced the gamut from Greenhalgh’s pure pragmatism to distinctively Christian appropriations of the kind described by Hansen, including profanation or exorcism, *interpretatio christiana*, political legitimation, and aesthetic beguilement. In her account of twelfth-century Rome, de Lachenal effectively reduced these motives to one, political legitimation, on the assumption that all *spolia* were antiquities; antiquities bore the aura of ancient Rome; and their reuse constituted a “rinascita dell’antico” associated with the “twelfth-century renaissance”, which was ultimately political in nature.<sup>7</sup>

It was ... the Curia that, through its patronage, initiated this phenomenon [scil., the “ripresa dell’antico”] to underline even more strongly its own triumph over its historical adversaries, such as the empire and heretics, as well as new ones, like the population of Rome, which in the meantime had learned to glory in the great tradition of citizenship of the capital of the world, to the point of considering itself its legitimate heir and beneficiary in the eyes of the entire West...<sup>8</sup>

In this view, the early Christian revival of the Gregorian Reform, the papal appropriation of ancient attributes of power after the Concordat of Worms (1122), and the assumption of more overtly imperial symbols by Pope Innocent II (d. 1143) and his successors, all were phases of a single aspiration



Fig. 1. Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere, interior (photo: Kinney)



Fig. 2. Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere, detail of north colonnade (photo: Kinney)

to “rinascita” that culminated just before mid-century in such events as the compilation of the text known as the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*; expressions of a seemingly secular interest in viewing and collecting ancient statues; and the profuse employment of *spolia* in the rebuilding of Santa Maria in Trastevere (fig. 1). Santa Maria’s *spolia* – column shafts, bases, capitals, and 104 segments of ancient cornices that were cut up to form the modillions of the medieval cornice (fig. 2) – were intended to “confer imperial magnificence” on the space of God. They also deliberately displayed “the richness and variety of materials – ancient and not – which the pope and the Roman Curia could command in their city”,

thereby demonstrating “the prerogatives of the new lord of Rome and of the entire West” at the expense of stylistic and architectural coherence, and without regard for the pagan iconography of some of the antique capitals, which only the learned clergy could decipher.<sup>9</sup>

Working within the same framework, Peter Cornelius Claussen offered a more nuanced account of this period that brilliantly marries political with aesthetic motivations and is more attentive to the specifics of *spolia*.<sup>10</sup> According to Claussen, at the beginning of the twelfth century churches were built with *spolia* to minimize expense but also to express continuity with the past (“incessantly renewing herself within the limits of her own possibilities, Rome approached the imaginary idea of herself”).<sup>11</sup> The papacy of Callixtus II (1119-1123) was a turning point, after which architecture embodied a new triumphalism and a new “aesthetics of power”. The first monument of this phase was San Crisogono (fig. 3):

The nave ... appears like a triumphal street lined with columns, which leads through the triumphal arch to the altar and the pontifical seat. The triumphal arch itself rests on enormous porphyry columns with splendid spoliated Corinthian capitals. Thus the iconology of the materials accentuates the message of the architecture.<sup>12</sup>

Common to both phases was an image of Rome’s ancient splendor as an “aesthetic utopia” gleaming with shining materials: many-colored stones, glass and gold.<sup>13</sup> Marble and mosaic were the keys to looking Roman, and for marble and colored stones like porphyry builders had to use *spolia*. Depending on the context, *spolia* signified continuity with, or triumphant supersession of, an aestheticized antiquity imagined in twelfth-century terms. In the second half of the century the marble-workers (*marmorarii*) who started out



Fig. 3. Rome, San Crisogono, interior (photo: Kinney)

as handlers of *spolia* began to emulate the ancient workmanship of the capitals, architectural friezes and statues they acquired, and by the thirteenth century they were skilled enough to be “learned Roman masters” in their own right.<sup>14</sup> At that point *spolia* were still essential to Roman-ness but only as raw materials, no longer reused as they were but disguised or transformed by new carving.

My purpose in summarizing these arguments is to make use of their differences. Greenhalgh’s skepticism, though not always polite, is salutary in its relentless focus on how we know that reused materials were meaningful (“I yearn for evidence”), although even he allows that this was so:

the mediaeval attraction to marble is certainly to the beauties of the material itself – and possibly in some unprovable instances to the associations it evoked. In general ... the great churches and mosques of our period may be viewed as triumphs over the past – or the neighbours, enemies, or commercial rivals, and as celebrations of the effort involved in discovering, transporting and erecting large buildings in sophisticated materials.<sup>15</sup>

In other words, if *spolia* were not intrinsically meaningful, materials were. They had aesthetic meaning (beauty) and associative meanings arising from their own history (discovery, transport, re-erection). These associations, evidently, were generally positive (triumphs).

Greenhalgh clearly does not accept Hansen’s theory of meaning, according to which “all cultural expressions at a given time are somehow related and governed by ... the same fundamental paradigm or conditions in terms of worldview and mental structures”.<sup>16</sup> Other readers have also balked at this premise, which is essentially that of Panofskyian iconology (“iconographical interpretation in a deeper sense”).<sup>17</sup> The interpretations of de Lachenal and Claussen, by contrast,

seem more like Panofsky’s idea of iconography, relying on “insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, specific *themes* or *concepts* were expressed by *objects* and *events*”.<sup>18</sup> In their case, the evidence for which Greenhalgh clamors is more specific than that adduced by Hansen, including a few well-known literary texts directly related to ruin and reuse (the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*; the lament for Rome by Hildebert of Lavardin; the inscription on the house of Nicolaus Crescentii), and the polemics of the Gregorian Reform and the Investiture Controversy, which stress a return to the imagined past of the *ecclesia primitiva* and arrogate imperial-sounding honors to the pope.

In Panofsky’s model, texts constitute the “equipment for interpretation” needed to decipher iconography.<sup>19</sup> The choice of texts is left to the interpreter. This is arguably the most important part of the process, as choices entail assumptions about what is and is not relevant, and necessarily reflect a predetermined frame of reference. Hansen’s frame of reference is intellectual history, and the writers to whom she most frequently appeals are the great thinkers and scholars of late antiquity: Eusebius (d. 339), Jerome (d. 420), Macrobius (d. 423), Augustine (d. 430), and Cassiodorus (d. 585). Claussen and de Lachenal, as noted, rely on eleventh- and twelfth-century sources specific to Rome or to the church of Rome; as a result, their interpretations skew toward papal politics and ideology. Greenhalgh is suspicious of texts, at least for Rome, and insists on the importance of the physical context for retrieving motives and meanings of reuse. He describes the lands of the old Roman empire – including Europe, North Africa, and Asia Minor – as a “ruinscape”, and avers that “it is crucial to realise that many people in the mediaeval West lived cheek-by-jowl with ruins”.<sup>20</sup> Familiarity and proximity bred a pragmatic approach to

Roman remains and a habit of reusing them, which – precisely because it was a habit – was largely without deeper meaning. In Rome itself, according to Greenhalgh, the habit was so long-standing that by the twelfth century the supply of ancient marble had been depleted. He suggests that granite may have been used in so many twelfth-century colonnades because “no coherent and unbroken [marble] column-sets survived”; and that the *marmorarii* began to produce their own Ionic capitals because they “simply could not find sufficient good old capitals” and Ionic capitals were relatively easy to carve.<sup>21</sup>

Claussen also attends to the physical context of Roman reuse, and more particularly to its economic character, following early twentieth-century opinions that marble-working and calcination (to make lime) “may be considered the only industries worth mentioning in medieval Rome.”<sup>22</sup> After the temporal dominion over Rome passed to the popes in the eighth century, the right to despoil ancient monuments of their marble was a papal concession. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the concession was granted “probably as a monopoly” to a few families later known generically as *Cosmati*, who became procurers, sellers, carvers, construction workers, and general contractors of projects involving marble.<sup>23</sup> Although in some capacities the attitude of these multi-taskers toward their raw material must have been purely pragmatic, ultimately they were in thrall to it, and perfected their ability to carve it until they could claim that their skill exceeded its value.<sup>24</sup>

In this context, Claussen finds the word *spolia* “infectious”. While Greenhalgh urges a general ban on the grounds that “*spolia*” is etymologically value-laden (“the very use of the term implies both intention and triumph, prizing the spoliated objects for their programmatic utility”), Claussen argues that we should observe the difference between taking marble out of Rome as a treasure to be used elsewhere (like the columns and capitals acquired for Charlemagne’s chapel at Aachen) and making use of the marble within Rome, where it was simply the local material.<sup>25</sup> “Strictly speaking, a *spolium* at Rome is not a Roman *spolium* but the city’s primary material, transmitted and preserved thanks to its continuous reuse.”<sup>26</sup> Claussen also maintains that in Roman eyes there was no essential difference between an ancient capital reused as such and a medieval imitation carved from ancient material. “Ultimately they did not attribute any particular value or special elegance to the antique piece, because in both cases they were dealing with Roman capitals.”<sup>27</sup> In other words, the significant feature of the capital was its recognizably Roman type – Ionic or Corinthian – not its age. This was also John Onians’ position in his controversial history of the classical orders as “bearers of meaning.”<sup>28</sup>

The comparative analysis of these recent contributions to *spolia* studies could be prolonged, but for the purposes of this essay I believe it has done its work. Three issues emerge as critical for the question of “*spolia* as signifiers”: terminology, context, and theories of meaning, or signification. I will address each of them separately.

## TERMINOLOGY

Greenhalgh advocates “reuse” as a neutral (“colourless and non-judgmental”) alternative to *spolia*, but this tactic won’t work in English, which has no viable equivalent to *reimpiegghi* (*remplois*, *Wiederverwendungen*).<sup>29</sup> “Reuseds” is ungrammatical; “reused things” is awkward; and the

neologism *recyclia* has its own baggage, which may make it no more appropriate than *spolia* to the medieval practices we are trying to understand.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, Greenhalgh’s caution about *spolia* as an all-purpose label is well taken. Its etymological connotations of triumph, power, memory and prestige are too often attributed to artifactual *spolia* without adequate contextual justification. Indeed, there is a formulaic quality to “*spolia* studies” that often makes them less interesting than they should be.

Claussen’s objection that the term is anachronistic is also valid.<sup>31</sup> Medieval Roman sources never used *spolia* in the metaphorical sense in which art historians apply it to “things reused”. As in classical Latin, *spolia* denoted movable goods – apparel, armor, ornament, treasure – that were literally taken, often violently, from a person, building or place. In the *Liber pontificalis*, *spolia* are associated with military conquest (e.g., the Pisans returned victorious from the Balearic Islands “haven taken captives, captured *spolia*, overthrown cities”), with robbery (the followers of a papal opponent were “extortioners and thieves” who “took what was meant for the indigent and poor as *spolia* of travelers and pilgrims for themselves”), and with humiliation (displeased at the election of Gelasius II, the horrid Cencius Frangiapane set his men on “the bishops, all the cardinals and clerics, and many of the people” and had them “thrown head-first from their horses and mules, despoiled [i.e., stripped of clothing], and ... struck on all sides with unheard-of afflictions”).<sup>32</sup> Generally, *spolia(re)* was in the negatively-charged semantic field of pillage and rape (*depraedari coepit et exspoliare, atque, quod iniuriosum est nuntiare, mulieres dehonestare*).<sup>33</sup> It appears in invective, as when Innocent II’s opponent Anacletus II was charged with despoiling the treasuries of St. Peter’s and Santa Maria Maggiore.<sup>34</sup> Sometimes, however, *spolia(re)* occurs in the positive field of righteous victory, as in the case of the Pisan conquest of the Muslim-controlled Balearic Islands; and occasionally popes practiced spoliation themselves, notoriously in the case of the anti-pope Gregory VIII, Mauritius Burdinus, who was publicly humiliated by Callixtus II: “they despoiled him of his vestments and dressed him in lacerating sheepskins, and set him on the camel that was carrying the pope’s pots and pans, and in that manner they sent him back to Rome, mocked and tormented.”<sup>35</sup>

The ancient artifacts that were reused in twelfth-century contexts were not called *spolia*, because to do so would have implied that they had been captured, stolen, or punitively stripped from a prior owner or location. Nor were they said to be “reused”. The *Liber pontificalis* rarely mentions the ancient columns, entablatures and other elements in papally-sponsored buildings, and when it does, it ignores their second-hand status. A handful of exceptions recorded (or implied) that particular columns were imperial gifts. Thus six helical shafts with vines at the shrine of St. Peter were said to have been brought “from Greece” by Emperor Constantine; six similar shafts donated 400 years later were “conceded” to the pope by the Exarch Eutychius in Ravenna; and eight porphyry columns set up in the Lateran Baptistery in the fifth century “had been collected in the time of Emperor Constantine.”<sup>36</sup> In these instances the donor of the columns effectively became their author. Information about their history goes back no farther than Constantine; all else was suppressed in favor of a generic positioning as prestige or heritage objects authenticated by an imperial pedigree. The post-Carolingian continuations of the *L.P.* are even less informative. While we might like to know where and how



Fig. 4. Rome, Santo Stefano Rotondo, interior with transverse wall of Pope Innocent II (photo: Kinney)

Pope Innocent II obtained the large granite column shafts that he installed in St. Paul's Basilica and Santo Stefano Rotondo (fig. 4), his *vita* mentions them only in passing, as supports for the diaphragm walls that were erected to hold up new roofs.<sup>37</sup> Again, as the author of the walls the pope was also credited with the columns, and implicitly with the “effort involved in discovering, transporting and erecting” them, as Greenhalgh opines.

The *Liber pontificalis* describes the shafts erected in St. Paul's Basilica as marble (*marmoreis*), even though five of the six were granite.<sup>38</sup> Except for porphyry, the *L.P.* is generally inattentive, imprecise, or hyperbolic about materials; for example, the marble helical columns of St. Peter's are said to be “onyx” (*columnas onichinas*) without regard for accuracy but to denote their fineness.<sup>39</sup> The distinction between marble and granite – although critical for stonecutters – was largely ignored by medieval writers. *Marmora* had become a generic term for “extraordinary stones” by the time of Isidore of Seville (d. 636), who wrote that marble was distinguished from common stones by having “spots and colors”, which made it beautiful.<sup>40</sup> Granite – mottled red from Aswan, and “gray” *granito del foro*, with its spectacular looping veins (fig. 2) – was subsumed under “marble” in the medieval lexicon. Color was what mattered to the annalists of the *Liber pontificalis*, and Thomas Weigel has shown how labels like *porphyreticus*, which once denoted the sources of stones in particular regions or quarries, became color terms; thus *parius* denoted not “from Paros” but “white”, and *porphyreticus* was “purple” (*diversis columnis tam purfireticis quamque albis*).<sup>41</sup> Red granite, the stone of the obelisks, was considered equivalent to porphyry.<sup>42</sup>

The nouns attached to objects of architectural reuse were more stable, perhaps reflecting continuity of function: column shafts were (re)used as column shafts, capitals as capitals, bases as bases. Decorative elements might be repurposed, as friezes and soffits were turned on their sides to make door frames and table legs became armrests, as on the throne in Santa Maria in Cosmedin. Architectural members continued to be called *colum(p)nae*, *bases*, *capitella*, *epistylia*, but capitals were also called *lilia* (“lilies”), as in Leo of Ostia's often-cited account of the Roman marble-buying expedition of Desiderius of Montecassino.<sup>43</sup> This is Old Testament terminology, presumably inspired by the Vulgate description of the capitals on the columns at the entrance to the Temple in Jerusalem (*capitella ... quasi opere*



Fig. 5. Rome, San Benedetto in Piscinula, west colonnade (photo: Kinney)

*lilii fabricata*).<sup>44</sup> Although “lilies” seems appropriate only to Corinthian capitals, *lilia* may have designated all capitals, including Ionics and the inverted bases, plinths, and other odd objects that were occasionally set atop shafts in spoliata colonnades (fig. 5).<sup>45</sup> The words for the classical orders, *doricum*, *ionicum*, *corinthium*, do not appear. They may have been known, but classical distinctions were ignored in favor of the memory of Jachin and Boaz.

Like architectural members, sarcophagi were (re)used in the twelfth century for their original purpose, but this was a revival of ancient practice rather than continuity. Perhaps reflecting the discontinuity, the words for these objects were diverse: *mausoleum*, *monumentum*, *sepulchrum*, *concl[h]a*, *pilum*.<sup>46</sup> *Concha* (“shell”) implies a curved shape, and the two fluted conches (*concas striatas duas*) mentioned in the *vita* of Pope Hilarus (d. 468) as part of a fountain were probably strigillated sarcophagi with rounded short ends.<sup>47</sup> The large rounded tubs that were appropriated from bath buildings to serve as containers for relics may also have been thought of as *conchae*, but by the twelfth century the term was applied to all forms of stone coffins; for example, the porphyry sarcophagus from the Mausoleum of Hadrian in which Pope Innocent II was buried – surely not a tub – was called both *conca* and *sepulchrum*.<sup>48</sup>

## CONTEXT

As retrospective interpreters we are limited in our knowledge of context to what the surviving evidence permits us to reconstruct, and evidence does not survive uniformly. For twelfth-century Rome there is a relatively large survival of written sources pertaining to papal self-representation and politics, while evidence for the physical



Fig. 6. Rome, Forum of Caesar in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (reconstruction: Inklīnk; after MENEGHINI, SANTANGELI VALENZANI, BIANCHI, *I Fori Imperiali*)

“ruinscape” was until recently confined mostly to the *spolia* themselves. Pooling diverse sources can generate a feedback loop in which interpretations of one kind of evidence inform and reinforce interpretations of the other; thus the beautiful poem of Hildebert of Lavardin, *Par tibi, Roma, nihil*, becomes a document of Rome’s physical history, an eyewitness account of the condition of the city around 1100 (“he speaks of what he has seen”), and in particular of the effects of the siege by Robert Guiscard in 1084.<sup>49</sup> (It should be said that the poem was read in this way in Hildebert’s own lifetime, as William of Malmesbury quoted it in his *History of the English Kings* to illustrate the state of Rome in the time of Pope Urban II [d. 1099].<sup>50</sup>) Read together with its pendant, *Dum simulacra mihi*, the poem becomes a morality tale reflecting the ideology of papal Reform.<sup>51</sup>

In Hildebert’s words Rome was “near total ruin”, “shattered”, “fallen”; its temples were “prostrate” and “lying in swamps”; the theaters collapsed, the senate house ruined. This dramatic picture seems to be corroborated by the so-called *Mirabilia urbis Romae* of around 1140, with its lengthy litany of what once “was” in Rome: *templum fuit, simulacrum stabat, erant aguliae*, etc.<sup>52</sup> But the *Mirabilia* also inventories ancient structures that had been converted to Christian purposes and were still standing: the temple of Apollo, now the chapel of St. Petronilla at St. Peter’s; the wardrobe of Nero, now the chapel of St. Andrew; the fortress that had been the tomb of Hadrian; the Pantheon (Santa Maria ad Martyres), etc. In addition, many of the structures that “were” had been replaced by new Christian ones: “the church of St. Ursus was the *secretarium* of Nero”; “St. Cyriacus was the temple of Vesta”; “in the place where now is Santa Maria [in Aracoeli], there were ... two temples joined

together with a palace”, etc.<sup>53</sup> The city described around 1140 is thus not an abject sea of ruins but a palimpsest of new constructions and rehabilitated old ones, which puts a non-Hildebertian twist on an inscription that the author claims to have read on the temple of Bellona: “I was Old Rome, but now I shall be called New Rome; thrown down in ruins, I raise my gable high”.<sup>54</sup>

Contemporaries acknowledged that New Rome was made by despoiling the old one. The *Mirabilia* reports a massive removal of stone from antiquities in the Vatican area to make improvements at St. Peter’s, including the “wonderful stone” revetment of the tomb of Romulus and that of the travertine monument of Nero (*tiburinum Neronis*), all of which went to make St. Peter’s atrium and stairway.<sup>55</sup> Two gilded peacocks from the outer circumference of the tomb of Hadrian were taken to adorn St. Peter’s fountain.<sup>56</sup> Some sixty years later Magister Gregorius observed that the imperial residence on the Palatine (*pallacium divi Augusti*) had been constructed entirely of marble, which had provided “abundant precious material for the building of churches”, so much so that nothing was left in the palace for him to write about.<sup>57</sup>

The spoliation reported by twelfth- and thirteenth-century sources was not necessarily recent. The *Liber pontificalis* credits the paving of St. Peter’s atrium “with large pieces of marble” to Pope Donus (676-678) and mentions an enlargement of the stairs by Pope Symmachus (498-514), as well as a major renovation of the stairs by Pope Hadrian I (772-795), who also repaired the “broken” marble pavement inside the church with “better marbles”.<sup>58</sup> What the later medieval sources document is not so much the act of spoliation as an acknowledgement that spoliation had a dual outcome: new

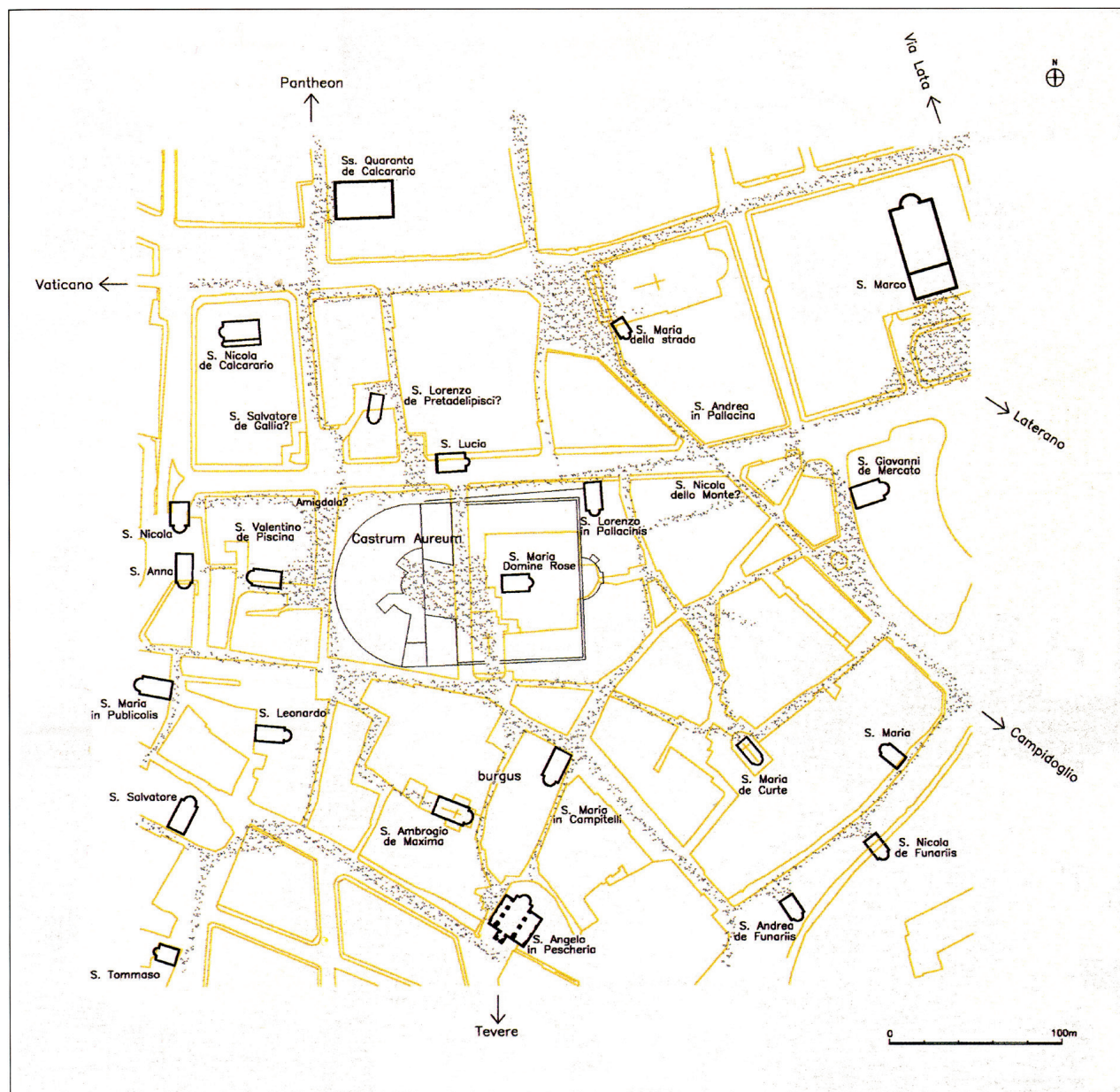


Fig. 7. Rome, area of the Crypta Balbi, map showing later medieval state (after MANACORDA, *Crypta Balbi*, Fig. 70)

or renewed churches and denuded or demolished ancient monuments. They show an unprecedented attention to the effects of spoliation on donor monuments, and an awareness that renewal was metamorphosis.

New evidence for the physical context of twelfth-century reuse has been provided by the extraordinarily fertile archaeological investigations of the past thirty years sponsored by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma and the Comune di Roma, complemented by the brilliant visualizations of Studio Inklinc (fig. 6).<sup>59</sup> Thanks to this work and to archival research like Étienne Hubert's study of the contracts for leasing residential properties, we have specific information on how the medieval Roman "ruinscape" was produced and who controlled it.<sup>60</sup> In the Imperial Fora, for example, archaeologists traced a process of "destructuralization" that began around the time of Theoderic (493-526) with the selective removal of reusable materials and the first traces of a small-scale industry of recycling. A sudden intensification of the process occurred in the ninth century, when organized "demolition workshops" systematically stripped off marble revetments, columnar ornament, and paving stones to feed the vast renewal program of the Carolingian

popes. At this point – except for the Forum of Nerva, which retains some of its marble ornament to this day – the ancient aspect of the Fora was destroyed.<sup>61</sup> Subsequently, in the second half of the tenth century, the denuded ancient spaces were developed into semi-rural residential quarters by individual entrepreneurs and monasteries who had laid claim to the ruins.

This pattern was probably repeated throughout the city. In the area of the Crypta Balbi, public porticoes and temples fell into decay after the fifth century and were occupied by cemeteries, small churches, monasteries, and artisans' workshops. Here too there was a turning point in the ninth century, after a massive flood (791) and violent earthquake (847) collapsed and buried unsecured ruins. Subsequently the cavea of the Theater of Balbus became a private stronghold (*castellum aureum*) linked to the Monastery of St. Mary of Lady Rose (*monasterium Sanctae Mariae Domine Rose*), and other walled settlements grew up in the surrounding region. A map of the area in the later middle ages (fig. 7) shows it dotted with small churches representing an array of interests, including industries or corporations (St. Nicholas of the Lime-Burners, St. Nicholas



of the Rope-makers), commerce (St. John of the Market), monasteries (St. Lawrence *in Pallacinis*), and private families (St. Valentine of the Pool).<sup>62</sup> Daniele Manacorda linked this dense development to a “massive work of demolition and recovery” on the north side of the Theater of Balbus in the first part of the eleventh century, which he attributed to construction by the Monastery of St. Mary of Lady Rose. Again, spoliation accompanied renewal, in this case urban renewal and the creation of new habitations.<sup>63</sup> Hubert’s documentary research also underlined the prominent role played by monasteries in developing residential properties in post-Carolingian Rome.<sup>64</sup> The owners of these properties let out individual plots on long-term contracts (*emphyteusis*) that often specified what might be done with “stones” or other materials found beneath the surface.<sup>65</sup>

The physical context of spoliation and reuse in the twelfth century was thus entirely different from the context of late antiquity. Much of the late antique city was probably in poor repair, but it still comprised the basilicas, temples, commemorative monuments, paved and colonnaded spaces, and imperial show pieces of the classical age. By the twelfth century almost none of those buildings and spaces were intact. Lack of maintenance and systematic spoliation by emperors and then by popes had left denuded structures vulnerable to weather infiltration and structural failure, and many had succumbed.<sup>66</sup> Those that resisted were occupied as fortresses (*castellum aureum*, *castellum quod fuit templum [H]adriani* [mausoleum of Hadrian], *castellum quod vocatur Augustum* [mausoleum of Augustus]) and were encrusted by defensive works and habitations.<sup>67</sup> The ancient sewers were broken, and without drainage, marshes formed (hence Hildebert’s temples “lying in swamps”) and flood debris deposited on ancient street levels was not washed away. Detritus accumulated, the ground level rose dramatically, and ancient streets and pavements disappeared. The early medieval church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin found itself nearly 2 m below the new streets.<sup>68</sup>

Legal prohibitions of spoliation referred to public buildings and were premised on the belief that such buildings were ornaments of their cities and a common ancestral heritage of their residents.<sup>69</sup> In twelfth-century Rome, public buildings had ceased to exist. The terrain of the city was thoroughly privatized, and despite a lingering sense of common heritage, the ornaments that survived were owned. Even after the (re)establishment of the senate in 1143 the city remained a patchwork of private and institutional properties, many of which contained antiquities. When the senate intervened in a property dispute to insure that the Column of Trajan would remain “whole and uninjured as long as the world endures”, it did not declare the Column public property but guaranteed its ownership “in perpetuity” to the nunnery of St. Cyriacus.<sup>70</sup> Étienne Hubert remarked that ancient remains were “omnipresent” on Rome’s undeveloped properties and could be used by builders as the supports for new constructions. He cited three “buildable lots” (*casalina*) in the Forum, described in a thirteenth-century contract as containing “four whole and intact serpentine columns and one broken one”, as representative.<sup>71</sup> Greenhalgh may be right that no unbroken column-sets survived in Rome in the twelfth century, but broken sets were probably not very hard to find. Claussen’s idea that the marble-working families held hereditary “rights of extraction” of such pieces seems unlikely, if only because it is not clear who could have granted such rights. It is plausible, however, that the *marmorarii* were dealers who acquired columns, statues,

revetments and whatever else turned up on various private properties for reworking and resale.<sup>72</sup>

The intellectual context stressed by Maria Fabricius Hansen is much less considered with respect to the twelfth century, except insofar as sources like Hildebert’s Rome poems or the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* reinforce the political paradigm of *renovatio Romae*. Of course, most of the late antique writers cited by Hansen were still read in the twelfth century, but the “twelfth-century renaissance” was the work of many contemporary thinkers, theologians, historians, lawyers, exegetes, poets, artists, architects, and their patrons, as well as charismatic political leaders like Frederick Barbarossa. Many of these men came to Rome. The intellectual climate of the city must have been vibrant, even if its chief representatives were transients. The thinking of those who did not go to Rome could have been known through their books. We know something of the library of Cardinal Guido of Città di Castello, a supporter of Innocent II who briefly succeeded him as Pope Celestine II (1143-1144), and a patron of the probable author of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*.<sup>73</sup> Among the more than 50 books the pope eventually bequeathed to his hometown church of San Fiorenzo were copies of Peter Abelard’s *Sic et non* and *Theologia christiana*.<sup>74</sup> Lacking a synthesis of such Roman connections, art historians have begun to explore the possible Roman reverberations of the works of individual thinkers, notably Bruno of Segni (d. 1123) and Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), with regard to pictorial imagery.<sup>75</sup> There is much more to be done in this vein.

Hansen’s conception of the intellectual context transcends the work of individuals; it is an abstract “view of the world” common to all members of the culture. She defined this worldview as “an inclination to understand the world metaphorically”; “not an attitude people could choose to adopt only *after* they had erected a building [but] ... a general condition of being human at the time”.<sup>76</sup> Although “the time” of which she was writing was in a strict sense the fourth through sixth centuries (“early Christian Rome”), the metaphorical condition, in her view, was essentially pre-modern, that is, it was characteristic of Western thought generally until the Renaissance.<sup>77</sup> Thus she extended her canvas of the use of *spolia* to churches built long after the early Christian period, including Santa Maria in Cosmedin (dated to the eleventh century by Claussen, considered essentially eighth-century by Hansen), San Nicola in Carcere (consecrated in 1128), Santa Maria in Trastevere (1139-1143), and San Lorenzo fuori le mura (1216-1227). Such a drastic telescoping of the context is methodologically impermissible, yet no one would deny that twelfth-century writers were inclined to metaphorical interpretations. In fact, it is not necessary to endorse the notion of a *Weltanschauung* or *Zeitgeist*, much less one of 900 years’ duration, to agree that metaphor was probably a common mode of seeing *spolia* in the twelfth century.

## SIGNIFICATION

Terminology suggests that the ancient artifacts reused in twelfth-century Rome were viewed in a purely functional aspect, as columns, capitals, tombs, and other forms of generically marble “ornament”. The physical context indicates that they were, for the most part, orphaned survivors of buildings and sites that were ruined or vanished. They belonged to a variety of private and institutional owners and were objects of trade. From the fact that they had unusual economic and prestige value we can infer that they were

perceived as belonging to a particular category of old objects, namely antiques; this is confirmed by evidence that the *marmorarii* deliberately sought to reproduce them.<sup>78</sup> The language of the time does not suggest that they were viewed essentially as trophies, although in some cases that may have been implied by their character (e.g., imperial porphyry), origin (e.g., a power-monument like the Mausoleum of Hadrian), or the manner in which they were displayed.

The terminology does not usually draw attention to reuse. Columns were “erected” or “stood up” (*erexit, statuit*) as if for the first time; marble blocks and revetments “adorned” (*ornavit, exornavit*) buildings in the same way as newly made gold and silver implements and furniture. Exceptions are the imperial sarcophagi that were appropriated from relatively intact mausolea for papal burials. A twelfth-century description of the Lateran Cathedral noted that “Innocent II lies in the porphyry conch that was the tomb of Emperor Hadrian”, and Anastasius IV was “in the brilliantly sculpted porphyry mausoleum in which once lay Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine”, with the further information that “the pope had this mausoleum taken out of the church that the emperor had made in honor of his mother outside the City”.<sup>79</sup> These notices tell the reader not that the tombs were secondhand but that they had exceptional pedigrees. Pedigrees enhanced their value as antiques.

On the basis of the terminology, a reductive view might hold that reused Roman objects were “just” columns, capitals, marble ornaments or sepulchers, but this view is precluded by their status as antiques. Nothing is “just” an antique; antiques are by definition highly charged cultural objects. Columns are cultural artifacts as well. In an exercise first reported forty years ago, Umberto Eco analyzed the basic semiotic functions of the column, which stem from its physical (“morphological”) and semantic properties.<sup>80</sup> Eco demonstrated that any column has several kinds of “connotative content” generated by “morphological markers” (i.e., its components: base, vertical shaft, and capital) and its position relative to other columns and to elements above and below it. It would require many pages to work through the potential applications of this analysis to twelfth-century colonnades; here I will touch on just a few.

(1) The morphological “markers” of a column – its height, diameter, and material, in addition to the three components just mentioned – are *morpho-historical*. “Morpho-historical features are typical of architecture, and ... of other forms of visual communication in which the sign-vehicles are not consumed in the moment of emission, as [they are in] ... verbal language.”<sup>81</sup> In other words, columns are not evanescent utterances like words, but enduring (because material) “vehicles” of meaning. Eco also calls them “synchro-diachronic”, because their connotations are simultaneously contemporary and historical. In a Vitruvian frame of reference, the obvious morpho-historical markers are the capitals, which connote the classical system of orders regardless of their actual age. An Ionic capital made yesterday connotes (diachronically) the classical system of two thousand years ago no less than a capital that is actually antique, and unlike the antique capital, the new one also connotes a present aspiration to classicism that has its own (synchronic) associations (high-class, elegant, pretentious, retrograde, etc.).

We can infer that in twelfth-century Rome the material of the column may have been its most potent morpho-historical marker, because materials are often mentioned



Fig. 8. Rome, Santa Maria in Cosmedin in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (reconstruction: GIOVENALE, *La Basilica di Santa Maria in Cosmedin*)

in written sources while the orders, as noted earlier, are not. On the diachronic axis granite, porphyry and colored marble connoted ancient Rome (because none of those materials was in modern production) and Rome’s wealth and splendor.<sup>82</sup> On the synchronic plane these stones connoted effort, expense, and a system of acquisition and supply that, again, had its own supplemental connotations (bargaining, bribery, power, good connections, good [or bad] fortune, etc.).

(2) “The connotations of an aesthetic type are concentrated around the relation ‘ancient...’, further evidence that the aesthetic appreciation of architecture and of art in general is due to what Walter Benjamin called *aura*, that is, the halo of fetishistic respect that is connected to the past, time, and the price that venerable age confers upon an object”.<sup>83</sup>

Jean Baudrillard also invoked the concept of the fetish to explain the psychological function of antiques:

“Civilized” people ... fetishize birth and authenticity by means of the mythological object. ... In the last reckoning every antique is beautiful *merely because it has survived, and thus become the sign of an earlier life*. It is our fraught curiosity about our origins that prompts us to place such mythological objects, the signs of a previous order of things, alongside the functional objects which, for their part, are the signs of our current mastery.<sup>84</sup>

In twelfth-century terms, the antique columns framing the nave of a Roman basilica are the “mythological objects” that signify “a previous order of things”, while the furniture of the Christian ritual: altar, ciborium, choir screen, choir enclosure, are the “functional objects” that reassuringly convey “current mastery” (fig. 8). The analogy is especially striking in Santa Maria in Trastevere (figs. 1 and 2), where



Fig. 9. Rome, Casa dei Crescenzi (photo: Kinney)

some of the ancient capitals are literally mythological in their decoration (or were so, until nineteenth-century workmen mutilated the images of Isis and Serapis on the abaci!).

“Fetish” is a technical term in psychoanalytic theory, but it is not necessary to psychoanalyze the middle ages to make use of the terms fetish and aura. It is a simple truism that antiques are auratic; they have the halo of venerability, the charisma of survival. They have evaded time; *tempus edax rerum*, in the words of one of the twelfth century’s favorite authors.<sup>85</sup> The devouring action of time is thematized in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, in Hildebert’s Rome poems, and in the remarkable verses inscribed over the doorway to the house of Nicolaus Crescentii (figs. 9, 10):

+NICHOLAS, WHOSE HOUSE THIS IS, WAS NOT IGNORANT.  
HE SENSES THAT THE GLORY OF THE WORLD IS AS  
NOTHING TO HIM.  
IN TRUTH HE DID THIS NOT COMPELLED BY VAINGLORY  
BUT TO RENEW THE ANCIENT SPLENDOR OF ROME.  
+WHEN YOU ARE IN BEAUTIFUL HOUSES, REFLECT  
UPON TOMBS.  
YOU WHO HAVE TRUSTED IN GOD DO NOT STAY THERE  
LONG.  
DEATH IS BORNE ON WINGS; NO ONE’S LIFE IS FOREVER.  
OUR STAY HERE IS BRIEF, AND THE COURSE OF LIFE  
IS FLEET.  
THOUGH YOU RUN LIKE THE WIND, THOUGH YOU LOCK  
THE DOORS A HUNDRED TIMES;  
THOUGH YOU BOAST A THOUSAND SHIPS [or sentinels],  
YOU WILL NOT RECLINE WITHOUT DEATH.  
IF YOU STAY IN YOUR CASTLES YOU ARE NEAR TO THE  
STARS  
THE MORE QUICKLY FROM THERE HE IS WONT TO  
SNATCH WHOMEVER HE WISHES.  
+THE HOUSE RISES TO THE STARS WHOSE LOFTY ROOF  
GREAT NICHOLAS, FIRST AMONG THE FIRST, RAISED  
FROM THE DEPTHS.  
THE GLORY OF HIS FATHERS ROSE UP TO RENEW THAT  
OF HIS FAMILY.  
THE NAME OF HIS FATHER REMAINS CRESCENS AND  
OF HIS MOTHER THEODORA.  
+HE MADE THIS GLORIOUS TOWER FOR HIS OFFSPRING.  
HE WHO PROVED HIMSELF A FATHER GAVE IT TO  
DAVID.<sup>86</sup>



Fig. 10. Rome, Casa dei Crescenzi, detail of main portal (photo: Kinney)

The poem wraps two quatrains of *renovatio* rhetoric (including the often-cited line, *quam Rome veterem renovare decorem*) around a *memento mori* that vividly proclaims the brevity of life and the fleetness of death with insistent repetition. Anxious images of transience are framed by confident assertions that the glory of Rome can be revived. The *spolia* that lavishly adorn the street fronts of the house seem to echo this double message, almost literally in the figured modillions representing winged (flying!) seasons and the immortals Cupid and Psyche (fig. 12).<sup>87</sup> As reassembled fragments, the ancient ornaments testify to both the ruin of their original Roman setting and to the fetishistic belief that by reintegrating them, Nicholas could restore the glory of an entire city, or of an entire age.

It is notable that Eco classified the associations of antiques (objects of “venerable age”) as aesthetic rather than historical; this points to their subliminal character. The aesthetic response is involuntary and often inarticulate, as ingenuously (or ironically) described by Magister Gregorius in the famous explanation of his repeated visits to a nude marble statue of Venus (he claimed to have been drawn to it by “I know not what magic spell”).<sup>88</sup> Aesthetic effects are not programmatic or intentional, and they often elude Panofskyan iconography, which seeks deliberate content. Aesthetic responses stem from culturally embedded *endoxa* (“socially codified acquired habits”) that may be of very long duration.<sup>89</sup> An Eskimo or a Mongol might see a column purely as a structural support, but anyone raised in the Western tradition for the past two thousand years will recognize it as a “mythological object” and share at least some of its associations with “a previous order of things”.

(3) The connotations of the column standing alone are different from the connotations of a column seen in



Fig. 11. Rome, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, facade and porch (photo: Kinney)



Fig. 12. Rome, Casa dei Crescenzi, detail of spolia (photo: Kinney)

a functional context, that is, as part of a building. “[The] single column may be an ancient one, standing alone {amongst ruins}, or a {new} one erected for commemorative ends”.<sup>90</sup> “A column without a capital does not give the impression of holding up anything”.<sup>91</sup>

Twelfth-century Rome must have been full of columns “standing alone”, without capitals, supporting nothing, or not standing at all, lying prone or propped up by debris. These columns were themselves morphological markers of the ruinscape, diachronic signifiers of buildings that once had been (Claussens “aesthetic utopia”) and synchronic signifiers of Hildebert’s “shattered” city.

Beginning in the eleventh century there was a great collective effort to reassemble these single columns into colonnades, not only inside churches but on exterior porches

(fig. 11) and the fronts of houses (fig. 13).<sup>92</sup> We might think of this effort, like the plastering of *spolia* on the Casa dei Crescenzi, as a fetishistic use of the column to bring the shattered ancient city back to life, while noting that in this case the magic object produced a real effect: the reassertion of street fronts by recurring rows of Ionic columns was a significant step toward the re-urbanization of Rome after its long semi-rural interlude dating back to the sixth century. Although all of the new colonnades were built of *spolia*, the porches and house fronts differed from interior church colonnades in that only the shafts were used as they were. The other elements, Ionic capitals and entablatures, were cut from old marble by twelfth- and thirteenth-century craftsmen. Deliberately or not, this produced one kind of Roman effect – the appearance of organized uniformity – that was counter to the traditional heterogeneity of church interiors.

The apparent disorder of spoliated church colonnades has tantalized scholars ever since F. W. Deichmann first called attention to it in 1940.<sup>93</sup> In Deichmann’s view, all hope of deliberate “arrangement” (*Anordnung*) had disappeared by the eighth century, when the supply of *spolia* had become so small that builders could not be selective. Hansen argued against this view even for San Nicola in Carcere (fig. 14), where she interpreted the presence of more colorful shafts on the right side of the nave as a deliberate marking of the gender division of the congregation (“this side was traditionally used by men, whereas the left and female side apparently was associated with the plainer or more monotonous materials”).<sup>94</sup> I am inclined to agree instead with Deichmann and Greenhalgh, that the shafts were distributed “as they came into the hands of the masons”, not because Rome was running out of column shafts in the twelfth century, but because of the piecemeal means of their procurement. In San Nicola, the clustering of materials and textures – a block of three fluted cipollino shafts on the right side toward the entrance,



Fig. 13. Rome, colonnade in Via Capo di Ferro (photo: Kinney)

another block of three smooth cipollino shafts with gorgeous veins on the left framed by blocks of granite, etc. – follows the principle of the disposition of materials in the colonnades of St. Peter's.<sup>95</sup> In that respect the arrangement may have been merely habitual, as Greenhalgh maintains, and thus not very significant; or it may have been self-consciously traditional, that is, value-laden. Either way, the disposition also evokes the multiple sites and sellers (or donors) from which the shafts must have been obtained. In that respect the colonnade is both commemorative and restorative, simultaneously preserving a trace of the "ruinscape" and integrating its remains into a fine new whole. Again like the *spolia* on the Casa dei Crescenzi, the colonnades are a microcosm of the renovated city, recalling its broken past while also instantiating its reassembly.

Eco's analysis of the column took the physical object as its point of departure, and categorized the object's associations for a secular European-educated viewer. "Column" is also a verbal signifier, however, and in the Christian middle ages its verbal associations would have been predominant, at least among literate patrons and interpreters. For this group – primarily clerics and monks – the verbal connotations of "column" would have been Biblical. The columns they knew belong to what Bruno Reudenbach called an "interpretive nexus" (*Deutungskomplex*) of Biblical passages containing the word *columna*, including Exodus 26.32 and 37 (the Tabernacle), 3 Kings 7.14-22 and 2 Chronicles 3.15-16 (the Temple), Psalm 74.4, Proverbs 9.1, Song of Songs 3.10 and 5:15, 1 Timothy 3.15, and especially Galatians 2.9 (where the apostles James, Peter and John are said to be "columns") and Apocalypse 3.12 ("I shall make him a column in the temple of my God").<sup>96</sup> By the twelfth century these passages were firmly embedded in a long tradition of Christian exegesis that figured the spiritual community (*Ecclesia*) as a building, as in the metaphorical vision of St. Paul: "you are fellow citizens of the saints and members of God's household, erected upon the foundation of the apostles and the prophets, and the uppermost cornerstone is Jesus Christ himself, in whom the entire structure is built and grows into a holy temple in the Lord, in whom you too are being built into



Fig. 14. Rome, San Nicola in Carcere, cipollino shafts in the south colonnade (photo: Kinney)

the habitation of God in the Spirit".<sup>97</sup> In this polymorphic building the columns might be apostles, prophets, doctors of Church, evangelists, or other "pillars", depending on the passage being elucidated and the interpreter. The signified of the verbal signifier "column" was not fixed, although the range of possibilities was restricted by the consistent overriding idea.

The exegetical tradition existed independently of real church buildings and cannot be considered a program for any one of them. It was latent in all of them, however, and twelfth-century Roman patrons obviously intended that material constructions should be understood in metaphorical terms (that is, allegorically), because they said so. In the apse mosaic of San Clemente, an inscription plainly announces the metaphorical intention: WE WILL LIKEN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST TO THIS VINE.<sup>98</sup> In Santa Maria in Trastevere, the apse mosaic represents another figure of *Ecclesia*, the Bride of the Song of Songs (again made explicit by inscriptions), in a multiple allegory that simultaneously represents the transfigured spiritual community and the *Ecclesia* "left in this life" (*in hac vita relicta*), in the words of a contemporary observer.<sup>99</sup> In Santa Maria in Cosmedin, an inscription on the absidal throne reads: ALFANUS FIERI TIBI FECIT VIRGO MARIA ("Alfanus had this made, Virgin Mary, for you"), which suggests that the throne is a figure of the Virgin who was – as confirmed at Santa Maria in Trastevere – a figure of the Church. To the authors, viewers and readers of these objects, columns in churches would not have been inert supports. They were materializations of a protean verbal sign that pointed to an immaterial building in a transcendent realm.

## CONCLUSION

*Spolia* were potent signifiers in twelfth-century Rome, but not as *spolia*. Michael Greenhalgh's caution against automatically assigning the "baggage" of that word to reused artifacts is well taken. This should not lead to a minimalist reduction of meaning to economic impulse, however, because the medieval mind-set led in the opposite direction. Hansen's demonstration of a tendency to metaphorization cannot be dismissed, because it is grounded in key Christian sources, including the Bible itself. St. Paul, who died and was enshrined in Rome, was one of the great metaphorical writers of all time. Metaphor leads to the multiplication of meanings, not to restraint and codification.

The ancient objects reused in the twelfth century signified in their functional or essential capacity as columns, tombs, marble, etc., and simultaneously as antiques. They registered as iconographic objects of more or less fixed denotation (every column is an icon of the classical ideal "column"), and as aesthetic objects with richer, conscious and unconscious connotations. In most cases the connotations must remain matters of speculation for us belated interpreters, and even in their own time the connotations would have varied from viewer to viewer. This is precisely what makes *spolia* such a rich and satisfying field of research, but good methodology requires that we keep our interpretations grounded in careful study of the context.

<sup>1</sup> M. GREENHALGH, *Spolia: a definition in ruins*, in *Idem, Marble Past, Monumental Present. Building with Antiquities in the Mediaeval Mediterranean*, Leiden-Boston, 2009, DVD, pp. 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> M. FABRICIUS HANSEN, *The Eloquence of Appropriation. Prolegomena to an Understanding of Spolia in Early Christian Rome*, Rome, 2003, p. 293.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 156.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 247-260.

<sup>6</sup> L. DE LACHENAL, *Spolia. Uso e reimpiego dell'antico dal III al XIV secolo*, Milan, 1995; A. ESCH, *Spolien. Zur Wiederverwendung antiker Baustücke und Skulpturen im mittelalterlichen Italien*, in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 51, Cologne, 1969, pp. 1-64; cf. D. KINNEY, *The Concept of Spolia*, in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, C. RUDOLPH (ed.), Malden, MA-Oxford-Carlton, AU, 2006, pp. 233-252.

<sup>7</sup> De Lachenal was heavily influenced by the canonical view of R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Rome. Profile of a City, 312-1308*, Princeton, 1980, pp. 143-202, which was in turn indebted to H. TOUBERT, *Le renouveau paléochrétien à Rome au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Cahiers archéologiques* 20, Paris, 1970, pp. 99-154 (reprinted in *Eadem, Un art dirigé. Réforme grégorienne et Iconographie*, Paris, 1990, pp. 239-310) and to a revival of interest in the twelfth-century renaissance prompted by the 1977 semi-centennial of Charles Homer Haskins' original formulation of it; see *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, R. L. BENSON, G. CONSTABLE (eds.), Cambridge, MA, 1982, pp. xvii-xx.

<sup>8</sup> Translated from L. DE LACHENAL, *Spolia...*, p. 208.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 225-226. I bear responsibility for this interpretation: D. KINNEY, *Spolia from the Baths of Caracalla in S. Maria in Trastevere*, in *Art Bulletin* 68, New York, 1986, pp. 379-397.

<sup>10</sup> P. C. CLAUSSEN, *Marmo e splendore. Architettura, arredi liturgici, spoliae*, in *Arte e iconografia a Roma da Costantino a Cola di Rienzo*, M. ANDALORO, S. ROMANO (eds.), Milan, 2000, pp. 193-225; see also *Idem, Renovatio Romae. Erneuerungsphasen römischer Architektur im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*, in *Rom im hohen Mittelalter. Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert. Reinhard Elze zur Vollendung seines siebzigsten Lebensjahres gewidmet*, B. SCHIMMELPFENNIG, L. SCHMUGGE (eds.), Sigmaringen, 1992, pp. 87-125.

<sup>11</sup> Translated from P. C. CLAUSSEN, *Marmo e splendore*, p. 194.

<sup>12</sup> Translated from *Ibidem*, p. 207.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 194, 213.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 210.

<sup>15</sup> M. GREENHALGH, *Spolia...*, pp. 3, 18.

<sup>16</sup> M. FABRICIUS HANSEN, *The Eloquence of Appropriation...*, p. 37.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 291 ("deeper iconographic content [transgressing the consciously intended]"); cf. E. PANOFSKY, *Studies in Iconology. Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (1939), reprint New York-Hagerstown, MD, etc., 1972, pp. 14-15 ("Iconographical interpretation in a deeper sense" requiring "insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, essential tendencies of the human mind were expressed by specific themes and concepts"). For a negative reaction to this form of interpretation and Hansen's use of it see E. MARLOWE'S review of her book in *caareviews* (23/08/2004).

<sup>18</sup> E. PANOFSKY, *Studies in Iconology...*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> M. GREENHALGH, *Spolia...*, pp. 6-8.

<sup>21</sup> *Idem, Marble Past, Monumental Present...*, pp. 372-373.

<sup>22</sup> P. C. CLAUSSEN, *Marmo e splendore...*, p. 209.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 209-212.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 215.

<sup>25</sup> M. GREENHALGH, *Spolia...*, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Translated from P. C. CLAUSSEN, *Marmo e splendore...*, p. 210.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>28</sup> J. ONIANS, *Bearers of Meaning. The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance*, Princeton, 1988, pp. 59-111.

<sup>29</sup> M. GREENHALGH, *Spolia...*, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> S. SERIFF, *Introduction*, in *Recycled Re-Seen: Folk Art from the Global Scrap Heap*, C. CERNY, S. SERIFF (eds.), New York, 1996, pp. 8-29.

<sup>31</sup> P. C. CLAUSSEN, *Marmo e splendore...*, p. 210

<sup>32</sup> “Evulsis captivis direptis spoliis subversis urbibus victores redierint”: *Liber pontificalis* of Pierre Guillaume, in *Le Liber pontificalis*, L. DUCHESNE (ed.), vol. 2, reprint Paris, 1981, p. 301; “fures quoque et raptores qui sibi egeno et pauperi viatorum et peregrinantium spolia conferebant”: Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, in *Ibidem*, p. 420; “episcopi, cardinales omnes ac clerici et multi de populo qui convenerant, ab apparitoribus Cencii modo simili vinciuntur, de caballis ac mulis capite verso praecipitantur, expoliuntur, et inauditis undique miseri miseris affliguntur...”: *Liber pontificalis* of Pierre Guillaume, *Ibidem*, p. 313.

<sup>33</sup> *Liber pontificalis* of Pierre Guillaume, L. DUCHESNE (ed.), p. 290.

<sup>34</sup> “ad sanctum Petrum cum multitudine maxima equitavit et ipsam ecclesiam per violentiam cepit ... Sublatis autem omnibus, ad patriarchium beate Marie accessit et ecclesiam ipsam multo maiore thesauro ditatam, expoliare nichilominus attemptavit”: Boso, *Vita Innocentii II*, in *Liber pontificalis*, L. DUCHESNE (ed.), vol. 2, p. 380.

<sup>35</sup> “postquam vero in eorum venit potestate, expoliaverunt eum vestimentis suis et induerunt eum duas versas ovinas ulcas, et posuerunt eum super camilum qui ferebat caldarie pontificis Calixty, et ceperunt sic reverti Romae, ita ludibriatus et verberatus”: *Annales romani*, in *Liber pontificalis*, L. DUCHESNE (ed.), vol. 2, pp. 347-348.

<sup>36</sup> *Liber pontificalis*, L. DUCHESNE (ed.), vol. 1, pp. 176 (Pope Sylvester), 417 (Gregory III), 234 (Sixtus III).

<sup>37</sup> Boso, *Vita Innocentii II*, L. DUCHESNE (ed.), p. 384.

<sup>38</sup> N. M. NICOLAI, *Della Basilica di S. Paolo*, Rome, 1815, pp. 303-304; online at <http://rara.biblherz.it/Dt4180-4150>. Three shafts were of red (Aswan) granite and two were grey.

<sup>39</sup> *Liber pontificalis*, L. DUCHESNE (ed.), vol. 1, p. 417.

<sup>40</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, XVI.5.1, quoted by T. WEIGEL, *Spolien und Buntmarmor im Urteil mittelalterlicher Autoren*, in *Antike Spolien in der Architektur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, J. POESCHKE (ed.), Munich, 1996, pp. 120, 136 n. 13: “Nam marmora dicuntur eximii lapides, qui maculis et coloribus commendantur”.

<sup>41</sup> *Liber pontificalis*, L. DUCHESNE (ed.), vol. 2, p. 4 (Pope Leo III); T. WEIGEL, *Spolien und Buntmarmor*, p. 128.

<sup>42</sup> *Magister Gregorius (12<sup>e</sup> ou 13<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, *Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Romae*, R. B. C. HUYGENS (ed.), Leiden, 1970, p. 28: “piramis Iulii Caesaris, que ex uno solidoque lapide porfirico condita est”.

<sup>43</sup> Leo of Ostia, *Chronica monasterii casinensis* 3.26, H. HOFFMANN (ed.), MGH, SS vol. 34, Hannover, 1980, p. 394: “columnas, bases ac lilia nec non et diversorum colorum marmora abundanter coemit”.

<sup>44</sup> 3 Regum 7:19; cf. D. KINNEY, *The discourse of columns*, in *Rome across Time and Space, c.500-1400: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas*, C. BOLGIA, R. MCKITTERICK, J. OSBORNE (eds.), Cambridge, p. 187, forthcoming.

<sup>45</sup> This would confirm J. EMERICK's view that in medieval “column displays” all capital types were effectively Corinthian: *The Tempietto del Clitunno near Spoleto*, University Park, PA, 1998, vol. 1, p. 218; cf. D. KINNEY, *Bearers of Meaning*, in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 50, Münster, 2007, p. 149.

<sup>46</sup> I. HERKLOTZ, “Sepulcra” e “Monumenta” del Medioevo. *Studi sull'arte sepolcrale in Italia*, Rome, 1985, pp. 13-48, 85-140.

<sup>47</sup> *Liber pontificalis*, L. DUCHESNE (ed.), vol. 1, p. 243.

<sup>48</sup> “honorifice tumulatus in concha porphiretica miro opere constructa”: Boso, *Vita Innocentii II*, L. DUCHESNE (ed.), p. 385; “sepulchrum porfiricum ... in quo sepultus est Innocentius papa II”: Petrus Mallius, *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, R. VALENTINI, G. ZUCCHETTI (eds.), *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, vol. 3, Rome, 1946, p. 431. For the tubs see I. HERKLOTZ, “Sepulcra” e “Monumenta”..., pp. 110-113.

<sup>49</sup> Hildebert, *De Roma*, in *Hildeberti Cenomannensis Episcopi Carmina minora*, A. B. SCOTT (ed.), Turnhout, 1969, pp. 22-24; *The Idea of Rome from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, D. THOMPSON (ed.), Albuquerque, NM, 1971, p. 159; A. MICHEL, *Rome chez Hildebert de Lavardin*, in *Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople. L'image et le mythe de la ville au Moyen Age. Colloque du Département d'Etudes Médiévales de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV)*, Paris, 1986, p. 200.

<sup>50</sup> *William of Malmesbury Gesta Regum Anglorum. The History of the English Kings*, R. A. B. MYNORS, R. M. THOMSON, M. WINTERBOTTOM (eds. and trans.), Oxford, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 612-615.

<sup>51</sup> For a better-rounded, if subjective view of the poems see P. VON MOOS, *Hildebert von Lavardin 1056-1133. Humanitas an der Schwelle des höfischen Zeitalters*, Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 240-258.

<sup>52</sup> *Mirabilia Romae*, R. VALENTINI, G. ZUCCHETTI (eds.), *Codice topografico*, vol. 3, pp. 17-65; cf. D. KINNEY, *Fact and Fiction in the Mirabilia urbis Romae*, in *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, É. Ó. CARRAGÁIN, C. NEUMAN DE VEGVAR (eds.), Aldershot, UK, 2007, pp. 235-252.

<sup>53</sup> *Mirabilia Romae*, R. VALENTINI, G. ZUCCHETTI (eds.), pp. 49, 50, 52

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 48: “Roma vetusta fui, sed nunc nova Roma vocabor/Eruta ruderibus, culmen ad alta fero”.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 46.

<sup>57</sup> *Magister Gregorius*, R. B. C. HUYGENS (ed.), p. 17; cf. *Master Gregorius. The Marvels of Rome*, J. OSBORNE (trans.), Toronto, 1987, pp. 68-69; A. V. VAN STEKELENBURG, *Some statistics regarding the spolia columns in the Christian basilicas of Rome*, in *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 51/52, The Hague, 1992/1993, p. 115.

<sup>58</sup> *Liber pontificalis*, L. DUCHESNE (ed.), vol. 1, pp. 262, 348 (“magnis marmoribus stravit”), 503; R. KRAUTHEIMER, S. CORBETT, A. FRAZER, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, vol. 5, Vatican City, 1977, pp. 174-175.

<sup>59</sup> D. MANACORDA, *Crypta Balbi. Archeologia e storia di un paesaggio urbano*, Milan, 2001; R. SANTANGELI VALENZANI, *I fori Imperiali nel Medioevo*, in *Römische Mitteilungen* 108, Rome, 2001, pp. 269-283; R. MENEGHINI, R. SANTANGELI VALENZANI, E. BIANCHI, *I Fori Imperiali. Gli scavi del Comune di Roma (1991-2007)*, Rome, 2007; *Il reimpiego in architettura. Recupero, trasformazione, uso*, J. F. BERNARD, P. BERNARDI, D. ESPOSITO (eds.), Rome, 2008. Studio Inklink: <http://www.inklink-culturalheritagecommunication.eu/>. For documentation and a more detailed synthesis of these publications see D. KINNEY, *Spoliation in Medieval Rome*, in *Topoi, Berlin Studies of the Ancient World*, forthcoming.

<sup>60</sup> É. HUBERT, *Espace urbain et habitat à Rome du X<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Rome, 1990.

<sup>61</sup> R. SANTANGELI VALENZANI, in *I fori Imperiali...*, pp. 123-124.

<sup>62</sup> C. HUELSEN, *Le Chiese di Roma nel medio evo. Cataloghi ed appunti*, reprint Rome, 2000, pp. 391 (S. Nicolai de Calca[ra]riis), 399 (S. Nicolai de Funariis), 273 (S. Iohannis [Baptistae] de Mercato), 291-292 (S. Laurentii in Pallacinis), 495-496 (S. Valentini de Balneo Mircine ovvero de Piscina).

<sup>63</sup> D. MANACORDA, *Crypta Balbi...*, p. 65.

<sup>64</sup> É. HUBERT, *Espace urbain et habitat...*, p. 275.

- <sup>65</sup> J. P. LOMAX, *Spolia as Property*, in *Res publica litterarum. Studies in the Classical Tradition* 20, Lawrence, KA, 1997, pp. 83-94.
- <sup>66</sup> *Liber pontificalis*, L. DUCHESNE (ed.), vol. 1, p. 343: Emperor Constans II “omnia quae erant in aere ad ornatum civitatis deposuit; sed et ecclesiae sanctae Mariae ad martyres quae de tigulis aereis erant discoperuit”.
- <sup>67</sup> *Mirabilia Romae*, R. VALENTINI, G. ZUCCHETTI (eds.), pp. 46, 47.
- <sup>68</sup> G. B. GIOVENALE, *La Basilica di Santa Maria in Cosmedin*, Rome, 1927, pp. 251-252.
- <sup>69</sup> *Codex Theodosianus* Lib. XV: *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis*, T. MOMMSEN, P. M. MEYER (eds.), Berlin, 1954, pp. 801-814.
- <sup>70</sup> “columpne ... ut est ad honorem ipsius ecclesie (Sancti Nicolai) et totius populi Romani, integra et incorrupta permaneat dum mundus durat, sic eius stant[e] figura”: *Codice diplomatico del Senato romano dal MCXLIV al MCCCXLVII*, F. BARTOLONI (ed.), Rome, 1948, pp. 25-27.
- <sup>71</sup> É. HUBERT, *Espace urbain et habitat...*, p. 130.
- <sup>72</sup> P. C. CLAUSSEN, *Marmo e splendore...*, p. 209.
- <sup>73</sup> On the question of authorship see J. F. ROMANO, *The Ceremonies of the Roman Pontiff: Reading Benedict's Twelfth-Century Liturgical Script*, in *Viator* 41, Berkeley, 2010, pp. 133-150.
- <sup>74</sup> C. J. MEWS, *The Council of Sens (1141): Abelard, Bernard, and the Fear of Social Upheaval*, in *Speculum* 77, Cambridge, MA, 2002, pp. 365-366.
- <sup>75</sup> E.g., S. RICCIONI, *Il mosaico absidale di S. Clemente a Roma. Exemplum della Chiesa riformata*, Spoleto, 2006.
- <sup>76</sup> M. FABRICIUS HANSEN, *The Eloquence of Appropriation...*, p. 199.
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 32-33.
- <sup>78</sup> P. C. CLAUSSEN, *Marmo e splendore...*, pp. 210-217; P. PENSABENE, *I portici delle case medievali di Roma*, in *Il reimpiego in architettura*, pp. 67-93.
- <sup>79</sup> *Descriptio lateranensis ecclesiae*, R. VALENTINI, G. ZUCCHETTI (eds.), *Codice topografico*, vol. 3, pp. 348 (“in navi ecclesiae iacet Innocentius papa II in conca porfiretica, quae fuit Adriani imperatoris sepultura”), 351 (“a sinistro ... latere basilicae ... iacet Anastasius III ... in mausoleo porfiretico preclaro opere sculpto, in quo olim iacuit Helena, mater Constantini imperatoris; quod videlicet mausoleum de ecclesia, quam idem imperator ad honorem ipsius matris extra Urbem fabricaverat, idem papa deportari fecerat”).
- <sup>80</sup> U. ECO, *A Componential Analysis of the Architectural Sign /Column/*, D. OSMOND-SMITH (trans.), in *Semiotica* 5, The Hague, 1972, pp. 97-117, reprint in *Signs, Symbols, and Architecture*, G. BROADBENT, R. BUNT, C. JENCKS (eds.), Chichester et al., 1980, pp. 213-232.
- <sup>81</sup> U. ECO, *A Componential Analysis...*, p. 230.
- <sup>82</sup> P. C. CLAUSSEN, *Marmo e splendore...*, pp. 193-197.
- <sup>83</sup> U. ECO, *A Componential Analysis...*, p. 231.
- <sup>84</sup> J. BAUDRILLARD, *The System of Objects*, J. BENEDICT (trans.), London-New York, 1996, pp. 82-83.
- <sup>85</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphosis* XV:234-236: “tempus edax rerum, tuque, invidiosa vetustas, omnia destruitis vitiatque dentibus aevi paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte!”
- <sup>86</sup> The following transcription is mostly after Forcella, controlled by photos of the original: +NON FUIT IGNARUS CUIUS DOMUS HEC NICOLAUS/QUOD NIL MOMENTI SIBI MUNDI GLA SENTIT/VERUM QD FECIT HANC NON TAM VANA COEGIT/GLA QUAM ROME VETEREM RENOVARE DECOREM./+IN DOMIBUS PULCRIS MEMORE ESTOE SEPULCRIS/CONFISIQUE TIU NON IBI STARE DIU./MORS VEHT PENNIS NULLI SUA VITA PHENNIS./MANSIO NRA BREVIS CURSUS ET IPSE LEVIS./SI FUGIAS VENTU SI CLAUDAS OSTIA C./LISGOR MILLE IUBES N SINE MORTE CUBES./SI MANEAS CASTRIS EE ME VICINAS ASTRIS./OCIUS INDE SOLET TOLLERE QUOSQ VOLLET./+SURGIT IN ASTRA DOM SUBLIMIS, CULMINA CUIUS,/PRIM DE PRIMIS, MAGNUS NICHOS AB IMIS./EREXIT PATRU DEC OB RENOVARE SUORU./STAT PATRIS CRESCENS MATRISQ THEODORA NOM./+HOC CULMEN CLARU CARO P PIGNERE GESTU/DAVIDI TRIBUTI QUI PATER EXHIBUIT. *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, V. FORCELLA (ed.), vol. 13, Rome, 1879, p. 535, with expansions of the abbreviations on the same page. The Latin is often doubtful or obscure, and the translation offered here draws from several earlier attempts: P. E. VISCONTI, *Città e famiglie nobili e celebri dello Stato Pontificio. Dizionario storico*, vol. 2, Rome, 1847, pp. 722-723; F. GORI, *La Torre del Monzone presso il Ponte Rotto di Roma non fu mai Casa del Tribuno Cola di Rienzo*, in *Il Buonarroti* s. 2, 7, Rome, 1872, pp. 5-6; F. SABATINI, *La Famiglia e le Torri dei Crescenzi*, Rome, 1908, pp. 17-18. I am grateful to my colleague Julia Haig Gaisser for her advice.
- <sup>87</sup> On the *spolia* see P. PENSABENE, *La Casa dei Crescenzi e il reimpiego nelle case del XII e XIII secolo a Roma*, in *Arnolfo di Cambio e la sua epoca: Costruire, scolpire, dipingere, decorare. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, Firenze-Colle di Val d'Elsa, 7-10 marzo 2006, V. FRANCHETTI PARDO (ed.), Rome, 2007, pp. 65-76.
- <sup>88</sup> *Magister Gregorius*, R. B. C. HUYGENS (ed.), p. 20.
- <sup>89</sup> U. ECO, *A Componential Analysis...*, p. 224.
- <sup>90</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 230.
- <sup>91</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 227.
- <sup>92</sup> P. PENSABENE, *I portici...*
- <sup>93</sup> F. W. DEICHMANN, *Säule und Ordnung in der frühchristlichen Architektur*, in *Römische Mitteilungen* 55, Rome, 1940, pp. 114-130.
- <sup>94</sup> M. FABRICIUS HANSEN, *The Eloquence of Appropriation...*, p. 37. Note that she uses “left” and “right” to refer not (as they should) to the liturgical orientation of the church but to the perspective of a viewer standing in the nave.
- <sup>95</sup> For St. Peter's colonnades see L. BOSMAN, *The Power of Tradition. Spolia in the Architecture of St. Peter's in the Vatican*, Hilversum, 2004.
- <sup>96</sup> Ad Galatas 2:9: “Iacobus, et Cephas, et Ioannes, qui videbantur columnae esse”; Apocalypsis 3:12: “Qui vicerit, faciam illum columnam in templo Dei mei”. For a fuller discussion see B. REUDENBACH, *Säule und Apostel. Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Architektur und architekturexegetischer Literatur im Mittelalter*, in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 14, Berlin, 1980, pp. 310-351; D. KINNEY, *Bearers of Meaning...*, pp. 143-145; *Eadem*, *The discourse of columns...*, pp. 184-190.
- <sup>97</sup> Ad Ephesios 2.19-22: “estis cives sanctorum, et domestici Dei: supraedificati super fundamentum apostolorum, et prophetarum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu: in quo omnis aedificatio constructa crescit in templum sanctum in Domino, in quo et vos coaedificamini in habitaculum Dei in Spiritu”.
- <sup>98</sup> ECCLESIAM CHRISTI VITI SIMILABIMUS ISTI; cf. S. RICCIONI, *Il mosaico absidale di S. Clemente*, pp. 65-75.
- <sup>99</sup> There is a large bibliography; for a beginning see M. ANDALORO, S. ROMANO, *L'immagine nell'abside*, in *Arte e iconografia a Roma*, pp. 110-112.



U posljednjem objavljenom radu Michael Greenhalgh propituje suvremene trendove u učenjima o spolijima prema kojima su ponovno upotrijebljeni artefakti 'rječite' (termin Marie Fabricius Hansen) ekspresije kulturnih stajališta i/ili ideoloških opredjeljenja. Greenhalgh podržava minimalistički pristup prema kojem se velika većina *spolia* razumijeva kao čisto pragmatično rješenje u pribavljanju materijala. Istraživači Rima 12. stoljeća, gdje su antička *spolia* obilno korištena jednako kao običan materijal i kao dekoracija, bili su skloni interpretirati *spolia* u lokalnim okvirima, uključujući papinsku politiku i ideologiju *renovatio Romae*. U tom kontekstu Peter Cornelius Claussen, poput Greenhalgha, propituje primjerenost riječi '*spolia*' za reupotrijebljene objekte. Kao i Greenhalgh, Claussen naglašava estetski izgled antičkog mramora kao uzrok njegove reupotrebe.

Terminologija rimskih dokumenata 12. stoljeća potvrđuje kako *spolia* nije termin kojega bi suvremenici primjenili za ponovno upotrijebljene objekte, budući da njegove konotacije – ratovanje, pljačka, ponižavanje – nisu primjerene. Reupotrijebljeni objekti navode se prema originalnim nazivima (*columna*, *capitella*, *sepulchrum* itd.), iako su se kapiteli nazivali i 'ljiljani' prema modelu Starog Zavjeta. Dosljednost u terminologiji zrcali dosljednost funkcije, jer je većina ponovno upotrijebljenih komada iskorištena u iste svrhe za koje su originalno izrađeni.

Literarni izvori prikazuju 'polomljeno' i ruševno fizičko stanje reupotrebe 12. stoljeća, iako *Mirabilia urbis Romae* naglašava kako su nove građevine i nove funkcije istisnule stare. Nedavna arheološka istraživanja pokazala su da je spolijacija antičkih monumentalnih građevina centra Grada svoj klimaks doživjela u karolinško doba, nakon kojega je Rim postao visokoprivatizirani kolaž polururalnih enklava izgrađenih nad ili u samim ruševinama. Brojni samostani bili su u vlasništvu takvih posjeda, koji su obično sadržavali antičke ostatke, a koji su davani u dugoročnu koncesiju radi razvoja. Stupovi, mramorni blokovi, statue i drugi antički komadi koji su ležali na imanjima ili pod njima bili su imovina koju su vlasnici ili posjednici bili slobodni reupotrijebiti ili prodati. Preprodavači arhitektonskih dijelova – vjerojatno

među njima i klesari u mramoru (*marmorarii*) – sigurno su bili u potrazi za takvim primjercima radi prerade i preprodaje. Potražnja je bila visoka tijekom 12. stoljeća, u vrijeme kada su brojne drevne crkve pregrađene.

Osim u papinskim izvorima, intelektualni kontekst Rima 12. stoljeća ostao je relativno zanemaren. Unatoč činjenici da se situacija koju rekonstruira Maria Hansen temelji na kasnoantičkim autorima, naglasak kojega stavlja na metaforu kao prevladavajući oblik značenja i interpretacije nije neprimjeren za 12. stoljeće. Metafora (alegorija) bila je uobičajeni hermeneutički postupak, poglavito u biblijskoj egzegezi.

Moderna semiotička teorija pokazuje kako antički objekti poput stupova generiraju konotativna značenja preko svojeg fizičkog oblika, svoju sintetičku vezu s arhitektonskom konstrukcijom i endoksu, kolektivno znanje i pretpostavke o kulturi. Umberto Eco nazivao je stupove 'sinkronijsko-dijakronijskim' označiteljima, jer su njihove konotacije simultano suvremene (uvjeti akvizicije i kupnje, nalazište, uvjeti itd.) i historijske (antički ideali stupa koji za 12. stoljeće uključuju biblijske kao i klasične endokse). Baudrillard je držao da su starine predmeti fetiša, znakovi 'prijašnjeg reda stvari', te ponovno čitanje izvora 12. stoljeća u tom svjetlu sugerira da su stupovi i druga *spolia* bili fetiši *renovatio Romae*. Mnoge orobljene kolonade 12. stoljeća – na pročeljima kuća i trijemovima crkava, kao i u crkvama – mogu se promatrati kao fetišističke nakane za obnovom drevnog reda koji je bio uništen post-karolinškim nestankom antičkog grada.

Najjasnije artikulirane konotacije stupova bile bi biblijske. Stupovi se javljaju u Starom i Novom Zavjetu kao metafore kršćanske *Ecclesia*. Natpisi u crkvama 12. stoljeća jasno pokazuju da su njihovi utemeljitelji imali namjeru da se materijalne *ecclesiae* sagledavaju i doživljavaju na metaforički način, kao slike duhovne *Ecclesia* na zemlji i na nebu.

*Prevela: Maja Zeman*