have come, 200,000 staying every day? At the same time it was an attempt on the part of the Church to reconcile the religious fervor of the masses with her own spiritual and temporal aspirations. She administered, after all, and distributed to the faithful through indulgences, the treasure of salvation. Inevitably, to be sure, the celebration developed into a colossal publicity stunt; and likewise inevitably, it brought riches to the Church and to Rome. The well-organized provisioning of the masses of pilgrims awed those in a position to judge its inherent difficulties. Giovanni Villani, from a big business family in Florence, came to Rome on pilgrimage and reports that "all were provided with plenty of food, both men and horses, with much patience and without shouting and rioting." Another well-to-do pilgrim from Asti confirms that "bread, wine, meat, fish and oats were cheap" and apparently plentiful. Riches poured into the coffers of the Curia—annual offerings multiplied one hundredfold—and of individual churches and monasteries; at S. Paolo fuori le mura, the man from Asti saw "two clerics day and night at the altar, rakes in hand to gather the coins" thrown by the pious on the grave of the Apostle. Money naturally also flowed into the pockets of inn- and tavernkeepers, grocers, vendors of straw and hay, horse traders, and all those who drew a living from the tourist-pilgrim trade. Quite aside from this, the Holy Year and the influx of the faithful from all over the West made Rome and the papacy once more the very center of Christendom: the indulgences to be acquired by visiting the graves of the Apostles and the Roman martyrs, the many relics, the size and splendor of the churches, the riches of a bustling town, all brought in tangible form before the eyes of visitors and Romans the greatness of the pope and of Rome, the two having become as one. Rhetoric, ideology, and reality for once seemed to coincide—for the last time in the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER SEVEN

# The New Rebirth of Rome: The Twelfth Century

The reality of Rome in the Middle Ages and the image contemporaries held of her were closely interwoven in their many and diverse facets, heterogeneous and often contradictory, and they are reflected in the visual context of the city: in the urban layout; in churches, convents, and secular buildings; in mosaics, paintings, church furniture; and in the meaning given by contemporaries to monuments surviving from Roman antiquity. All speak clearly of a second renewal of Rome, following the Carolingian Renascence and the city's subsequent decline. The changes in its urban aspect are dealt with in a separate section: the growth of the Borgo across the river from St. Peter's to Castel S. Angelo and its bridge into a pivotal point on the city map; the resulting westward expansion of the built-up town, the abitato, into the area enveloped by the Tiber bend and toward Ponte S. Angelo; and the resurrection, at the abitato's eastern outskirts, of the Capitol as a second pole on the city map, though ineffective at first. Like the overall urban development, the individual monuments, whether buildings, mosaics, or paintings, reflect this renewal.

Among churches and convents, three stand out, all from the early twelfth century: S. Clemente, S. Maria in Trastevere, and the Quattro Coronati. At S. Clemente, sometime between 1110 and 1130, a new church richly fitted with mosaics and liturgical furniture replaced the fourth-century basilica, five meters below street level by then and precariously shored up, though still in use, it seems, for another twenty years after the Norman raid of 1084. Entered through a gabled porch, a full-fledged atrium, whose colonnades are crowned with Ionic capitals somewhat crudely carved, repeats on a slightly smaller scale the fourth-century atrium buried underneath. The new church, under its

attractive eighteenth-century decoration, is simple in plan (fig. 117): a nave flanked by two aisles—of different widths, since the new church occupies the site of only the nave and left aisle of the fourth-century basilica; ten arcades resting on two rows of four columns each, originally with Corinthian capitals, and on a longish pier in the middle, at the front of the clergy section; originally, ten tall, narrow windows, those near the sanctuary alternating with oculi; and a large apse to terminate the nave—the small trefoil
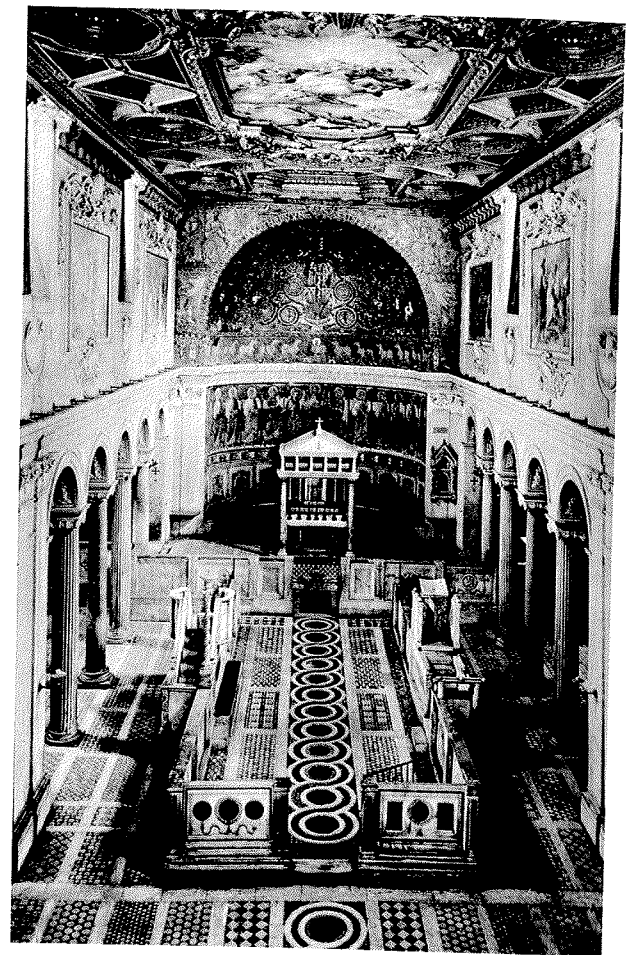
117. S. Clemente, interior

118. S. Clemente, apse mosaic

apse of the right-hand aisle was added later. Convent buildings to house the Regular Canons in charge flank the atrium and the front bays of the right-hand aisle. Built jointly with the new church, though subsequently enlarged and remodeled, they form solid blocks, two- and three-floors high, built of brick and lit by small arched windows and round oculi.

If the plan of the new church is simple, furnishings and decoration are lavish. A chancel projects from the apse, enclosing the high altar under its canopy; from the chancel a long enclosure provided with an ambo and lecterns extends as far as the nave pier to shelter the choir, the *schola cantorum*; and a papal cathedra—rather than a bishop's throne—rises in the apse. The plaques composing the enclosure, the pulpits, and parts of the cathedra were taken from the abandoned lower church, but their arrangement marks a departure in church furnishing. The pre-cosmatesque pavement—it long antedates the Cosmati clan of *marmorarii*—also presents a new and distinctive layout: a narrow carpet of roundels, worked in green serpentine and porphyry, bordered by a guilloche design along the length of the nave, links the portal to the entrance of the *schola cantorum*, the singers' precinct, and continues up to the sanctuary in the apse; it is flanked on the right and left by panels in multicolored geometric patterns. The decoration of the apse and the surmounting arch wall are equally new in style and iconography, about which more later—at this point an overall sketch must suffice (fig. 118). On the apse vault, a cross carrying the body of Christ and flanked by the Virgin and St. John grows from lush acanthus leaves, and is enveloped by vine scrolls and surmounted by the Dome of Heaven. Birds, hinds, putti, groups of people, baskets filled with fruit, scenes from a farmyard, shepherds with their sheep, a woman feeding chickens, are all scattered among and along the foot of the scrolls, details not seen in Roman church decoration ever since the fourth and fifth centuries (figs. 139, 141-44). A long inscription and a frieze of lambs mark the springing of the apse vault. On the wall on either side and above the apse arch there appear in four ascending tiers: Bethlehem and Jerusalem; Isaiah and Jeremiah, Christ's harbingers; Saints Peter, Paul, Lawrence, and Clement, the great martyrs of Rome and the patron of the church; finally, the symbols of the Evangelists, on either side of a bust of Christ Pantocrator. A sophisticated scheme has been evolved from new and old elements, and equally eclectic is its presentation in mosaic; a veritable breakthrough, it is after nearly three centuries the first example in Rome of mosaic work on a large scale. No expense was spared on the pavement, furnishings, and decoration of S. Clemente. Within the framework of the simplest architecture, innovations and traditional elements were joined to create a grand and opulent place of worship in the spirit of a new age.

The ambiance for such new departures—and new departures they are—is illuminated more sharply still a few years after S. Clemente by S. Maria in Trastevere, notwithstanding the remodeling it underwent a century ago—a superb example, if hard to swallow, of the *stile Pio Nono*. Replacing a structure of fourth- and ninth-century date, the present church may have been begun in the 1120s, possibly by its titlecardinal Pietro Pierleone, later Anaclete II—its lavishness suggests a rich patron; whether or not he was the founder, construction and decoration were completed, it seems, by his opponent, Pope Innocent II, in 1143. The size is large, one and a third that of S. Clemente, and comparable to major fifth-century basilicas, S. Sabina for instance. Equally impressive is the elaborate layout. Behind the narthex—simple, colonnaded, with Corinthian capitals, and trabeated before it was rebuilt in 1702—the nave façade rises high, topped by a projecting cornice—the latter, like similar cavettos in Rome, was probably added in the thirteenth century; the cornice is covered with medieval mosaics, and the murals of the façade proper date from the nineteenth century.

A campanile towers to the right, built into the first bay of the aisle (fig. 119). Inside, the spacious volumes of nave and aisles open into a transept, originally, it seems, level with the nave (fig. 120). Two huge columns with granite shafts carry the triumphal arch at the end of the nave, framing the high altar; pairs of columns screened the aisles from the transept, as shown in a plan of fifteenth- or sixteenth-century date. The nave columns, eleven on either side, carry entablatures rather than arcades. With their bases and imposing capitals, they form an impressive medley of Roman spoils, all carefully selected and matched so as to mark the liturgical division of the nave into lay and clergy sections. The original windows were tall, narrow, and few, both in the aisles and the nave; the wide nineteenth-century windows, wall paintings, and pilasters clash with the original twelfth-century design as well as with the splendid seventeenth-century ceiling. The *opus sectile* pavement was relaid over a hundred years ago, replacing one that may have been of thirteenth-century date rather than original. Just as at S. Clemente, the apse vault carries a grand mosaic, which shows Christ en-

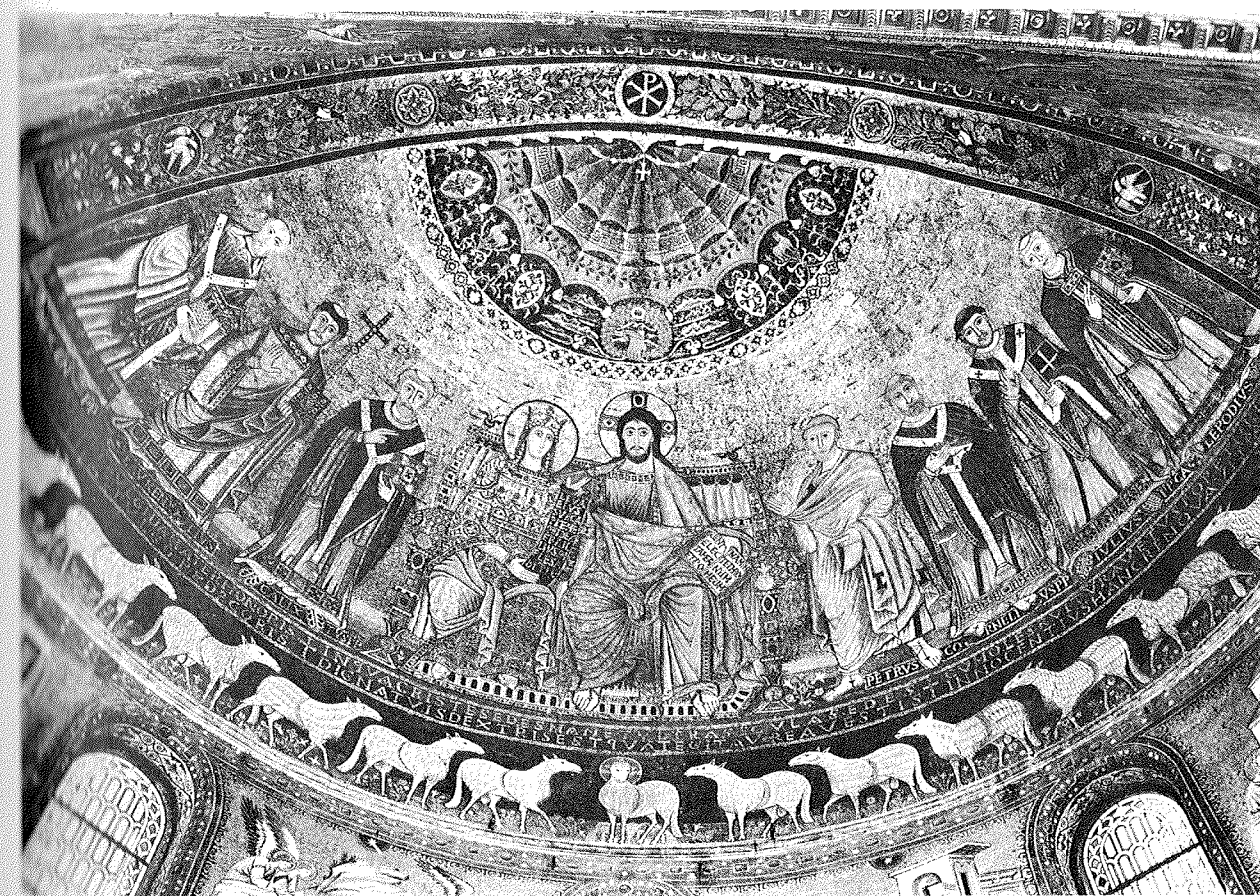119. S. Maria in Trastevere, façade as of ca. 1900
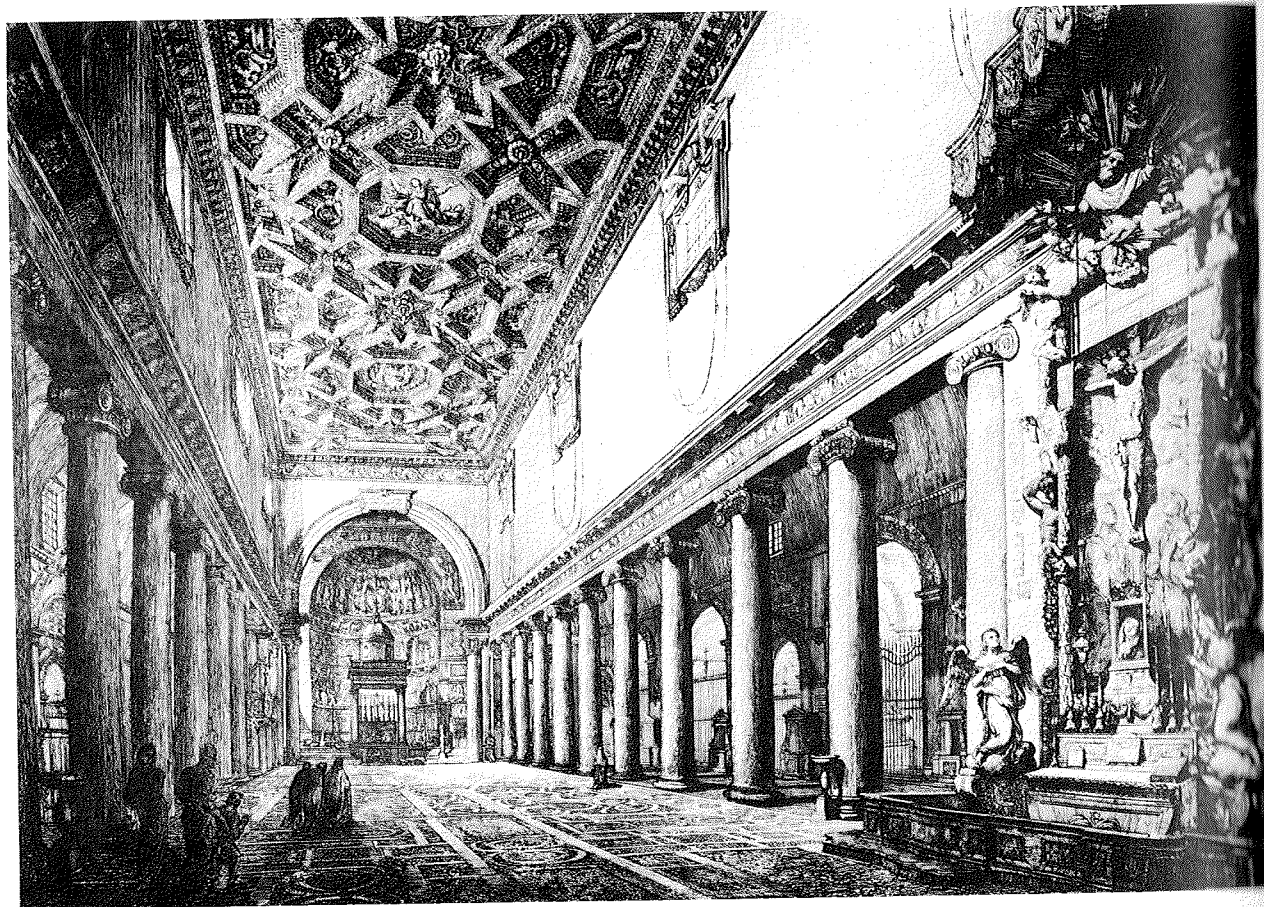
120. S. Maria in Trastevere, interior as of 1825, engraving Antonio Sarti

121. S. Maria in Trastevere, apse mosaic

throned with the Virgin, both flanked by the saints associated with the church, led by Peter and followed by the donor, Innocent II (fig. 121). The theme of Christ and Mary enthroned, to be sure, is new in monumental design in Rome; but otherwise, the scene at S. Maria in Trastevere reverts to the scheme of saints and donors flanking Christ or the Virgin, traditional from Early Christian times and prevalent in Carolingian apses. At the side, the mosaic extends over onto the transept wall with the figures of Isaiah and Jeremiah forecasting the conception and sacrifice of Christ. Cavallini's mosaic panels on the apse wall, a century and a half later, completed the decoration of the chancel. Outside, the wall of the apse shows a design as impressive as, and perhaps more innovative than, the interior decoration. Nine blind arcades steeply articulate the wall carried by broad shallow pilasters; the arches spring from unadorned impost blocks marked by upper and lower stringcourses; three of the arcades shelter windows, later lowered to conform with the mosaics; halfway up the apse, a thin marble stringcourse, finely profiled, runs across the pilasters and intervals; marble brackets cut from a classical Roman cornice are interlaced with a brick cornice along the eaves-line. It is a design new and unique in Rome and without parallel elsewhere.

Finally, close to and nearly contemporary with S. Clemente, there is the church of the Quattro Coronati. The huge Carolingian basilica was burned down in 1084 by the Normans, and a first attempt at rebuilding it in its former size, made apparently by Pascal II in 1099 or shortly after, failed; it seems neither the funds nor the long beams needed to span the huge nave were available. Instead, a much smaller church was completed by 1116: nave, aisles, and transept were all inserted into the rear of the previous nave (fig. 122). Columns with Corinthian capitals, all spoils, carry the nave arcades on either side; above their five arches, two triple dwarf arcades, separated by a pier, open into a gallery that was probably not accessible originally. Rather, it appears to have been a sham gallery, designed to carry on its high wall a roof across the combined width of nave and aisles. A pre-cosmatesque pavement much like that of S. Clemente covers the floor of the nave and transept. On the left flank, contemporary with the church of 1116 and built in the same brick masonry, a new convent was laid out, perhaps replacing an earlier one; its long wing facing west was lit by small oculi like those seen in the church and convent buildings of S. Clemente (fig. 123). The cloister within the Quattro Coronati convent shows narrow arcades, grouped in eights on the long sides, in sixes on the short sides, and separated by piers set with finely fluted pairs of pilasters; the arches resting on paired, slender colonnettes with simple foliage capitals are surmounted by a double sawtooth frieze and a row of brackets, the interstices filled with colorful cosmatesque mosaic (fig. 131). It seems to be one of the earliest cloisters surviving in Rome, maybe the first built in the city; earlier convents installed in older buildings close to the church offered no space for this feature, well-known by the eighth and ninth centuries elsewhere. Later, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, more convent buildings were erected at the Quattro Coronati along the opposite flank of the church and its forecourt, inserted into the site once taken up by the right-hand aisle of the large older basilica and by other ninth-century structures attached. The Chapel of St. Sylvester, dedicated in 1246, with its rich frescoes, stands foremost among these

122. SS. Quattro Coronati, interior

123. SS. Quattro Coronati, church and convent, as of ca. 1880

additions. Twelfth- and thirteenth-century structures tower high on the cliff commanding the narrow road ascending to the Lateran.

In spite of their differences in planning and design, S. Clemente, S. Maria in Trastevere, and the Quattro Coronati stand apart from run-of-the-mill church building in the city as it seems to have prevailed from the late ninth century through to the twelfth. Once the wave of Carolingian architecture and decoration had ended around 850, church building in Rome seems to have nearly stopped. Chapels were ensconced in ancient ruins, such as the oratory of S. Agnese in Piazza Navona before 800, which is still accessible below the splendid Baroque church, though barbarously restored. Another, after 900, was S. Barbara dei Librai in a vault of the Theatre of Pompey. Temples were Christianized and decorated with cycles of murals


124. S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, interior

the Temple of Fortuna Virilis consecrated as S. Maria ad Gradellis, later S. Maria Egiziaca, between 872 and 882. Tiny single-naved apsed chapels were newly built: they were often attractive, like S. Maria in Pallara on the Palatine, now S. Sebastiano alla Polveriera, founded by the physician Petrus and covered with murals around 970; and, near the south end of Trastevere, S. Maria in Cappella, built in 1090—the date on its bell—or shortly before, and disproportionately enlarged some eighty years ago. Many may have been private foundations, served by a "house chaplain" for the benefit of a family—S. Barbara dei Librai, for instance; or they were handed over, like S. Maria in Pallara, to a monastic community.

Starting with the last third of the eleventh century, though, a veritable spate of churches sprang up *ex novo*. The majority were in the abitato, from the Corso to the Tiber bend, and were parish churches, the large ones serviced by

congregations of canons or sizable monastic communities, the small ones by two priests or just one. The prevailing type was a smallish basilica, with a nave, two aisles, and an apse, timber-roofed except for the latter; it became standard for a century or more. Four to seven columns on either side carried arcades surmounted by the clerestory walls. Depending on the number of supports, the overall plan varied from a near square to a two-by-three rectangle and the height was comfortably low. Windows were small, keeping the nave and aisles poorly lit. Sto. Stefano del Cacco near the Piazza del Collegio Romano or S. Salvatore in Onda, both built around 1100, would be perfect examples, were it not for the thorough rebuildings they underwent, one in the seventeenth, the other in the nineteenth century. As things stand, S. Giovanni a Porta Latina represents the type best, notwithstanding its location far out near the Aurelian Walls, its function as a convent church, its
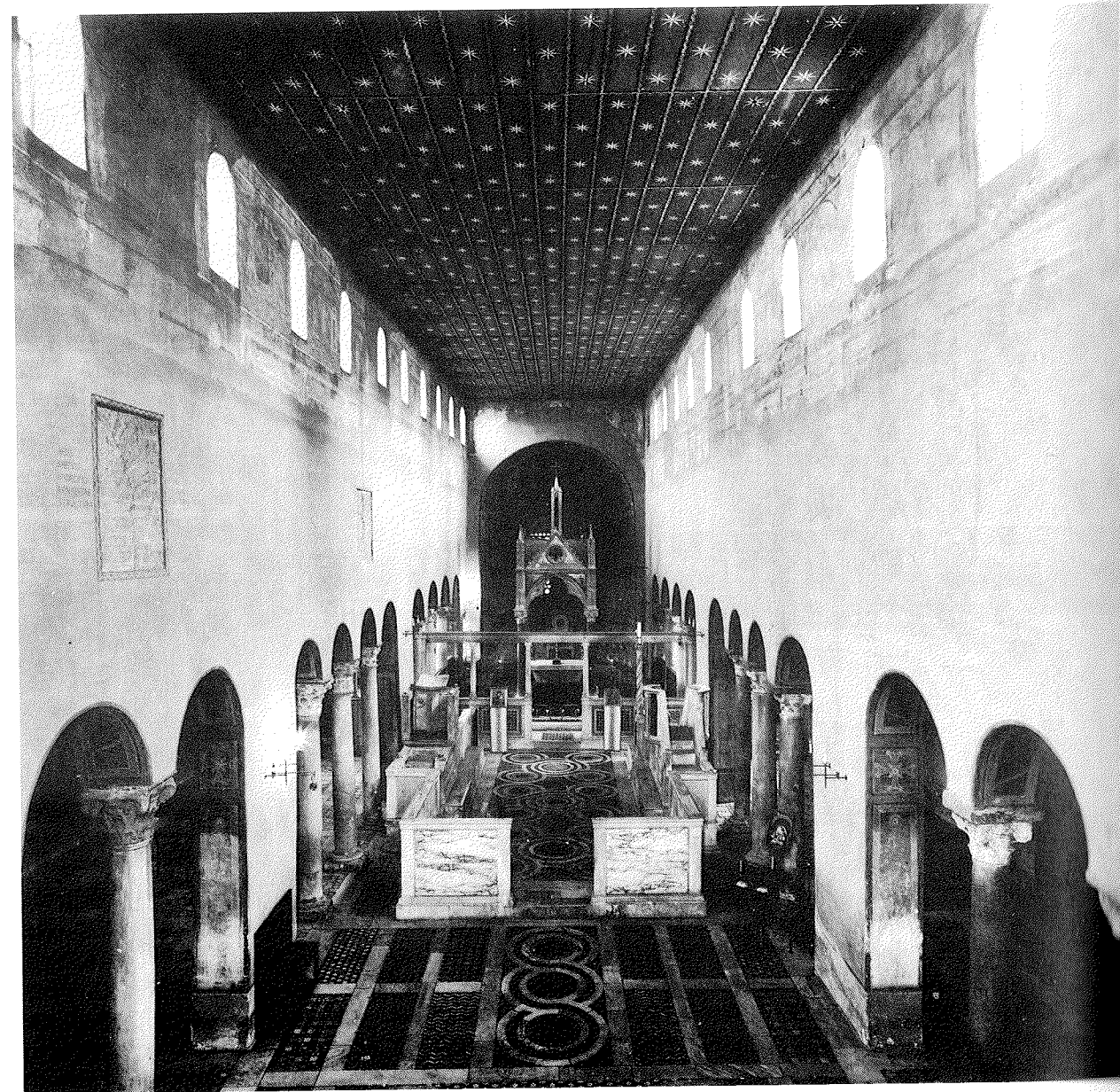
125. S. Maria in Cosmedin, interior

late date of consecration (1191), and the incorporation of a sixth-century forechoir, apse, and side rooms (fig. 124). Five columns flank the nave on either side; shafts of different lengths and materials, bases, and plinths are spoils; of the capitals, all Ionic, some are spoils, others twelfth-century work. The nave walls are covered with murals, the windows are small; part of the original cosmatesque *opus sectile* pavement remains near the high altar. An arcaded narthex extends along the façade; a campanile rises

within it. Such modest churches, whether early or late, provide a striking foil for basilicas like S. Maria in Trastevere and its early-twelfth-century contemporaries, all monumental in plan, size, and richness of decoration and furnishing.

The new churches set new standards. Like S. Maria in Trastevere and almost identical in size, S. Crisogono, built between 1123 and 1130, has a nave and two aisles separated by eleven ancient columns carrying an entablature, a deep transept

126. S. Maria in Cosmedin, exterior
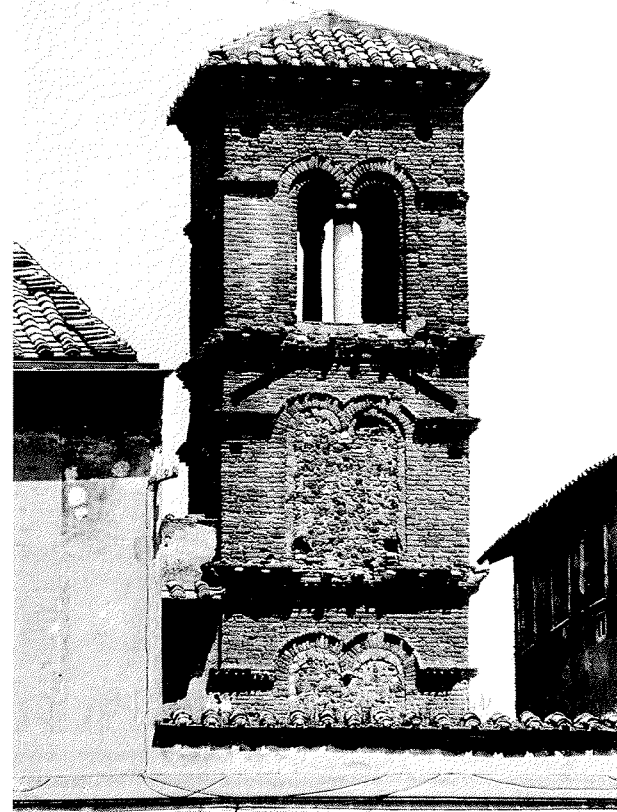
127. S. Rufina, campanile

framed in the center by a triumphal arch supported by columns, and an apse. The original decoration has vanished, but the overall splendor is the same, witness the spacious nave and the precious columns, including porphyry ones supporting the triumphal arch, and the rich *opus sectile* pavement, many times restored. S. Bartolomeo in Isola, though laid out on much the same plan as S. Crisogono and S. Maria in Trastevere, contains variations on the standard type. Built perhaps as early as 1113 or as late as 1160, it is but half the size of the two Trastevere churches; its nave columns carry arches; and below the transept, raised as it is five steps, extended a hall crypt, its vaults resting on columns. At S. Maria Nova (now S. Francesca Romana) on the Forum, the ninth-century church was modernized and enlarged before 1161 by adding a transept, apse, mosaic and campanile; two more remodelings in the seventeenth century have overlaid but not obliterated

these medieval features. In another variant, a plan with transept and sham galleries like those of the Quattro Coronati became standard. S. Croce in Gerusalemme, rebuilt in 1144-1145, provided an example, before it was splendidly remodeled in 1743; and, prior to its eighteenth-century rebuilding, so did SS. Bonifacio ed Alessio on the Aventine, built perhaps as late as 1217. Remains and old drawings, engravings and descriptions testify to the original design with arcaded sham galleries, a transept and apse, a colonnaded and trabeated narthex, and a campanile rising from the first aisle bay or from inside the narthex, at both churches. Besides fragments of a cycle of murals survive at S. Croce, and a hall crypt extends below the raised level of the transept at SS. Bonifacio ed Alessio. Plan and decoration of S. Clemente became standard, with and without variants. Alfano, a papal camerlengo and a man of wealth, whether layman or cleric, around 1123 financed the rebuilding of the eighth-century church of S. Maria in Cosmedin and had it provided with a campanile, murals, a cosmatesque pavement, and furnishings (figs. 125, 126). The last included an altar canopy, replaced late in the thirteenth century by a Gothic baldacchino; preceding the altar, a colonnaded screen; screens for the chancel and *schola cantorum*; pulpits and lecterns; and a bishop's throne. Over-restored around 1900 and deprived of a ravishing eighteenth-century façade, the church has become the best-known medieval tourist attraction in Rome. In the nave two longish piers break the colonnade into three groups of four arcades each and mark the liturgical sections of laity, *schola cantorum*, and chancel. The pavement, much as at S. Clemente, forms a pathway from door to altar, broken by a huge roundel, a *rota*, enveloped by guilloches. A narthex and foreporch, both rebuilt in the early part of this century on the original lines, preceded nave and aisles, and a campanile, built into the first bay of the aisle, towers to the right. In yet another important variant on the plan, diaphragm arches were thrown across nave and aisles, rising from pilasters attached to the longitudinal piers, as seen both in the abortive first remodeling on a large scale planned at the Quattro Coronati shortly after 1099, and in the re-

128. SS. Giovanni e Paolo, campanile, before restoration

129. S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, nave, ca. 1200

130. S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, façade and narthex

building campaign, presumably of 1116, at SS. Giovanni e Paolo; again they serve to mark liturgical divisions. Elsewhere, the basic modest basilical standard plan was modified, as at S. Gregorio Magno and S. Saba, where lateral apses terminate the aisles and thus flank the main apse. Again, isolated features inherent in the standard type were added to older structures by twelfth-century patrons and builders: nartheces with trabeated colonnades and Ionic capitals were set up at S. Lorenzo in Lucina in 1130, at SS. Giovanni e Paolo in 1154, at S. Maria Maggiore in 1145-1153, and at S. Giorgio in Velabro early in the thirteenth century, to pick four at random. Gabled porches on columns, like those at S. Clemente, were joined to an atrium or narthex at S. Prassede, S. Maria in Cosmedin, and S. Cosimato; hall crypts were built at S. Bartolomeo in Isola and SS. Bonifacio ed Alessio; and, from the late eleventh century through the thirteenth century and beyond, campanili

were built together with new or older churches all over the city: huge ones, like that of S. Maria in Cosmedin, and tiny *campaniletti*, such as that of S. Rufina in Trastevere (fig. 127). They stood sometimes alongside the church—though there was hardly ever room; rarely opposite, as at SS. Giovanni e Paolo (fig. 128); atop a transept wing, as at S. Prassede; most frequently inserted into an aisle, in the first or last bay, as at S. Sabina, S. Pudenziana, S. Maria Nova and, even in the fourteenth century, at S. Maria Maggiore.

Dates are often difficult to gauge, as documentary evidence is not always reliable. Consecration often took place long after construction had terminated: S. Maria in Trastevere, completed together with its decoration by 1143, was not consecrated until 1215. Stylistic evidence only rarely provides a chronological clue. The plan and design of churches and the style of their decoration changed little through the following hundred years. At S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, a
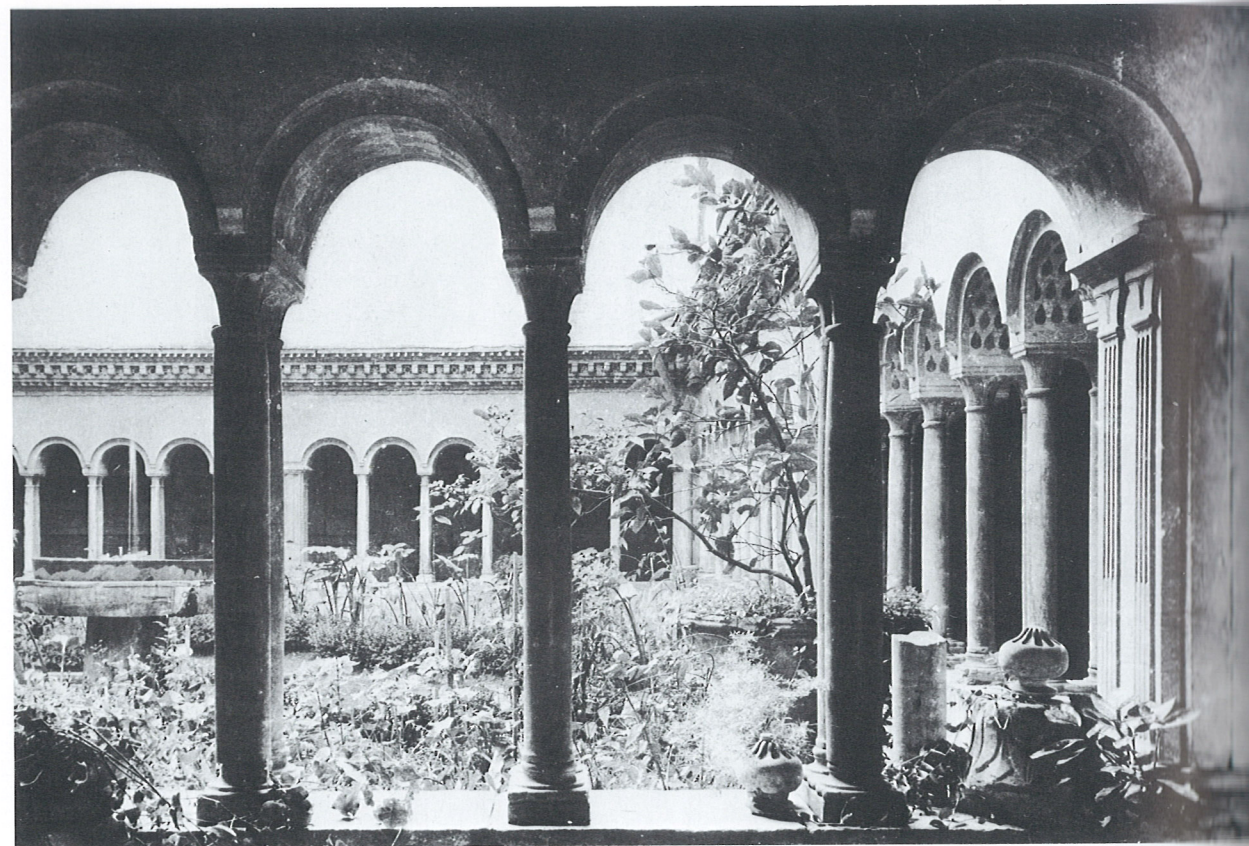
131. SS. Quattro Coronati, cloister
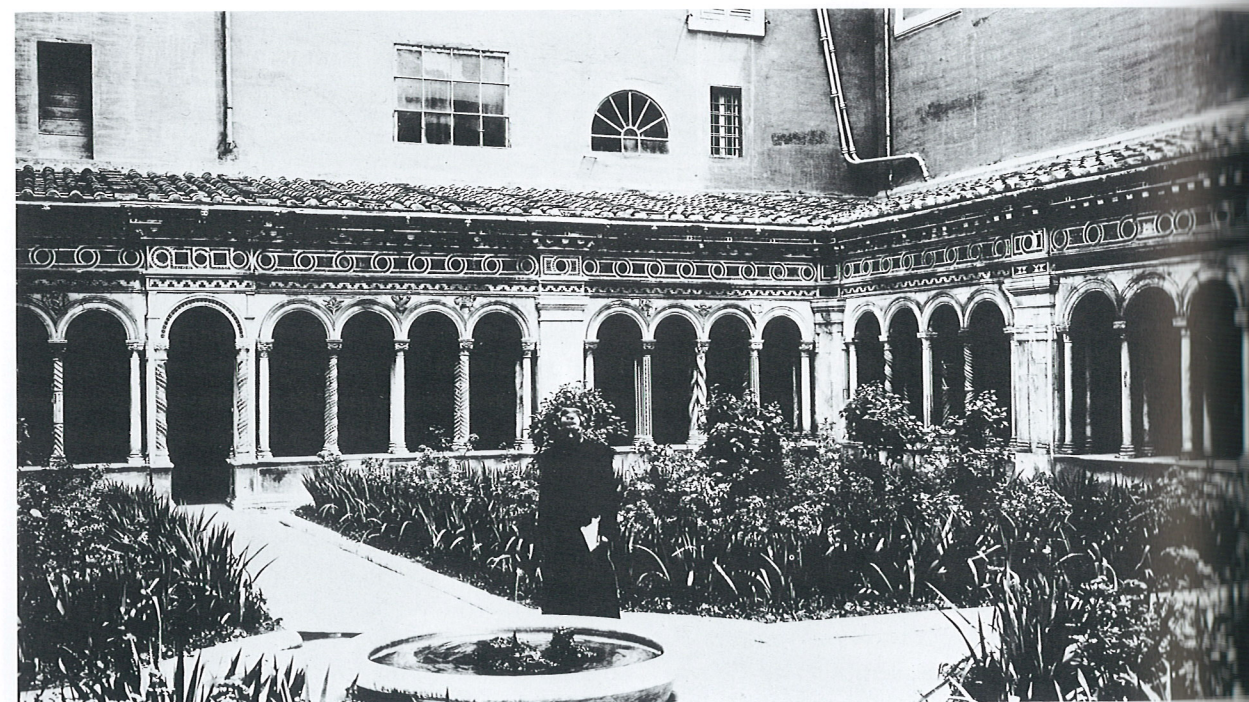
132. S. Paolo fuori le mura, cloister

large basilica was laid out at the end of the twelfth century by Cencius Camerarius, cardinal chancellor and later Pope Honorius III, and completed in the first quarter of the thirteenth. The sixth-century basilica with galleries, built by Pope Pelagius, was deprived of its apse and turned into the chancel of the new church, its ground floor half buried except for a small crypt, the new level raised nine steps over the new nave. The tomb of Saint Lawrence inside the crypt was restored and redecorated. The new nave (fig. 129), flanked by aisles of steep proportion, is supported by long rows of eleven columns on each side, carrying a trabeation. Windows are small, both in the nave and in the aisles. Columns and the trabeation seem to be spoils, evidently taken from the fourth-century cemetery, long in decay, which rose south of the church. After more than two generations, the type of S. Crisogono and S. Maria in Trastevere is here taken up again, albeit without a transept. A narthex, also trabeated, its frieze decorated with mosaic, precedes the new nave (fig. 130). It dates as late as after 1217; but it still much resembled that of S. Maria in Trastevere, which was nearly a century older. The Ionic capitals of both the narthex and the nave, except for a number of spoils, are of extraordinarily fine medieval carving. The canopy over the high altar, commissioned in 1148 by Hugo *"humilis abbas"* for the basilica of Pelagius, was apparently transferred to the new chancel, while the liturgical furniture with rich, colorful mosaic inlay—the clergy bench, the bishop's throne and ambo—date from 1254. As late as 1260, S. Maria in Aracoeli high on the Capitoline Hill retains the basilical plan and design that had again come to prominence in Rome early in the twelfth century: an arcaded nave of wide proportions, a continuous transept, originally a single apse, an open timber roof, a cosmatesque pavement. Only the vocabulary had absorbed a few Gothic elements. Apparently from the middle of the twelfth century on, continuous transepts as high as the nave seem to have been accepted as a standard element of any respectable basilica. In fact, the great Early Christian churches lacking them had regular transepts added: at St. Peter's in 1154, the low transept wings of Constantinian

date were raised to nave height; at S. Croce in Gerusalemme in 1144, a transept was carved out by subdividing the old undivided hall; at S. Maria Maggiore, a regular transept, though narrow, was joined to the old nave and aisles; and at the Lateran in 1291, a continuous transept replaced the Constantinian low side chambers.

Church decoration, like church planning, in general seems to have been equally standardized far into the thirteenth century. In apse mosaics, the age-old scheme of the Savior or the Virgin flanked by saints and donors, once reestablished around 1140 at S. Maria in Trastevere, was retained for another hundred years with only slight variations in composition: at S. Maria Nova around 1161; at St. Peter's about 1210; at S. Paolo fuori le mura ca. 1218-1227. To be sure, the style of the figures and heads in thirteenth-century mosaics changed under the impact of foreign artists called to Rome from Norman Sicily at St. Peter's, and from Venice at S. Paolo. The real breakthrough to a new style occurs only two generations later, in the last third of the thirteenth century.

Standardized as they are, church planning and design, including major figural schemes in apse mosaics or murals, show few if any signs of change in Rome through the High Middle Ages. Only specific features—building techniques, liturgical furnishings, the design of pavements or cloisters, often dated—provide clues for tracing a development. Some changes are obvious: the *opus sectile* decoration of church screens, pulpits, bishops' thrones, and paschal candlesticks, simple and large-scale to start with, in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries grew more detailed and fussy; by the mid-thirteenth century, the porphyry and green and white marble began to give way to glass mosaic of gaudy red, blue, and gold in minute patterns. The furniture at S. Maria in Cosmedin (1123) provides an early example; the chancel screen at S. Saba from about 1235, and the cathedra and clergy bench at S. Lorenzo fuori le mura of 1254, exemplify the later phase. Equally clear in its general lines is the sequence of cloisters, from that of the Quattro Coronati (fig. 131) in 1116 or shortly after, to that at S. Lorenzo fuori le mura of 1187-1191, and finally to the elaborate ones at

S. Paolo fuori le mura (fig. 132) from after 1193 to after 1228, and at S. Giovanni in Laterano, 1220-1232. The grouping of arcades, the supporting pairs of colonnettes, the profiles of the arches, the terminating cornices, all plain and neat to start with grew ever more elaborate. In the later cloisters the colonnettes are twisted and inlaid with mosaic; cornices are carved with rich foliage and masks, lion heads, and palmettes; friezes appear with geometrical patterns of marble inlay: all part of a vocabulary whose changes should help to assign undated cloisters at S. Cecilia, S. Cosimato, and S. Sabina their appropriate place. But no serious study has been undertaken so far. Nor have the precise nature and possible development of building techniques used in Rome during the High Middle Ages been explored enough to assign undated or insecurely dated buildings to a particular time on the basis of a stylistic or archaeological analysis.

Nevertheless, this does not change the mainstream of the argument. Church building and decoration in Rome from the early twelfth century into the thirteenth presents a remarkably uniform picture. Marked by a number of constant features, it is somewhat monotonous. Certainly it is unexciting when viewed in the context of the great Romanesque churches that in these same years, and often one or two generations before, rose in Normandy, England, and Burgundy, along the pilgrimage roads of southwestern France, in the Rhineland, in Lombardy, and in Tuscany: St. Etienne in Caën (1064); the third abbey church at Cluny (1085); St. Martin at Tours (997-1050); St. Sernin at Toulouse (1096); the cathedral of Speyer, as first built between 1030 and 1061, and as remodeled after 1080; S. Ambrogio in Milan, rebuilt as at present, after 1090; Durham cathedral and its rib-vaulted chancel (1093-1104); and the Early Gothic façade and chevet of St. Denis, built in the same years as S. Maria in Trastevere. The great majority of these churches in France, Germany, and England are vaulted; but even when timber-roofed, the nave, aisles, transept, crossing, and bays are clearly set off against each other; the supports are articulated, the walls accentuated both vertically and horizontally by stringcourses, blind arcades, and pilaster strips,

half-columns, or shafts. Throughout, clear articulation of volumes, masses, and surfaces prevails inside and out, combined with the compact design of steep interior spaces. In Rome, such features are merely marginal. Proportions, unless conditioned by preexisting elements—old foundations or rising walls reused—are comfortably wide. Space flows easily—diaphragm arches, rare at that, lack the organizing function of those found as early as 1060 at S. Miniato in Florence. Walls, unarticulated by horizontal or vertical membering, are given over to mural painting, as was customary ever since the fifth century; the supports are columns, rather than multiform, compound piers, shafts, bases, and frequently capitals are spoils. Only rarely was a purloined feature from the Romanesque vocabulary incorporated in the fabric of a Roman church: the Lombard or Rhenish dwarf gallery placed atop the Early Christian apse of SS. Giovanni e Paolo remains forever an alien body (fig. 133). In short, in the Middle Ages, Roman church planning remains notably isolated from the great movements that from the early part of the eleventh century reshaped architectural thinking from the Atlantic to the Elbe and from Lund and Durham to Florence and Compostella. It is insular and uninventive, and it seems conservative and retardataire when compared with the developments north of the Alps. With but minor variations it uses the same standard types; time and again it harks back to the same models. Still, to brush aside Roman medieval church building and its decoration as monotonous, conservative, and of indifferent quality seems too simple a way out.

Granted, no lengthy discussion is needed to show that all or nearly all the twelfth-century standard plans in Rome go back to Early Christian local prototypes. Transept basilicas, such as S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Crisogono, call to mind first and most obviously St. Peter's, ideally the focal point through the Middle Ages of any revival of Early Christian or, in particular, Constantinian church building. However, a major feature of St. Peter's, the narrow, low transept and its exedrae, experimental as it was as early as the late fourth century had given way at S. Paolo to a high, continuous transept, its
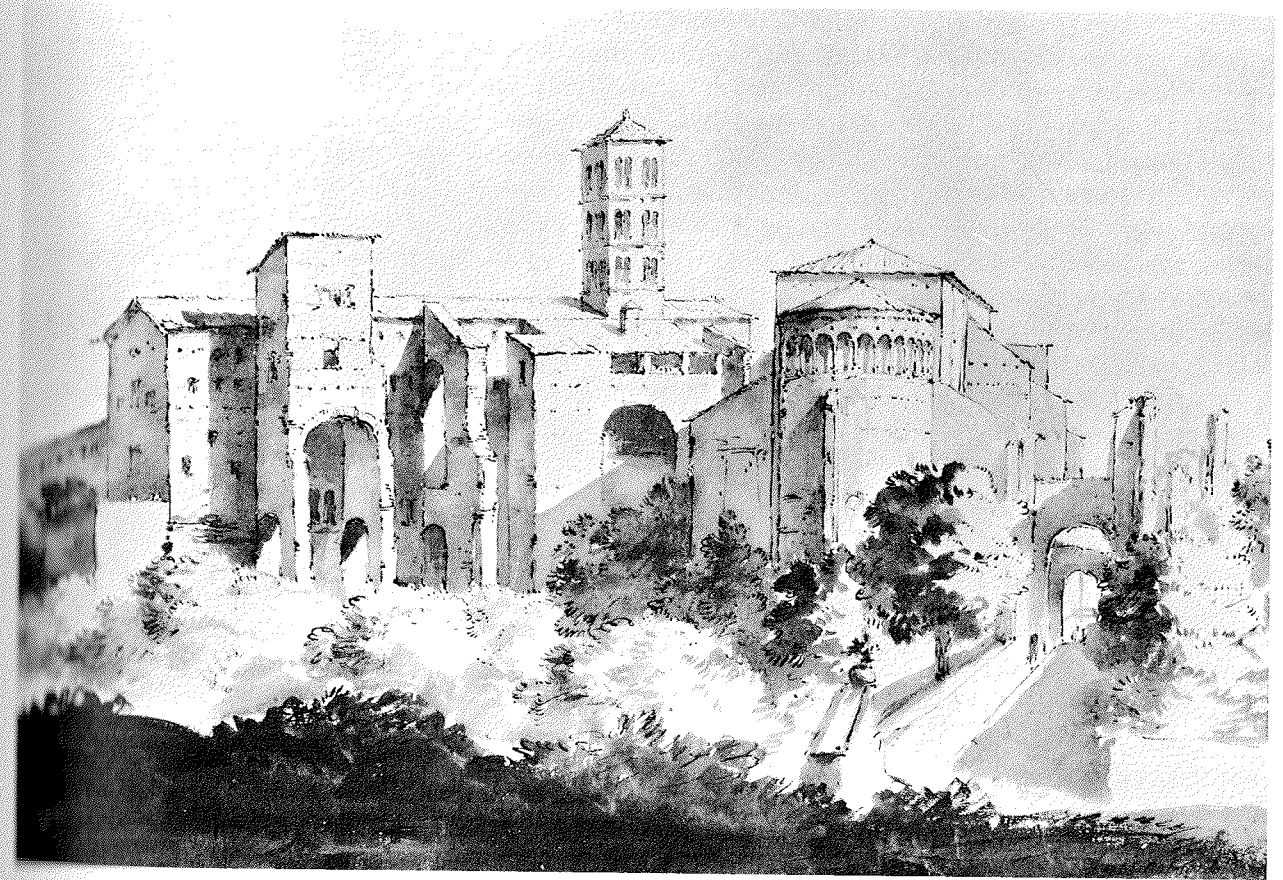
SS. Giovanni e Paolo, rear, as of 1654/5, drawing Jan de Bisschop, Albertina, Vienna

end walls in line with the aisles. In that form the transept was taken up in Carolingian times, though not consistently; in the twelfth century it became the rule. It seems as if medieval church planners had accepted as a norm the S. Paolo type and had conceptually superimposed it on the uncanonical plan of St. Peter's, the basilica that nonetheless ideally remained the archetype of all medieval church building in Rome. On the other hand, reduced to the smallest scale, a plan like that of S. Sabina or the Lateran Basilica, which had no transept prior to 1291, would seem to underlie the modest standard basilicas of the twelfth century, such as S. Salvatore in Onda; while churches with sham galleries, like that of the Quattro Coronati as rebuilt in 1116, may well have drawn on Early Christian basilicas with galleries, such as the east basilica, now the chancel, of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, or S. Agnese. Surely, medieval church planners and patrons in Rome from the eleventh century on

looked back to the monuments of centuries past. Rome was weighed down by her history; and the weight she carried kept her out of Europe. She remained very much aware and was daily reminded of her great Christian tradition and her place at the head of the Christian world, the only world conceivable to the Middle Ages. She was conscious of being the seat of the papacy, founded on Saint Peter; of sheltering the graves of the Princes of the Apostles and the relics of very many martyrs; of being the magical center that attracted pilgrims from all over the West. All this grandeur was present in her great Christian monuments. The Lateran Basilica sheltering the papal see, Old St. Peter's, and S. Paolo, all built or believed to have been built by Constantine, were permanent and very active reminders. They had been revived once before in Carolingian times. They and their Carolingian descendants were bound to determine church plans and decoration in Rome simply through their over-

whelming presence and their inherent connotations. The new-fangled concepts, evolved north of the Alps, had no place in a city with her past.

Still, the revival of Early Christian models in twelfth-century church planning and decoration did not make its first appearance in Rome until shortly after 1100. Half a century before, Abbot Desiderius had built and adorned a new abbey church at Monte Cassino. It has long since gone, but a fairly clear picture is gained from excavations, old plans, a detailed description written in 1071 at the time of consecration by Leo of Ostia, and from the numerous filiations spreading during the late eleventh century all over South and Central Italy, from Salerno to Bari and Trani, and as far as Castel S. Elia near Nepi north of Rome: a nave, supported by colonnaded arcades, two aisles, the transept raised, the triumphal arch resting on columns; an atrium enclosed by arcaded porticoes and with two towers in front; a freestanding campanile, left of the nave façade (fig. 134). A pre-cosmatesque pavement covered the floor of the nave—multicolored discs surrounded by guilloches along the axis, though not a neat pathway to the chancel, and flanked by geometric panel designs; murals on the walls, mosaics on the triumphal arch, the apse, and the arch above. The mosaics, as brought out by Ernst Kitzinger, are most likely reflected in the mosaic fragments surviving at Salerno—the symbols of the Evangelists flanking the bust of Christ, the *veronica*. A *schola cantorum* extended far into the nave, enclosed by multicolored and white marble plaques; a chancel in the transept was surrounded by bronze screens set with silver-plated columns in front of the altar; an Easter candlestick of marble rose near the pulpit, which, strangely enough, was merely of gilded wood. In the major filiations of Monte Cassino, a hall crypt extends the full width and depth of the transept; in the mother church, the rocky site and the need to leave undisturbed the grave of Saint Benedict forbade it. Filial churches of smaller size—S. Angelo in Formis may be representative—drop the transept; nave and aisles end in apses; and the atrium gives way to a narthex, arcaded and with the center arch stilted and gabled. Rich murals in the nave, apse, and narthex probably echo the decoration at Monte Cassino.

Desiderius clearly sought the model for his church in Rome. Columns, capitals, bases, and marble were bought there; the inscription he placed in the apse echoed the one in the Lateran Basilica and that on the triumphal arch of St. Peter's. Plan and design were close to S. Paolo: arcaded nave, raised transept, columns at the triumphal arch, the atrium, and the mosaic with the symbols of the Evangelists and the bust of Christ. Monte Cassino, then, in 1066 had reverted to the Early Christian models of Rome. Desiderius, disciple of Gregory VII, would tend to cast into visual form the concepts of the Reform Papacy and its reversion to the Christian past. No wonder either that Desiderius would single out S. Paolo as his model—the basilica was entrusted to the greatest Benedictine abbey in Rome, reformed by Gregory VII himself, then Abbot Hildebrand. Needless to say, the early model at Monte Cassino was transposed into eleventh-century terms: the size much smaller, the proportions steeper, the liturgical arrangements changed, three apses in the place of one due to the need for more altars.

To carry out his program, however, Desiderius had to look elsewhere. No pavement in *opus sectile*, no major bronze or silver work, no mosaic had been composed in Rome after the mid-ninth century. Leo, the chronicler of Monte Cassino, was well aware of Desiderius' having made a new start. As he expressly states, the arts of working mosaic and laying *opus sectile* pavements, which the *magistra latinitas* had not practiced for five hundred years and more, were brought back to Monte Cassino by artists from Constantinople called in to decorate the new church; one of the brethren was sent there to supervise the execution of an altar antependium with enamels and other fixtures in precious metals; a bronze door like the one Desiderius saw in Amalfi was ordered in 1066 for the old church —it still survives, enlarged and installed in the new church he built; and a school was founded for training craftsmen to keep alive the renewal of the arts. The West, then, to revert to Leo of Ostia, had taught these arts to the East, and the East had returned them after a lapse of five hundred years since Early Christian times. Carolingian mosaics seem to have been held in
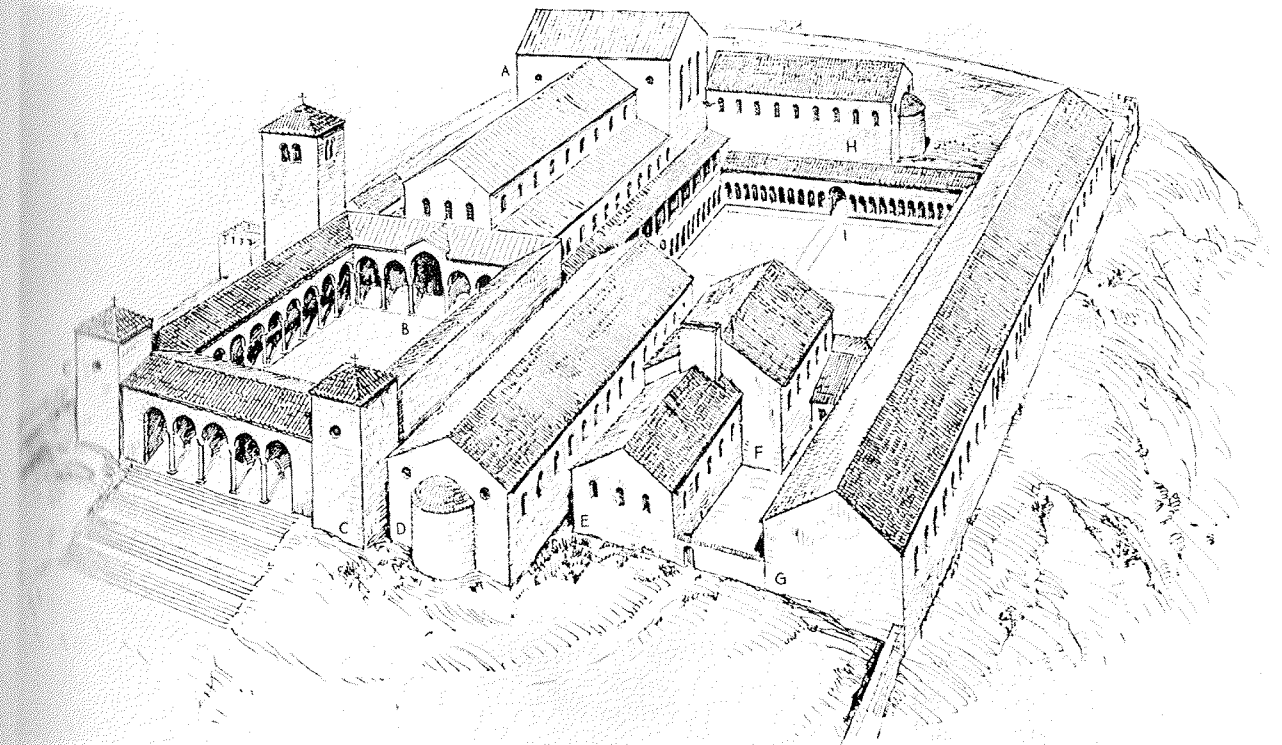
134. Monte Cassino as of 1100, isometric reconstruction Conant and Willard

small account by the chronicler. It has been suggested that Byzantine trained artists from South Italy may have played a part along with those called in from Constantinople. Art in medieval parlance means craft, technique; but inevitably the artists, whether from Constantinople or South Italy, brought along with their skills contemporary Byzantine designs: the pavement patterns and the ornament of the bronze doors, like those on the earlier door in Amalfi and on later doors through South Italy, reveal their Byzantine origin. The program of the doors, to be sure, is Western and the figural plaques, in contrast to the ornament, show markedly Western features. Drawings may have been sent East, as they no doubt were for the panels showing the Life of St. Benedict on the altar antependium made in Constantinople—no Byzantine models could possibly have existed for that eminently Western saint. Even more clearly, the program and style of the mosaics at Monte Cassino, as reflected at Salerno, appear to have broken away from Byzantium and sought their models in the early apse mosaics preserved in Rome.

Preserved, but apparently unused by Roman church planners, in the last thirty-five years of the eleventh century these Roman mosaics attracted Desiderius and his South Italian confrères. Gregory VII and the Roman circle of reformers remained aloof, one gathers, from giving visual expression to their concept of a Church Renewed by reverting to Constantinian Roman archetypes. Among the bronze doors commissioned and wrought in Constantinople at the time for clients in the West, only those ordered in 1070 for S. Paolo fuori le mura under the abbacy of Hildebrand-Gregory, and financed by the same Pantaleone who had provided those for his native Amalfi and for Monte Cassino, remain strictly Byzantine in design, subject matter, and inscriptions, except for the Latin dedication (fig. 135). The stimulus both to turn to Early Christian models and to strengthen the monastic features in church and convent planning thus seems to have reached Rome from Monte Cassino, with a delay of one or two generations. The Benedictines, indeed, were evidently the "main propagators of the renewal of Early Christian church planning and decoration
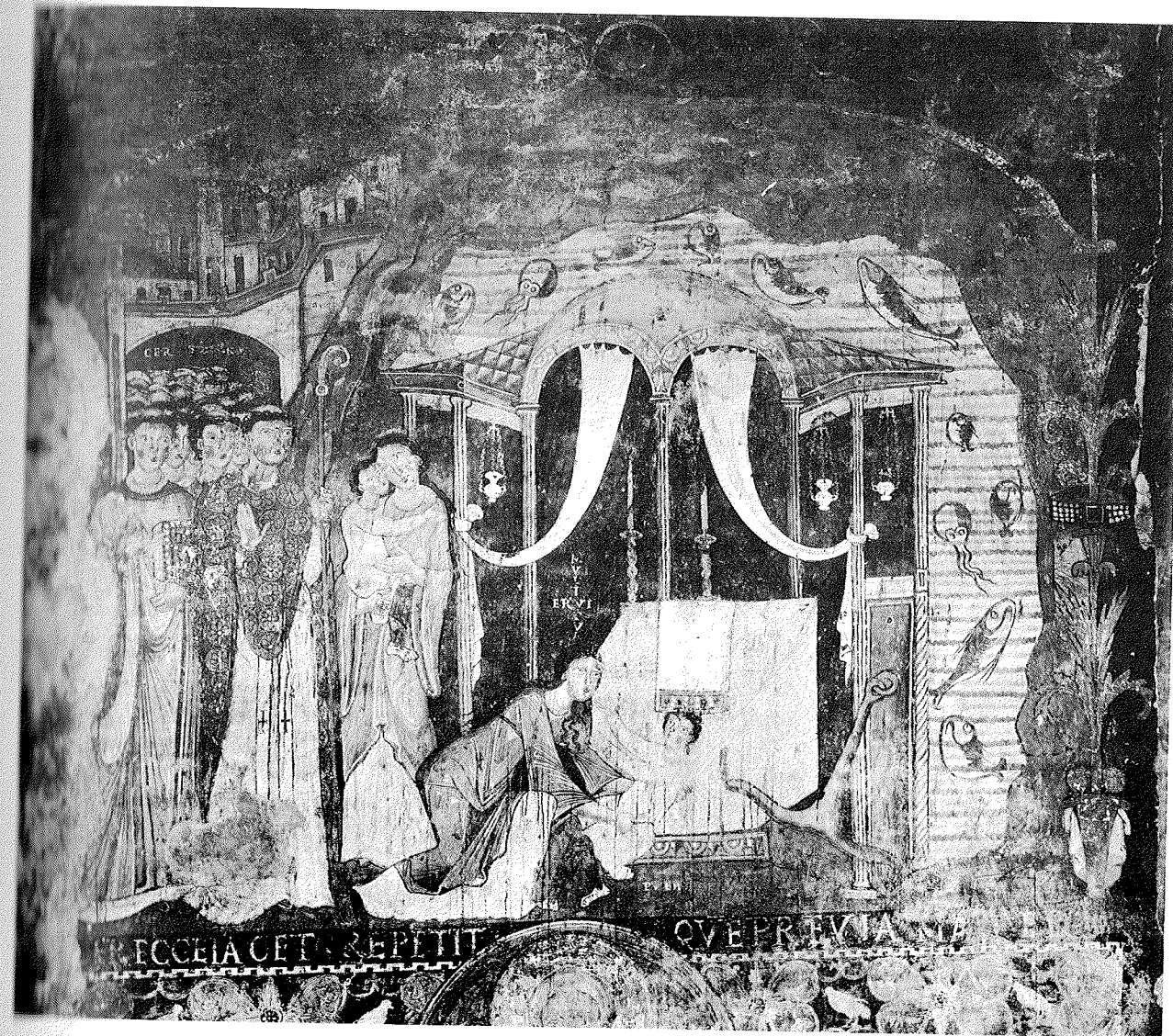
135. S. Paolo fuori le mura, bronze doors, detail, *Presentation in the Temple*

hall crypts extending below transepts. Nartheces, too, arcaded or trabeated, may have come to Rome out of the Monte Cassino school. Church furniture and pavements stand within that same tradition: chancel screens, *scholae cantorum*, lecterns, ambones, Easter candlesticks, altar canopies, and episcopal thrones, all finely carved and inlaid with discs and other patterns of colored marble. Very likely the alumni of the art school started by Desiderius taught their craft to Roman artists, and through the twelfth and into the thirteenth centuries they evolved dynasties of marble workers—the Cosmati, Vassalletti, Romani. Stimulated by Monte Cassino, Rome revived her great tradition of mosaics; those on the apse arch of S. Clemente, so close to Salerno, speak for themselves. To be sure, Monte Cassino, from the last years of the eleventh century on, seems to have had an impact on the rebirth of mural painting in Rome. Around that time, the lower church of S. Clemente was precariously shored up and decorated with murals: textile patterns filled with lively birds, floral candelabra frames, and scenes full of life and emotion, such as the miracle of the child found alive and kicking in a church of Saint Clement that had been submerged for a year in a sea filled with every kind of fish (fig. 136). Composition, design, and colors seem to have been traditional among artists who, at or even before Desiderius' time, illuminated manuscripts at Monte Cassino; or else, the painters of S. Clemente adapted, parallel to their confrères at Monte Cassino, South Italian and possibly Byzantine elements to a specifically Roman style. Certainly, the classicizing elements, such as long-stemmed plants growing from urns and the intertwining rinceaux, reveal a Roman tradition reviving the vocabulary of late antiquity.

Roman church planners of the High Middle Ages, then, under the stimulus of Monte Cassino, turned to models of late antiquity. The movement was carried to Rome probably by the Benedictines and the high clergy associated with them. In Rome, however, their contact with the archetypes was more immediate. They went more deeply into the richness of late antique art, Christian and pagan; they developed a strong feeling for its style; and they absorbed, together

from the late eleventh century on." In Rome the greatest convent of the Order at S. Paolo fuori le mura naturally took the lead. Monte Cassino remained the direct and closest model for Roman church planners. But S. Paolo exerted a collateral influence. From about 1120 on, under their combined influence, basilicas in Rome were laid out with a transept raised above nave level, their triumphal arches carried by columns. Indeed, the earliest seedlings of Monte Cassino in Rome, S. Crisogono and S. Maria in Trastevere, within a ten percent margin, equal Desiderius' church in size. From Monte Cassino, too, Rome seems to have adopted: freestanding campanili alongside her churches, a veritable hallmark of the Roman High Middle Ages; cloisters in her major convents, whether monastic or canonical; in minor churches, the three apse plan without transept, as customary among smaller Monte Cassino derivatives; and occasionally, as in large Monte Cassino filiations,


136. S. Clemente, lower church, *Miracle of the Child*

with Christian features, neutral or indeed pagan elements. Thus, they evolved in Rome a revival with markedly local overtones. Transepts, rather than reaching higher as was customary in the Monte Cassino group, are the same height as the nave; instead of three apses, there is only one; naves are quietly proportioned rather than steep; colonnades are frequently trabeated rather than arcaded; capitals, shafts, and bases are chosen with care—naturally, given the surfeit of spoils available in Rome; the Roman workshops early turned to producing Ionic capitals on their own, adapted from classical models and often highly refined (figs. 137, 138). Foreign to Monte

Cassino, all these features seem to be drawn straight from early models in Rome, or possibly from their Carolingian "copies": St. Peter's, S. Paolo, S. Maria Maggiore; or else, S. Susanna or S. Prassede. Only atria, the hallmark of fourth- and ninth-century Roman basilicas and eagerly adopted by the Monte Cassino school, are rare in Rome, of all places. Those at S. Clemente, the Quattro Coronati, and S. Gregorio Magno are exceptions, and the first two are, anyway, copies of earlier predecessors. But, then, all three were located in the emptiness of the disabitato. In densely built-over Trastevere or Parione, space for atria was scarce.

137. Ionic capital, twelfth or thirteenth century, via
S. Celso 61
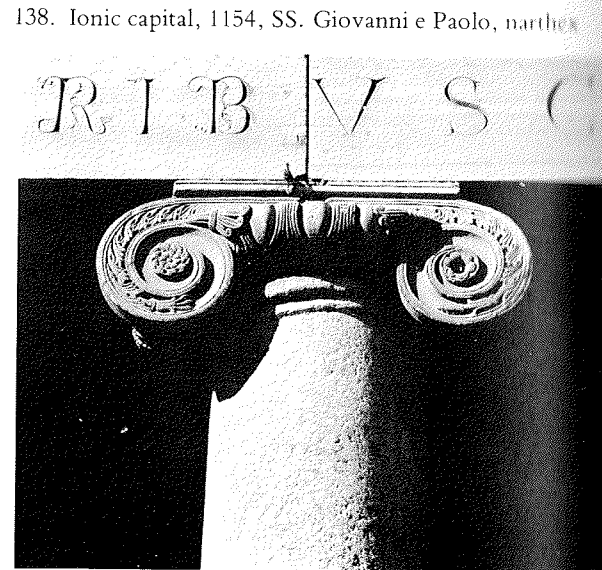
138. Ionic capital, 1154, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, narthex

Likewise, the mosaics at S. Clemente and S. Maria in Trastevere drew directly on local models, six or seven centuries old by then. Other mosaics no doubt existed but are lost. The great mosaics of Early Christian Rome, especially those linked, albeit mistakenly, to the name of Constantine at St. Peter's and S. Paolo fuori le mura, had been the models from which Desiderius at Monte Cassino and the artists trained under his abbacy had drawn their programs of church decoration. To their Roman followers in the early twelfth century—and the Benedictines again may have been instrumental—not only these mosaics but also Early Christian and late-antique models in general (fig. 139) became a far richer and inexhaustible source. From them, whether Christian or pagan, elements of subject matter, style, and at times entire compositional schemes could be adapted, selected, and newly combined. All these elements, to be sure, were adapted to high medieval modes of presentation and meaning, as may be seen in the handling of bodies, faces and draperies, plants and animals; and the interpretation in terms of contemporary theological symbolism of the foliate cross, the

rivers of Paradise, the peopled acanthus scrolls, and details such as the caged bird or the chicken and her chicks. In the context of the revival and renewal of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Rome, through a reversion to late-antique sources, the location of these early models is of primary significance. As at S. Clemente, acanthus scrolls spread in tiers over the dark blue, not gold, ground of the right-hand apse vault in the narthex of the Lateran Baptistery, believed in the Middle Ages to have been not only built as it was, but also decorated, by Constantine rather than by a fifth-century hand (fig. 140). The crucifix growing from a lush acanthus plant at the center of the S. Clemente apse vault may be a variant on the cross in the apse mosaic of the Lateran Basilica, naturally ascribed to Constantine and presumably echoed, if modified, in Torriti's mosaic of 1293; the clipeus with Christ's head, the famous *veronica*, floating over the Lateran cross, was moved higher up at S. Clemente to the apex of the apse arch; and the doves on the stem and arms of the S. Clemente crucifix may have taken the place of the jewels on the Lateran cross. The Canopy of Heaven,
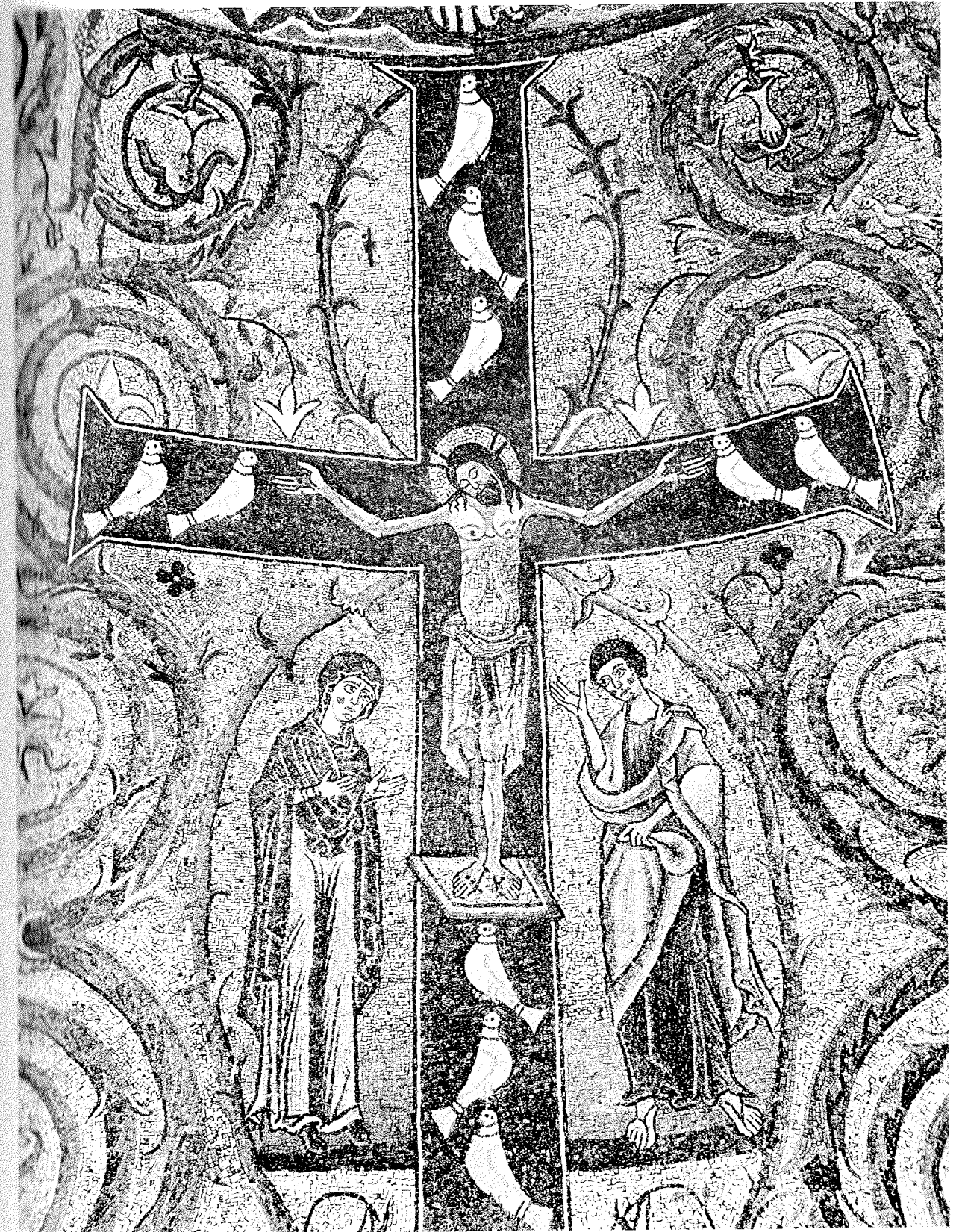
139. S. Clemente, apse mosaic, detail, the Cross

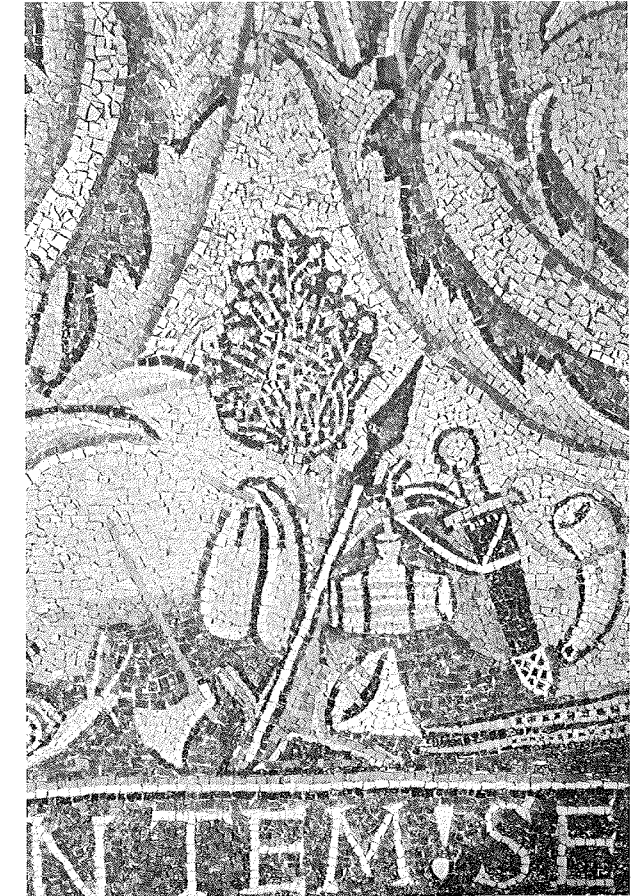140. Lateran Baptistery, narthex, apse mosaic

141. S. Clemente, apse mosaic, detail, woman feeding chicks

142. S. Clemente, apse mosaic, detail, shepherd and slave

143. S. Clemente, apse mosaic, detail, peacock

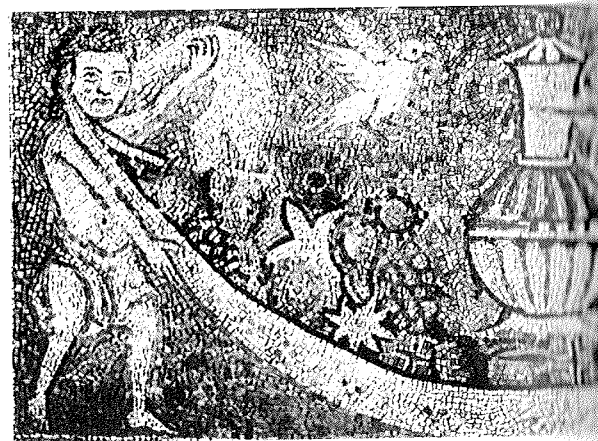144. S. Clemente, apse mosaic, detail, hunting outfit

which floats fanlike at the crown of the apse vault, finds its counterpart nearly feature for feature in the narthex vault of the Lateran Baptistery. All such elements, to be sure, were presented in a style unmistakably medieval. Still, the rendering, at S. Clemente anyway, is shot through with elements of technique and design schooled directly on late-antique models, all impressionistic features reminiscent of fourth- and fifth-century mosaics—S. Pudenziana or S. Maria Maggiore: highlights on flesh and drapery; folds marked in strips of white marble tesserae bounded by strips of black and gray glass cubes—the age-old Roman technique; eyes composed of one white and one black cube; no sharp outlines anywhere. More hardened than at S. Clemente, the forms in the mosaics at S. Maria in Trastevere still reflect such late-antique Christian models; models more often than not linked to the name of Constantine.

Not all the elements in the mosaics of S. Clemente or S. Maria in Trastevere are Christian in content. Integrated already in the compositions of their Early Christian models were genre scenes: the mosaic in the left-hand apse in the narthex of the Lateran Baptistery, long lost, was populated along its rim by cowherds and shepherds, lambs, birds, a chicken coop, and a woman feeding birds. All reappear at S. Clemente (fig. 141), enriched by further genre elements of late-antique flavor: water fowl, as once pictured along the rim of S. Costanza's dome; loosely strewn vine leaves, grapes, and gamboling putti; and the garland inside the apse arch, as in the apses and aisle vaults of S. Constanza and other early churches in Rome. The master of S. Clemente drew on elements of this kind from other unidentified late-antique sources: a goatherd and his dwarflike ugly slave, with a milking pail (fig. 142); a bird feeding its young; a

stork pouncing on a lizard; a splendid peacock (fig. 143); the still-life of a hunting outfit (fig. 144); a putto playing with a dolphin (fig. 145), another trumpeting. A sower, a monk, and a layman feeding birds; a group of three men, one richly dressed, appear in medieval attire, but their movements and grouping suggest late-antique sources for them as well, albeit perhaps transmitted by Carolingian manuscripts. Similarly, at S. Maria in Trastevere, pairs of putti hold drapes filled with flowers and a huge urn (fig. 146); remains of murals from S. Nicola in Carcere, preserved in the Vatican Museum, show a heron (fig. 147), a parrot, dolphins, a lion-headed monster, an antique mask. At S. Maria in Cosmedin a frieze crowning the nave walls is composed of roundels filled with fauns' heads and ornaments *all' antica*—rinceaux, coffered friezes, candelabra rising from vases, scattered flowers, fruit and birds, drapery, and cornucopia, hard to see at present, except in photographs taken early in this century (fig. 148). Such antique models pervade medieval church decoration in Rome from the late eleventh cen-

146. S. Maria in Trastevere, putto with drape
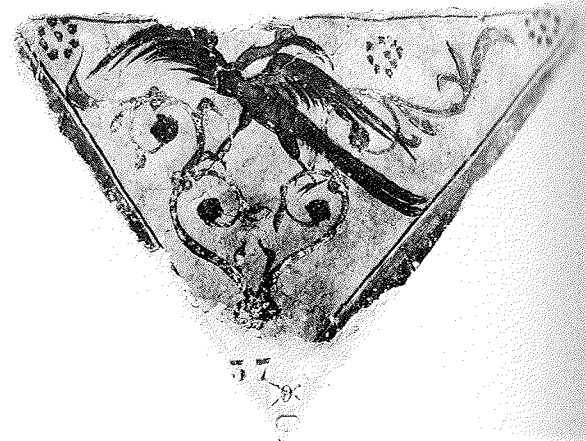
147. Heron, Musei Vaticani, from S. Nicola in Carcere

148. S. Maria in Cosmedin, faun's head

145. S. Clemente, apse mosaic, putto playing with dolphin

tury through the first decades of the twelfth. Lifelike as they were, although insignificant in themselves, they would be substitutes, in the eyes of medieval man, for the representation of reality, striven for but unattainable.

By the early twelfth century, the lure of antiquity and its reflections in medieval art were neither new nor linked exclusively to Rome. From the late eleventh century and for a hundred and fifty years more, writers, artists, and their patrons from France, England, or Italy absorbed and employed the phraseology and vocabulary of classical antiquity; they gradually began to think in its language. Within the context of this medieval rebirth of antiquity, they flaunted their learning and savored the elegance of a phrase plucked and adapted from a Roman writer; they enjoyed and emulated the refinement of an ornament, the naturalness of a genre scene, the graceful movement of a bird or a lady, the convincing likeness of a gesture or a human head, as seen in a Roman mosaic, Christian or pagan, a mural, or an ancient statue. Clearly this renascence had many facets. Panofsky, the first to see it as a whole, contrasted two main trends: in the North, grown from a soil not nurtured by love of the ancient world's tradition, it took the form primarily of a literary movement, leading to a rediscovery of nature in prose and poetry, but absorbing the language of ancient statuary late, though with all the vigor of the masters of Rheims; on ancient soil in Provence and Italy, on the other hand, the figural arts readily incorporated an antique vocabulary in the ornament and statuary of church facades and portals, such as at S. Gilles and Modena. Whether or not such differentiation can be fully sustained, the classical elements re-employed were either integrated in the medieval program of a church façade and thus made void of their original meaning or they were neutral to start with, a curiosity to be savored for its rarity, naturalness, and beauty—an ornament, a genre scene, a heron, a putto—as in Rome at S. Clemente and in the fragments of S. Nicola in Carcere.

In this medieval revival, Rome held a unique position. She had no need to search for the remains of antiquity. They were ever present: the

Pantheon, the Colosseum, the theatres of Marcellus and of Pompey; the ruins of the great thermae and of the palaces of the Palatine; the remains of the temples on the fora and the Campus Martius; the fora themselves, those of Nerva, Augustus, Trajan; the triumphal arches and the monumental columns of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan; the mausolea of Hadrian and Augustus; the obelisks, especially the one then along the south flank of St. Peter's; the pyramid of Cestius and the other pyramid that till the fifteenth century stood near the Mausoleum of Hadrian. Ancient sculpture, too, was plentiful: the reliefs on the triumphal columns and arches; the river god, the *Marforio*, then near S. Martina on the Forum and now at the Capitoline Museum; the horse tamers, the *caballi di marmo* on the Quirinal and along with them two river gods and three standing barbarians; the Trofei di Mario; and others, mentioned by medieval visitors but now gone. Wall paintings, mosaics, and stucco decoration must have been accessible in the ruins of the Golden House, on the Palatine, in the vaults of the Colosseum—many lost to us but surviving in their medieval reflections. Likewise ever present and kept in good repair were the great monuments of Christian antiquity: the basilicas of St. Peter's, S. Paolo, S. Maria Maggiore, and at the Lateran, and their mosaics and murals. Contact with the classical past and its survival in pagan and Christian monuments was an everyday experience in Rome. To Romans of the Middle Ages, whether native or adoptive, antiquity was an integral part of their environment. It was not distant history, but a live and very real element. Such familiarity bred diverse and vastly divergent attitudes. Roman statuary or architectural materials habitually went into the lime kilns—from late antiquity into the sixteenth century: lime, probably from burning ancient marble, went into repairing the city walls in the eighth century. The quarter around what is now Largo Argentina took its medieval name, *de calcarariis*, as early as 1023 from the lime burners' shops, and other kilns were worked near the Mausoleum of Augustus, in the Thermae of Agrippa behind the Pantheon, on the Forum, and wherever else marble was near at hand. Or else, again a cus-

tom continued ever since antiquity, architectural elements were reused as spoils, either as they were or slightly altered, in new buildings: bases, column shafts, capitals, entablatures, piers or pilasters, votive altars, inscriptions, or just ordinary building blocks. Just as in Christian antiquity—one recalls S. Sabina—or in Carolingian times, the colonnades of medieval churches in Rome were built wholly or in part from such spoils; spoils, too, form the brackets of a cornice, the cornice itself, the plaques of chancel screens and pulpits. Likewise, houses, some of which survive, often used ancient columns in their ground-floor porticoes, surmounted occasionally by fragments of an ancient frieze: one carved with lion heads and palmettes is still to be seen on the corner house opposite Ponte S. Angelo (fig. 233), another in Via Capo di Ferro 10. Lime burners and stonecutters would keep in their workshops deposits of marble spoils, statuary and architectural decoration, capitals, friezes, brackets. More than a dozen such shops ranging from late antiquity, it seems, to the Renaissance, and filled with ancient spoils, have been identified. Occasionally the pieces may have served the owners, the *marmorarii Romani*, as models. More frequently they went into the limekilns; or they were in demand for sale, reworked or as they had been found, to builders from Rome and afar. Just as Desiderius bought marble and other materials for the construction of Monte Cassino, Suger of St. Denis planned to procure them from Rome for building his abbey church, with the difference that his ambition, tiny man that he was, aspired to nothing less than columns from the Thermae of Diocletian and other baths—even how to convey them by ship right to the building site was carefully worked out. The *marmorarii* of Rome were, I think, no less famous as marble workers than as dealers in architectural spoils and other materials; and once in a while one of them would carve his name on the ancient piece not so much as proof of ownership as to advertise the firm, often passed down from father to son and grandson.

Obviously, the ancient ruins and their decoration, the antique statues and reliefs, held a fascination, beyond their practical use and reuse, for

men of the Middle Ages. But their attitude toward these witnesses of a world so foreign to their own remained ambiguous and many-layered. The hoi polloi of Romans and visitors, especially pilgrims, would be overwhelmed by the sheer size of a building or a colossal statue surviving in fragments and spin strange yarns about it: the Colosseum was the Temple of the Sun and had formerly been covered with a huge dome; the *pigna* in the atrium of St. Peter's had stood atop the opaion of the Pantheon, God knows how; wriggling through the four bronze supports below the obelisk near St. Peter's secured forgiveness of sins, and the bronze globe on top of the obelisk was said to contain the ashes of Caesar (fig. 149). In short, all ancient statuary and buildings were filled with magic. Popular fancies and magical fear crept into learned descriptions of Rome as well.

At the same time, though, these elements, the ancient structures, the remains of ancient art salvaged from the limekilns or surviving in murals,
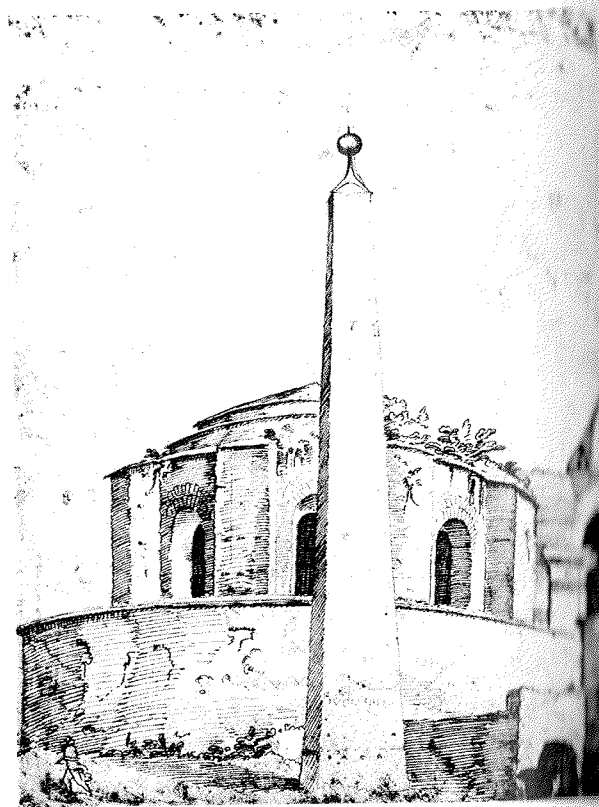
149. Obelisk at St. Peter's, as of 1534–1536, drawing Marten van Heemskerck, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 79 D2A, fol. 22ᵛ

stucco, mosaic, and marble, whether Christian or pagan, held a very different fascination for cultivated men of the Middle Ages. To them these artifacts were, other connotations notwithstanding, a source of pleasure and admiration. They enjoyed their lifelikeness and grace, their monumentality and liveliness, their elegance and the technical skill of execution. The pagan elements could be given a Christian meaning, but just as often they were disregarded. Whether pagan or not, these relics were viewed simply as quotations, like those employed by contemporary writers to flaunt their own learning and for the sheer enjoyment of their tasteful richness and refinement. Their pagan character was largely irrelevant; more often than not, they seem to have been considered void of content. For purely decorative elements such absence of meaning is self-evident. However, the cultured prelates and monastic congregations responsible for designing the decoration of S. Clemente or S. Nicola in Carcere apparently felt no reluctance at integrating non-Christian motifs in their programs. Paganism was dead; a putto or even a faun's head was by now an empty shell, a mere phrase; harmless, it could be prized for its lifelike immediacy and its perfection as a work of art "better than nature," as later medieval artists put it, amazed that human nature could rise to such heights of craftsmanship.

One likes to think that there would always have been Romans impressed by the city's ancient remains. Perhaps more frequently, so would visitors have been, who were less familiar with and therefore more curious about buildings, sculpture, monuments, paintings, and mosaics. At the end of the eleventh century and the early twelfth, the evidence for this becomes overwhelming. Nothing shows it better than the decorations and antique motifs incorporated in the paintings and mosaics of the churches built or rebuilt in Rome at the time, or the sumptuous Roman columns, capitals, and friezes reused at S. Maria in Trastevere; clearly, these elements were chosen by the artists employed at the command, or with the consent, of their clerical patrons: sophisticated gentlemen, steeped in the writings of the ancients and often trained abroad, in Paris for instance, as was

Anaclete II Pierleone. Sometime between 1145 and 1150, Henry, bishop of Winchester and brother of the English king, Henry II, on a business trip to Rome was buying up ancient sculptures to take home with him. So set on his quest was he as to go about the city seriously, his beard unkempt, like many an avid collector. He was ridiculed for this whim of his by native Romans. But John of Salisbury, who tells the story, saw clearly that the pieces he bought were "produced by the subtle and diligent, rather than intentional, error of the heathen"; their pagan content, though damnable, was separate from their aesthetic qualities. There was most likely no regular dealing in antiques. But if a stonecutter had a good piece around, as did the one in whose workshop a well-preserved statue of Antinous was found among column shafts and other spoils ninety years ago, he would part with it, were a mad Englishman willing to pay. Another English visitor to Rome, Magister Gregory, around 1200 was filled with enthusiasm and curiosity when seeing the wonderful remains of antiquity: he paced off the width of the Pantheon at 266 feet—he must have had small feet; in the Thermae of Diocletian the columns stood so high that he couldn't throw a pebble up to their capitals—who but an English don would try?; he washed his hands in a hot sulphur bath contained in a bronze tub, one assumes antique, and tipped the attendant, but did not bathe because of the stench; in front of the Lateran Palace he saw with fascination the statue of the thornpicker, "that ridiculous Priapus," supposedly looking down at his large genitals—they are of perfectly normal size; and "driven by some magic or I don't know what," he went to the Quirinal three times to see a naked Venus of rosy marble "as if ashamed of her nudity"—representations taboo in medieval art, but with a particular attraction of their own. Indeed, Magister Gregory saw magic in all the weird art of the ancients—his treatise, after all, is entitled, *Tale of the Marvels of the City of Rome, whether Produced by Magic Art or by Human Labour*: one could not be sure. He believed a good number of the fancy stories then current. But he was critical of others told by and to pilgrims—whom he disliked—and informed himself by talking to the

prelates at the papal court. Nonetheless, he shows great admiration for ancient works of art. He was deeply impressed by the high quality of the bronze head of Constantine at the Lateran: its colossal size, its workmanship, "the merit of the artist"; the beauty, "no human head . . . has anything of perfect beauty that is missing here"; the softness of hair achieved in hard bronze; its fidelity, "if you look at it with your eyes half-closed, it seems to move and speak."

Ancient art, then, was attractive, but dangerous; admirable, but of an uncanny perfection that only evil spirits could achieve. It became safe only when understood either as a Christian symbol or a political one. The Christian interpretation of motifs purloined from antiquity and incorporated in a mosaic, as at S. Clemente, has been discussed previously, at least in passing. In Rome and within a milieu permeated by political overtones, as was the case in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the revival of late-antique models and formulas and the attraction of ancient monuments or statuary would necessarily have had political overtones as well. Ever since Virgil the idea of Rome and her past was bound up with the consciousness of her place as mistress and head of the world. The recollection of what she had been remained a goal to be striven for; or, since the goal was beyond reach, it remained a vision ever kept alive. The search for the glory and power she once held remained in medieval Rome inseparable from politics in its many aspects: rhetoric, aspirations, the reality of power and action. It tinges the laments over her downfall in the chronicle of Benedict of Soracte; the quest for freedom from foreign rule and the successive revolts led by Alberic, the Crescentii, and the Pierleoni; the dream of Otto III of a universal monarchy ruled from Rome; the concept pervading the entire Middle Ages of a better, because Christian, Rome which had conquered and replaced the pagan, though glorious, city; the conviction ever recurring from Nicholas I in the ninth century to Innocent III in the thirteenth of her being mistress of the world as in ancient days, through being the seat of the papacy, heir to Saint Peter and the Roman emperors and thus supreme both spiritually and temporally; or else, the thought of Rome as the stronghold of a free republic resisting temporal rule by either emperor or pope. By 1122, the papacy had emerged victoriously from the Investiture Struggle. The German emperors were vanquished; the Church had won freedom from temporal interference; indeed, she had forced the temporal powers to acknowledge her superiority. From the third decade of the twelfth century on, the popes could see themselves increasingly in the image first adumbrated by Gregory VII both spiritual leaders of Christendom and overlords of all temporal rulers in the West. The concept found visual expression in murals and mosaics and their inscriptions, once in the Lateran Palace and on the narthex of its basilica. Known from late copies, they all referred to the victorious termination of the Investiture Struggle by the Concordat of Worms, to the triumph of the papacy over antipopes nominated by the German emperors, to its claims to temporal supremacy in a very real feudal sense, and to the historical basis supporting these claims. In one mural, the Virgin, Queen of Heaven, appeared flanked by Popes Anaclete I and Sylvester I, the former believed to have been ordained by Saint Peter himself and to have set up his memoria, the latter Constantine's counterpart and the alleged recipient of the Donation. At her feet knelt Calixtus II and Anaclete II Pierleone who was later declared antipope, apparently the donor of the mural cycle sometime between 1130 and 1138. In a lower tier, finally, were ranged the great popes of the early centuries, among them Leo I and Gregory the Great, and opposite them those victorious in the Investiture Struggle. Another mural showed in three scenes the coronation in 1133 of Emperor Lothar III by Pope Innocent II—his oaths to the city of Rome and to the pope, then his coronation—explained by an inscription; it broadly hinted at the emperor's being liegeman to the pope, his crown's being a papal fief and, by implication, the pope's being the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler. Lastly, a mosaic on the narthex of the Lateran Basilica, probably built between 1159 and 1181 or slightly later, illustrated the foundation of the claim by showing Constantine handing to the pope the charter of the Donation, and thus transferring to him the imperial insignia, prerogatives, and actual rule over the West; similarly, the fresco cycle in the Cappella di S. Silvestro in the convent of the Quattro Coronati, completed in 1246, shows Constantine offering to Pope Sylvester the imperial headgear, the *phrygium* (fig. 150). The pope—and this is the official view of papal partisans in the High Middle Ages—controls empires and kingdoms as well as the Church. He is the successor to Constantine and the Roman emperors as well as to Saint Peter.

These several traditions—the Petrine, the Constantinian, and that of imperial Rome as mistress of the world—constitute a matrix within which the revival of antiquity in medieval Rome, in papal circles at any rate, became pregnant with political implications. Quite naturally, Old St. Peter's, Constantine's foundation and monument of the Apostle, would be the great model for church planners in medieval Rome, *idealiter*, anyhow. *Realiter*, one recalls, ever since Carolingian times a standard type had been developed: the transept plan of St. Peter's, unconventional by then with its low roof and its lower exedrae projecting beyond the aisles, was replaced by that of S. Paolo fuori le mura, as high and wide as the nave. St. Peter's itself seems to have been viewed as following that norm, and indeed in 1154 it was brought closer to it by raising at least its exedrae—or perhaps only the northern one—to the height of the transept roof. Or else the gallery scheme of S. Lorenzo or S. Agnese fuori le mura, both evidently believed to have been Constantine's original churches on the spot, may have served as prototypes for the sham galleries of the Quattro Coronati or at S. Croce as rebuilt in 1144/5. Mosaic designers, one recalls, time and again drew on genuine or putative Constantinian models—at the Lateran Baptistery, at S. Costanza, possibly the old mosaic of the Lateran Basilica, in all likelihood attributed to the imperial founder despite its fifth-century date. Early Christian churches of a classical hue, such as S. Maria Maggiore, may well have been absorbed by twelfth-century builders into an ideal picture of "Constantinian" architecture to serve as an overall standard. (Did the set of fifth-century capitals once in S. Maria Maggiore spark the resurrection in high medieval Rome of a cap-

150. SS. Quattro Coronati, Cappella di S. Silvestro, detail, Constantine offering phrygium to pope

ital type hardly ever used after Early Christian times?) In any event, the adaptation of such models apparently reflected or supported the claims of the popes to be legitimate successors to both Saint Peter and Constantine. One may speculate whether their aspiration to be the heirs of the Roman emperors too effected the absorption in twelfth- and thirteenth-century church decoration of non-Christian, or even decidedly pagan, elements. Indeed, it has been suggested that the Roman spoils—be they leonine armrests, gamboling putti, or rinceaux—were incorporated into pontifical thrones set up in the early twelfth century at S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and S. Clemente, just because of the imperial connotations claimed by the papacy. Whether or not this holds for antique motifs in general, beyond, that is, their already having been incorporated as harmless genre scenes in Early Christian compositions, is a moot point. After all, such elements abounded in stucco reliefs, wall paintings, and pavement or wall mosaics in the imperial residences on the Palatine, in the Domus Aurea, or in the Thermae, all known in the Middle Ages as palaces of the Roman emperors. Certainly, though, recourse to an antique vocabulary became a fad in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Rome. In the work of the Cosmati and other dynasties of Roman marble workers, motifs *all'antica* abound, often surprisingly close to the original:

151. S. Cesareo, pulpit, detail

sphinxes, lions and griffins, all fashionable quotations and without political or other ideological motivation. The pulpit at S. Cesareo, wherever it came from, is one of many examples of this pretentious but crude art (fig. 151).

Is it possible that the ancient statuary assembled at the Lateran Palace, the papal residence through the Middle Ages, was interpreted, at least from the eleventh and twelfth centuries on, to support papal claims to be heirs to the tradition of ancient Rome? By then a number of bronze sculptures had been gathered under the porticoes and in front of the palace: the *lupa*; the equestrian Marcus Aurelius; the tablet with the *lex Vespasiani*; the thornpicker; Constantine's colossal head and hand—the last three placed on columns; a ram or ram's head spouting water, below the *lupa*. A selection from among the pieces is depicted, fantastically transposed, in a fifteenth-century manuscript (fig. 152). The "palace of our imperial rule at the Lateran, which excels all other palaces on earth," was listed in the Donation as one of the principal gifts of Constantine to the pope. The equestrian statue

of Marcus Aurelius was viewed as establishing the pope as the legitimate ruler of Rome and the West, as the Donation would have it. Moved at an unknown time from the emperor's ancestral villa, under what is now the hospital of S. Giovanni, to a site near the northeast corner of the older part of the papal palace, the statue was apparently set up on a new base carried by columns and lions, some time in the twelfth or thirteenth century (figs. 153, 154, 260). As early as the tenth century it was believed to represent Constantine—an opinion not doubted until the twelfth century—and like the *lupa* it was a place of judgment: in 963, as noted, the unfortunate city prefect who led a revolt against emperor and pope was hung by his hair from the statue. At that time, then, it was a symbol of papal, and originally perhaps imperial, jurisdiction, a monumental reminder of the legitimacy of papal temporal rule, as established by the Donation. By the middle of the tenth century or the end, if not already the first thirty years, of the ninth, the bronze *lupa* marked the site where in the portico of the palace the emperor's permanent

resident in Rome, his *missus*, sat in judgment (fig. 155). Originally on the Capitol and in 65 B.C. struck by a bolt of lightning that evidently broke its feet and destroyed the group of the twins, the she-wolf seems to have been hidden with other sacred statues in the vaulting of the Capitol and from there brought to the Lateran at an unknown time. The reason for the transfer, on the other hand, appears obvious: "Mother of the Romans," as she was, the *lupa* would be the symbol of the ruler of Rome. With the disappearance of imperial power from the mid-eleventh century on, she would stand, in conformity with the reinterpretation of the Constantinian Donation, for papal jurisdiction and rule over Rome. A third witness to papal rule was the bronze tablet "before the *lupa*," the *lex Vespasiani*; inscribed in a beautiful *antiqua*, it bore part of a decree through which the Senate and People of Rome transferred to Vespasian the

imperial *potestas* as previously exercised by Augustus. First mentioned by Magister Gregory, who found it hard to decipher, the tablet may have been there long before; its lettering is likely to have been legible when *antiqua* was in use in the ninth and possibly tenth centuries. Thus it would have closed the circle: Senate and People transferred to the emperor jurisdiction and rule over Rome; and Constantine, having made Rome and the empire Christian, passed them on to the pope. Along with the *lupa*, the Marcus Aurelius, and the *lex Vespasiani*, a bronze head and a hand carrying a globe, both from a colossal statue of Constantine, also stood in front of the Lateran palace. They clearly held political implications. Popular belief, from before the 1100s and into the thirteenth century viewed the fragments as remains of a giant Samson. Magister Gregory, on the other hand, or his acquaintances at the Curia, saw the political note; the

152. Collection of antiques at Lateran in fantastic setting, Giovanni da Modena (?), Modena, Biblioteca Estense

153. View of Lateran, detail, showing statue of Marcus Aurelius as set up in the fifteenth century, and twelfth-century lions, as of 1534-1536, drawing Marten van Heemskerck, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 79 D2, fol. 71r

154. *Marcus Aurelius*

155. *Lupa*

globe meant the world and the power to hold it. He believed the pieces to have belonged to a colossal statue atop or near the Colosseum—he had read both Suetonius' *Life of Nero* and the late-antique gazetteers; to him it represented the Sun God, venerated by the ancients as a symbol of Rome and covered, he says, with "Imperial gold." To the learned, it seems, these colossal fragments signified the power of Rome, her sway over the world, and her imperial splendor.

However, other meanings as well were seen in all this statuary assembled at the Lateran. Popular exegesis went its own way—the "Samson" is one example, the Marcus Aurelius, as we shall see, another. Placed on columns, as were several of the pieces, they could also have been interpreted as idols, as Heckscher suggested. Certainly, the thornpicker, one would think, was such a heathenish thing, laughable in the sight of Christ's victory and the sway He held through his vicar, residing in the palace (fig. 156). Yet, exposed to ridicule, these pagan

156. *Thornpicker*
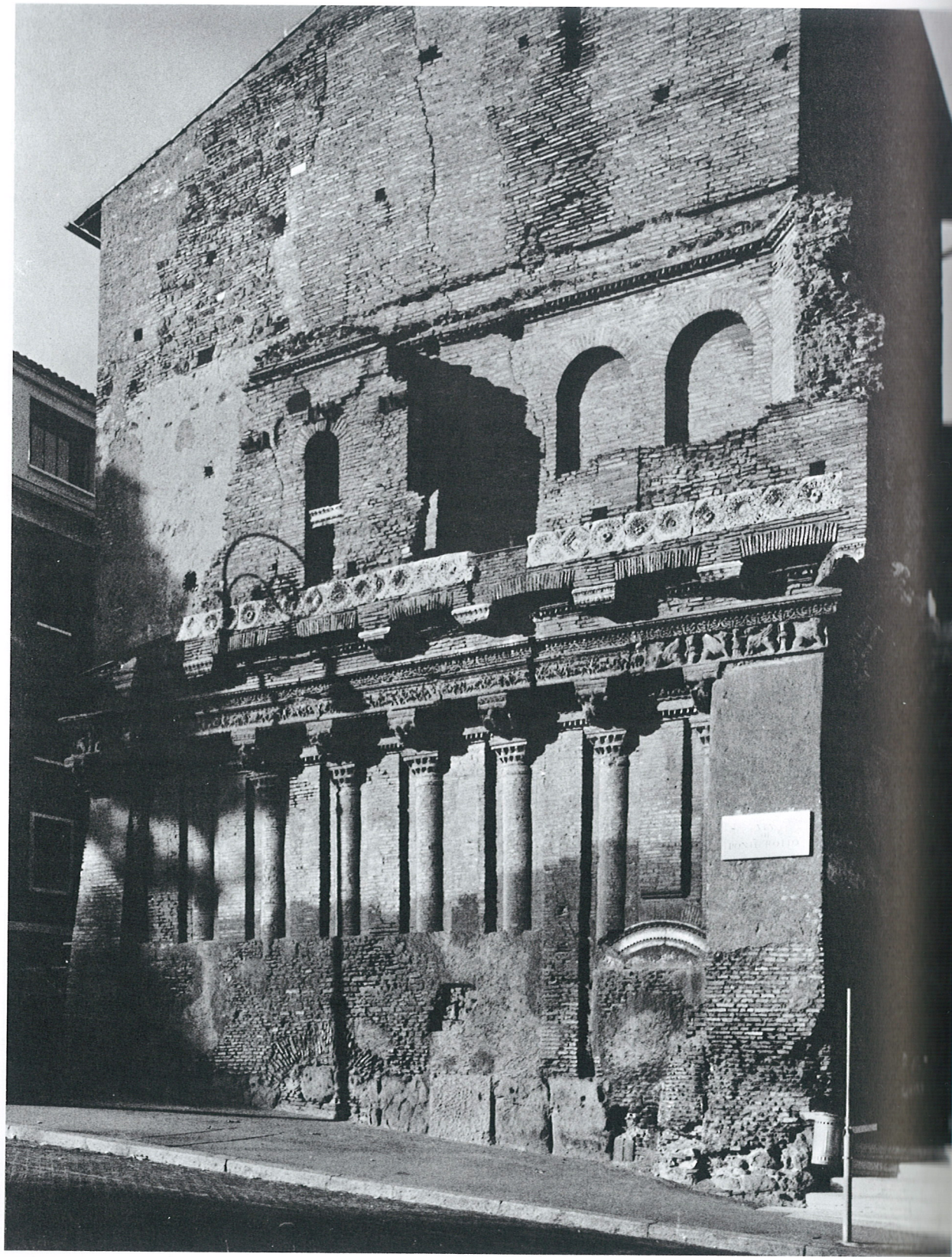
157. Casa dei Crescenzio

"idols" were awesome as well. The colossal head and hand were, according to Magister Gregory, "of frightening size"; and their technical perfection and lifelike beauty, too, were somewhat scary. Nonetheless, meanings aside, all this sculpture assembled at the Lateran over the centuries had another facet as well. A great lord, like the pope, would have taken pride in and enjoyed the possession of so many rare, curious, and beautiful, not to mention precious, objects. That they had political overtones was one thing; that they impressed visitors and the people, another; and another yet that the cultured prelates at the papal court just liked them.

The political overtones Roman antiquity and its revival held for the papacy reflect one aspect of the picture. Another aspect is reflected in the connotations this revival had for the Roman Republic, revived along medieval lines in 1143/4 by the Senate and People of Rome. But this republican rebirth is rarely mirrored in surviving buildings or their decoration. The installation of a Senate palace around 1150 on the Capitol was certainly a tangible symbol of the city's freedom, precariously and ephemerally won. But that building may simply have used the mansion of the Corsi clan set up on the ruins of the Tabularium; and its thirteenth-century successor, now enveloped by the structure as redesigned by Michelangelo, held no antique overtones in plan or design. The only surviving monument to reflect visibly the spirit of antiquity antedates, it seems, the formation of the republic by decades, perhaps as much as half a century—the so-called Casa dei Crescenzio (fig. 157). Based on the style of the lettering in the inscriptions, a date "between the late eleventh and the middle of the twelfth century, but closer to 1100" has been plausibly suggested. Built by one Nicolaus, son or descendant of a Crescens and a Theodora—both names recall the family of Alberic, Rome's tenth-century master—it rose, originally as a tower, in the midst of what in the Middle Ages was the densely built-up quarter near the river between the Theatre of Marcellus and S. Maria in Cosmedin. However, it differs vastly from the usual run of towers. At present, only the ground floor and a fragment of the upper story and its arcaded loggia remain,

158. Casa dei Crescenzio, detail

isolated in the asphalted clean-up of the area effected half a century ago. Seven segmented column shafts, half swallowed by the wall, all built of brick and flanked by brick piers, weakly articulate the façade. Two rows of bricks, diagonally inserted, crown the shafts in place of capitals, while the entablature and the supporting brackets represent a collage of architectural fragments—volutes, foliage, putti, sphinxes, coffering—purloined from ancient Roman buildings, with a few medieval copies in between (fig. 158). Poorly constructed, the building forecasts the connotations of antiquity revived, as they were prevalent at the height of the Roman republic in the middle of the twelfth century. The inscriptions placed by the owner all over his mansion strengthen these implications. Interwoven with the theme, whether Christian or Stoic, of the passing of all earthly glory and the inevitability of death, they stress his pride in

his ancestry and his aim to renew Rome's ancient grandeur, the house doing the Roman people proud. Nor is it by chance that the passers-by are called "Quirites," the long-obsolete ancient name for a citizen of the Roman Republic.

The Casa di Crescenzio, if indeed it dates around 1100 or shortly after, highlights the situation. The spirit that in 1143 led to the formation of the republic had been alive presumably among intellectuals and litterateurs long before it crystallized into political action. Sparked off as it was by their readings of the ancient writers, the revival of antiquity and its political interpretation was naturally reflected as much in literary as in visual form. It is hardly by chance that, as in ancient Rome, repairs of a purely practical nature—on the city walls in 1157; on the Bridge of Cestius in 1191-1193—were commemorated by inscriptions, naming officials responsible—the Senator Benedictus Carushomo on the bridge. In 1119, S. Silvestro in Capite's possession of the Column of Marcus Aurelius was still confirmed simply in terms of the monastery's property rights to both the Column and the attached chapel and its income. On the contrary, by 1162, the Column of Trajan, while still the property of SS. Apostoli—although the attached chapel belonged to the nunnery of S. Ciriaco in Via Lata—was placed directly under the protection of the Senate, in honor of that church, and the People of Rome in its entirety; this was to ensure that the column should "remain whole and undiminished as long as the world lasts," any violation to be punished by death and confiscation of property. Sometime between 1150 and 1250—I incline toward the earlier date, but others, possibly better informed, prefer a later one—an obelisk from Roman times was repaired and set up at the northeast corner of the Capitoline Hill, on a base resting on four lions of medieval workmanship; both obelisk and lions are in Villa Mattei on the Celian, transferred there in 1582. On the Capitol, the obelisk was placed between the medieval Palazzo del Senatore and the twelfth-century church of S. Maria in Capitolio (fig. 159), which until about 1260 rose on the site of the transept of the present church of S. Maria in Aracoeli. Thus, the

obelisk may well have stood as a symbol of the *comune* and the Senate, the Roman Republic revived.

The concept of ancient Rome reborn and interpreted along the lines of contemporary political aspirations and realities comes forth most clearly in a guidebook, completed by Benedict, a canon of St. Peter's, between 1140 and 1143, and revised the following year. Written by a scholar much alive to the political constellations of his day, for men as learned and as much political animals as himself, the *Mirabilia* drew on many different sources: fourth-century gazetteers; passions of saints; pilgrim guides of the seventh century; passages from the *Liber Pontificalis*; and, more relevant still in our context, legends woven ever since late antiquity around the monuments and sites of ancient Rome and newly interpreted; and, in a periegesis through the city, references to temples and ancient sites plucked from Roman literature, in particular Ovid's *Fasti*. All this has been set in a structure very different from any of the earlier Rome guides. A glance at the periegetic section will tell. The pilgrim guides had led the faithful to the relics of the saints in catacombs and churches, naturally so. The Einsiedeln sylloge and itinerary had indiscriminately listed inscriptions, pagan or Christian, and temples and churches along the routes traversing the city. On the contrary, the author of the *Mirabilia* centers attention exclusively on ancient Rome; churches serve only to locate the presumed site of an ancient building or sanctuary. Thus he leads a systematic tour through the ancient city, always focusing on the monuments; their identification from literary references, though important, is secondary. Starting at the Vatican, he lists the obelisk—its globe contains, as Benedict is the first to say, Caesar's ashes; the two mausolea—one presumed to be a Temple of Apollo; and the *pigna* and its canopy in the atrium. Thence he moves to the Mausoleum of Hadrian and other ancient monuments nearby, across the river to the Mausoleum of Augustus, the Pantheon, and the other temples of the Campus Martius; and as the climax, to the Capitol and its long-lost temples, to the Forum and the Palatine. A tour of ancient monuments

159. Obelisk on Capitol, with view of Colosseum in distance, of 1534-1536, drawing Marten van Heemskerck, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 79 D2A, fol. 11'
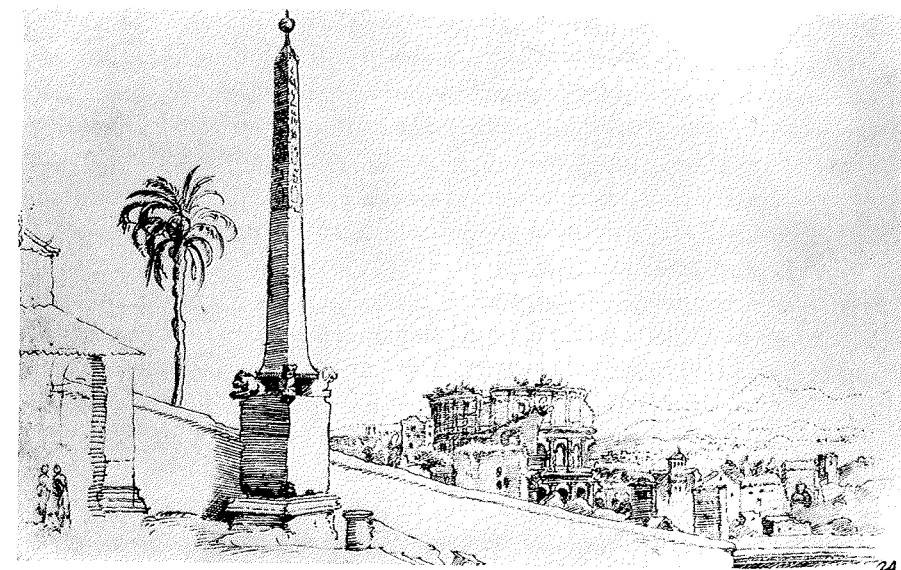
in the disabitato—the Celian Hill, the Esquiline, Quirinal, and Aventine, ending in Trastevere—terminates the survey.

The aim of this evocation of ancient Rome, and of the entire treatise, is revealed in the selection of legends recounted, in their interpretation and that of the monuments, in the overtones of the telling and in the terminating summary. Time and again an event is said to have taken place "at the time of the consuls and senators," rather than the emperors; the building of the Pantheon is linked to "the subjection to the Roman senate of the Swabians and Saxons and other nations in the West"—an obvious dig at the German emperors of the early twelfth century, the Hohenstaufen Konrad III and Lothar of Supplinburg—"and of the Persians in the East"; Augustus was given his name *ab augendo rem publicam*, because he increased the commonwealth; and the Capitol was the *caput mundi*, where the senators and consuls sat to rule the world." The age-old legend of the *salvatio Romae*—the seventy statues on the Capitol, each with a bell to warn of any disturbance in the lands subject to Rome—gains new prominence. The statue of Marcus Aurelius at the Lateran "is said to be Constantine's; but this is not so"; instead, it represents a squire who "at the time of the consuls and senators" freed Rome besieged by a king from the East, and captured him; the dig at Constantine, whose Donation had established the pope at the Lateran as temporal ruler,

seems as unmistakable as his replacement by a folk hero. Just as significant may be the omission of the other bronze statues at the Lateran—"there are many to admire, but we must not write of them," possibly because they were symbols of papal rule—but were they all, even the thornpicker or the ram Magister Gregory saw? The last paragraph of the book finally sums up the sources, methods, and political aims of the author: "These and many more temples and palaces of emperors, consuls, senators and prefects were in pagan times in this city of Rome, as we read in the old annals and see with our own eyes and have heard from our elders. How beautifully they shone in gold and silver, bronze, ivory and precious stones, we have taken care to sum up as best we could for the remembrance of future generations."

Clearly, such a summoning forth of Roman antiquity drew its meaning from the political aspirations and passions of the time, and was kindled by intellectuals, such as Arnold of Brescia. But this gives a lopsided picture. None of the scholars or political figures involved in the movement, always conscious and enamored as they were of the memory of ancient Rome, her grandeur and her monuments, forgot that this past was pagan. The Middle Ages were Christian and those enthused with antiquity, whether or not in a political context, were as good Christians as anyone else. Their love for the ancient past of Rome would go hand in hand with their

sincere conviction that this past, since pagan, had been overcome by the Christian traditions of the city; that its destruction, indeed, was God's punishment for its long, sinful, heathen history; and that holy men, lending a hand in the work of destruction, had acted rightly. The same John of Salisbury who without disapproval recounts Henry of Winchester's collecting ancient sculpture, tells almost approvingly of Gregory the Great's having burnt the ancient libraries because Holy Writ was ever so much better. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century chroniclers enlarged on the legend: by then Gregory had "caused the heads and limbs of the statues of demons everywhere to be truncated, so that the root of heretical depravity would be ripped out and the palm of ecclesiastical truth more fully raised." Hildebert of Lavardin's long double poem brings out in superb verse the interweaving of this love of ancient Rome, of her divinely preordained destruction and the victory of Christ, a true love-hate relationship:

. . . .

Par tibi, Roma, nihil, cum sis prope tota
   ruina;
Quam magni fueris integra, fracta doces.
Longa tuos fastus aetas destruxit, et arces
Caesaris et superûm templa palude iacent.
5 Ille labor, labor ille ruit, quem dirus
   Araxes
Et stantem tremuit et cecidisse dolet;
Quem gladii regum, quem provida cura
   senatus,
Quem superi rerum constituere caput;
Quem magis optavit cum crimine solus
   habere
10 Caesar, quam socius et pius esse socer;
Qui crescens studiis tribus hostes, crimen,
   amicos
Vi domuit, secuit legibus, emit ope;
In quem, dum fieret, vigilavit cura
   priorum,
Iuvit opus pietas hospitis, unda, locus.
15 Materiem, fabros, expensas axis uterque

Misit, se muris obtulit ipse locus.
Expendere duces thesauros, fata favorem,
Artifices studium, totus et orbis opes.
Urbs cecidit, de qua, si quicquam dicere
   dignum
20 Moliar, hoc potero dicere: Roma fuit!
Non tamen annorum series, non flamma,
   nec ensis
Ad plenum potuit hoc abolere decus.
Cura hominum potuit tantam componere
   Romam,
Quantam non potuit solvere cura deûm.
25 Confer opes marmorque novum
   superûmque favorem,
Artificum vigilent in nova facta manus,
Non tamen aut fieri par stanti machina
   muro,
Aut restaurari sola ruina potest.
Tantum restat adhuc, tantum ruit, ut
   neque pars stans

Here follows a translation of the crucial lines:

Rome, without compare, though all but shattered;
Your very ruins tell of greatness once enjoyed.
Great age has tumbled your boasting,
The palaces of Caesar and the temples of the gods
   alike lie smothering in the mud.
Fallen, fallen the prize of all that effort
At whose power the dread Araxes once trembled.
Whose prostration he laments today.
She, whom the swords of kings, the caring
   foresight of the Senate,
And the gods themselves established at the head of
   all creation. (1-8)

Fallen the city of which, were I to attempt a
   worthy phrase,
I'd say—Rome, she was. (19-20)
Here, the gods admire their images in her
Longing to resemble those sculptured faces;
But nature could not fashion gods in that form
By which man shaped such marvelous statues of
   gods.
With those features, these gods were honored,
Rather for the skill that shaped them than for their
   deity. (31-36)
She indeed is a blessed city who is free of masters,
Or if she have them, if it but be held ignoble that
   her masters lack the Faith. (37-38)

30 Acquari possit, diruta nec refici.
Hic superûm formas superi mirantur et
   ipsi
Et cupiunt fictis vultibus esse pares.
Non potuit natura deos hoc ore creare,
Quo miranda deûm signa creavit homo.
35 Vultus adest his numinibus, potiusque
   coluntur
Artificum studio quam deitate sua.

One reads the warm elegiac lines, filled with a sad love of Rome in ruin, and too easily forgets that there is a sequel, a second poem to go with the first:

Urbs felix, si vel dominis urbs illa careret,
Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide!
Dum simulacra mihi, dum numina vana
   placerent,
40 Militia, populo, moenibus alta fui;
At simul effigies arasque superstitiosas
Deiciens, uni sum famulata Deo,
Cesserunt arces, cecidere palatia divûm,
Servivit populus, degeneravit eques.
45 Vix scio, quae fuerim, vix Romae Roma
   recordor,
Vix sinit occasus vel meminisse mei.
Gratior haec iactura mihi successibus illis;
Maior sum pauper divite, stante iacens.
Plus aquilis vexilla crucis, plus Caesare
   Petrus,
50 Plus cinctis ducibus vulgus inerme dedit.
Stans domui terras, infernum diruta pulso;
Corpora stans, animas fracta iacensque
   rego.

Tunc miserae plebi, modo principibus
   tenebrarum
Impero; tunc urbes, nunc mea regna
   polus.
55 Quae ne Caesaribus videar debere vel
   armis,
Et species rerum meque meosque trahat,
Armorum vis illa perit, ruit alta senatus
Gloria, procumbunt templa, theatra
   iacent,
Rostra vacant, edicta silent, sua praemia
   desunt
60 Emeritis, populo iura, colonus agris;
Durus eques, iudex rigidus, plebs libera
   quondam
Quaerit, amat, patitur otia, lucra, iugum.
Ista iacent, ne forte meus spem ponat in
   illis
Civis et evacuet spemque bonumque
   crucis.
65 Crux aedes alias, alios promittit honores,
Militibus tribuens regna superna suis.
Sub cruce rex servit, sed liber; lege
   tenetur,
Sed diadema gerens; iussa tremit, sed
   amat.
Fundit avarus opes, sed abundat; foenerat
   idem,
70 Sed bene custodit, si super astra locat.
Quis gladio Caesar, quis sollicitudine
   consul,
Quis rhetor lingua, quae mea castra manu
Tanta dedere mihi? Studiis et legibus
   horum
Obtinui terras; crux dedit una polum.

While I delighted in idols and false gods,
I boasted civil and military might with
   impregnable defenses;
But once throwing down idols and their pagan
   altars
I made submission to the one true God,
My power dried up, my temples fell to ruin,
My people sank to servitude, my knighthood
   wasted.
I hardly know who I have been:
I, Rome, can scarce remember Rome! (39-45)
I, now, more than the eagles of the legions,
The standard of the Cross has gifted me;
More than Caesar, Peter;

More than armored princes, the common people;
And all this without resort to arms. (49-50)
The Cross now pledges other mansions, different
   honors,
Opening to its knights a kingdom in Heaven.
   (65-66)
Which Caesar gave me possession of such riches
   with his sword,
Or consul's vigilance, or speaker's skillful tongue,
Or which, indeed, of my military camps?
From these, by their heedful government, I won
   the earth;
From the Cross all Heaven. (71-74)

Pagan Rome, then, had given way to a better, since Christian, Rome, the only Rome imaginable to medieval man. This, of course, was the view generally held all through Western Christendom; to the ordinary visitor, and even more so to the pilgrim come to seek salvation, Rome was *The* Christian city, and her Christian sanctuaries were what counted; her ancient ruins were strange survivals of a bygone world, suspect because of its pagan, devilish connotations. Men such as Hildebert of Lavardin took a different view: pagan Rome had been defeated, Rome was a Christian city; but in defeating paganism, Rome had made the pagan monuments her own. The pagan city had been fused into and become an integral part of Christian Rome. Such men were obviously a small group; but they shaped the image of Rome held by an educated class into the fifteenth century. This image from the late thirteenth century on is reflected time and. again in "abbreviated views," in which Rome is represented symbolically by a few selected buildings: Cimabue's at Assisi, from about 1280, shows the city walls, with their gates and towers—recalling the first sections of the *Mirabilia* and their late-antique forerunners; St. Peter's and S. Maria in Aracoeli, with the arms of the Commune; Torre delle Milizie and, perhaps, Tor de' Conti; Castel S. Angelo, the obelisk at St. Peter's, the Pantheon, and what may be the Colosseum. More clearly, the Golden Bull of Louis the Bavarian, 1328, presents the walls, towers, and gates of the city, as well as the Tiber; the Pantheon and the Column of Marcus Aurelius; perhaps the Mausoleum of Augustus; the Palazzo del Senatore, the Colosseum, a triumphal arch, the Pyramid of Cestius; the Lateran; and across the river, Castel S.

160. Seal from Bull of Louis the Bavarian, enlarged Munich

Angelo guarding the bridge, St. Peter's, the obelisk and, downstream, S. Maria in Trastevere (fig. 160). The merger of pagan Rome into Christian Rome could not be more clearly evident. Rome's essential duality disappears only when in about 1460 a Florentine *cassone* painter reduces Rome almost exclusively to non-Christian symbols (fig. 223): Castel S. Angelo, its bridge, the many-towered city walls, a triumphal column, the Pantheon and the Colosseum, and the Capitol with the Palazzo del Senatore; naturally so, given the themes—the Aeneid and Caesar's triumph. Likewise, naturally, the Christian sanctuaries are omitted, except for S. Maria in Aracoeli—its status as a civic symbol along the Palazzo del Senatore, together with its legendary link to Augustus, explain the inclusion. But by then the Middle Ages have ended and with them the easy fusion of ancient Rome with Christian Rome, so obvious to Hildebert of Lavardin.

The Thirteenth Century: An Epilogue

Three times in the thirteenth century Rome aspired to greatness. In the beginning, with Innocent III and his successor Honorius III on the See of Saint Peter, she became, through the papacy, capital of the Christian world in a very real sense: seat of pontiffs, successors to Constantine as well as to the Apostle, and hence the supreme authority in matters both temporal and spiritual, making and unmaking kings and emperors; a focus where legal and diplomatic decisions were made for the West; a financial power of the first magnitude; at the same time, capital of a papal state, peacefully cooperating with her ruler, the pope. This image of Rome held by medieval man tallied with political reality or nearly so, for thirty years. After the middle of the century, for a short six years, Brancaleone di Andalò, aiming far lower, made Rome into what was almost a free city, capital of a large territory in Central Italy, well organized and economically strong. Reality came sharply into focus against the hazy background of Rome's traditional image. Again, in the later years of the century, from 1277 to 1303, a line of emphatically Roman popes strove to make Rome head of the world, as she had been at the beginning of the century. They failed to do so; political and economic realities fell short of the grand image. Instead, they turned Rome for these twenty-six years into a cultural capital of Italy, if not of the world; the center of a new art which stands beside that of Siena, Florence, and Venice. But, in the end, political events cut short this final flowering of the city, the last in the Middle Ages.

The peak of papal power in the beginning of the century and of Rome's place in the medieval world has left few visible traces in the urban fabric or in surviving monuments. Innocent III, when still a cardinal, rebuilt his title church, SS. Sergio e Bacco on the Forum; it was a very

minor construction adjoining the Arch of Septimius Severus; restored again two hundred years later, it was drawn by Heemskerck just before it was demolished in 1536. As pope, Innocent was sparing in subsidies for church building. A list of his contributions survives in his biography: they are small, except for those going to churches and convents of the Cistercian Order then under construction near Rome—Fossanova and Casamari. To be sure, he gave textiles and altar vessels to dozens of churches in Rome and the hill towns; numerous, precious, and colorful though they were, the expense was small in the overall papal budget.

For secular building, on the other hand, he spent large sums—for practical and humanitarian-social ends and for reasons of prestige, both of the papacy and his family. The old Lateran Palace was strengthened and patched up, and a small infirmary was set up. In the Borgo, just across the river and south of Castel S. Angelo, Sto. Spirito in Sassia was established by him in 1198 as both hospital and hostel. Finally, a hundred meters or so north of Old St. Peter's and higher up the Vatican Hill, he built in 1208 a fortified residence for the papacy, the core of the present Vatican palace; today it is enclosed in the corner of a tiny courtyard, the *Cortile del Papagallo*. Built in small *tufelli* blocks, *opus saracinescum*, it rose as a solid block, three floors high, with a five-storied corner tower—its top floors now shelter the chapel frescoed by Fra Angelico (fig. 161). Towers protected a forecourt; they have disappeared, as have a number of office buildings listed and supposedly attached to or contained in the main block: the chaplain's apartment, chapel, and chamber; the bakery, wine cellar, and kitchen; the smithy; and houses for the chancellor, treasurer, and almoner, all obviously with their staffs. It was a structure, "honorabile et utile," representative