Rome in the Twelfth Century: *Urbs fracta* and *renovatio**

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Abstract

   Richard Krautheimer's grand synthesis of the history of art, architecture, and politics in medieval Rome has inspired a generation of subsequent publications, including revisionist ones. Focusing on the twelfth century, this essay rereads Krautheimer against a semiotic paradigm proposed by Marvin Trachtenberg and an alternative version of the history offered by Peter Cornelius Claussen, supplementing both with socio-historical, archaeological, and art historical research of the last twenty-five years. The result is a more reception-oriented history that highlights social and political diversity within Rome and possible misreadings of the intended messages of the familiar churches built between 1100 and 1143: San Clemente, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, San Crisogono, and Santa Maria in Trastevere. Archaeological discoveries like those in the Crypta Balbi also illuminate the revalorization of ancient ruins found in such texts as Hildebert of Lavardin's "Par tibi, Roma, nihil" and the Mirabilia urbis Romae.

This jubilee offering to the International Center of Medieval Art was composed originally for a more somber anniversary, the 2004 decennial remembrance of the death of Richard Krautheimer in Rome. It departs from one of his best-known works, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1305*, which celebrated its own silver anniversary in 2005. More precisely, it takes off from Marvin Trachtenberg's brilliant riff on Krautheimer's account of Rome in the twelfth century and appropriates Trachtenberg's theoretical oppositions in a different, more historical key.

Trachtenberg's contribution to the Festschrift that posthumously marked Krautheimer's one-hundredth birthday in 1997 highlights the disappointment with which the honoree described Rome's medieval churches: "somewhat monotonous," "unexciting," "isolated," "insular and uninventive," "conservative and retardataire."[1] Trachtenberg also noticed the ambivalence of Krautheimer's explanation of these qualities. Positively, the repetition of early Christian architectural forms played a role in papal propaganda by advertising the renewal of the apostolic Church and papal government, but there was also a failure of imagination; Rome was "weighed down by her past."

Trachtenberg proposed that analyzing the twelfth-century churches semiotically, as elements in a "structuralist field of the production of meaning," would neutralize the unspoken reason for Krautheimer's unfavorable assessment: technological and stylistic development. If Santa Maria in Trastevere (Fig. 1) looks "conservative and retardataire," it is by comparison to a building like Saint-Denis (Fig. 2), which was progressive and avant-garde. The sign-system of Rome did not include Saint-Denis, however, so the historian's implicit comparison and its attendant judgments are inappropriate. Trachtenberg called for understanding Rome as a "closed semiotic circle," in which "all reference was to itself and its deeply historicist" ideology of a papacy rooted in the time of Constantine. The semiotic power of Rome's twelfth-century churches lay precisely in their recursive reference to a chain of self-similar antecedents. The churches also signified by means of difference from other forms of building:

> . . . the point of Roman medieval churches was to . . . *display difference*—. . . from contemporary (and older) churches anywhere else in the world—and thereby simultaneously to *display identity* with the point of origination that was the foundation of [the papacy's] entire ideological structure.[2]

   In "the semiotic theater of medieval Rome," churches also functioned to *display difference* from another set of buildings, antique ones.

> . . . The stark contrast between the polished network of churches and the formless sea of rotting, ancient pagan ruins that surrounded them . . . would have . . . served visually and psychologically to degrade and devalue the remains of ancient buildings.[3]

Trachtenberg proposed that the "structural dialectics" that opposed the "ever-restored Christian Rome" to degraded pagan ruins was not accidental but the result of "a comprehensive [papal] strategy towards pagan antiquities" that included despoliation, neglect, and "re-signing" pagan monuments as churches, thereby shifting them "to the other side of the semiotic field."[4]

   The synthesis of the dialectical poles of Christian and pagan buildings occurred, according to Trachtenberg, not in Rome but in Florence in the architecture of Filippo Brunelleschi. The implication that the dialectic failed—that the poles remained frozen—in Rome is misleading, however, for throughout the Middle Ages there were periods of rapprochement followed by divergence. In the fifth century, the nave of

FIGURE 1. *Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere, 1139–1143 (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, D 1822).*

Santa Maria Maggiore (Fig. 13) achieved a synthesis of the early Christian basilica elevation with the classical Ionic peripteros; in the twelfth century, Santa Maria in Trastevere made a new, stronger synthesis in which the colonnade is blatantly pagan, displaying capitals carved with busts of Isis, Serapis, and Harpocrates (Figs. 3–5). These two Ionic Christian elevations are nearly identical and also profoundly unalike. Santa Maria in Trastevere repeats Santa Maria Maggiore in a mode unthinkable in the fifth century, but typical of the aesthetic and historical fascination with Antiquity that prevailed in the twelfth.

Rephrasing Trachtenberg's polarity, Santa Maria in Trastevere represents a synthesis of the *urbs fracta*—the shattered pagan city—with the Christian church "renewed" by the eleventh-century reform. Krautheimer described this reflorescence as an outcome of the political goal of *renovatio Romae*, a generative "new image of Rome, grand if ephemeral,

[that] emerged around the year 1000." The existence of an Ottonian Rome–centered "renewal ideology" is now disputed, but in 1980 it was bedrock in medieval history and a plausible support for a narrative in which the ambition of Otto III (983–1002) to restore Rome as a center of empire flows seamlessly into Hildebrand's vision of a Rome-centered Church, the papal-imperial Concordat of Worms (1122) and the imperializing ceremony of Pope Innocent II (1130–1143), the revival of the senate (1143–1144), and the struggles with Frederick Barbarossa (1152–1190). By the thirteenth century, according to Krautheimer, "Rome . . . was, in a very real sense, head of the world, *caput mundi* through the papacy, a power center in politics, in law, in finances."[5]

According to Krautheimer, the buildings that expressed this political *renovatio* constituted a "second renewal" of Roman church architecture, the first having been the "Carolingian Renascence." Three churches—Santi Quattro Coronati,

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FIGURE 2. *Saint-Denis, ambulatory, 1140–1143 (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, NY).*

San Clemente, and Santa Maria in Trastevere—were singled out as representative of the second renewal; each one stands for a type represented by other examples, and all have early Christian antecedents. Santi Quattro Coronati (completed 1116) is said to be a version of the sixth- or seventh-century galleried basilica, although its galleries are not practicable. San Clemente (1110–1130) is the "standard type" of early Christian basilica made canonical by its own fourth-century predecessor and by examples like Santa Sabina; it was followed by Santa Maria in Cosmedin (ca. 1123). Santa Maria in Trastevere is the transept-type of Old St. Peter's and St. Paul's; the same type occurs in San Crisogono (1123–1130) and, in the thirteenth century, in the west basilica at San Lorenzo fuori le mura. In Krautheimer's view the major new constructions of twelfth-century Rome are all reducible to these three basic designs, with or without other optional features: the porch, the bell tower, diaphragm arches.[6]

The basilicas of the twelfth-century rebirth "stand apart from the run-of-the-mill church building . . . [that] prevailed from the late ninth century through to the twelfth," that is,

converted temples, chapels "ensconced in ancient ruins," and small freestanding buildings with just one nave and an apse.[7] Yet however impressive in Rome, the basilicas of the *renovatio* seem modest if compared with developments elsewhere in the renovated Roman empire, which comprised northern Italy and parts of what today are Germany and France. It is at this point in Krautheimer's narrative that the unflattering phrases noticed by Trachtenberg come into play, as he acknowledged that the churches of the second renewal appear "remarkably uniform," "somewhat monotonous," "unexciting when viewed in the context of the great Romanesque churches of these same years" or earlier, like Saint-Etienne at Caen, Cluny III, Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, and Durham Cathedral, not to mention the west and east ends of Saint-Denis. These are only interim judgments, however, which preface a new explanation: the stimulus for the Roman renewal was Montecassino (Fig. 6); its "matrix" was "Petrine, Constantinian, and imperial Rome"; consequently, the renewal embraced not only Rome's early Christian church designs but also its pre-Christian artistic legacy. The *renovatio* voiced in the rhetoric of the senate (exemplified according to

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FIGURE 3. *Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere, right colonnade (photo: Foto Vasari, No. 13167).*

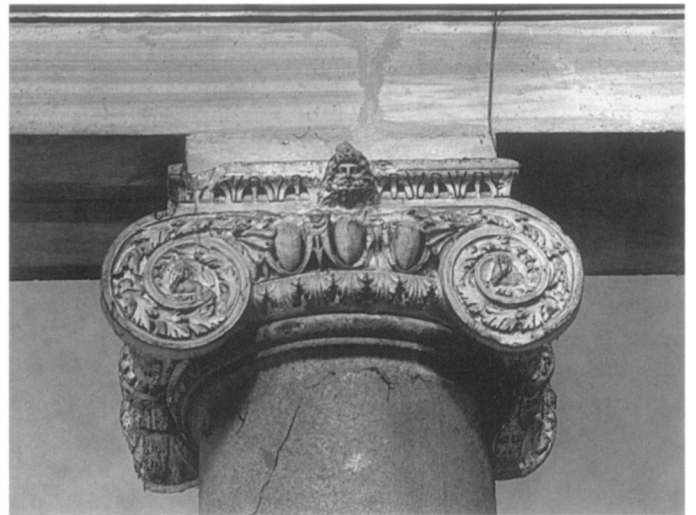FIGURE 4. *Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere, Isis capital (photo: author).*

FIGURE 5. *Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere, Serapis capital (photo: author).*

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Krautheimer by the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*) was secular, but humanistic thinkers like Hildebert of Lavardin could see that Antiquity, including pagan Antiquity, had a necessary place in the expression of Christian Rome as well.[8]

The introduction of Montecassino made the "uniform," "unexciting" churches more important. It elevated them above the local context. In Trachtenberg's terms, the new basilicas *displayed identity* not only with Rome's seminal early Christian churches but with medieval churches elsewhere that emulated the same models. These twelfth-century buildings aligned their sponsors with other, more eminent patrons who shared the same retrospective ideals, notably Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino (1058–1087), who was briefly Pope Victor III (1087). Equally important, in their appropriation of non- or pre-Christian art forms, including architectural *spolia* and images like the naked putti represented in the apse mosaic of San Clemente, the Roman basilicas linked the revivalist ideology of Church reform to the "renaissance" of classical literature and art generally ascribed to other regions. Thus political *renovatio*, ecclesiastical reform, and humanistic renaissance could all flow together to become a single, uniquely Roman "context," of which San Clemente, Santa Maria in Trastevere, and all of the other new Roman churches were expressions.

In the wake of Krautheimer's grand synthesis of politics, art, and architecture, many more particular publications have illuminated twelfth-century Rome.[9] A new synthesis is in order, but that is too large a project for this paper. As a more limited exercise I will use the prism of Trachtenberg's semiotic model to consider one overtly revisionist history first offered by Peter Cornelius Claussen in 1992.[10] Claussen dissected the Roman revival into three distinct phases: the second half of the eleventh century, represented by Santa Maria in Cosmedin and some more fragmentary projects; the pontificate of Paschal II (1099–1118), represented by San Clemente; and the period after 1122, represented by San Crisogono and Santa Maria in Trastevere. In the first phase Rome was almost "an artistic colony of Montecassino"; the aim was not *renovatio* but *conservatio*—the consolidation of existing, still functional structures. The second phase, prompted by the Norman sack and fire of 1084, was directed toward *restauratio* or renewal and, although it had a Roman flavor, it also was deeply indebted to Montecassino. The last phase, *renovatio triumphans*, followed the Concordat of Worms and was marked by the display of imperial attributes like porphyry and lavish *spolia*. Finally, after mid-century the hunt for spolia to signify *renovatio* was replaced by the production of new elements in the image of antiquity, "a fictional . . . medieval antiquity," corresponding to tropes of textual description like those in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*.

Claussen's version of the history contains some sharp departures from Krautheimer's, including the removal of Santa Maria in Cosmedin from the period of *renovatio* and the stress on San Crisogono, which Krautheimer tended to leave in the shadow of Santa Maria in Trastevere. His placement of the reconstruction of Santa Maria in Cosmedin in the eleventh century depends on the date of the marble frame surrounding the portal into the nave, signed by "John of Venice," but the frame was cut down for reuse in its present location, and so provides only a terminus post quem.[11] Whatever the date of the walls, the elaborate Cosmatesque decoration inside the church remains anchored in the 1120s by inscriptions. While the reassignment of Santa Maria in Cosmedin remains questionable, in my opinion, Claussen's emphasis on San Crisogono over Santa Maria in Trastevere is unobjectionable. Before him, Joachim Poeschke had also insisted on the seminal position of San Crisogono in the twelfth-century revival, showing how clearly it stands apart from buildings like San Clemente and declaring it the origin of a new Roman "school" of architecture and decoration.[12]

San Crisogono was constructed over the site of its early Christian predecessor by its titular cardinal, John of Crema (1116–1137), who is best known today for the defeat and public humiliation of the antipope Gregory VIII, Maurice of Braga, whom he captured in Sutri in 1121 and sent to Rome mounted backwards on a camel.[13] The cardinal's refoundation of his titular church followed immediately thereafter and may have been funded by the reward for his success. After razing the early Christian basilica, Cardinal John sponsored a wholly new complex on its site: monastic quarters with a cloister and chapel, completed by 1123, and a grand transept basilica with granite Ionic colonnades, enormous porphyry columns under the triumphal arch, and a splendid Cosmatesque pavement (Figs. 7 and 12). An inscription commemorating his benefactions, dated 1129, asked "those who read or hear this" to pray to Christ on his behalf.[14]

Claussen detailed the features that set San Crisogono apart from churches built earlier in the twelfth century:

> Compared to the modest arcaded churches . . . with their conglomeration of columns and capitals, their relatively narrow, steep proportions and their lack of light, the monumental porch [of San Crisogono] appears extraordinary, as do the expansive colonnades of its nave, lit by many windows, with architraves making a perspective connection to the altar, and the triumphal arch rising over powerful porphyry columns.[15]

Also distinctive are its more imposing size and the "new aesthetic" in the choice of *spolia*, which created regularity in the Ionic nave colonnades and meaningful variety under the hierarchically more important triumphal arch, where the reused capitals are Corinthian.[16] Echoing Louis Duchesne's description of San Crisogono as a "victory monument," Claussen interpreted it as the expression of the "triumphal" phase of papal self-representation that followed the ratification of the Concordat of Worms by the Lateran Council in 1123. This phase lasted until the middle of the twelfth century and included Santa Maria in Trastevere.[17]
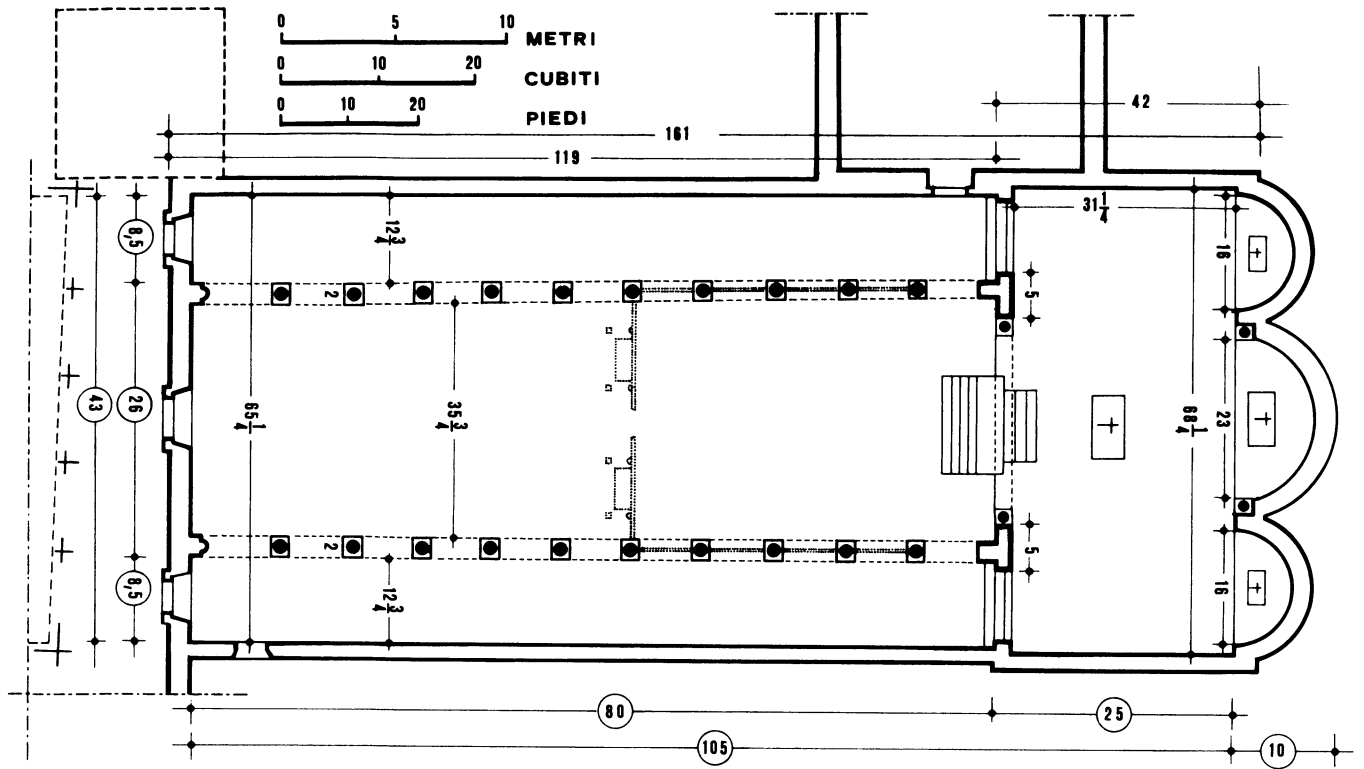
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FIGURE 6. *Montecassino, San Benedetto, 1066–1071, ground plan (G. Carbonara, Iussu Desiderii, Fig. VIII).*
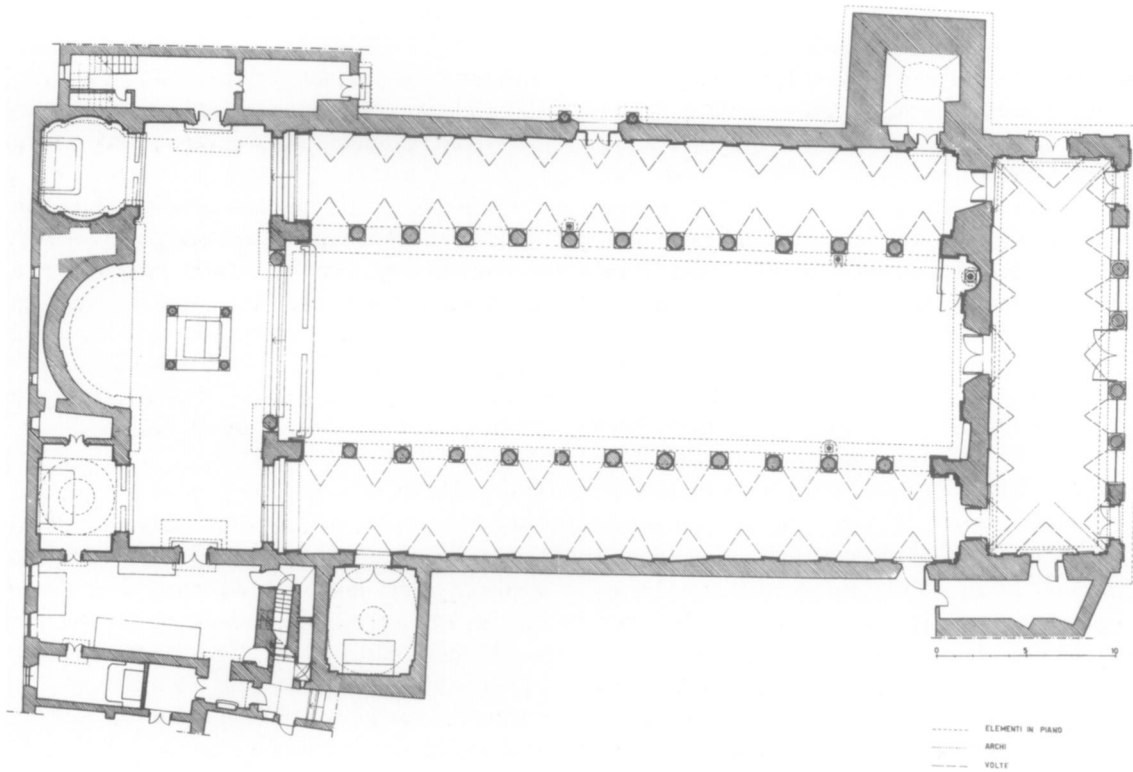

FIGURE 7. *Rome, San Crisogono, 1123–1129, ground plan (M. Cigola, "La basilica di S. Crisogono," Pl. 4).*
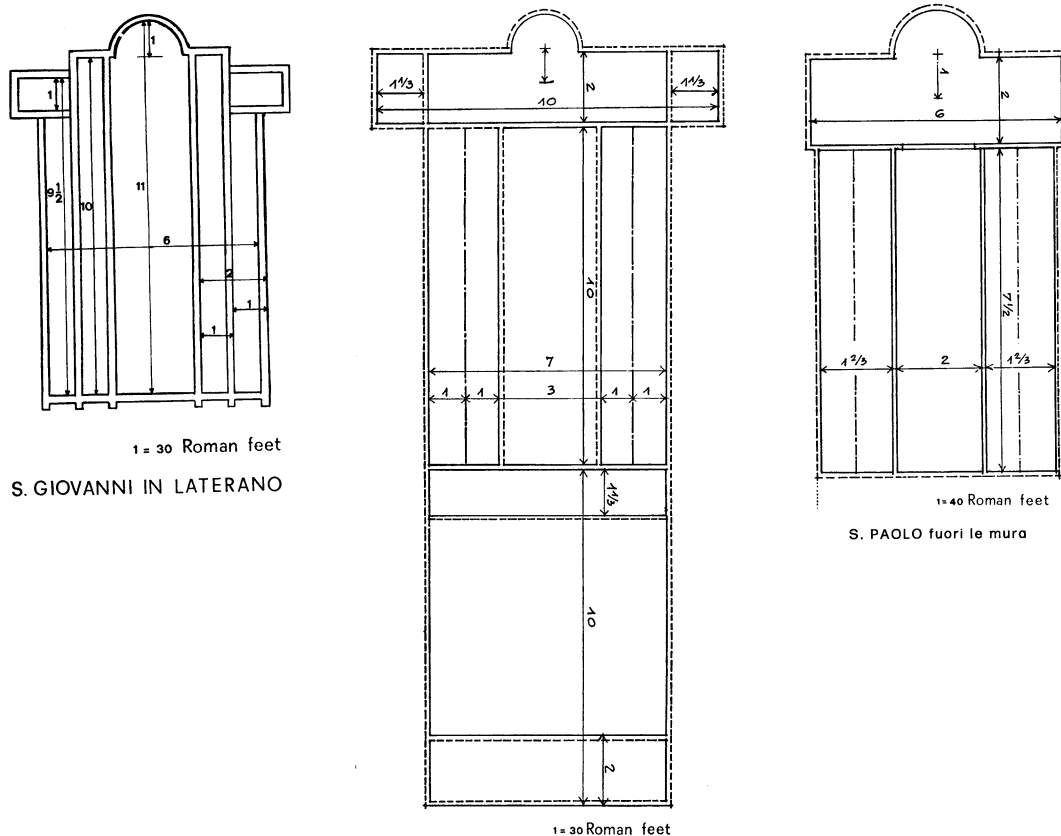
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FIGURE 8. *Rome, Lateran Cathedral, St. Peter's, and St. Paul's, modular ground plans (A. K. Frazer, in Krautheimer et al.,* Corpus basilicarum, *V, Pl. VIII).*

Like Poeschke, Claussen rejected the influence of Montecassino on this last phase of the architectural development, limiting the role of the Benedictine abbey church to the period before the Concordat of Worms. This is an improvement on Krautheimer's periodization, in which the ghost of Abbot Desiderius' church lingers on almost until the mid-twelfth century, persisting from a much earlier stage of his research. In 1942 Krautheimer wrote:

> Strange as it may seem the Roman churches of the twelfth century, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, the upper church of S. Crisogono, or Sant'Eusebio do not depend directly either on the fourth- or on the ninth-century basilicas of the city; their transepts, which hardly protrude beyond the aisles, and their three apses give evidence that they depend on the great Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino.[18]

None of the Roman churches has three apses, of course, and forty years later Krautheimer gave a much more accurate account of the formal relationships between the twelfth-century transept basilicas and their fourth-century prototypes:

> Transept basilicas, such as S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Crisogono, call to mind first and most obviously St. Peter's. . . . However, a major feature of St. Peter's, the

narrow, low transept and its exedrae . . . had given way at S. Paolo to a high, continuous transept, its end walls in line with the aisles. . . . 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.[19]

Although the later description no longer implies a need for it, Krautheimer continued to believe that "Monte Cassino remained the direct and closest model for Roman church planners," even if St. Paul's—also a Benedictine monastery in the twelfth century—"exerted a collateral influence." In addition to San Crisogono and Santa Maria in Trastevere, "its earliest seedlings," he maintained that Montecassino inspired two innovations that Poeschke later defined as purely Roman: freestanding bell towers and, perhaps, trabeated porches.[20]

Claussen's phased account of the twelfth-century artistic *renovatio* improves upon Krautheimer's history, and it complicates Trachtenberg's semiotic critique by introducing a new category of difference. If we accept Claussen's distinctions, San Crisogono *displayed difference* not only from the surrounding "pagan" *urbs fracta* but also from other new churches in the same landscape, like Santa Maria in Cosmedin. On the other
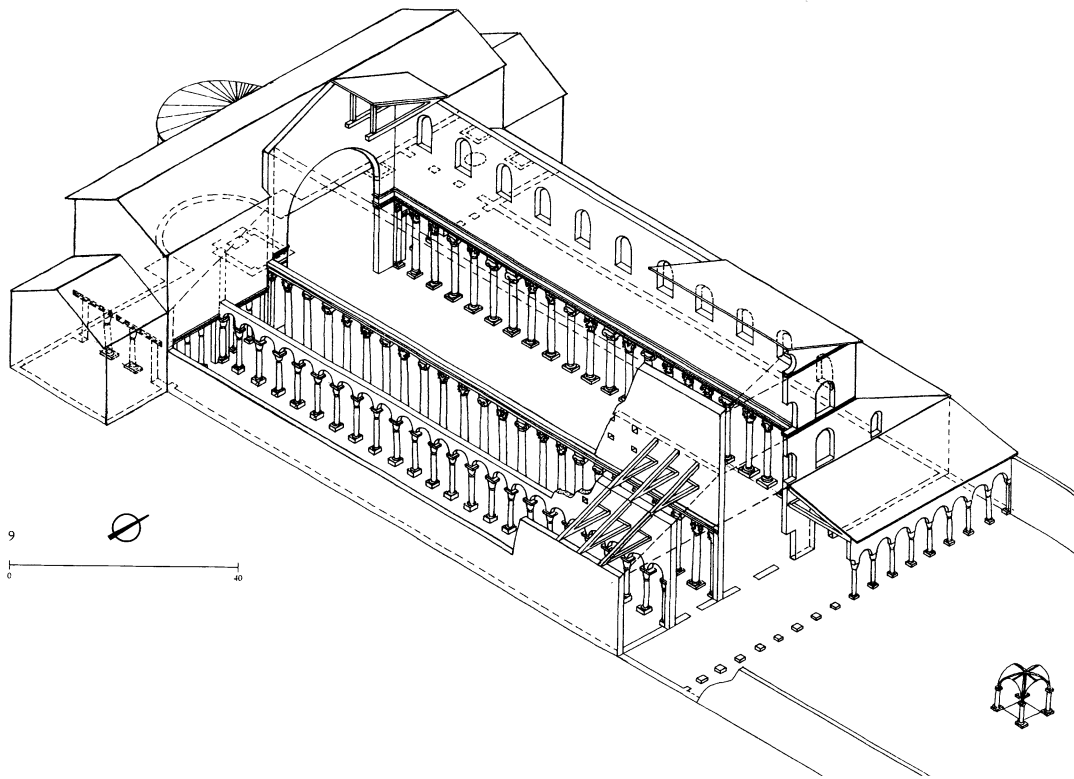
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FIGURE 9. *Rome, St. Peter's, axonometric reconstruction of fourth-century state (H. and K. Brandenburg, in* Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms, *Fig. XI.9).*
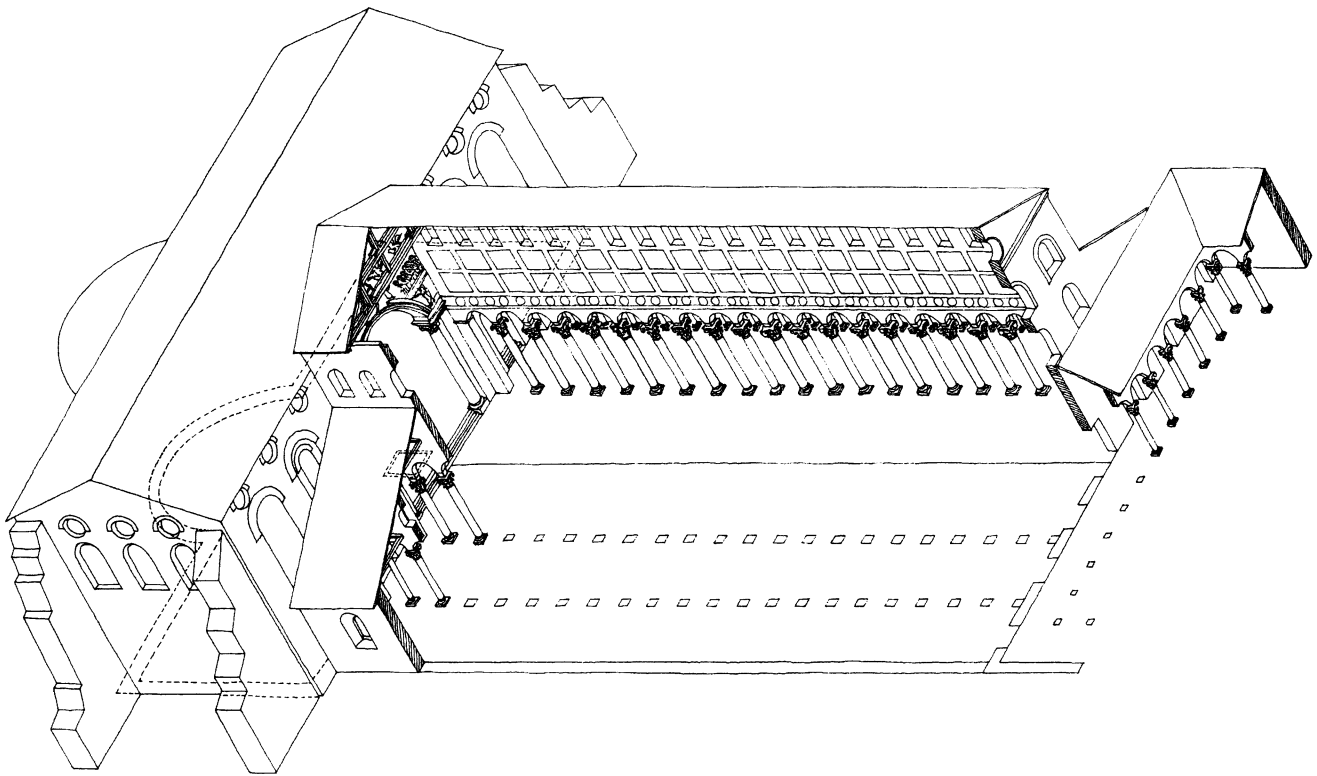
FIGURE 10. *St. Paul's, axonometric reconstruction of fourth-century state (H. and K. Brandenburg, in* Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms, *Fig. XV.10).*

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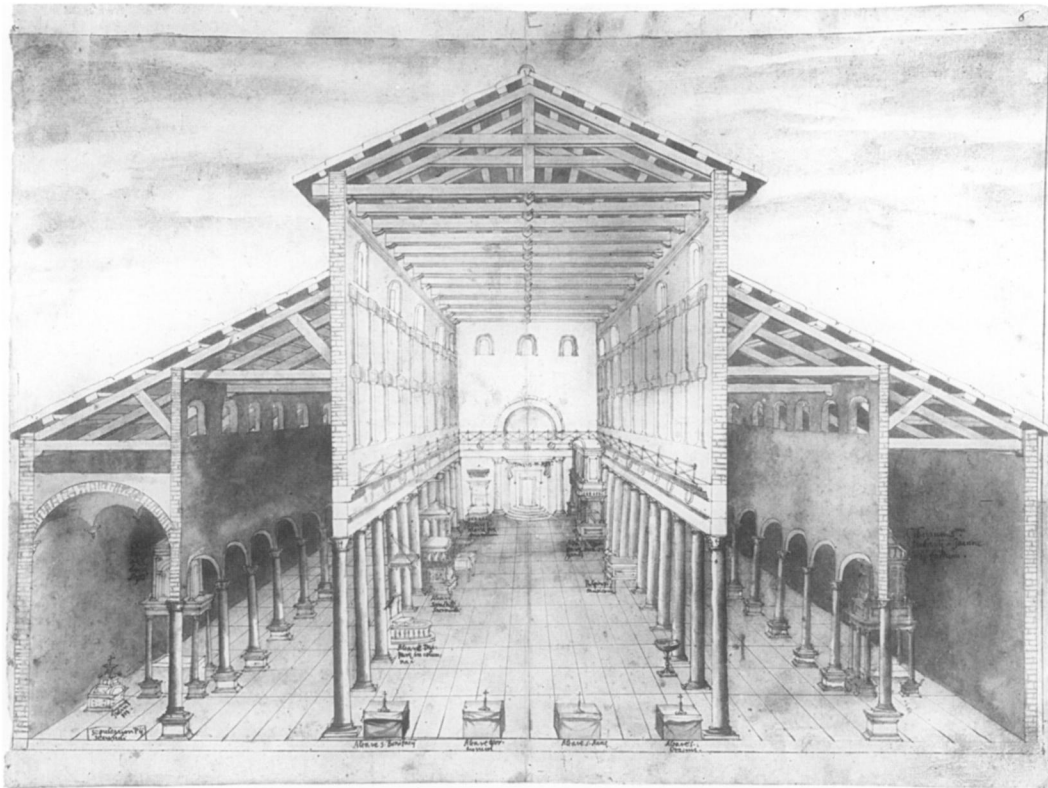
FIGURE 11. *D. Tasselli, section of St. Peter's, before demolition in 1605, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. S. Pietro A 64 ter, fol. 12 (photo: © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [Vatican]).*

FIGURE 12. *Rome, San Crisogono, interior (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, D 1890).*

FIGURE 13. *Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore, 432–440, interior (photo: Hutzel, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, No. 1968.5269).*

hand, the semiotic model challenges Claussen's implicitly semiotic reconstruction: If San Crisogono signified victory, how did it do so and to whom?

The transept is nearly always taken to be the dominant signifier because it recalls the fourth-century apostles' basilicas, St. Peter's and St. Paul's, as well as Carolingian imitations of St. Peter's.[21] Krautheimer's 1980 description of the twelfth-century transepts as favoring St. Paul's rather than St. Peter's is correct (Figs. 7 and 8). In plan, the twelfth-century transepts have a depth-to-width ratio of 1:3, as does St. Paul's,

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while St. Peter's transept was proportionately narrower (1:3.65).[22] The distinction was even more perceptible in the external elevation because St. Peter's transept was also proportionately lower, with a roof ridge as much as 9 meters below that of the nave, compared to 6 meters below at St. Paul's (Figs. 9 and 10).[23] Again, the twelfth-century architects followed St. Paul's. For this and other reasons the silhouettes of the twelfth-century churches are distinctly Pauline.

Inside the nave, however, San Crisogono and Santa Maria in Trastevere look more Petrine (Figs. 1, 11 and 12). Like theirs, St. Peter's nave colonnades were trabeated, while at St. Paul's the nave was arcaded. There is even a numeric reference to St. Peter's in the number of columns in the twelfth-century colonnades: eleven, exactly half the count in the nave colonnades of St. Peter's and unlike St. Paul's, which had 20 columns per side. But St. Peter's colonnades were heterogeneous, displaying at least three types of marble in addition to at least two kinds of granite among the shafts, and a mix of foliate types in the capitals.[24] The model for the uniform Ionic colonnades in San Crisogono (and the slightly less uniform ones in Santa Maria in Trastevere) was neither St. Peter's nor St. Paul's, but Santa Maria Maggiore, where the relatively rare Ionic elevation first appeared (Fig. 13).[25] As at St. Paul's, however, the columns in Santa Maria Maggiore are of gleaming Proconnesian marble, not the dark granite of the twelfth-century imitations. There is some evidence that all-granite nave colonnades were to be seen in the fourth of Rome's great basilicas, the Constantinian Lateran cathedral.[26]

The new form of Cardinal John of Crema's basilica was therefore neither a specific reference to St. Peter's nor, as Krautheimer later phrased it, a "conceptual superimposition" on this "ideal archetype" of the improved design of St. Paul's. It is a visually cogent synthesis of four of the five early Christian churches that, since the twelfth century, have been designated Rome's "patriarchal" basilicas (*ecclesiae patriarchales*): St. Peter's, St. Paul's, Santa Maria Maggiore, and the Lateran.[27] The design effectively reinvents the early Christian basilica on the basis of the surviving examples most closely connected with the pope. The synthetic abstraction of this version is unusual, but the reinvention had many precedents. Rather than "revivals," Giovanni Carbonara suggested that these repetitions are better understood as "rewriting," in the sense of Paul Zumthor's description of medieval poetry:

> . . . [medieval poets] created not several texts of the same poem, but several poems depending on the same tradition. . . . Many courtly love poems have long versions alongside short ones, double versions with different *envois*, etc. . . . [It is] the uncontestable fact that this was the medieval practice, more or less analogous to our *rewriting*. . . . The whole of 'Romanesque' poetry thus appears. . . . as if formed of innumerable serial recreations, variations in greater or lesser degree from 'masterpieces,' themselves closely related to one another.[28]

Understanding the twelfth-century transept basilicas as examples of "serial recreations" going back to the fourth century (as even St. Paul's was a re-creation of St. Peter's) means that the gesture of re-creation itself was not particularly significant. It was what medieval architects did for centuries, and continued to do in many places even after the spirit of Gothic "modernism" infected some architects in France.[29]

To return to Trachtenberg's semiotic model of Rome: Claussen's characterization of the trabeated transept basilica presumes that it *displayed difference* from other recently renovated churches like Santa Maria in Cosmedin (Figs. 14 and 15), which has three apses but no transept, arches over the columns rather than architraves, and colonnades rhythmically interrupted by piers. Santa Maria in Cosmedin is also notably smaller than San Crisogono.[30] Medieval visitors surely would have seen these differences, but they also would have been dazzled by the colorful and abundant ornament that the smaller church shares with San Crisogono. The lush mosaic pavement of Santa Maria in Cosmedin is dominated by an astonishingly large porphyry *rota* in front of the choir (Fig. 16). The choir and presbytery were enclosed by marble panels with porphyry and green mosaic, and behind them a massive Roman granite tub serves as the altar. In the depth of the apse stands a throne adorned with porphyry plaques and ancient lion protomes that form armrests (Fig. 17). And the spoliate colonnades, however awkwardly assembled, display a variety of marble shafts and capitals, including figured capitals, that are visually more accessible than the upper reaches of the colonnades of San Crisogono.

Claussen attributed the pavement and the liturgical furniture to the earliest of the Roman marble-working families, sired by Paulus *opifex magnus* (the great craftsman), because of the strong resemblance of the marble and porphyry ornament of the choir screens to a parapet in the cathedral of Ferentino, which Paulus signed with this epithet.[31] In Santa Maria in Cosmedin, however, no craftsman's signatures were found; all the surviving inscriptions commemorate the donor, an otherwise unknown papal functionary (*camerarius* or treasurer) called Alfanus.[32] Alfanus' name appears from one end of the building to the other. In the porch visitors are greeted by his tomb, which is inscribed:

> Worthy Alfanus, perceiving that all things pass away, set up this sarcophagus for himself lest he perish completely. On the outside the work wholly delights, but inside it warns that afterwards sad things are waiting.[33]

In the depth of the apse, the sculptured throne bears the words "Alfanus had this made for you, Virgin Mary," and the same inscription appears on one of the chancel screens. On the lip of the granite tub another inscription records the dedication of the altar by Pope Callixtus II and the "very many gifts" bestowed upon it by Alfanus.[34] The date in this last inscription, 6 May 1123, is taken to mark the end of the extensive
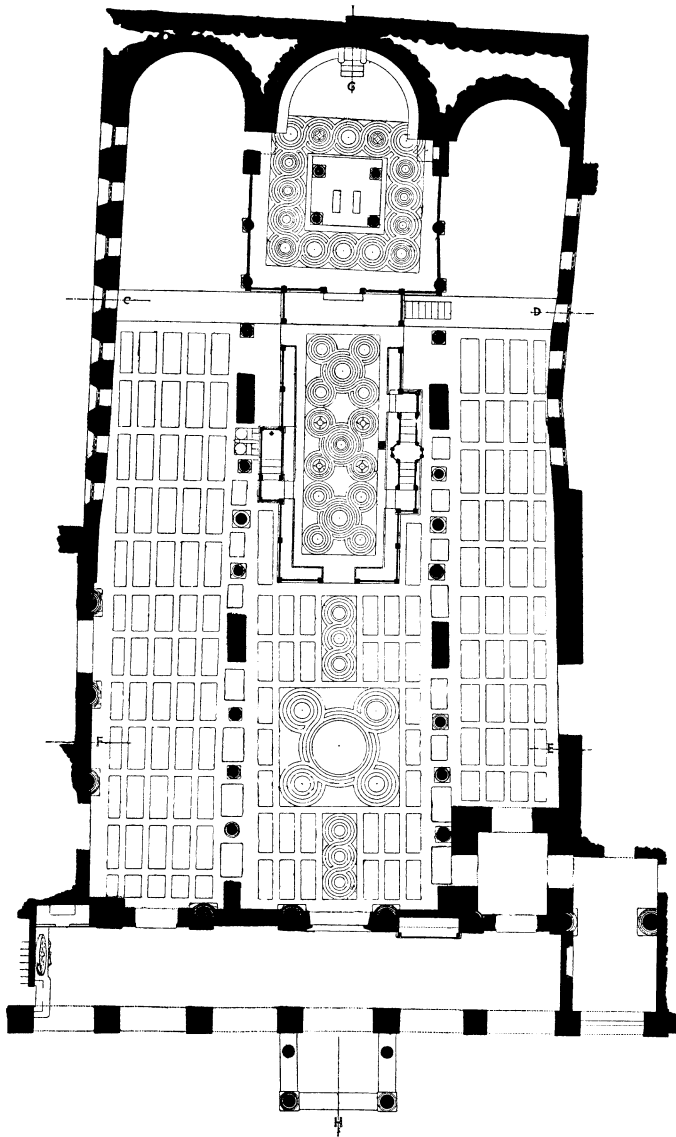
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FIGURE 14. *Rome, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, before 1123, ground plan (Giovenale,* La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin, *Fig. 124).*

FIGURE 15. *Rome, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, reconstruction of interior in 1123 (G. Tognetti and L. Bazzani, in Giovenale,* La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin, *Pl. LI).*

and presumably very expensive campaign of marble embellishment by Paulus and/or his sons.[35]

The throne (Fig. 17), "the top of [it] round behind, and [with] two hands on either side holding the seat, and two lions [standing], one at each hand," is a representation of the Throne of Solomon. It is easily recognizable as such even if it is raised on three steps rather than six and lacks the twelve "little lions" that stood on the six steps, according to the description in the third Book of Kings.[36] The Throne of Solomon was a commonplace allegory of the Virgin Mary, "whose beauty the Almighty desired, and in whom God placed his throne," in the words of a fervid sermon by Nicholaus of Clairvaux, who was in Rome before 1140. "She is that marvelous throne, of which one reads

in the Book of Kings in these words: 'King Solomon made a grand throne.' "[37] An intentional application of this allegory in Santa Maria in Cosmedin is confirmed by the second line inscribed on the chancel: "[Alfanus had this made for you, Mary, Virgin] *and Mother of the King, nurturing wisdom* (alma sophya) *of the supreme Father.*"[38] *Alma sophia* alludes to another metaphorical throne, the seat of wisdom (*sedes sapientiae*), in which Wisdom was understood as Christ and his seat—the throne—as the womb of Mary. The "throne of wisdom" was too commonplace a trope for the twelfth-century reader to miss, even if the inscription inverts it by grammatically equating Wisdom with Mary rather than with Christ.[39] The allegory gives the inscription on the throne a peculiarly intimate quality, as if its "you" (*tibi*) were the throne itself, and the inscription an echo of Alfanus' own speech: "Alfanus had this made for *you*, Mary Virgin." Very few would have been able to read this blandishment, of course, because the throne stands behind a progression of marble barriers that enforced the distinctions between lay people and churchmen, those who knew Latin and those who did not. But in its privacy the throne reaffirms what is already evident at the entrance,

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FIGURE 16. *Rome, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, left colonnade (photo: Foto Vasari, No. 13163).*

FIGURE 17. *Rome, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, apsidal throne (photo: Foto Vasari, No. 13165).*

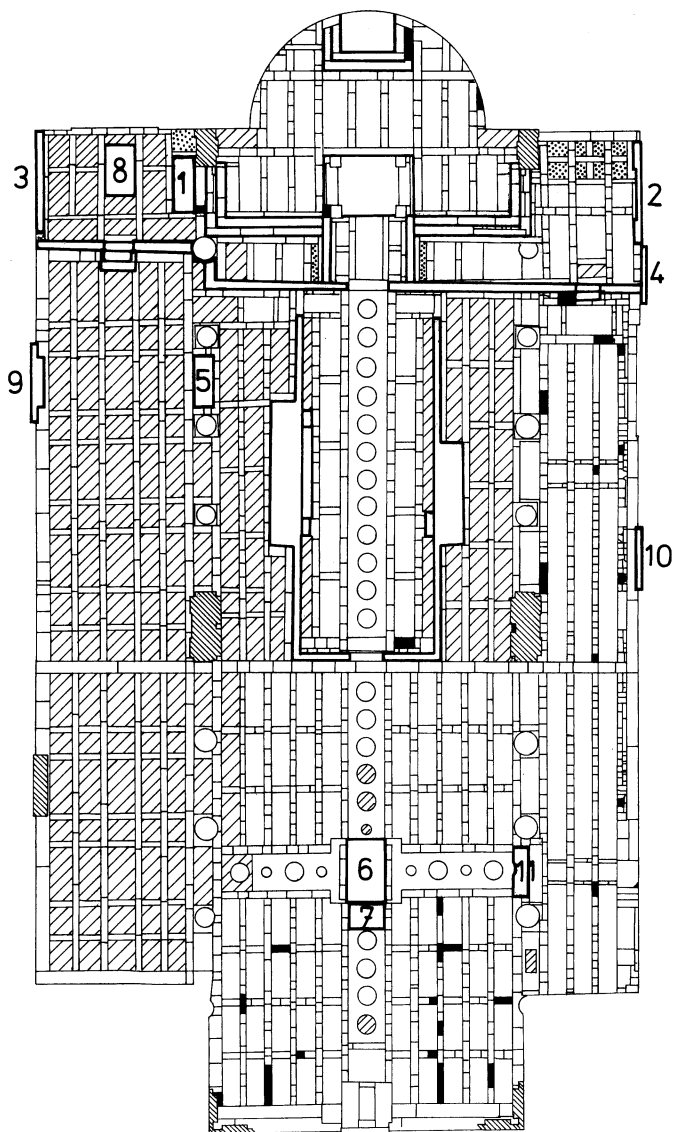FIGURE 18. *Rome, San Clemente, 1102–1125, interior (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY).*

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FIGURE 19. *Rome, San Clemente, drawing of pavement (I. Voss, in Voss and Claussen, "Das Paviment," Plan 2).*

that Santa Maria in Cosmedin was Alfanus' personal gesture, in an important sense *his* church.

At almost exactly the same time, at San Clemente on the other side of the Palatine hill, authorship of another renovation was claimed by its titular cardinal, Anastasius (1102–1125). His project, like that of Cardinal John of Crema at San Crisogono, began with the demolition of a venerable early Christian basilica in order to construct a new church and living quarters—this time for canons rather than monks—at a higher level on the same site. As at both San Crisogono and Santa Maria in Cosmedin, the new church was brilliantly outfitted with a gorgeous mosaic pavement and marble furniture: choir and presbytery enclosures, altar and ciborium, and apsidal throne (Fig. 18). The apse mosaic for which the church

is best known today may also have been among the cardinal's benefactions.[40]

Like Alfanus the Treasurer and John of Crema, Cardinal Anastasius advertised his authorship at more than one place in his new basilica. Sixteenth-century visitors could still read the inscription on his tomb:

> That man renewed your temple, holy father Clement,
>   whose dust and shadow lie in this tomb.
> Excellent in character and life, as priest of the City
>   he shone brightly. By name he was called Anastasius.
> A proper life, pious effort, and strength of religion
>   made him conspicuous for his merits.
> Whoever reads this tomb, you shall read,
> "Be called child of God; kneel down to Him."[41]

Peter Cornelius Claussen and Irmgard Voss believe that the cardinal's grave was under the marble pavement in what they call the "lay persons' nave" (the part of the nave between the eastern entrance and the choir), because the inscription would have fit within the square at the center of the cross that is formed in this area by intersecting bands of roundels-and-guilloche (6 in Fig. 19).[42] This is pure speculation, but if true it means that San Clemente was literally centered on its donor, in an even more emphatic personalization of sacred space than was effected in Santa Maria in Cosmedin.

A second commemorative inscription occurs in the focal point of the basilica, as at Santa Maria in Cosmedin engraved on the throne in the apse (Fig. 20): "Anastasius, cardinal priest of this title church, began and completed this work."[43] Belying its modest tone and unpretentious epigraphy, the signature aggressively appropriates what seems to be a relic of the fourth-century church: a plaque with the calligraphic fragment MARTYR, stood on its side and trimmed to make the back of the twelfth-century seat. The association with the martyr Pope Clement (91–101) is inescapable.[44] The gesture of overwriting is more ambiguous, as it both renews an obsolete memorial by giving it fresh purpose and ruins it by spoiling the integrity of its single auratic word.

The basilica that was buried by Cardinal Anastasius' new constructions had just been redecorated with large-scale narrative murals donated by two lay people, Beno de Rapiza and his wife "Maria the butcher" (*macellaria*).[45] Beno and Maria evidently were devoted to St. Clement. They named their son for him and their paintings memorably portray his miracles and cult, including the laughable attempt of the pagan official Sisinnius to interfere with Pope Clement saying Mass, the translation of the pope's remains from the Vatican to San Clemente, and the miraculous survival of a little boy left behind when the water rolled in over the saint's tomb on the floor of the sea near Cherson (Fig. 21).[46] This last image occupies a section of the inner wall of the old porch analogous to the site of Alfanus' tomb in Santa Maria in Cosmedin. In a lower register, the painting shows a clipeate portrait of the saint flanked by the

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FIGURE 20. *Rome, San Clemente, apsidal throne (photo: Foto Vasari, No. 13177).*

FIGURE 21. *Rome, San Clemente, lower church,* The Miracle of the Child from Cherson, *ca. 1090–1100 (photo: Danesi, in J. Wilpert,* Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert, *2nd ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917), IV, Pl. 241).*

benefactors and their family: "Beno," "Lady Maria," "Little Clement," a daughter "Altilia," and perhaps her nurse. John Osborne has argued that the area beneath this mural was "intended for the burial of one or more members of the family." Certainly the subject—the saint's power to save the innocent from death—is intensely suggestive of such a function, as is the inscription: "In the name of the Lord. I, Beno de Rapiza, had this painted for love of blessed Clement and the redemption of my soul." A pendant inscription for Maria appears on the same wall, on the opposite side of the door into the nave: "I, Maria the butcher, had this painted for fear of God and the remedy of my soul."[47] Whatever the fate of their mortal remains, in these painted words and images an otherwise unknown Roman family managed to memorialize its members in a state of privileged proximity to St. Clement, and through him to God himself.[48]

As tradespeople, Beno and Maria belonged to a "middle class" comprising tailors, ironworkers, pot makers, rope makers, cobblers, miners, bakers, butchers, and others, which emerged as a distinctive social and economic unit in Rome

in the second half of the eleventh century. In an increasingly dynamic economy these commercial artisans were able to accumulate wealth and real estate; one multi-generational family of *macellai* possessed several properties on the ascent to the Palatine and around Santa Maria Nova, thus not far from San Clemente.[49] Twelfth-century Rome teemed with churches whose names imply the patronage of these lay folk: Saint Benedict of the Kettle-Makers (*de Caccabis*), Saint Mary of the Blacksmiths (*de Ferraris*), Saint Nicholas of the Lime Burners (*Calcarariorum*), Saint Nicholas of the Rope Makers (*Funariorum*), Saint Nicholas of the Scissors Makers (*Forbitorum*), etc.[50] Other churches were associated with individuals or families, such as Saint Cecilia of Nicholas the Marshall (*Nicolai marescalci*), Saint Lawrence of Nicola Naso (*de Nicola Nasonis*), Saint Mary in the precinct of Lady Miccina (*Curtis donnae Miccinae*), and Saint Mary of Lady Rose (*dominae Rosae*) in the *castrum aureum* (the ruins of the Theater of Balbus, Fig. 22).[51] These were what Krautheimer called "the run-of-the-mill church building[s] . . . [that] prevailed from the late ninth century through to the twelfth." There
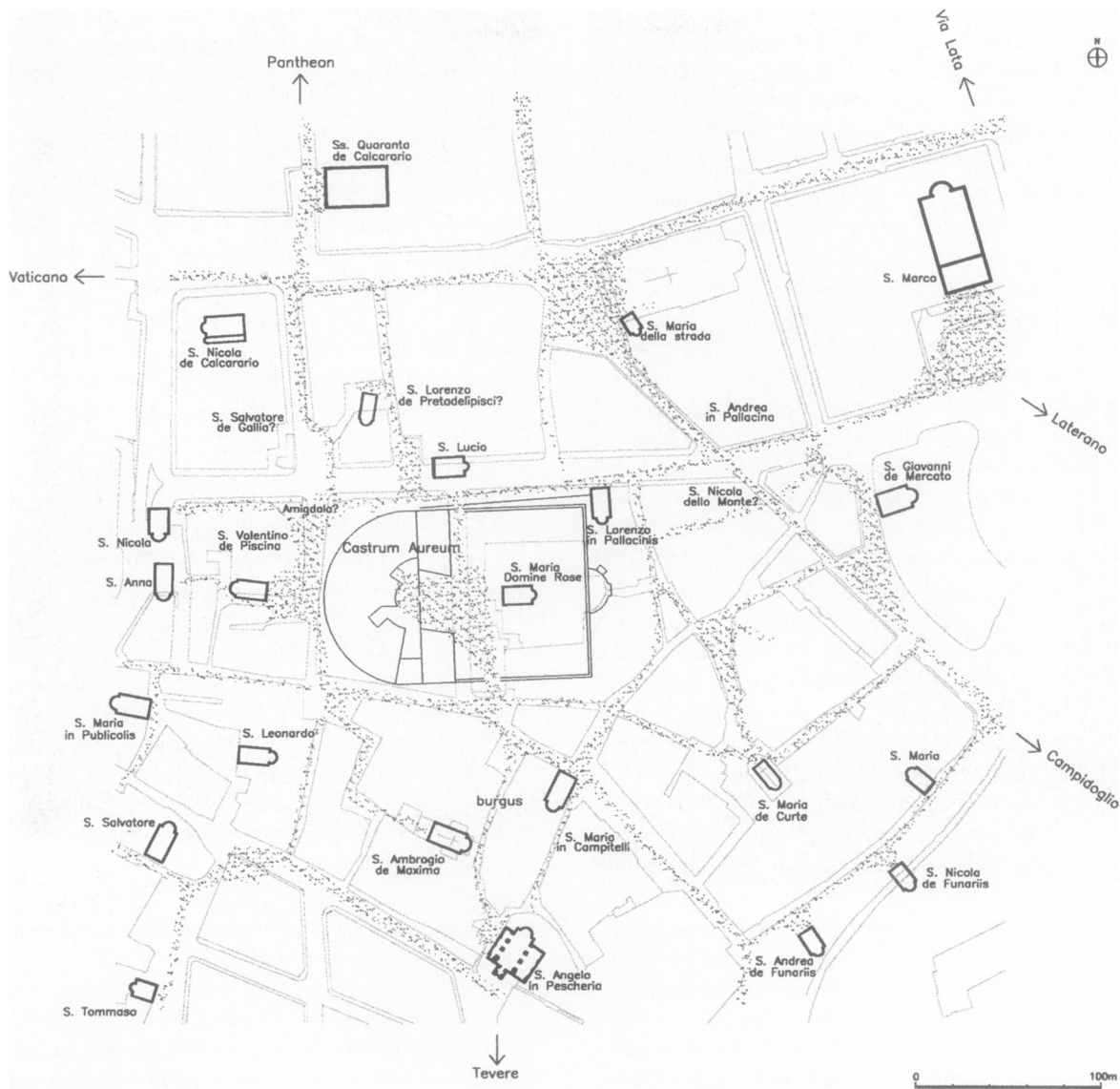
FIGURE 22. *Map, Rome, area of Santa Maria Dominae Rosae (Crypta Balbi) (Manacorda, [Electa, 2001],* Crypta Balbi, *[Electa, 2001], Fig. 70).*

were hundreds of them, varying from shapeless cells in the bowels of ancient ruins to canonical aisled basilicas like Santa Maria Dominae Rosae. Although almost none survive, these modest churches cannot be forgotten in any discussion of Roman architectural semiotics, for they were the context in which San Clemente, San Crisogono et al. were understood.

Tradespeople were one constitutive element of the *populus*, the "accursed and turbulent" Roman people who revolted against the pope in 1143.[52] What did Cardinal Anastasius' splendid new basilica signify to them? Claussen observed that one objective of the cardinal's rebuilding may have been to liberate San Clemente from an "intolerable" reliance on the layman Beno, whose excessive presence in the decoration of the old church had to be eradicated in the spirit of ecclesiastical

reform. The basilica in which Beno was "überpräsent" was also decrepit, irregular, and liturgically out-of-date, "unworthy" of a cardinal's title church. In Claussen's schema, the new church inaugurates the second phase of the twelfth-century Roman revival—*restauratio*—and is also its perfect example, the "model church" of the clerical reform. He ventured to ascribe its program to Leo of Ostia (d. 1115), the chronicler of Montecassino, where the planning and ornament that signaled the reform first appeared.[53] Almost immediately, however, Rome passed into the third, "triumphal" phase of the revival with the Lateran Council of 1123 and San Crisogono, so the model of San Clemente had no issue.

To Beno and Maria (who could have been alive when Cardinal Anastasius' construction rendered the site of their

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votive donations permanently inaccessible), the new San Clemente doubtless *displayed difference* from the old one, but would it also have signaled difference from San Crisogono? In a semiotic field dominated by hundreds of less pretentious, less expensive, lay-friendly, "run-of-the-mill" minor churches, the curial basilicas of the first half of the twelfth century more likely clustered together, *displaying identity* to one another and also displaying the wealth and power of the social unit that produced them.

Political conditions favored this semiotic opposition. The reform of papal government enacted by Pope Urban II (1088–1099) in the wake of Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085) created a new ruling class constituted by the cardinals, the church's "senators," and other bureaucrats whose administrative and diplomatic activities focused on world affairs. Concomitantly, the composition of this class was increasingly international; for nearly a century, between 1046 and 1130, not one pope was a Roman, and many of the cardinals, like John of Crema, were also outsiders.[54] An entitlement of Roman noble families in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the papacy had become a reign of foreigners. The offices that once made secular and clerical government "fused and confused" in Rome disappeared, and a new strictly clerical bureaucracy handled papal business and reaped revenues from the "lands of St. Peter," many of which were reclaimed from lay encroachment. The independence of the clergy from lay interference asserted by the reform created sharply drawn demarcations between those who were within the church and those who were not.[55]

The outward expression of church reform most visible to the Roman people, paradoxically, was an imitation of the signs and rituals of secular rule. Popes and cardinals adopted contemporary feudal insignia and prerogatives and also imitated ancient Roman emperors, in a self-fashioning famously described by Percy Ernst Schramm as *imitatio imperii*.[56] Porphyry, silk, gold, crowns, white horses, elaborate processions, and, after death, ancient sarcophagi were all attributes newly appropriated or revived by the same eleventh- and twelfth-century popes who called for a return to apostolic values.[57] Clerical materialism was not confined to Rome, of course, and in France activist preachers like Henry of Lausanne (d. 1145?) and Peter of Bruys (d. ca. 1138) led clamorous and sometimes violent demonstrations on behalf of a true return to the simplicity of the *ecclesia primitiva*. Henry preached that churches should not be made of wood or stone. Peter of Bruys went further, according to Peter the Venerable, and denied the need for any kind of building: "buildings of sacred places should not be made, and those that have been made should be torn down."[58] In Rome the opposition to clerical worldliness was mobilized by Arnold of Brescia, but only after the people had rebelled against the pope for other reasons.

The immediate cause of the revolt of 1143 seems to have been lust for the possessions of Tivoli, which had been conquered by a combined force of papal and citizens' militias but made to swear fealty only to the pope. According to the imperial historian Otto of Freising, the *populus* "impetuously stormed the capitol and, in its eagerness to restore the ancient glory of the City, reestablished the senatorial order . . ." and proceeded to renew the war under its own authority. But Pope Innocent II realized that more was at stake:

> . . . in his great wisdom and foresight, fearing that the Church of God, which for many years had vigorously maintained the secular power over the City handed down to it by Constantine, might lose it sooner or later in some such way as this, [the pope] sought in many ways—by threats as well as gifts—to prevent the execution of their design. But he could not accomplish his purpose since the populace was growing stronger.[59]

Indeed, after a second uprising in 1144 the people, "unwilling to set any bounds to their folly," formally constituted the senate as their ruling body and demanded of the pope (by then Lucius II, 1144–1145) ". . . that he surrender all his insignia . . . to the jurisdiction of their patrician. They declared that according to the custom of the priests of old he ought to live by tithes and offerings alone."[60] A futile attempt to retake the Capitol by force led to Pope Lucius' death, less than a year after his election.[61] He was succeeded by Eugenius III (Bernard of Pisa), the first Cistercian pope (1145–1153). Arnold of Brescia arrived in Rome soon afterward, and in the next decade he and the lesser-known Wezel gave leadership, or at least an ideological platform, to the revolt. Modern scholars tend to credit Arnold for a principled stand against clerical avarice and secularism, although the indignant Otto of Freising, repeating the allegations of Pope Hadrian IV (1154–1159), laid the violence of the period at his feet:

> . . . the menace of [his] baneful doctrine began to grow so strong that not only were the houses and splendid palaces of Roman nobles and cardinals being destroyed, but even the reverend persons of some of the cardinals were shamefully treated by the infuriated populace.[62]

Pope Eugenius III also took arms against the populace, now led by Arnold, with no more success than his predecessor. Finally, under Hadrian IV Arnold was kidnapped ("fell into the hands of certain men," as Otto delicately put it) and taken before Otto's emperor Frederick I, who turned him over to the prefect of Rome for execution. "After his corpse had been reduced to ashes . . . it was scattered on the Tiber, lest his body be held in veneration by the mad populace."[63]

In a widely read treatise addressed to his Cistercian disciple, Bernard of Clairvaux acknowledged that the *populus* was an "affliction":

> What shall I say about the people? They are the Roman people. I cannot express my feelings about the people of your diocese . . . more forcefully. What has been so well

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known to the ages as the arrogance and the obstinacy of the Romans? They are a people unaccustomed to peace, given to tumult; people rough and intractable even today and unable to be subdued except when they no longer have the means to resist. Behold your affliction; its care rests with you; it is not right for you to neglect it.[64]

Moreover, Bernard advised, the people had legitimate grievances. Pope Eugenius was surrounded by scheming and avaricious advisors. The people were poor, the pope's men were rich. In the midst of poverty "you, the shepherd, go forth adorned with gold and surrounded by colorful array." If the pope tried to be modest, his associates would dissuade him, crying: "Heaven forbid! It is not fitting; it does not suit the times; it is unbecoming to your majesty; remember the position you hold."[65] By succumbing to such pressures Eugenius failed to appear in the image of St. Peter:

> . . . Peter, who is known never to have gone in procession adorned with either jewels or silks, covered with gold, carried on a white horse, attended by a knight or surrounded by clamoring servants. . . . In this finery, you are the successor not of Peter, but of Constantine.[66]

Just as Bernard allowed that bishops "stimulate the devotion of a carnal people with material ornaments because they cannot do so with spiritual ones," he also conceded the pope's need to display magnificence:

> I suggest that these things must be allowed for the time being, but are not to be assumed as a right. Rather, I urge you on to those things to which I know you have an obligation . . . Even if you are arrayed in purple and gold, there is no reason for you to abhor your pastoral responsibilities: there is no reason for you to be ashamed of the Gospel. If you but preach the Gospel willingly you will have glory even among the Apostles.[67]

In citing these passages I am making a semiotic argument, not a political one: not that the basilicas rebuilt by high churchmen between 1100 and 1143 caused the rebellion that led to the restoration of the senate, but that those basilicas were born into a city in which rebellion was imminent, where the factions that split and fought in 1143 already existed. In that context, the formal distinctions between transept and nontransept basilicas, or between basilicas with piers in the nave colonnades and those without, while surely important to patrons and builders, are not likely to have been perceived by lay people as signs of difference. On the other hand, colored marble floors, gold and glass mosaics, polished granite column shafts and fancy capitals, porphyry *rotae*, and marble thrones would have been signs of similitude, creating a semiotic cluster of churches that, for better or worse, "st[ood] apart from the run-of-the-mill church building[s]" in which the middle class and the secular aristocracy invested their own resources. The new basilicas conspicuously disallowed such lay intervention, replacing the *Überpräsenz* of the Benos and the Marias with the omnipresence of Alfanus and Anastasius. Pilgrims probably welcomed the clarity with which the renewed buildings stood out, and it is to pilgrims, I think, that they were principally intended to speak.

In closing I will turn briefly to the other pole of Trachtenberg's semiotic binary, the "shattered" (*fracta*) Rome that Krautheimer called the "inheritance" of the Middle Ages and Trachtenberg described as a "formless sea of rotting, ancient pagan ruins."[68] The terms of his stalled dialectic—ruins and churches—recall the poetic diptych composed by Hildebert of Lavardin before 1125, although Hildebert famously cast the ruins as signifiers of greatness as well as decay:

> In ruins all, yet still beyond compare,
> How great thy prime, thou provest overthrown.
> Age hath undone thy pride; see, weltering there,
> Heaven's temples, Caesar's palace quite, quite down.
> . . . .
> The City's fallen, whose greatness would you measure,
> "Rome once stood here" is all that can be said.
> Yet not the circling years, not sword nor fire
> This glorious work could utterly lay low;
> Man's toil could make of Rome a city higher
> Than toiling gods could wholly overthrow.
> Bring now Heaven's grace, bring gold, bring marble new,
> And craftsmen eager for fresh feats of skill:
> Your fabric yet the old shall not outdo;
> E'en to restore it will defeat you still.
> These sculptured gods the gods themselves amaze,
> Content, could each but with his image vie;
> Such godlike forms Nature in vain essays
> As man creative here doth deify.
> Art makes these gods and not divinity . . .[69]

The pendant poem celebrates the Christian city, whose ruins are proof that she has left behind her pagan ways:

> When statues, when false deities pleased me
> I was great in war, in people, with ramparts;
> But throwing down the images and superstitious altars,
> At once I was joined to God in servitude.
> Defenses stopped working, the gods' palaces were shattered,
> The people were enslaved, the knights declined.
> I hardly know what I have been; Rome barely remembers Rome,
> Ruin scarcely lets me recall myself.
> This debris pleases me more than those successes;
> I am greater a pauper than rich, prostrate than standing.
> The standard of the cross gave me more than the eagle's, Peter more than Caesar . . .[70]
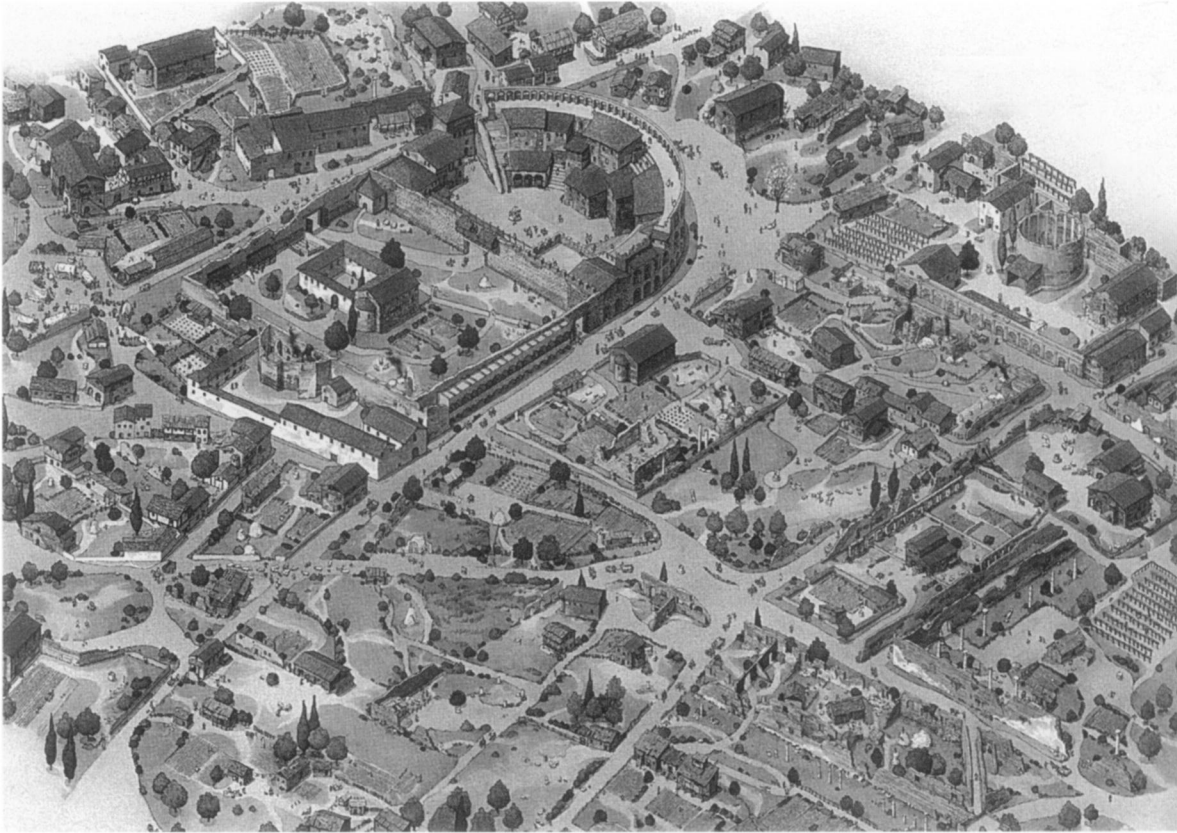
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FIGURE 23. *Reconstruction of the area of Santa Maria Dominae Rosae and the Crypta Balbi in the eleventh century, (Manacorda, Crypta Balbi [Electa, 2001] Fig. 71).*

In these poems, ruins are indices of a magnificent culture as well as of the renunciation and abjection that were demanded by conversion to Christianity. They are painfully ambiguous signifiers, denoting the loss of being (*Roma fuit!*) and of memory (*vix Romae Roma recordor*) that was prerequisite to spiritual progress. Although the verses' exquisite nostalgia for Antiquity is unmatched in twelfth-century literature, the sentiment is not unique. The *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, a very different kind of literary product, is also a text about loss: lost histories, lost identities, lost buildings.

The first edition of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* was the work of an anonymous cleric, possibly Benedict, the canon of St. Peter's who compiled the closely related *Ordo Romanae Ecclesiae* for Cardinal Guido of Città di Castello just before Guido was elected pope (Celestine II, 1143–1144).[71] Often said to be a "guidebook," the *Mirabilia* is better understood as a contribution to the genre of *descriptio urbis* (city descriptions), as has been shown by Nine Miedema.[72] A sample chapter, describing the left bank of the Tiber between Santa Maria in Cosmedin and Ponte Sant'Angelo, shows its character:

At the steps [Santa Maria *de gradellis*, near the temple of Portunus] was the Temple of the Sun. Santo Stefano Rotondo [the temple of Hercules Olivarius] was the

Temple of Faunus. In the Elephant [a landmark in the Forum Holitorium] is the Temple of the Sibyl [temple of Spes] and the Temple of Cicero in the Tullianum [San Nicola in Carcere] and the Temple of Jupiter [Jupiter Stator], where the golden pergula was, and the Severian Temple [Porticus of Octavia], where Sant'Angelo [in Pescheria] is. In Velabro, the Temple of Minerva. On the Bridge of the Jews [pons Fabricius], the Temple of Faunus. In Caccavari, the Templum Craticulae. At the Bridge of Antoninus [*pons fractus*], the Circus of Antoninus, where Santa Maria in Cataneo [Santa Caterina della Rota] is now. At Santo Stefano in Piscina [near Santa Lucia in Gonfalone], the Palace of the Prefect Chromatius, and the temple called Olovitreum, made entirely of crystal and gold by the art of mathematics, where there was an astronomy with all of the signs of heaven; St Sebastian destroyed it with Tiburtius the son of Chromatius.[73]

The text overlooks a number of very visible monuments—Santa Maria in Cosmedin, the Theater of Marcellus, the Theater of Pompey, San Lorenzo in Damaso—in favor of what once was (*fuit*), lost antiquities. There is a special interest in buildings that had been replaced by churches: *ubi fuit . . . ubi est.*

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The reason for this interest is implicit in the story of the palace of Chromatius and its *holovitreum*, which comes from the late Antique *Acts of St. Sebastian*. The prefect Chromatius, suffering from gout and promised recovery if he converts to Christianity, permits St. Sebastian and St. Polycarp to destroy all of the pagan idols in his house but balks at the *cubiculum holovitreum*—the "gold and crystal chamber"—upon which his father Tarquinius had expended more than 200 pounds of gold.[74] It contained automated images of the zodiac and allowed Chromatius to predict the future. After hearing St. Sebastian's explanation of why such images and rites are abhorred by Christians, Chromatius declares:

> . . . I believe, and my faith is that if I completely dissociate myself from all of these things that the Christian law abominates and prohibits, I will deserve to have health now and in the future.[75]

Permission is given to smash up the beautiful room, its gold and crystal images and its machines, and Chromatius is duly cured.

Like the diptych by Hildebert of Lavardin, the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* both rues the ruin of Rome and acknowledges that ruin is the image of Christian success. The context for the palpable regret in the first half of this ambivalent proposition was intellectual—the revival of interest in Antiquity that was shared by literate clerics throughout Europe and England in the twelfth century—and physical. The economic boom that accompanied the rise of the "middle class" in Rome in the later eleventh century also propelled new construction. Antiquities began to disappear under or behind the facades of buildings more useful to contemporary industries and inhabitants, as is vividly illustrated in the brilliant installations of the new Museo dell'Alto Medioevo in the Crypta Balbi (Fig. 23). Trachtenberg's "formless sea of rotting, ancient pagan ruins" was drying up.

The *Mirabilia urbis Romae* attempts to reconstitute the vanishing ruins as a shapely city of memory:

These and many other temples and palaces of the emperors, consuls, senators, and prefects of pagan times were in this city of Rome, as we read in the oldest annals and see with our own eyes and have heard from the old. We have taken care to put into writing for the memory of posterity, as best we could, how great was their beauty of gold and silver, bronze and ivory and precious stones.[76]

This verbal construct took on a life and semiotic power of its own as, from the twelfth century onward, the actual ruins of Rome increasingly *displayed difference* from the collective mental image of the ancient city generated by antiquarians and archaeologists.

To return, in the end, to Richard Krautheimer. He distrusted theory. He once wrote to me:

> By and large I loathe everything that smacks of theory. For one, I am too dumb for it, for theoretical thought as well as for its high-faluting vocabulary. Second I can't help suspecting that much of it is written by scholars not as conversant as they ought to be with the material or with history.

Taking the humility topos for what it is ("false modesty is better than no modesty at all," he liked to say), we are left with a challenge, or what I read as a challenge, to make the "high-falutin vocabulary" of theory useful to history without reducing history to the more or less artful deployment of fancy words. The inventor of the "iconography of architecture" must have known that it is not only possible but necessary to do this, as the writing of history cannot advance by empirical discoveries alone. Marvin Trachtenberg's adaptation of structuralist semiotics to the problematic of twelfth-century Rome has the capacity, like the pictorial concept of iconography, to provoke a resorting of the historical data. As such it is a clever and stimulating tribute to a great historian.

NOTES

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1.   M. Trachtenberg, "On Brunelleschi's Choice: Speculations on Medieval Rome and the Origins of Renaissance Architecture," in *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer*, ed. C. L. Striker (Mainz, 1996), 169.

2.   Ibid., 170.

3.   Ibid.

4.   Ibid., 171.

5.   R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980), 143–160, esp. 145, 158. For recent views on the place of Rome in Ottonian political theory and policy see D. A. Warner, "Ideals and action in the Reign of Otto III," *Journal of Medieval History*, XXV (1999), 1–18; N. D'Acunto, *Nostrum Italicum regnum: aspetti della politica italiana di Ottone III* (Milan, 2002), 26–32; and G. Althoff, *Otto III*, trans. P. G. Jestice (University Park, PA, 2003), 81–89.

6.   Krautheimer, *Rome*, 161–175.

7.   Ibid., 166.

8. Ibid., 176–202.

9. To cite only some especially significant examples: J. Barclay Lloyd, "The Medieval Church of S. Maria in Portico in Rome," *Römische Quartalschrift*, LXXVI (1981), 95–106; R. L. Benson, "Political *Renovatio:* Two Models from Roman Antiquity," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson and G. Constable with C. D. Lanham (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 339–386; H. Broise and J.-C. Maire Vigueur, "Strutture famigliari, spazio domestico e architettura civile a Roma alla fine del Medioevo," in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, XII (Turin, 1983), 97–160; I. Herklotz, "Der Campus Lateranensis im Mittelalter," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XXII (1985), 1–43 (revised and translated in idem, *Gli eredi di Costantino: il papato, il Laterano e la propaganda visiva nel XII secolo* [Rome, 2000], 41–94); P. C. Claussen, *Magistri doctissimi romani: die römischen Marmorkünstler des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1987); *Master Gregorius: The Marvels of Rome*, trans. J. Osborne (Toronto, 1987); J. Poeschke, "Der römische Kirchenbau des 12. Jahrhunderts und das Datum der Fresken von Castel S. Elia," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XXIII–XXIV (1988), 1–28; J. Barclay Lloyd, *The Medieval Church and Canonry of S. Clemente in Rome*, San Clemente Miscellany, III (Rome, 1989); I. Herklotz, "Der mittelalterliche Fassadenportikus der Lateranbasilika und seine Mosaiken: Kunst und Propaganda am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, XXV (1989), 25–97 (idem, *Gli eredi di Costantino*, 159–209); idem, "Die Beratungsräume Callixtus' II. im Lateranpalast und ihre Fresken: Kunst und Propaganda am Ende des Investiturstreits," *ZfKg*, LI (1989), 145–214 (idem, *Gli eredi di Costantino*, 95–158); E. Hubert, *Espace urbain et habitat à Rome du Xe à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Rome, 1990); G. Wolf, *Salus populi romani: die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim, 1990); M. Stroll, *Symbols as Power: The Papacy Following the Investiture Contest* (Leiden, 1991); B. Schimmelpfennig, "Die Bedeutung Roms im päpstlichen Zeremoniell," in *Rom im hohen Mittelalter: Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert, Reinhard Elze zur Vollendung seines siebzigsten Lebensjahres gewidmet*, ed. B. Schimmelpfennig and L. Schmugge (Sigmaringen, 1992); R. Meneghini, "Il Foro e i Mercati di Traiano nel medioevo attraverso le fonti storiche e d'archivio," *Archeologia medievale*, XX (1993), 79–120; A. Priester, "Bell Towers and Building Workshops in Medieval Rome," *JSAH*, LII (1993), 199–220; S. De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, 2 vols. (Vatican City, 1994); M. Thumser, *Rom und der römische Adel in der späten Stauferzeit* (Tübingen, 1994); A. Derbes, "Crusading Ideology and the Frescoes of S. Maria in Cosmedin," *AB*, LXXVII (1995), 460–478; A. Augenti, *Il Palatino nel Medioevo: archeologia e topografia (secoli VI–XIII)* (Rome, 1996); N. R. Miedema, *Die "Mirabilia Romae": Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung mit Edition der deutschen und niederländischen Texte* (Tübingen, 1996); D. J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge, 1998); U. Nilgen, "Die Bilder über dem Altar: Triumph- und Apsisbogenprogramme in Rom und Mittelitalien und ihr Bezug zur Liturgie," in *Kunst und Liturgie im Mittelalter*, ed. N. Bock et al. (Munich, 2000), 75–91; D. Manacorda, *Crypta Balbi: archeologia e storia di un paesaggio urbano* (Milan, 2001); *Roma medievale*, ed. A. Vauchez (Rome, 2001); P. C. Claussen, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050–1300*, vol. A–F (Stuttgart, 2002); S. Twyman, *Papal Ceremonial at Rome in the Twelfth Century* (London, 2002).

10. P. C. Claussen, "Renovatio Romae: Erneuerungsphasen römischer Architektur im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert," in *Rom im hohen Mittelalter*, ed. B. Schimmelpfennig and L. Schmugge, 87–125. Important aspects of Claussen's argument were anticipated by Poeschke, "Der römische Kirchenbau."

11. Claussen, "Renovatio Romae," 89–91, and G. B. Giovenale, *La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin* (Rome, 1927), 268–269. Giovenale (292–293) dated the work of Iohannes de Venetia to the pontificate of Nicholas I (858–867), but Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro pronounced firmly for the eleventh century in *Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, VII, *La diocesi di Roma*, III, *La II regione ecclesiastica*, ed. A. Melucco Vaccaro (Spoleto, 1974), 163–165, No. 127; see also V. Pace, "'Nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est': sulla scultura del Medioevo a Roma," in *Studien zur Geschichte der europäischen Skulptur im 12./13. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 588 (second half of the eleventh century).

12. Poeschke, "Der römische Kirchenbau," esp. 3, n. 3, 14–25.

13. *Le Liber Pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris, 1892; rpt. Paris, 1981), II, 323; Derbes, "Crusading Ideology," 471. In a later recounting of the episode, Cardinal Boso made clear that the camel was part of a parodic shaming: "They prepared for him a camel instead of the [papal] white horse and the shaggy pelt of a wether instead of the purple chlamys, and they put him sideways on that camel, and in his hands they put that camel's tail for a bridle. And so arrayed, he rode before the pope's [Callixtus II's] entourage, returning to Rome in such disgrace that he was confounded by his shame and made an example to others lest they attempt something similar" (377).

14. Claussen, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom*, vol. A–F, 386–390.

15. Ibid., 410.

16. The regularity of the nave colonnades is exaggerated today by the uniform stucco collars that were placed around the shaved-down marble cores of the spoliate capitals in the seventeenth century; M. Cigola, "La basilica di San Crisogono in Roma—un rilievo critico," *Bollettino del Centro di Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura*, XXXV (1989), 32.

17. Claussen, "Renovatio Romae," 99–117; idem, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom*, vol. A–F, 408–410. The victory referred to by Duchesne (*Liber Pontificalis*, II, 326, n. 23) was the military victory at Sutri.

18. R. Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture" (1942), rpt. in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), 227. For the plan of Sant'Eusebio see Claussen, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom*, vol. A–F, 448.

19. Krautheimer, *Rome*, 176–177.

20. Ibid., 179–180.

21. On the best-known Carolingian imitation, Santa Prassede, see J. J. Emerick, "Focusing on the Celebrant: The Column Display inside Santa Prassede," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, LIX (2000), 129–159; idem, "Altars Personified: The Cult of the Saints and the Chapel System in Pope Paschal I's S. Prassede (817–819)," in *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker*, ed. J. J. Emerick and D. M. Deliyannis (Mainz am Rhein, 2005), 43–63.

22. The twelfth-century ratios—exactly 1:3 in Santa Maria in Trastevere and 1:3.2 in San Crisogono—were calculated on the basis of wall-to-wall interior dimensions, scaled in the case of San Crisogono from the plan of Cigola, "La basilica di San Crisogono," Pl. 4, and in the case of Santa Maria in Trastevere from a 1:10 plan made by Marzio Fulloni in 1982. The proportions of the fourth-century basilicas shown in Fig. 8 (after R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett, and A. K. Frazer, *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae*, V [Vatican City, 1977], Pl. VIII) were controlled for St. Peter's by the dimensions calculated by A. Arbeiter, *Alt-St. Peter in Geschichte und Wissenschaft: Abfolge der Bauten—Rekonstruktion—Architekturprogramm* (Berlin, 1988), 102–103.

23. Arbeiter, *Alt-St. Peter*, 154; H. Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert* (Milan, 2004), 115.

24. L. Bosman, *The Power of Tradition: Spolia in the Architecture of St. Peter's in the Vatican* (Hilversum, 2004), 29–46; D. Kinney, "Spolia," in *St. Peter's in the Vatican*, ed. W. Tronzo (New York, 2005), 20–22, 27–29.

25. J. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1988), 67–68.

26. Bosman, *The Power of Tradition*, 47–50. For the granite shafts in Santa Maria in Trastevere see D. Kinney, "Spolia from the Baths of Caracalla in Sta. Maria in Trastevere," *AB*, LXVIII (1986), 396–397.

27. De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, I, 44–49. The fifth patriarchal basilica is San Lorenzo fuori le mura.

28. G. Carbonara, *Iussu Desiderii: Montecassino e l'architettura campano-abruzzese nell'undicesimo secolo* (Rome, 1979), 62; P. Zumthor, *Langue et techniques poétiques a l'époque romane (XIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1963), 73.

29. M. Trachtenberg, "Suger's Miracles, Branner's Bourges: Reflections on 'Gothic Architecture' as Medieval Modernism," *Gesta*, XXXIX (2000), 183–205.

30. The nave, aisles, and transept of San Crisogono cover an area of nearly 1,055 square meters; Claussen, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom*, vol. A–F, 391, n. 29. The nave and aisles of Santa Maria in Cosmedin might have occupied 600 m² had the outer walls been parallel, but the area is actually less because of irregularities in the plan. Dimensions were calculated from Krautheimer et al., *Corpus basilicarum*, II, Pl. XX.

31. HOC OPIFEX MAGNUS FECIT VIR NOMINE PAULUS. Claussen, *Magistri doctissimi romani*, 7–10, Figs. 1, 4–6. On the pavement, see D. F. Glass, *Studies on Cosmatesque Pavements* (Oxford, 1980), 109–111. The choir screen was dismantled in the sixteenth century and the parapets were recovered from the floor by Giovenale; the present presbytery and choir enclosures are his reconstructions (Giovenale, *La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, 176). The Easter candlestand near the ambo is an addition of the thirteenth century, and the ciborium is a replacement of the twelfth-century one, signed by Deodatus around 1300; Claussen, *Magistri doctissimi romani*, 165–167, 213–214.

32. On the office, see C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989), 168. Alfanus was evidently the successor of the first known *camerarius*; Morris calls him "a Roman clerk."

33. J. Osborne, "The Tomb of Alfanus in S. Maria in Cosmedin, Rome, and Its Place in the Tradition of Roman Funerary Monuments," *PBSR*, LI (1983), 242.

34. ALFANUS FIERI TIBI FECIT VIRGO MARIA; ALFANO CAMERARIO EIUS DONA PLURIMA LARGIENTE. Ibid.

35. The decoration included mural paintings in the nave depicting scenes from the books of Ezekiel and Daniel, which have been interestingly discussed by Derbes, "Crusading Ideology." She follows Mary Stroll in the assumption that Pope Callixtus II was the real patron of the renovation of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, and interprets the frescoes as "anti-Islamic propaganda" connected with the pope's plans for a crusade.

36. 3 Kings 10:18–20; Douay translation. F. Gandolfo, "Reimpiego di sculture antiche nei troni del XII secolo," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti*, XLVII (1974–1975), 203–218, esp. 203–207; idem, "Simbolismo antiquario e potere papale," *Studi romani*, XXIX (1981), 9–28, esp. 16–17. Gandolfo insists on the political symbolism of this and all thrones connected with the twelfth-century *renovatio*, to the exclusion of other realms of signification.

37. *Sermo XLIV: In nativitate beatissimae virginis Mariae*, ed. Migne, *PL*, CXLIV (http://pld.chadwyck.com), 16, col. 0736C, The attribution of the sermon to Peter Damian followed by I. Forsyth is spurious, as is its attribution to Bernard of Clairvaux; J. J. Ryan, "Saint Peter Damiani and the Sermons of Nicholas of Clairvaux: a Clarification," *Mediaeval Studies*, IX (1947), 151–155; J. Leclercq, "Les collections de sermons de Nicolas de Clairvaux," *Revue bénédictine*, LXVI (1956), 269–302; I. H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, 1972), 25; *Sancti Petri Damiani Sermones*, ed. I. Lucchesi (Turnholt, 1983), XII, LVIII–LIX.

38. ET GENITRIX REGIS SUMMI PATRIS ALMA SOPHYA. Giovenale, *La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, 63, No. 7; Osborne, "The Tomb of Alfanus," 242.

39. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom*, 24–30.

40. Barclay Lloyd, *The Medieval Church and Canonry*, 60–65, 104–109, 125–130; Claussen, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom*, vol. A–F, 299–347. The apse mosaic may have been added by the mysterious Petrus, whose epitaph claims that he "finished" the work after Cardinal Anastasius left it in his care (Barclay Lloyd, 62), but this does not justify the tortured arguments of Stroll, *Symbols as Power*, 118–131. Like most art historians, Barclay Lloyd believes the mosaic was complete by 1125; see J. Barclay Lloyd, "A New Look at the Mosaics of San Clemente," in *Omnia disce—Medieval Studies in Memory of Leonard Boyle, O. P.*, ed. A. J. Duggan, J. Greatrex, and B. Bolton (Aldershot, 2005), 9–27.

41. [*dudum*] IS SANCTE PATER CLEMENS TUA TEMPLA NOVAVIT/ CUIUS IN HOC TUMULO PULVIS ET UMBRA IACENT/MORIBUS EGREGIUS ET VITA PRESBYTER URBIS/FULSIT ANASTASIUS NOMINE DICTUS ERAT/VITA DECENS STUDIUMQ. PIUM VIS RELLIGIONIS/CONSPICUUM MERITIS EFFICIEBAT EUM/HUNC QUICUMQ. LEGIS TUMULUM ESTO LEGENDO/DICERE NATE DEI SUBSIDIERIS [*sic*] EI. Barclay Lloyd, *The Medieval Church and Canonry*, 61. Abundant thanks to my colleague Julia Haig Gaisser for the translation, with assistance from James J. O'Donnell.

42. I. Voss and P. C. Claussen, "Das Paviment von S. Clemente mit einer neuen zeichnerischen Aufnahme," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, XXVII–XXVIII (1991–1992), 8–11. The center of the cross is presently occupied by a tomb dated 1592.

43. ANASTASIUS PRESBITER CARDINALIS HUIUS TITULI HOC OPUS CEPIT ET PERFECIT. Barclay Lloyd, *The Medieval Church and Canonry*, 60. Gandolfo's fanciful attribution of the inscription to a partisan of Anaclete II around 1130 has not won favor; Gandolfo, "Reimpiego," 207–211; Claussen, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom*, vol. A–F, 343, n. 172*bis*.

44. This would be a false association if F. Guidobaldi is correct that the inscribed plaque is not a relic of the original church but was brought to San Clemente from a catacomb: "Il complesso archeologico di S. Clemente. Risultati degli scavi più recenti e riesame dei resti architettonici," in *San Clemente Miscellany*, II, *Art and Archaeology*, ed. L. Dempsey (Rome, 1978), 292–293; idem, *San Clemente: gli edifici romani, la basilica paleocristiana e le fasi altomedievali*, San Clemente Miscellany, IV/1 (Rome, 1992), 304–307.

45. ". . . A date ca. 1090–1100 for the S. Clemente murals appears entirely appropriate"; J. Osborne, "Proclamations of Power and Presence: The Setting and Function of Two Eleventh-Century Murals in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome," *Mediaeval Studies*, LIX (1997), 165.

46. E. Kane, "The Painted Decoration of the Church of San Clemente," in *San Clemente Miscellany*, II, 86–93; G. Wolf, "Nichtzyklische narrative Bilder im italienischen Kirchenraum des Mittelalters: Überlegungen zu Zeit- und Bildstruktur der Fresken in der Unterkirche von S. Clemente (Rom) aus dem späten 11. Jahrhundert," in *Hagiographie und Kunst: der Heiligenkult in Schrift, Bild und Architektur*, ed. G. Kerscher (Berlin, 1993), 319–339.

47. BENO, DOMNA MARIA, PUERULUS CLEMENS, ALTILIA; IN NOMINE DNI EGO BENO DE RAPIZA P AMORE BEATI CLEMENTIS ET REDEMPTIONE ANI(mae) MEE PINGERE FECIT; EGO MARIA MACELLARIA P TIMORE DEI ET REMEDIO ANIME MEE HEC PGRFC. Osborne, "Proclamations of Power and Presence," 158–159; C. Filippini, "Functions of Pictorial Narratives and Liturgical Spaces: The Eleventh-Century Frescoes of the Titular Saint in the Basilica of San Clemente in Rome," in *Shaping Sacred Space and Institutional Identity in Romanesque Mural Painting: Essays in Honour of Otto Demus*, ed. T. E. A. Dale with J. Mitchell (London, 2004), 124, n. 4, 134–136.

48. Wolf, "Nichtzyklische narrative Bilder," 322–333.

49. L. Moscati, *Alle origini del comune romano: economia società istituzioni* (Casandrino, 1980), 29–41, esp. 37–38. This may be the source of Claussen's statement that Beno(!) owned "many properties" in the area of San Clemente: *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom*, vol. A–F, 302, n. 12.

50. The churches are named in the *Ordo of Cencius Camerarius (1192): Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, III (Rome, 1946), 229–263. None of those cited survives. San Benedetto Cacabaris, on the site of piazza Benedetto Cairoli, disappeared in the seventeenth century: F. Lombardi, *Roma le chiese scomparse: la memoria storica della città* (Rome, 1996), 221. Santa Maria de Ferrariis, just north of the Colosseum, is not heard of after the fifteenth century (Lombardi, 76). San Nicola de Calcarario (San Nicola a' Cesarini), built into a Republican temple in the modern Largo Argentina, was cleared away in the 1920s: M. R. Coppola and V. Mutarelli, in L. Bianchi, M. R. Coppola, V. Mutarelli, and M. Piacentini, *Case e torri medioevali a Roma: documentazione, storia e sopravvivenza di edifici medioevali nel tessuto urbano di Roma*, I (Rome, 1998), 250–256. San Nicola de Funariis (SS. Orsola e Caterina a Tor de' Specchi) was on the northwest side of the Capitoline hill in an area obliterated by the via del Teatro di Marcello in 1928 (Lombardi, 276); and San Niccolò de Forbitoribus, in the area of piazza Sant'Ignazio, was demolished in 1631 (Lombardi, 144).

51. Santa Cecilia Nicolai Marescalchi (Santa Cecilia de Fossa) was near the Tiber below the Theater of Marcellus (Lombardi, *Roma le chiese scomparse*, 299); San Lorenzo in Nicola Naso, under the rupe Tarpeia, was destroyed in 1941 (Lombardi, 260); Santa Maria in Curte Domnae Micinae ("S. Maria de Curte" in Fig. 22) was near San Nicola de Funariis, between the Capitoline and the Theater of Balbus (Lombardi, 305; Manacorda, *Crypta Balbi*, Fig. 63); Santa Mariae Dominae Rosae in the *Crypta Balbi* was replaced in 1564 by Santa Caterina ai Funari (Lombardi, 288; Manacorda, 55–71).

52. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistola CCXLIV, Ad Conradum regem Romanorum*, ed. Migne, *PL*, CLXXXII (http://pld.chadwyck.com), col. 0442B,

53. Claussen, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom*, vol. A–F, 302, n. 12, 324. Wolf, however, argues that the murals of Beno and Maria were products of the Cassinese reform, and that the appearance of these lay donors together with clerics and a pope in the scene of St. Clement saying Mass "represents a model of the *concordia* of the reformed Roman church." Wolf notes, correctly, that clerics must have collaborated with Beno and Maria in the design of their paintings: "Nichtzyklische narrative Bilder," 333–335.

54. Two antipopes (claimants to the papacy who lost) were Roman: Benedict X (John Mincius, 1058–1059) and Celestine II (Teobaldo Boccapecci, 1124–1125/26). J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986), 150–151, 167.

55. For the developments sketched here see P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1972), 159–180; C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989), 164–173; S. Carocci and M. Venditelli, "Società e economia (1050–1420)," in *Roma medievale*, 71–80.

56. P. E. Schramm, "Die *Imitatio imperii* in der Zeit des Reformpapsttums" (1963), rpt. in *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste: gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, IV/1 (Stuttgart, 1970), 180–186; Twyman, *Papal Ceremonial*, 1–22 and passim.

57. S. De Blaauw, "Papst und Purpur: Porphyr in frühen Kirchenausstattungen in Rom," in *Tesserae: Festschrift für Josef Engemann, JAC*, Ergänzungsband, XVIII (Münster Westfalen, 1991), 36–50; Herklotz, *Gli eredi di Costantino*, passim.

58. Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobrusianos hereticos*, 95, *Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis*, X, ed. J. Fearns (Turnhout, 1968), 56; R. I Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (New York, 1977; rpt. Toronto, 1994), 82–114.

59. Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, VII, 27, ed. A. Hofmeister, *MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum,* XLV (Hannover, 1912, 2nd ed.), 353; *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D.*, trans. C. C. Mierow, foreword by K. Morrison (New York, 2002), 436–437; Benson, "Political *Renovatio*," 340–351.

60. Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, VII, 31, *MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, XLV, 359; *The Two Cities*, 440; I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), 27.

61. F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, trans. A. Hamilton, IV/2 (London, 1896), 491.

62. Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, II, 28, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, XLVI (Hannover, 1912, 3rd. ed.), 134; *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. C. C. Mierow with R. Emery (New York, 1953; rpt. Toronto, 1994), 144; Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent*, 115–136; Benson, "Political *Renovatio*," 342–351.

63. Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I*, II, 28, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, 144.

64. *De consideratione ad Eugenium papam*, IV, 2, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais, in *S. Bernardi opera*, III, *Tractatus et opuscula* (Rome, 1963), 449–450; *Five Books on Consideration: Advice to a Pope*, trans. J. D. Anderson and E. Kennan (Kalamazoo, 1976), 111.

65. *De consideratione*, IV, 5, 452; *Five Books*, 115.

66. *De consideratione*, IV, 6, 453; *Five Books*, 117.

67. *De consideratione*, IV, 6, 453–454; *Five Books*, 117; see also E. Kennan, "The 'De Consideratione' of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the Papacy in the Mid-Twelfth Century: A Review of Scholarship," *Traditio*, XXIII (1967), 115; C. Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's "Apologia" and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia, 1990), 10.

68. Krautheimer, *Rome*, 237–259; Trachtenberg, "On Brunelleschi's Choice," 170.

69. "Par tibi, Roma, nihil," in *Hildeberti Cenomannensis Episcopi Carmina minora*, ed. A. B. Scott (Leipzig, 1969), 22–24, No. 36; translation from William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors with R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998), 613–615. Hildebert was bishop of Le Mans (1096–1125) and archbishop of Tours (1125–1133). On the diptych, see P. von Moos, *Hildebert von Lavardin 1056–1133: Humanitas an der Schwelle des höfischen Zeitalters* (Stuttgart, 1965), 240–248; A. Michel, "Rome chez Hildebert de Lavardin," in *Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople: l'image et le mythe de la ville au Moyen Age, Colloque du Département d'Etudes Médiévales de l'université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV)*, (Paris, 1986), 197–203.

70. "Dum simulacra mihi," in *Hildeberti Cenomannensis Episcopi Carmina minora*, 25–27, No. 38; Krautheimer, *Rome*, 201.

71. *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, III, 17–65; D. Kinney, "Fact and Fiction in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*," in *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. C. Neuman de Vegvar and É. Ó. Carragáin (Ashgate, in press).

72. Miedema, *Die "Mirabilia Romae*," 437–465.

73. *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, III, 62–64; for the identification of the buildings mentioned, see Kinney, "Fact and Fiction."

74. *Acta S. Sebastiani martyris*, XV–XVI, ed. Migne, *PL*, XVII (http://pld.chadwyck.com), cols. 1045–1048; G. De Spirito, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, IV (Rome, 1999), 41.

75. *Acta S. Sebastiani*, XVI, 57, col. 1046.

76. *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, III, 65.

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