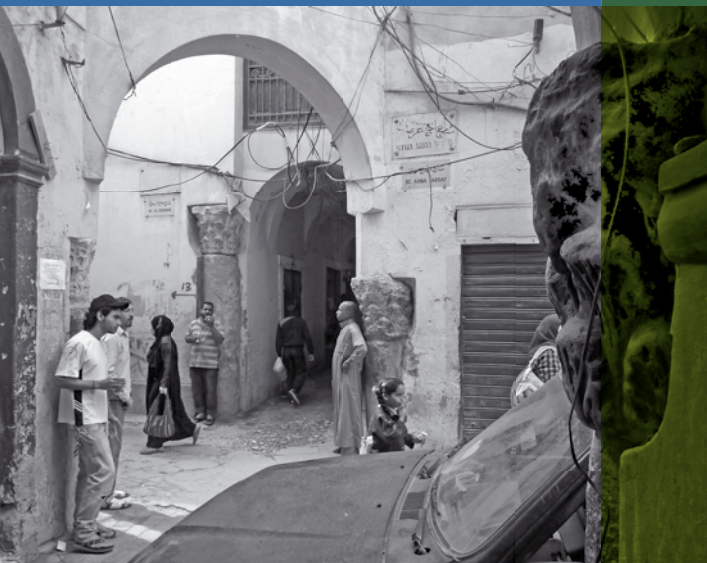


Perspektiven der Spolienforschung 2

ZENTREN UND KONJUNKTUREN
DER SPOLIIERUNG

Stefan Altekamp
Carmen Marcks-Jacobs
Peter Seiler
(eds.)



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BERLIN STUDIES OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

DIE WIEDERVERWENDUNG UND UMNUTZUNG antiker Bauten, Bauteile und Skulpturen ist ein weitverbreitetes Phänomen der Nachantike. Rom und der Maghreb liefern zahlreiche und vielfältige Beispiele für diese Aneignung materieller Hinterlassenschaften der Antike.

Während sich die beiden Regionen seit dem Ausgang der Antike politisch und kulturell sehr unterschiedlich entwickeln, zeigen sie in der praktischen Umsetzung der Wiederverwendung, die zwischenzeitlich quasi-industrielle Ausmaße annimmt, strukturell ähnliche organisatorische, logistische und rechtlich-lenkende Praktiken. An beiden Schauplätzen kann die Antike alternativ als eigene oder fremde Vergangenheit konstruiert und die Praxis der Wiederverwendung utilitaristischen oder ostentativen Charakter besitzen.

Perspektiven der Spolien- forschung 2

ZENTREN UND KONJUNKTUREN DER SPOLIIERUNG

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

Stefan Altekamp
Carmen Marcks-Jacobs
Peter Seiler

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Einleitung

Zusammenfassung

Der vorliegende Band nimmt am Beispiel Roms und des Maghreb übereinstimmende und kontrastierende Modi der Aneignung materieller Hinterlassenschaften der Antike in den Blick. Während sich beide Räume politisch und kulturell in unterschiedliche Richtungen bewegen, wird die Antike alternativ als eigene oder fremde Vergangenheit konstruiert. Der pragmatische Zugriff zeitigt strukturell ähnliche organisatorische, logistische und rechtlichlenkende Praktiken.

Keywords: Rom; Maghreb; Antike; materielle Hinterlassenschaft; Aneignung; Wiederverwendung; Umnutzung.

Using the example of Rome and the Maghreb, this volume examines corresponding and contrasting modes of the appropriation of material remains of Classical Antiquity. As the two regions moved in different directions politically and culturally, societies construed Classical Antiquity as either their own or an alien past. Pragmatic recourse led to structural similarities in organization, logistics and governance.

Keywords: Rome; Maghreb; antiquity; material legacy; appropriation; re-use; conversion.

Wiederverwendung ist im Bereich der materiellen Kultur ein fast so geläufiges Phänomen wie Erstverwendung. Und so finden sich auch die auffälligen Neu- und Umnutzungen, die Nachantike und Antike miteinander verbinden, in einen umfassenden Prozess materieller Bewegung und Neuordnung eingebettet. So wird auch eine aktuelle Tendenz erklärlich, den traditionell eingeführten Begriff Spolierung ganz durch das allgemeinere und neutralere ‚Wiederverwendung‘ (re-use, remploi, riempiego) zu ersetzen.

Die in *Perspektiven der Spolienforschung 1* versammelten Beiträge hatten die Reichweite dieses elementaren Kulturwandels ausgeleuchtet. In der mit *Perspektiven der Spolienforschung 2* vorliegenden Veröffentlichung wird eine weitere Achse gezogen, die Zentren und Konjunkturen der materiellen Aneignung und Umwidmung der Antike gruppiert.

In örtlicher Hinsicht widmen sich die Beiträge der kontrastierenden Betrachtung zweier Gravitationszentren der nachantiken mediterranen Welt: Stadtrum und Nordafrika. Politisch und kulturell gehen beide Regionen seit dem Ausgang der Antike getrennte Wege. Im Maghreb scheinen der Zusammenbruch der wichtigsten spätantiken Institution, der Kirche, und das rasche Aussterben der lateinischen Sprache einen nahezu totalen Traditionsbruch anzuzeigen. Der gleichermaßen unvermeidliche wie kreativ betriebene Umgang mit den materiellen Hinterlassenschaften der Antike weist jedoch darauf hin, dass politisch-soziale Sukzession kaum ohne kulturelle Kontinuitäten der einen oder anderen Art erfolgt. Utilitaristische und ostentative Wiederverwendung insbesondere antiker Bauten und Bauteile – die Skulptur spielt aufgrund des religiös begründeten Vorbehalts gegen Bilder keine Rolle – stellt im Maghreb eine vom Frühmittelalter bis in das 19. Jahrhundert geläufige Praxis dar. Die Auseinandersetzung mit einem variabel konstruierten vorislamischen Altertum bildet so auch in einem Kulturraum nahezu ohne literarisch vermittelte Traditionsbildung ein durchgehendes Phänomen.

Die Vorgänge im Maghreb stellen für Spolierungsvorgänge in Rom – dem Ort ‚multimedialer‘ Traditionsbildung par excellence – eine erhellende Kontrastfolie dar. Trotz nie abreißender literaturgestützter Berufung auf die Antike bilden – wie im Maghreb – insbesondere in der Renaissance ostentative und utilitaristische Wiederverwendung ein markantes Gegensatzpaar. Ebenso verlangt auch in Rom die Intensität, ja die zwischenzeitlich quasi-industrielle materielle Aneignung und Umwidmung der Antike nach Logistik, Organisation und auch nach einer gewissen Verrechtlichung. Auf beiden Schauplätzen – auf denen man bis in die frühe Neuzeit ohne tiefgehende Kenntnis voneinander geblieben ist – weist die materielle Antike-Aneignung somit charakteristische strukturelle Parallelen auf, die ungeachtet der vordergründigen kulturellen Filiation ein Muster der Reaktion urbaner Gesellschaften auf die spezifische materielle Hinterlassenschaft der griechisch-römischen Antike beschreiben.

Der Text von *Faouzi Mahfoudh* zu Modalitäten der Wiederverwendung eröffnet den Reigen von fünf der Situation im Maghreb gewidmeten Beiträgen. Ausgehend vom

schieren Materialreichtum des hoch urbanisierten römischen Nordafrikas beleuchtet Mahfoudh die große ökonomische Bedeutung des Spolien-Handels in nachantiker Zeit. Nicht zuletzt Eigentumsfragen regen eine intensive (religiöse) Rechtsprechung an, die sich um die Regelung der Zugriffsrechte bemüht. Die Praktiken der Wiederverwendung selber sind durchaus von Regelmäßigkeiten wie intendierter Sichtbarkeit ornamentierter Partien sowie Symmetriebildungen geprägt. Dabei wirken antike Dekormotive und antike Techniken der Steinbearbeitung noch mindestens bis ins 9. Jh. n. Chr. weiter. Den außergewöhnlichen Fall einer nach Nordafrika verbrachten Spolie (im ursprünglichen Wortsinne) stellt eine in der al-Ksar-Moschee in Tunis verbaute lateinische Inschrift dar, die sich auf die Einweihung der Kathedrale von Ajaccio 1593 bezieht. Auch intakte antike Gebäude werden wieder- bzw. weiterverwendet, so die ‚Basilica‘ von el-Kef. Die Ölbaum-Moschee in Tunis steht auf den Resten eines antiken Gebäudes.

Stefan Altekamp untersucht die Wiederverwendung lateinischer Inschriftensteine im Maghreb von der frühislamischen Epoche bis in die Kolonialzeit. Für diese Objekte – die bei weitem besterforschte antike Quellengattung – liegen in den Inschriftencorpora viele, z. T. weit zurückreichende Informationen zu Translozierung und Neuverwendung vor. Bestimmte Regelmäßigkeiten können daher ausnahmsweise auf einer quantitativ breiten Basis beobachtet werden. Die Wiederverwendung in islamischer Zeit ist nicht zuletzt dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass die Texte nicht verständlich gewesen sind, ihre Rezeption sich also auf den Schmuck- oder Symbolgehalt der Zeichen stützt. Konkrete Motivationen für Akte der Wiederverwendung – Wünsche nach dekorativer Gestaltung, Triumphalgesten, Übelabwehr – können meist nur vermutet werden und sind jeweils individuell zu diskutieren. Auch der Anspruch, eine besonders traditionsreiche Ortsgeschichte sichtbar zu machen, kann für einige Fälle angenommen werden. Die Kolonialzeit zeichnet sich durch einen abrupten Interessenswechsel von den Schriftträgern zu den Textinhalten aus. Materiell kommt es zu einer Konzentration in Museen und Depots, aber auch in öffentlichen Parks oder Amtsgebäuden. Die Steine werden gesammelt und dafür oft aus Verbauungskontexten gelöst. Da die Texte systematisch veröffentlicht werden, werden die Träger, obwohl nun offiziell geschützt, eher marginalisiert.

Das libysche Tripolis zählt zu den wenigen ununterbrochen seit der Antike bestehenden zentralen Orten. Entsprechend ist der antike Baubestand fast vollständig ‚konsumiert‘. Dennoch treten, wie *Simonetta Ciranna* zeigt, einzelne Grundzüge antiker Urbanistik nach wie vor in Erscheinung. So tradiert die Altstadt von Tripolis – als Erbe antiken Städtebaus – einige in geradem Verlauf durchgehende Hauptstraßen. Fast vollständig intakt geblieben ist der Marcus Aurelius und Lucius Verus gewidmete Straßenbogen, den arabische Autoren als Monument beschreiben und würdigen. Aber auch einzelne antike Architekturelemente treten sichtbar in nachantiken Kontexten in Erscheinung. Offensichtlich fördern funktionale Gründe die Wiederverwendung antiker Säulenschäf-

te als Stützen der Betsäle in den Moscheen. Die typisch libyschen Vielkuppelmoscheen, deren modular verbundene Kuppelkompartimente einen Wald an Stützen erfordern, empfehlen den Einsatz schlanker Säulen. Aber auch der Prestigewert des antiken Materials scheint zu Buche zu schlagen, wie es die Verwendung antiker Säulen für den konventionell gedeckten Betsaal der Moschee Murad Aghas in Tajura außerhalb von Tripolis nahe legt. Geradezu als ein Zitat römischer Urbanistik und Architektur wird die auffällige Verteilung römischer Säulenschäfte und Kapitelle an der Kreuzung Arba' Arsat (Vier Säulen) in der Altstadt von Tripolis zur Diskussion gestellt, die vielleicht bewusst die Figur des Bogens für Marcus Aurelius und Lucius Verus, eines Quadrifrons, aufgreift.

Said Ennahid und *Eric Ross* widmen sich der Verbindung zwischen Stätten mit archäologischen Resten und der nachantiken Topographie des für den Maghreb charakteristischen ‚Marabutismus‘; d. h. der Verehrung als heiligmäßig anerkannter Männer und Frauen. Am Beispiel Marokko illustriert der Beitrag, auf welche Weise vorislamische Ruinenstätten als Realitäten der Kulturlandschaft in die islamische Kultur und ihre Glaubenswelten integriert werden. Die Ruinenstätten als verlassene Orte eignen sich nicht nur für reale Aufenthalte, sondern auch als Sinnbilder eines von Asketen gesuchten Lebens außerhalb oder am Rande der Gesellschaft. Die Präsenz heiligmäßiger Personen in den Ruinen besäße außerdem die Kraft, die möglicherweise von den vorislamischen Plätzen ausgehenden schädlichen Kräfte zu bannen. Wie im Falle der Inschriften scheint auch in dieser Studie die Praxisvariante durch, in einen aktiven Umgang mit antiken, d. h. vorislamischen Überresten einzutreten, um diese in ihrer immateriellen Wirkung kontrollieren oder neutralisieren zu können. Die Autoren argumentieren, dass kaum ein antiker Ort in Marokko ohne nachantike Belegung geblieben ist. Dabei steht die kultische Absorption und Umdeutung im Vordergrund, deren vielfältige lokale Erscheinungsformen jedoch noch weitgehend zu erforschen sind.

Zu den Epochen, die die antiken Überreste in Nordafrika am stärksten dezimiert und verändert haben, zählt auch das 19. Jahrhundert. *Michael Greenhalgh* weist darauf hin, dass besonders die Eroberung Algeriens und die nachfolgende systematische militärische Besetzung die römische Ruinenlandschaft einschneidend verändert haben. Während die gelehrte Welt der wissenschaftlichen Erschließung auch der nordafrikanischen Regionen der Alten Welt entgegenfieberte, bediente sich die frühe Militärverwaltung im großen Stil römischer Monumente zur Gewinnung schnellen und billigen Baumaterials. Oft standen gebildete Offiziere zugleich für beide Positionen – als Verwalter für die Zerstörung, als Freizeitforscher für die Erkundung der archäologischen Hinterlassenschaften. Sowohl die administrativen wie die wissenschaftlichen Aktivitäten haben einen reichen Quellenfundus hinterlassen. Der Beitrag widmet sich exemplarisch der Bautätigkeit in den Städten Guelma, Sétif und Tébessa, die mit weit reichender Wie-

derverwendung antiker Baureste und dadurch mit dem Verschwinden exzeptionell gut erhaltener römischer Festungsarchitektur einherging.

Mit dem Beitrag von *Patrizio Pensabene* wechselt der Schauplatz vom Maghreb nach Rom. In seinem detaillierten Überblick über den ‚Spolien‘einsatz in Rom über ein ganzes Jahrtausend – vom 3. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert – betont Pensabene die Komplexität der Bedingungen, die die jeweiligen Verwendungspraktiken ermöglichten bzw. beschränkten. Der Einbezug auch der ‚frühen‘ Spätantike bietet Gelegenheit, die wichtige Frage umfangreicher Materiallager schon in der älteren Kaiserzeit zu erörtern. Die in der Behandlung von fünf Zeitabschnitten organisierte Synthese gestattet auch eine synoptische Wahrnehmung auf den ersten Blick unverbundener Phänomene wie die Lagerhaltung ostmediterraner Importstücke in der Spätantike auf der einen und den neu einsetzenden ‚Spolien‘-Import aus dem durch Handel und Kreuzzüge erschlossenen Osten im späteren Mittelalter auf der anderen Seite.

Auch der folgende Beitrag von *Daniela Mondini* schlägt einen großen Bogen über die ‚Konjunkturen‘ sowie die Modi der Wiederverwendung in den mittelalterlichen Kirchen Roms. Eine ungleichmäßige Verfügbarkeit von ‚Spolien‘ sowie die variable Autorität der päpstlichen Regierung stellen sich wandelnde materielle und ideologische Außenbedingungen dar. Innerhalb dieses Rahmens wechseln die Strategien, Altmaterial demonstrativ zu präsentieren oder eher angleichend zu einzubinden. Möglicherweise fördert die homogenisierende Tendenz der Gotik weniger kontrastive Neuverwendungen. Neben der ostentativen Zurschaustellung individueller antiker Architekturelemente spielt auch die Rekontextualisierung ganzer Raumteile als ‚Raumspolien‘ eine Rolle.

Dem mittelalterlichen Straßennetz Roms wendet sich *Roberto Meneghini* zu, dessen Analyse sich besonders auf die wichtigen Resultate der um das Giubileo 2000 im Stadtzentrum durchgeführten umfangreichen Grabungen stützen kann. Ein Bevölkerungsrückgang um geschätzte 90 % bis zum frühen 6. Jh. n. Chr. führt unabwendbar zur Desintegration des antiken urbanen Systems, ohne dass Rom aufgehört hätte, in nun deutlich mutierter Form weiter als Stadt zu funktionieren. Die fortgesetzte Nutzung wichtiger antiker Straßenzüge und antiker Brücken ist dafür ein deutlicher Beleg. Die Leistungsfähigkeit der Straßen wird nicht zuletzt durch das Angebot gefordert, aufgegebene und zerfallende Stadtteile einer sinnvollen Materialausbeutung zuzuführen. Für Abtransport und Verlagerung waren Straßen erforderlich, die Wagenverkehr und Schwertransporte aufnehmen konnten.

Mittlerweile sind die Stratifikationen einiger Straßenabschnitte archäologisch untersucht, so dass sich ein klareres Bild von Konstanz und Wandel des Straßensystems ergibt. Typischerweise erfahren die alten Straßenverläufe im Mittelalter eine deutliche Aufhöhung, auch ändern sich die Beläge zwischenzeitlich von Plattenpflasterungen zu gestampften Oberflächen mit Kleinsteinmaterial. Seit der Renaissance werden Haupt-

achsen deutlich verbreitert, mehr Plätze werden angelegt, auch die Plattenpflasterung setzt sich wieder durch.

Dass Abriss oder ‚Rückbau‘ alter Architektur und die Neuverwendung ihrer Materialien potentiell technische Anforderungen stellen, die denen der Antike entsprechen, geht aus *Hermann Schlimmes* Beitrag über Transport- und Versatztechniken im Rom der frühen Neuzeit hervor. Technischer Aufwand, der sich antiken Praktiken gewachsen zeigt, erwirbt demnach ein der ästhetischen Wiederbelebung vergleichbares Prestige. Die enormen Kosten für das Bewegen und Neuversetzen großer antiker Bauteile, z. B. kolossaler Säulenschäfte, widersprechen der Vermutung, die Wiederverwendung sei nicht zuletzt ökonomisch motiviert. Vielmehr werden die Kosten für einen Mehrwert investiert, der alte Materialien und original-antike Formen auch gegenüber hochwertiger Neuproduktion auszeichnet. Im siebten Buch des Architekturtraktats Sebastiano Serlios wird die Neuverwendung bestimmter verfügbarer Sätze antiker Säulen als eine Bauaufgabe vorgestellt, bei der das Privileg der Verwendung antiker Architekturteile auch gewisse formale Kompromisse rechtfertigt.

Bernhard Fritsch beschäftigt sich mit der Nutzung antiken Baumaterials für den Neubau von St. Peter im 16. Jahrhundert. Während der Bauzeit der Basilika verfügt die ‚Fabbrica di San Pietro‘ über weitgehende Vollmachten zu graben bzw. antikes Steinmaterial zu übernehmen. Das Archiv der ‚Fabbrica‘ gestattet es, den Vorgängen der Materialgewinnung und des Transports im Einzelnen nachzugehen, die, während die Basilika entsteht, semi-industrielle Ausmaße annehmen. Trotz ihres enormen Volumens bewirken diese Arbeiten – älteren Annahmen zum Trotz – aber kaum das Verschwinden antiker Monumente ursächlich, sondern beschleunigen nur einen längst fortgeschrittenen Prozess des Zerfalls und Schwundes. Auch wird der Sammlung losen Steinmaterials bzw. isolierter Architekturglieder der Vorzug vor Abbrucharbeiten stehender Bauteile gegeben. Der Materialsammlung für den Kirchenbau kommt somit auch eine das Stadtbild um Trümmer und Ruinen bereinigende Wirkung zu. Eine Überlieferung, wonach zumindest der Tempel des Divus Iulius sowie die Regia noch Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts aufrecht gestanden hätten und erst von der ‚Fabbrica‘ beseitigt worden wären, ist nicht zu bestätigen.

Das Spektakel des Abrisses einer sehr gut erhaltenen antiken Ruine bietet allerdings die 1588/1589 erfolgte Demontage der Überreste des severischen Septizoniums, der die Untersuchung von *Christine Pappelau* gilt. Abbruch, Zwischenlagerung und schließlich die Neuverwendung des Baumaterials sind gut bezeugt. Auf quellenkritisch und rezeptionsgeschichtlich ergiebige Weise können die Dokumente zum Abbruch zusätzlich mit textlichen und bildlichen Quellen zum Monument kurz vor seiner Beseitigung verglichen werden. Je nach Interesse und Intention nehmen die verschiedenen Zeugnisse unterschiedliche Aspekte des antiken Bauwerks in den Blick. Die technische Aufgaben-

stellung des Abbruchs etwa führt zu einer Konzentration auf quantitative Aspekte wie vor allem äußere Maße. Eine variable Ansprache und damit Konzeptualisierung der antiken Architekturelemente ist auch in den Texten zu fassen, die den Transport zu den unterschiedlichen neuen Bestimmungsorten dokumentieren.

Die Ausweitung des zuvor eher engen Begriffs der ‚Spolierung‘ zu einem umfassenden Bild der ständigen Neukonfiguration antiker Substanz erlaubt es *William Stenhouse*, frühe Antiken-Sammlungen der zweiten Hälfte des 15. und des 16. Jahrhunderts weniger retrospektiv als Urgeschichte des Museums aufzufassen, sondern prospektiv als Weiterentwicklung älterer Praktiken. Neben den ästhetischen treten die politischen Funktionen dieser Sammlungen hervor, die – bestärkt durch humanistisches Studium – etwa die Familienanzianität untermauern. Während als Präsentationsorte Außenfassaden durch Höfe und Gärten abgelöst werden, kann das (Auf)Sammeln und Neuaufstellen antiker Objekte auch als konservatorisches oder sogar ‚patriotisches‘ Verdienst gewertet werden.

Nadine Riedl danken wir für die sorgfältige redaktionelle Begleitung der Publikation und das akribische Lektorat. Ebenso sind wir Nicola Gaedicke für die hervorragende Unterstützung bei der Klärung und Einholung von Bildrechten und Abdruckgenehmigungen zu großem Dank verpflichtet. An dieser Stelle möchten wir auch Joshua Crone und Orla Mulholland für Übersetzungen ins Englische und die Korrektur englischsprachiger Manuskripte sowie Annette Sundermeyer für die Unterstützung bei der Transkription arabischer Orts- und Eigennamen danken. Nicht zuletzt sei dem Exzellenzcluster Topoi, namentlich seinen Sprechern Gerd Graßhoff und Michael Meyer, für die Aufnahme dieser Publikation in die Reihe *Berlin Studies of the Ancient World* sehr herzlich gedankt.

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Faouzi Mahfoudh

Commerce de Marbre et Remploi dans les Monuments de L'Ifriqiya Médiévale

Résumé

Cet article se propose d'examiner la question du emploi des matériaux de constructions en Ifriqiya médiévale. Les chroniques historiques ainsi que les textes géographiques ont souvent mis l'accent sur l'importance et l'ampleur du commerce du marbre et des matériaux prélevés sur les sites antiques. Un examen attentif des textes juridiques nous a montré que la question a été très tôt posée par les juristes qui ont essayé d'encadrer une pratique qui semble à la fois courante et lucrative. Sur le plan archéologique, l'objet réemployé devrait être analysé avec la plus grande attention, et le chercheur doit éviter les conclusions hâtives qui pourront l'induire en erreur. C'est le cas des inscriptions trouvées dans le Mihrab de la grande Mosquée de Kairouan ou de la Mosquée al-Kasr de Tunis.

Keywords : Fiqh; marbre; réemploi; réhabilitation; commerce; monument; Ifriqiya.

Der Artikel untersucht das Phänomen der Wiederverwendung antiker Baumaterialien im mittelalterlichen Ifriqiya. Die historischen Chroniken und geographischen Texte heben oft die Bedeutung und den Umfang des Handels mit Marmor und anderen Materialien hervor, die den antiken Stätten entnommen wurden. Eine aufmerksame Untersuchung juristischer Texte lässt erkennen, dass sich die Rechtsgelehrten schon sehr früh mit der Frage beschäftigt haben, wie die geläufige und lukrative Praxis reguliert werden könnte. In archäologischer Hinsicht ist jedes wiederverwendete Objekt genau zu analysieren, um voreilige und irreführende Schlussfolgerungen zu vermeiden. Das wird anhand der Inschriften demonstriert, die im Mihrab der Großen Moschee von Kairouan bzw. in der al-Kasr-Moschee in Tunis gefunden worden sind.

Keywords: Islamisches Recht; Marmor; Wiederverwendung; Instandsetzung; Handel; Baudenkmal; Ifriqiya.

The present article propounds an examination of the question of re-use of building materials in medieval Ifriqiya. In fact, historical chronicles and geographical writings have often

laid special emphasis on the importance and extent of the marble trade and the traffic of materials that were pulled out of ancient sites. Our attentive examination of legal texts has shown that the legal consultants that were trying to bind a practice that seems to be as current as it is profitable asked this question very early. From the archaeological point of view, any re-used object should be analyzed with the utmost attention, and the researcher should try to avoid hasty conclusions that could be misleading. This is precisely the case of the inscriptions that were found in the Mihrab of the Great Mosque of Kairouan or the Ksar Mosque [Mosquée al-Kasr] of Tunis.

Keywords: Islamic law; marble; re-use; restoration; trade; monument; Ifriqiya.

1 L'Ifriqiya une carrière du marbre antique

Dans un passage peu connu, Maqqarī (986–1041/1577–1632), l'auteur du célèbre ouvrage *Nafḥ aṭ-ṭīb*, rapporte ce qui suit :

Ibn Ḥayyān [377–469/987–1076] a dit, an-Nāṣir [276–350/889–961] avait commencé la construction d'az-Zahrā' le premier jour du mois de *muḥarram* de l'an 325/[936–937]. La longueur de la cité du côté Est-Ouest est de 2700 coudées, sa superficie est de 990 000 coudées. Ceci a été rapporté et il suscite la suspicion. Ibn Ḥayyān a dit qu'il (an-Nāṣir) rétribuait chaque pièce de marbre, grande ou petit, dix dinars en plus de ce qu'il avait offert pour l'extraction, le déplacement et le transport. Il importa le marbre blanc d'al-Mariya, le veiné de Raya, le rose et le vert d'Ifriqiya (Ifriqiya) : de Carthage (Qartājanna) et de Sfax (Ṣifāqīs). Quant à la vasque sculptée, elle fut rapportée du Shām (Syrie), mais l'on dit aussi qu'il la fit venir de Constantinople ...¹

Quelques pages plus loin, la même source revient sur le sujet et note :

1 Al-Maqqarī 1968, I, 526. L'auteur du *Bayān*, Ibn 'Idhārī (13e/14e s.), donne une version assez divergente de celle de al-Maqqarī, mais qui la rejoint sur le fond; elle nous apprend que : « Les constructions d'az-Zahrā' ont commencé au début de l'an 325/[936], on y utilisa quotidiennement 6000 pierres en plus des dalles de soubassements. Il fit venir le marbre de Carthage d' Ifriqiya et de Tunis (Tūnis). Les maîtres qui l'ont importé sont : 'Abdullah

b. Yūnis, Ḥassan al-Qurtubī et 'Alī b. Ja'far l'Alexandrin. Il leur donna pour chaque pièce en marbre 3 dinars et pour chaque colonne 8 dinars sidjilmasiens. Il y avait en tout 4313 colonnes, celles importées d'Ifriqiya sont au nombre de 1013, l'Empereur de Byzance lui offrit 140 pilastres; le reste est d'origine andalouse... », Ibn Idhārī al-Marrākusi 1951, 231.

Qu'il (an-Nāṣir) fit venir le marbre de Carthage, d'Ifriqiya et de Tunis. Il chargea de l'importation 'Abdullah b. Yūnis (chef des maîtres constructeurs), Ḥassan et 'Alī fils de Ja'far l'Alexandrin (al-Iskandarānī). An-Nāṣir leur donna pour les petites pièces 3 dinars et pour les colonnes 8 dinars sidjilmassiens. L'on rapporte que le nombre de colonnes importées d'Ifriqiya est de 1013, celui venant du pays Franc est de 19. Le roi de Byzance lui en offrit en plus 140. Le reste a été pris sur le site de Tarragona (Tarrakūna) ou en d'autres endroits. Le marbre veiné provenait de Raya, le blanc de partout, alors que le rose et le vert d'Ifriqiya et notamment de l'Eglise de Sfax.²

Ces deux passages, très importants, sont empruntés au célèbre auteur cordouan Ibn Ḥayyān; ils se rapportent à la fondation de la ville d'az-Zahrā' (al-Zahra) qui a eu lieu sous le règne du calife an-Nāṣir en 324/936. A cette époque le conflit entre l'Ifriqiya fatimide et les Omeyyades d'Espagne avait atteint son apogée et les deux Etats s'affrontaient directement ou par des tribus interposées. Nonobstant, le commerce entre les deux rives continuait en dépit des relations politiques tendues.

La construction de Madīnat az-Zahrā' est une œuvre majeure du jeune calife an-Nāṣir ('Abd-al-Raḥmān III); le projet gigantesque de 110 ha a nécessité un effort immense perceptible au niveau des masses énormes de matériaux de construction utilisés, les pièces les plus rares et les plus luxueuses ont été les plus recherchées. Or, l'Andalous ne pouvait offrir les quantités exigées, et il a fallu les chercher ailleurs, en organisant pour ce fait un grand commerce. Notre texte met l'accent sur deux origines différentes :

- La première est la péninsule Ibérique. Le marbre fut extrait des carrières de Tarragone (le texte utilise le terme arabe *muqāṭi'* [quarry]), mais aussi prélevé dans les villes d'Almeria et de Raya. Almeria donna le marbre blanc alors que Raya, la voisine, offrit le veiné (*mujazza'*).
- La seconde est globalement méditerranéenne; nos auteurs citent plusieurs endroits : le Bilād ash-Shām ('la grande Syrie'), notamment al-Quds (Jerusalem), Constantinople, le pays Franc et l'Ifriqiya. Cette dernière fut la plus sollicitée et donna au projet 1013 colonnes³ alors que les Francs ne fournirent que 19 pilastres et Byzance 140.

Le commerce semble avoir été assez bien structuré. Le calife comptait sur des intermédiaires qui étaient à la fois d'excellents maçons et d'habiles commerçants. Ainsi l'importateur de Constantinople n'était autre qu'Ahmad le philosophe (vraisemblablement

2 Al-Maqqarī 1968, I, 568–569.

3 A titre de comparaison, al-Bakrī (m. 487/1094) nous dit qu'il y avait dans la Grande Mosquée de Kai-

rouan (Qairūwān) 414 colonnes. Cf. al-Bakrī 1911, 23.

le père d'Ibn Ḥazm?) dit aussi Aḥmad le Grec (al-Yunānī) qui profita des services d'un évêque nommé Rabī^c al-Asqaf. Alors que la transaction ifriqiyenne avait été confiée à trois grands maîtres qui sont 'Abdullah b. Yūnis, Ḥassan et 'Alī fils de Ja'far l'Alexandrin.⁴ Ces personnages ne nous sont pas connus, mais ce sont vraisemblablement des personnages qualifiés ayant une excellente connaissance de l'art de bâtir et du marbre, ils étaient chargés de faire le tri afin de garantir l'harmonie du projet et vérifier l'état des pièces achetées.

Les cours sont aussi réglementés et obéissent à un tarif officiel. Or, sur ce point les récits sont assez divergents. Dans un premier passage Maqqarī indique que la colonne coûtait 10 dinars, auxquels le calife ajouta les frais d'extraction (*qaṭ^c*), du transport terrestre (*naql*) et du transfert maritime (*ḥaml*). Mais dans un second passage, il nous dit que la petite pièce ne valait que 3 dinars, alors que la grande avait été achetée à 8 dinars sidjilmassien.⁵ La différence entre les 10 dinars du premier texte et les 8 du second s'expliquerait par la valeur très appréciée de la monnaie frappée à Sidjilmasa (Sijilmāsa) à cette époque.⁶

Le prix payé pour l'achat des colonnes paraît très cher, une impression qui se confirme quand on sait que l'ouvrier travaillant sur le chantier d'az-Zahrā' ne percevait qu'un dirham et demi, deux ou trois dirhams par jour, selon sa qualification.⁷ Un simple calcul montre alors que le marbre ifriqiyen aurait coûté plus que 10 000 dinars, ce qui constitue une somme colossale.

Le marbre était acheminé vers l'Espagne par voie maritime principalement par les ports ou les mouillages de Carthage, de Tunis et de Sfax. La mention de Carthage n'est point étonnante, la ville est célèbre par ses monuments antiques, qui, durant tout le Moyen Age et à l'époque moderne, ont servi de carrière. Sur ce point, les informations d'Ibn Ḥayyān se recouperont parfaitement avec celles qui nous sont déjà rapportées par al-Bakrī au XI^es. et al-Idrīsī au XII^es. al-Bakrī, décrivant le théâtre romain de Carthage

4 Selon le *Bayān* les maîtres chargés de l'importation sont : 'Abdullah b. Yūnis, Ḥassan al-Qurṭūbī et 'Alī b. Ja'far l'Alexandrin : Ibn Idhārī al-Marrākūṣī 1951, 231.

5 Sidjilmasa (Sijilmāsa) ville du Sud du Maroc dans le Sous, région du sud de l'Atlas, elle jouera un rôle important dans le commerce transsaharien.

6 Le calife al-Nāṣir dominait le Maghrib al-aqṣā (Maroc) et contrôlait les fameuses « routes de l'or » du Soudan : dans le sud marocain, mais il est invraisemblable qu'il frappa monnaie à Sidjilmasa, les frappes à Sidjilmasa au nom du calife sont surtout de 990, il y a donc un hiatus de 60 ans. Il semble cependant y avoir eu des frappes midrarides à Sidjilmasa sous ash-Shakīr li-Llāh (Ibn Fath), qui se proclame *amīr al-mu'minīn* (commandeur des croyants)

en 342/954, mais on ne sait si l'on en possède même des exemplaires, et on ne voit vraiment pas bien pourquoi c'est en dinars de ce type qu'aurait été exprimé le prix d'une colonne utilisée à Cordoue (Communication de Pierre Guichard, qu'il en soit remercié). L'anachronisme s'expliquerait, à notre avis, par la volonté des sources tardives d'honorer le Calife al-Nāṣir en lui attribuant une frappe qu'il n'avait pas exécutée.

7 Pour cette période, cf. Ashtor 1965, 664-679. Cet auteur estime qu'à cette époque 1 dinar valait 17 dirhams. Estimation puisée chez Ibn Ḥawqal 1979, 104. Un simple calcul nous montre que l'ouvrier le plus qualifié doit travailler un mois pour acheter une colonne, le moins qualifié deux mois.

observait que : « Le marbre est si abondant à Carthage que si tous les habitants de l'Ifriqiya se rassemblaient pour en tirer des blocs et les transporter ailleurs, ils ne pourraient accomplir leur tâche ». al-Idrīsī est encore plus prolixe, il note que :

L'aqueduc est l'un des ouvrages les plus remarquables qu'il soit possible de voir. De nos jours il est totalement à sec, l'eau ayant cessé de couler par suite de la dépopulation de Carthage, et par ce que depuis l'époque de la chute de cette ville jusqu'à ce jour, on a continuellement pratiqué des fouilles dans ses débris et jusque sous les fondements des monuments anciens. On y a découvert des marbres de tant d'espèces différentes qu'il serait impossible de les décrire. Un témoin oculaire rapporte en avoir vu extraire des blocs de 40 empans de haut, sur 7 de diamètre. Ces fouilles ne discontinuent pas, les marbres sont transportés au loin dans tous les pays, et nul ne quitte Carthage sans en charger des quantités considérables sur des navires ou autrement; c'est un fait très connu. On trouve quelques fois des colonnes de marbre de 40 empans de circonférence.⁸

De son côté, Tunis semble avoir été aussi un grand foyer de marbre. Le texte d'Ibn Ḥayyān nous rappelle les dires de al-Bakrī qui avait noté qu' : « A Tunis, les portes de toutes les maisons sont entourées de beau marbre; chaque montant est d'un seul morceau, placé sur les deux autres, forme le linteau. » De là vient le dicton : « A Tunis, les portes de maisons sont en marbre (rukḥām); mais à l'intérieur tout est couvert de suie (sukḥām) ». Manifestement le marbre tunisois provenait des vestiges antiques de la médina, mais aussi des sites romano-byzantins aux alentours dont les plus importants sont Uthina (Udhna) et Carthage bien évidemment.

Parmi les endroits ifriqiyens fournissant le marbre < rose et vert >, Maqqarī cite Sfax. Cette mention est franchement énigmatique car cette ville est une fondation du IX^es. et n'a point de marbre à l'exception de ce qui est utilisé dans les sites antiques avoisinants et tout particulièrement à Thinae (Thinā) (située à 11 km au sud de Sfax). C'est probablement là qu'il y avait l'Eglise évoquée par le texte d'Ibn Ḥayyān repris par Maqqarī. Dans ce cas, Sfax aurait servi de port. Or nous savons que ce dernier était actif durant tout le Moyen Age et avait des liens très intenses avec l'Orient et les pays de la Méditerranée. Le < marbre rose > prélevé dans l'Eglise de Sfax pourrait provenir du site de Chemtou (Shimtū) dont les carrières étaient, nous le savons, une propriété impériale.⁹ Le marbre vert avait, quant à lui, une origine orientale vraisemblablement la Grèce. A vrai dire, le fait que Sfax semble avoir été un port d'export du marbre ne nous semble pas étonnant si l'on sait qu'un voyageur allemand du XVIII^es., le médecin et le botaniste Christian Gottlieb Ludwig déplore lors de sa visite à Gabès (Qābis) en 1733 le manque de ruines

8 Al-Idrīsī 1957, 133.

9 A Chemtou, le marbre est dit < jaune > (*giallo antico*) mais la gamme change du < blanc sale > au < vert >. Communication de Mansour Ghaki.

romaines dans cette ville. Il l'explique par le fait que « les indigènes envoient leurs ruines à Sfax sur des sandales pour qu'elles soient expédiées de là vers l'étranger ».¹⁰

Tunis, Carthage et Sfax étaient donc les trois principales villes ports expéditrices, mais notre source insiste sur le fait que l'Ifriqiya fournissait du marbre. Par ce dernier terme : « Ifriqiya », l'auteur pourrait désigner le pays dans son ensemble, mais il n'est pas exclu qu'il l'appliquait aussi à la ville de Mahdia (Mahdiyya), capitale du pays au X^e s.

Comme nous l'avons vu, au X^e s., l'Ifriqiya orientale était à l'échelle méditerranéenne le principal pourvoyeur de marbre antique. L'existence de sites majeurs connus par leurs parures extravagantes a permis l'exploitation des ruines depuis l'époque byzantine; une exploitation qui ne faiblit pas des siècles durant et qui semble perdurer à la fin du Moyen âge et à l'époque moderne.

L'ampleur du phénomène de récupération est soulignée par Ibn Khaldūn, qui en tant que témoin oculaire résidant à Tunis, nous entretient de l'utilisation massive des pierres de l'aqueduc d'Hadrien. Avec beaucoup de pertinence et d'éloquence, il observe ce qui suit :

... Encore de à nos jours, les gens de Tunis choisissaient leur pierre lors de leurs constructions, ils préféraient celle de l'aqueduc, tant appréciée par les maîtres maçons. Ils passaient plusieurs jours tentant de le démolir et seuls des petits pans se détachèrent après beaucoup de peine et de sueur. C'était un événement que la foule célébrait. J'en ai vu ceci à plusieurs reprises lorsque j'étais jeune.¹¹

Il s'en suit que presque tous les grands monuments du Moyen Age ifriqiyens ont bénéficié des pierres, du marbre et des colonnes antiques. Les exemples sont nombreux, les plus connus sont : les Grandes Mosquées de Kairouan, de Tunis, de Sousse (Sūssa), de Sfax, de Béja (Bāja), de Mahdia. On leur ajoutera les forteresses côtières et les oratoires de la fin du moyen âge tels les mosquées de la Kasbah (Qaṣba) et d'al-Ksar (Qṣar) à Tunis. Dans toutes les villes du pays, tous les oratoires de quartiers ou presque usent des antiquités. Même les demeures privées, celles des aristocrates et même des gens modestes, profitent de cette manne. Bien entendu, une pareille activité méritait un minimum d'encadrement et les juristes ont émis à ce sujet des règles à respecter.

10 Communication de Mounir Fendri qui prépare actuellement l'édition du récit de ce voyageur allemand. Qu'il en soit remercié.

11 Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn 1979, 217, le texte arabe est le suivant :

« وكذلك حنايا المعلقة إلى هذا العهد يحتاج أهل مدينة تونس إلى انتخاب الحجارة لبنائهم وتستجد الصناع تلك الحنايا، فيحاولون هدمها الأيام العديدة ولا يسقط الصغير من جدرانها إلا بعد غضب الريق وتجتمع له المحافل المشهورة. شهدت منها في أيام صبايا كثيرا. والله خلقكم وما تعلمون. »

2 Une activité encadrée

A en croire la littérature juridique le travail de l'extraction des ruines obéit à des normes et se faisait soit individuellement soit dans le cadre d'associations. Des consultations juridiques (*fatwa*, pl. *fatāwā*) ont essayé de répondre à des questions relatives à l'éthique et au droit. Est-il permis de prélever les débris? Comment gérer les sociétés créées à cet effet?

Pour répondre à ces questions nous avons une *fatwa* très importante consignée par al-Burzulī (m. 841/1403). Vu son importance nous avons jugé utile de la reproduire.¹² Burzulī écrit :

Nous avons dit plus haut qu'Ibn Rushd [Averroës] avait mentionné, se référant à Saḥnūn et à d'autres, les différents avis relatifs à la société contractée pour l'extraction d'une part indéterminée de matériaux (enfouis). Ceci doit se faire par analogie à l'association agricole. La société pour l'extraction des ruines ne peut être contractée du fait qu'on ne peut déterminer la quantité finale des objets à dégager, et ce contrairement à la société d'extraction minière dont les résultats pourraient être estimées d'avance.

Concernant la pierre des villes disparues, sache que ces constructions sont celles des Rūm (romains) et qu'on doit leur appliquer la règle précitée. Et qu'on peut, tout compte fait et au final, considérer qu'elles sont une propriété des Musulmans du fait qu'on ne peut connaître, ou espérer connaître, les propriétaires initiaux. Les ruines ainsi possédées par les pauvres sont donc licites. Il est même permis qu'elles soient achetées par les riches. Il est aussi légitime d'en faire bénéficier les Musulmans et les services religieux (*maṣāliḥ*). Mais ceux qui sont prudents pourraient en faire don [...] Mais si ces biens ne peuvent être acquis qu'avec des dépenses et des rétributions, nous sommes alors devant un cas très clair et les *fuqāhā'* considèrent qu'il serait mieux, alors d'engager des nécessiteux pour qu'ils jouissent des bienfaits et des rétributions [...] Plus loin l'auteur ajoute [...] Cette règle s'applique également aux pierres de l'aqueduc monumental de Zaghouan (Zaghuwān), aux ruines de Carthage ainsi qu'aux villes de l'Ifriqiya antéislamiques. Quant aux ruines de Kairouan on doit leur apposer la règle de l'identification du propriétaire de la chose trouvée. En revanche aux ruines de Sabra (Ṣabra) doit s'appliquer la règle relative aux biens (argent) des

12 Mes remerciements s'adressent à mon ami le Professeur Amor Ben Hammadi qui m'a beaucoup aidé

dans la compréhension et la traduction des textes juridiques.

Banū ʿUbayd que nous avons évoqués plus haut et que nous avons dénommés les Mashariqa.¹³

Les idées présentées dans cette première *fatwa* sont affinées dans une deuxième qui complète ce qui est déjà annoncé plus haut. Ainsi à la question : le musulman (sunnite) peut-il recevoir l'héritage d'un chiite (*mashriqī*) qui servait le Sultan ? Nous avons la réponse suivante : « Le chiite est comparable au mécréant. On ne peut donc en recevoir l'héritage, mais en admettant qu'on le puisse légalement, on ne peut l'hériter du fait qu'il est au service du Sultan ». (Ce qui sous entend que tout ce qui est détenu par les gouverneurs est par essence illicite, douteux et souillé). Par voie de conséquence il est admis de s'approprier ses biens et de les considérer comme propriété commune des musulmans. Cette position explique sans aucun doute le sort réservé à Sabra après le retour triomphal du sunnisme au V^e / XI^e siècle.

De ces *fatāwā* se dégagent donc quelques principes qu'il convient de retenir :

- Interdiction de la société participative lorsque le produit du travail est inconnu ou inestimable. (Sont donc interdites les sociétés participatives pour la recherche des ruines) ;
- L'exploitation des ruines antiques est permise du fait que leurs propriétaires sont inconnus et qu'il n'y a aucune possibilité de les connaître. Il est ainsi autorisé de les posséder et de les vendre ;
- Nul ne peut jouir des ruines de Kairouan avant qu'il ne s'assure que l'objet trouvé n'a pas de propriétaire ;
- Les ruines des chiites peuvent être exploitées, car elles ont été acquises illicitement, elles sont donc la propriété des musulmans ;
- L'utilisation des produits de remploi est autorisée voire souhaitable dans les monuments religieux si le produit dégagé répond aux critères de la légalité. Cette dernière observation nous explique sans doute la présence dans la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan d'un fût de colonne comportant la mention « pour la mosquée » (li-l-masjid) que notre ami Ahmed Saadaoui a analysé bien avant nous (Fig. 1).¹⁴

L'importance du phénomène du remploi est également trahie par la multiplication des consultations juridiques qui sont autant de preuves du désir de contrôler et d'encadrer cette pratique qui constituait un secteur économique assez lucratif. Ainsi al-Qābisī avait

13 Al-Burzuli 2002, 278. Sur le terme *mashariqa* cf. Ben Hammadi 1995, 281–304.

14 Qu'il trouve ici mes remerciements et ma reconnaissance pour son aide. On consultera avec intérêt Saadaoui 2008, 295–304.



Fig. 1 Mosquée de Kairouan, mention : « pour la mosquée » sur un fût de colonne.

donné une consultation quant à la possibilité d'utiliser les pierres d'une église à Qastiliya (Tozeur) pour édifier une citerne et une mosquée dessus. L'auteur note que

Abū Zakariyā interrogea le Chaykh Abū l-H'ssan al-Qābīsī sur des églises chrétiennes en ruines dont les musulmans employèrent les pierres pour édifier une citerne destinée aux musulmans et, par-dessus cet ouvrage, une mosquée; la chose est-elle licite? Peut-on se servir de l'eau de cette citerne pour ablutions? La réponse est : si ces églises en ruines l'étaient à l'entrée des musulmans dans la ville et si les chrétiens tributaires (naṣārā-l-dhimma) ne les ont pas occupées par la suite sous l'Islam, il n'y a pas de mal à user de la citerne, ni à prier dans la mosquée. Si les tributaires les ont occupées sans qu'on les en ait empêchés et s'ils en ont eu la libre jouissance depuis la conquête musulmane et que ces églises soient ensuite tombées en ruine sans que les tributaires aient pu les réparer, il n'est pas valable de prendre des pierres de ces édifices car elles sont leur propriété, tant que leur statut de tributaire demeure en vigueur. Si tel est le cas et que les tributaires réclament les pierres qui ont servi à édifier la construction dont vous parlez, ils en ont le droit, à condition qu'il soit possible de récupérer les dites pierres intactes afin qu'ils les utilisent pour effectuer les réfections qui leur incombent. Si au contraire, elles ont été abimées par le remploi, au point qu'après les avoir récupérées, ils ne peuvent plus les utiliser pour construire, ils ont droit à être dédommagés par ceux qui les ont prises et remployées, du montant de ces pierres au moment où elles furent prises dans les ruines, et ils en affecteront le montant à la réfection leur incombant de ces églises. Qu'Allah nous accorde assistance.¹⁵

15 La traduction de cette fatwa est donnée par Hady Roger Idris dans son article : Idris 1975, 105-106.

Comme on le voit, dans cette consultation sont retenues les nuances les plus subtiles et met en relief la volonté d'équité entre musulmans et chrétiens. Le remploi ne pouvait se faire dans l'anarchie, il doit impérativement respecter les droits acquis et préserver les intérêts des uns et des autres. Il n'est permis que si les ruines sont délaissées depuis l'arrivée des musulmans, si au contraire les églises (ou les monuments) ont été propriétés des *dhimmī* après la conquête, l'usage de leurs pierres est strictement prohibé même si ces édifices sont tombés en ruines. Dans ce cas le statut des hommes détermine celui des édifices.

Wansharīsi dans le volume qu'il consacra aux biens de mainmorte (*ḥabus*) a consigné plusieurs requêtes qui soulèvent des cas pratiques que devaient affronter les juristes de l'époque.¹⁶ Les historiens trouvent dans ces questions plusieurs indications qui montrent l'importance du phénomène et la volonté du pouvoir de le régenter à travers ses *fuqahā'*. Parmi les questions nous en retenons quelques-unes. Est-il permis d'utiliser des colonnes d'un monument ancien en changeant leur emplacement initial? Est-il permis de vendre les ruines d'une mosquée délaissée qui se trouvait en face du palais du gouverneur? Est-il licite d'utiliser les ruines amassées dans la cour d'une mosquée et qui proviennent de son sous-sol antique? Est-il permis d'utiliser les ruines d'une mosquée dans une autre? Est-il possible de reconstruire avec les ruines d'une mosquée ensablée? Est-il admis d'user les pierres tombales anciennes? Peut-on vendre les ruines d'un monument constitué bien de mainmorte? Assez souvent les réponses tendent à légitimer et à autoriser la pratique, surtout lorsqu'elle est en faveur des édifices musulmans. En dehors de la position radicale qui interdit l'usage des pierres tombales afin de ne pas les violer, la position communément admise consiste à ôter l'immunité aux biens des *dhimmī*.

Ces *fatwa* et d'autres avaient pour but d'encadrer le mouvement de prélèvement des matériaux de construction; un mouvement qui semble toucher l'ensemble du territoire ifriqiyen et générer un profit assez conséquent. En Orient, mais aussi en Occident, l'exploitation est conditionnée par le fait que la conquête soit réalisée pacifiquement ou par force. Dans le premier cas, le respect des édifices anciens doit être observé, alors que dans le second, il est permis de s'approprier les vestiges des anciens et d'en faire usage.

Manifestement, pour l'Ifriqiya les produits de remploi : pierres de taille, plaques de marbre, colonnes et chapiteaux sont devenus une source de profit et un commerce fructueux qui se déroule à l'échelle du pays mais aussi à l'échelle méditerranéenne. La recherche du gain facile et immédiat dispensait l'ouverture de nouvelles carrières. Une pareille entreprise est non seulement lente mais aussi coûteuse, elle nécessite le recours à une main d'œuvre spécialisée hautement qualifiée. En puisant dans les sites antiques où les produits sont finis et d'une qualité souvent parfaite, il y a une économie d'énergie humaine. Pour cette raison le recours à la réutilisation des matériaux de construction

¹⁶ Cf. al-Wansharīsi 1981, vol. 7 : 31, 39, 59, 63, 73, 79, 103, 105, 138, 143, 153, 165, 204, 226, 242.

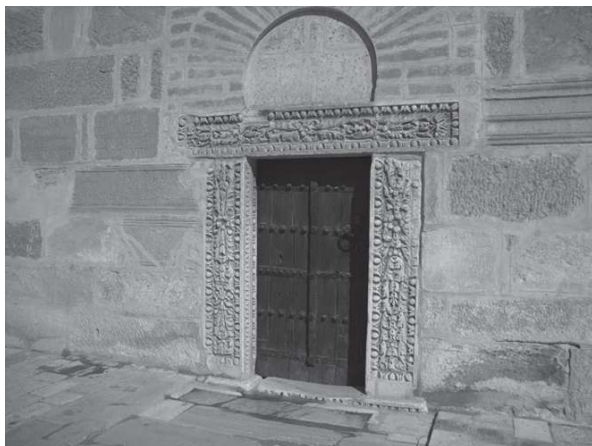


Fig. 2 Entrée du Minaret de la Mosquée de Kairouan avec inscriptions latines.

dans les édifices médiévaux et modernes, ne doit pas être perçu comme étant un signe de décadence ou de déclin. Bien des civilisations en plein essor ont usé de ce procédé, telle fut la situation aux IV^e et V^e siècles ap. J.-C. en Afrique romaine.

3 Le remploi entre le pragmatisme et la recherche du style

Le recours au remploi ne se fait pas toujours en respectant le rôle et les fonctions initiales des éléments récupérés. Il suffit à cet égard de voir les inscriptions latines placées à l'envers sur la façade et sur le seuil du minaret de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan pour le prouver (Fig. 2).¹⁷ Nos constructeurs utilisaient volontiers des chapiteaux en tant que bases de colonnes, ou des tailloirs au-dessus des fûts, ou également des corbeaux en guise de chapiteaux (Fig. 3-5). Pareille pratique se voit dans les monuments officiels mais aussi et surtout dans les édifices modestes à caractère privé.

Mais en dépit de cette « négligence », nous constatons qu'il y a eu, du moins dans les édifices à caractère officiel, un souci évident d'harmonisation et de mise en valeur des pièces les plus belles. La porte du minaret de Kairouan, ainsi que celles de l'entrée des *imâms* (*a'imma*) dans les Grandes Mosquées de Kairouan et de Tunis ont été dotées de montants et de linteaux sculptés fort élégants datant de l'époque romaine. A la Grande Mosquée de Sfax un bas-relief byzantin orne la façade principale (Fig. 6). Nous pensons que son martelage partiel date de la réaction sunnite lors de la coupure avec le Caire en 441 de l'hégire/1050. Il est fort probable que ce bas-relief d'une beauté évidente était encore intact lors de son utilisation dans le monument du IX^e et X^e siècle. Quoique

¹⁷ Delattre 1894, 13-14.



Fig. 3 Corbeau dans le *mibrab* du *ribat* (forteresse [*ribât*]) de Monastir (Munastir).

martelé, la recherche de l'effet ornemental à travers l'affichage du panneau sur la façade principale du plus grand monument de la ville ne fait pas de doute; même si par ailleurs nous sommes sur le terrain de l'image et son acceptation dans la religion islamique!

Mais les architectes et les maîtres maçons, pour réussir une « heureuse mise en scène », ont parfois procédé à des arrangements ou à des modifications; ils attachaient ainsi une grande importance à l'aspect esthétique et cherchaient à produire des édifices aussi élégants que possible.

Pour réussir l'harmonisation, il a fallu d'abord résoudre les différences de hauteur et de largeur « de la forêt » de colonnes récupérées. La solution passait par l'adjonction d'éléments en bois ou en maçonnerie (abaque et sur-abaque) afin de rattraper les différences de tailles. Concernant la largeur, les bâtisseurs ont couplé les pièces ayant le même diamètre; mais quand cela se révèle difficile à réaliser, l'élément inférieur est légèrement plus large que celui du dessus, parfois une taille de la colonne permet de lui donner la taille du chapiteau. Pour les chapiteaux couplés ou adossés à un autre élément, on a procédé à une taille plus ou moins soignée de l'abaque et du deuxième rang de feuilles sur les faces concernées.¹⁸

Mais la volonté la plus manifeste d'harmonisation s'observe dans la salle de prière de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan, où l'utilisation des colonnes semble obéir à une logique parfaite et une symétrie très stricte (Fig. 7). Ainsi, de part et d'autre de cette allée centrale, les colonnes sont triées par taille, par couleurs et par types de chapiteaux. Cet ordonnancement symétrique va se retrouver quelques années plus tard dans les Grandes Mosquées de Sfax et de Tunis (Fig. 8), où l'on remarque le même parti pris avec, au milieu, une nef centrale agrémentée des deux côtés par des fûts ayant les mêmes faciès

18 Harrazi 1982, 213-216.



Fig. 4 Entrée du Ribat de Sousse.

de couleurs, de taille et de chapiteaux. Cet arrangement ne peut être fortuit, il émane d'une réflexion qu'il convient de souligner avec force.

La recherche de symétrie et d'harmonisation est, nous semble-t-il, un facteur d'explication de la mention récurrente dans les sources arabes des « *deux colonnes* » lors d'acquisition ou d'importation de ces éléments. Le chiffre « deux » ne nous paraît pas venir par hasard. Nous savons par al-Bakrī et al-Mālikī que « les deux colonnes en porphyre » qui soutiennent la coupole du Mihrab de la Mosquée de Kairouan provenaient soit d'une qaiṣariya romaine soit d'un fortin byzantin de la cité de 'Uqba.¹⁹ Dans ce cas on aurait alors deux grands moments de remploi. Les récits relatifs à la fondation de la ville chiite d'al-Mansouriya (Maṣṣūriya), livrent une histoire assez semblable; ainsi al-qāḍī an-Nu'mān évoque une grande expédition destinée à ramener deux colonnes rouges de la région du Sahel afin de les utiliser dans le grand palais de la ville califale.²⁰

19 Voir sur cette question Mahfoudh 2003, 150-151.

20 Muḥammad 1978, 333-334.



Fig. 5 Zaouïa Sidi Bou Makhoul (Zāwya Sīdī Bū Maḥlūf) du Kef (Kāf) : chapiteau en guise de base.

L'utilisation de colonnes semblables par leurs tailles et leurs couleurs est le signe évident d'une harmonisation et d'un désir d'embellissement. Sans aucun doute, les commanditaires voulaient avoir une concordance des supports sur tous les plans. Dans les grandes mosquées de Kairouan et de Tunis, les architectes n'ont pas hésité à étendre l'homogénéité du dispositif au-delà de la nef axiale, chaque fois que cela leur était possible. C'est ce qui explique que le milieu des salles de prière de nos deux grands édifices offre une disposition de fûts qui de par leurs couleurs pourraient suggérer l'octogone du Dôme du Rocher. Mais cela nous semble dénué de toutes considérations religieuses, comme l'on pourrait le croire.

La prise en compte de l'aspect artistique se voit aussi au niveau des chapiteaux. A Kairouan, un parti réfléchi a manifestement été pris, car souvent nous avons sur les colonnes jumelées deux chapiteaux de même nature et de même taille. Ce choix délibéré est perceptible au niveau du mihrab où les deux chapiteaux au-dessus des colonnes engagées sont byzantins (Fig. 9). A la Zaytūna, mais aussi dans la Grande Mosquée de Sfax les



Fig. 6 Panneau byzantin sur la façade de la Mosquée ziride de Sfax.



Fig. 7 Nef centrale de la Mosquée de Kairouan : symétrie des couleurs et de styles.

chapiteaux historiés comportant surtout des représentations animalières n'ont été que très peu touchés. Souvent, l'animal n'est que légèrement défiguré.

4 Le remploi : de la réalité au mythe

Outre l'aspect utilitaire et esthétique l'élément remployé peut se révéler parfois un document historique à part entière aussi important qu'un texte ou une inscription sinon plus. Deux exemples, nous occupent ici : le mihrab de Kairouan et la Mosquée d'al-Ksar de Tunis, où la découverte de deux inscriptions latines a engendré des interprétations diamétralement opposées.



Fig. 8 Chapiteau à décor animalier utilisé dans la Zaytūna de Tunis.



Fig. 9 Chapiteau byzantin dans la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan.

Le mihrab de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan se distingue par les panneaux en marbre qui ornent le demi-cylindre de base. Il s'agit de plaques rectangulaires de marbre italien de Carrare sculptées à l'ancienne : en relief et ajourées. Les motifs ornementaux qui sont utilisés sont tous pris dans le répertoire antique de la Tunisie. On y trouve : des perles, des pirouettes, des oves, des palmes et des palmettes, des rectangles posés sur la pointe, des cercles, des feuilles d'acanthe exposées au vent, des grappes de vignes, des coquilles, etc. Ce répertoire suppose que des pièces maîtresses antiques ont influencé les sculpteurs arabes; on pense notamment aux piédroits et linteaux du minaret et de la maqsūra de la Mosquée de Kairouan et à quelques chapiteaux de la salle de prière. Mais, en dépit du

fait que ces plaques sont séparées par des frises inscrites en coufique, l'hypothèse qu'elles aient une origine romaine n'était pas à exclure et avait ses partisans.

Une telle hypothèse, même si elle se fonde sur l'analyse stylistique du décor, s'est révélée erronée, lorsqu'on a découvert, sur le revers de l'une des plaques, une inscription latine qui présente une table de calcul (Fig. 10). A partir de ce document, d'un intérêt incontestable et pour les historiens médiévistes et pour les épigraphistes latinistes, nous avons déduit que nos panneaux sont postérieurs à l'époque romaine et seraient plutôt aghlabides. De ce fait, il y a lieu d'accorder foi aux sources arabes, qui tout en étant tardives, sont unanimes à admettre que le mihrab est aghlabide. Une récente découverte, que l'on doit à l'épigraphiste Luṭfī 'Abadaljawād, confirme d'une façon on ne peut plus manifeste l'origine islamique des panneaux. En effet, au-dessus du registre central orné de coquille se trouve une petite phrase à peine lisible en caractères coufiques dans laquelle on lit : « ceci est l'œuvre du maître 'Allām al-Andalusī » (Fig. 11). Cette dernière découverte prouverait qu'au moins jusqu'au IX^e siècle, les techniques et les sujets décoratifs de la sculpture antique ont perduré avec la même doigté et la même finesse de style. Même des motifs chargés de symbolisme, telle que la vigne, ont été assimilés et intégrés dans l'art musulman de l'Ifriqiya médiévale.

L'interprétation des éléments remployés devrait donc se faire avec la prudence scientifique qui s'impose. Pour illustrer ce propos, nous abordons ici le cas de la Mosquée d'al-Ksar qui est l'une des plus singulières de la médina de Tunis. Située dans le quartier ouest de la ville, dans une zone périphérique, non loin de l'ancienne porte hafside Bāb Manāra et à quelques mètres seulement de l'emplacement des remparts, elle frappe le visiteur par son architecture imposante, ses murs très épais, sa pierre de grandes dimensions et son décor atypique. L'édifice occupe un enclos rectangulaire de 50 m sur 19 m. Sa façade principale donne sur la rue dénommée el-Ksar (al-Qṣar), qui mène vers une petite place aménagée devant l'actuelle Dār Ḥussain. Il se compose de deux organes distincts, disposés en enfilade sur un axe Est-Ouest. L'aile orientale est occupée par la cour et la salle d'ablution, l'aile ouest est réservée à la salle de prière.

La datation de cette mosquée est incertaine. Les uns pensent qu'il s'agit d'une mosquée khorassanide, les autres soutiennent que l'on a affaire à une ancienne église. Robert Brunschvig fut parmi les premiers auteurs à défendre l'idée d'une mosquée khorassanide.²¹ Attribution reprise par la suite par maints chercheurs dont Louis Poinssot, Hédi Roger Idris, Jacques Revault et Georges Marçais. De nos jours, cette thèse, est admise par la grande majorité des chercheurs.²² Or, il se trouve qu'elle ne se fonde ni sur les

21 Brunschvig 1934.

22 Zbiss 1981, 18. cf. aussi du même auteur : Zbiss 1963, 18 et Zbiss 1978, 140; voir aussi Daoulati

1976, 60 et Khaled 1984. L'idée d'une mosquée musulmane est défendue par Hentati 1983-1984, voir surtout p. 86.

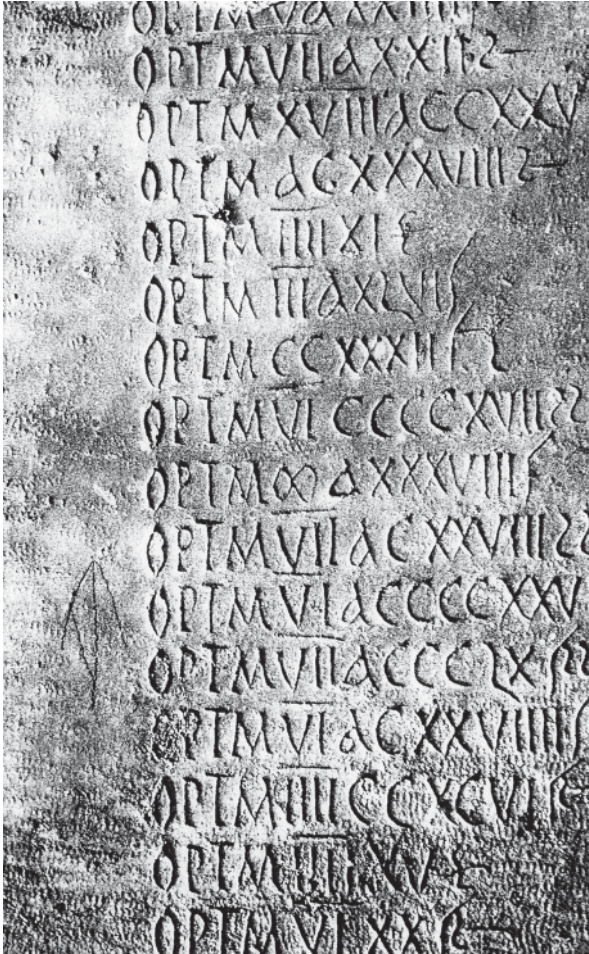


Fig. 10 Grande Mosquée de Kairouan, inscription latine remployée.

écrits anciens, ni même sur la tradition populaire qui, à la fin du XIX^e siècle et au début du XX^e siècle, prétendait que la Mosquée était une ancienne église romaine.

Cette dernière opinion est clairement énoncée par l'architecte français H. Saladin qui, dans son ouvrage sur *Tunis et Kairouan*, paru en 1908 notait :

Si nous retrouvons à Carthage des ruines de l'époque chrétienne, antérieures, contemporaines et postérieures à l'occupation vandale, rien ne subsiste à Tunis des anciennes églises chrétiennes sinon la Djama el Ksar où la tradition orale locale veut voir une ancienne église transformée en mosquée ...²³

23 Saladin 1908, 11-12.



Fig. 11 Grande Mosquée de Kairouan, inscription arabe donnant le nom du sculpteur au mihrab.

L'origine antique de la mosquée est approuvée par un érudit local Muḥammed Bin al-Khūja (Belkhoja) qui écrit en 1939 : « Ce qui est admis et réputé, c'est que cette mosquée était une église au moment de la conquête musulmane. Ceci, dit il, est confirmé par la transmission orale, qui est en soi une preuve irréfutable. »²⁴ Bi al-Khūja fournit une série de preuves qui, selon lui, attestent de l'origine antique du monument.²⁵ Mais la preuve qu'il estimait décisive est la présence d'une inscription latine, perdue croyait-il, mais qui est toujours en place.

Or, l'inscription en question a été publiée par Delattre, elle se trouve sur le linteau de la porte orientale de la salle de prière de la Mosquée.²⁶ Elle donne le texte suivant :

24 Belkhoja Jilānī Bel Hajj Ṣādiq 1985, 165–177.

25 Selon lui les preuves de son ancienneté sont multiples : 1- aucune source arabe ne mentionne la construction de cette mosquée; 2- le mode de construction de l'édifice rappelle celui de l'anté-islam; 3- la technique de décoration de la façade ouest se fait par des voussures comparables à celles des églises d'Italie; 4- la faible profondeur du mihrab

prouve qu'il a été taillé dans un mur d'un monument préexistant; 5- la forme carrée du monument peu courante dans les mosquées médiévales du pays et l'existence d'une inscription chrétienne (disparue nous dit-il) plaident en faveur d'une origine chrétienne (165–177).

26 Delattre 1899.

D O M

VOTIS. ADIACEN : POPULI. SENATU. GENUENSE. FAVENTE. R. Q. {P}
 GREGO : XIII ANNUENTE. EPLI. MENSA. PER. QUINQUENNIIUM. PRAESUL{E}
 CONSULTO. DESTITUTA. CENSUM. MINISTRANTE. AEDIBUS HISCE. SACRIS. ER{ECTIS}
 IULIUS. IUSTUS. SIXTO. V.P.A. ELECTUS. EPUS. EXTREMUM. POSUIT. LAPIDEM.
 UTINAM POSUISSET. ET. PRIMUM. ANN. M. DXC {III}

Ainsi et comme on peut le lire, après la formule *Deo Optimo Maximo*, l'inscription nous apprend que l'église avait été construite pour répondre au vœu du peuple d'Ajaccio, avec l'agrément du Sénat de Gênes et l'approbation du pape Grégoire XIII (1572–1585). Iulius Justus, évêque élu par le pape Sixte Quint (1585–1590) en posa la dernière pierre en l'an 1593. L'inscription se termine par une formule pieuse : Plût à Dieu qu'il eût aussi posé la première pierre : « lapidem utinam posuisset et primum ann. 1593 ».

Il est étonnant d'observer de prime abord que le texte n'a aucune relation avec la mosquée qui nous occupe, il ne s'agit pas non plus d'une inscription latine antique réemployée, ce n'est en fait qu'une inscription tardive dont le texte se rapporte à l'édification d'une cathédrale d'Ajaccio en l'an 1593. D'après Delattre, la plaque a été apportée par « ces pirates redoutables de Tunis. Quelques années plus tard elle avait été collée dans le monument tunisois ». ²⁷ Sans entrer dans les détails, l'explication de Delattre ne nous semble pas très fondée. Il faudra chercher d'autres raisons pour expliquer la présence de cette pierre à Tunis.

On ne peut donc, à partir de l'inscription, parler de la réutilisation d'une ancienne église, ce n'est en fait qu'un élément de remploi, et il n'est pas le seul dans le monument. Louis Poinssot avait publié, lui aussi, un fragment inscrit sur un chapiteau du portique sud-est portant la mention EX. OFFICIANA. LAT/ TICAUNIA. ²⁸

Il n'est peut être pas exclu que ces inscriptions et en particulier celle rapportée de la cathédrale d'Ajaccio aient forgé et fortifié l'idée que le monument était ancien et qu'il avait été une église antérieure à l'arrivée de l'Islam à Tunis, réutilisée par les premiers conquérants. Manifestement, l'interprétation du remploi peut induire en erreur, si on se laisse abuser. L'examen minutieux de l'édifice montre qu'il s'agit plutôt d'une forteresse byzantine. Là les preuves ne manquent pas : des murs très épais de 2 à 3 m. d'épaisseur, un chemin de ronde aménagé dans l'âme du mur, des meurtrières à ébrasement et des oculi dans les parties hautes des murs, etc. La situation du monument fortifie cette dernière observation. ²⁹

²⁷ Delattre 1899, 450.

²⁸ Poinssot 1911, 302–310.

²⁹ Voir Mahfoudh 2003, 185–209.

5 La réutilisation des monuments

Mais le remploi ne se limite pas à la récupération de quelques éléments architectoniques et leur intégration dans un nouveau projet. Une des formes les plus courantes consistait à réaménager un ancien monument en lui donnant une nouvelle affectation. Les exemples sont multiples, ils permettent parfois de comprendre l'histoire d'une ville ou d'un édifice.

En Ifriqiya l'un des cas les plus expressifs est celui de la « basilique du Kef ». Il s'agit d'un monument unique en son genre qui fait partie de la série des « monuments à auges » (Fig. 12). Construit en gros blocs de calcaire local, il mesure 35 m de long sur 25 m de large. Son plan est composé de deux parties distinctes.

- L'atrium : qui est une cour à l'origine carrée, bordée sur les quatre côtés d'un portique continu couvert en voûte d'arête et soutenu par 12 piliers.
- La salle cruciforme : en forme de croix grecque, inscrite dans un carré terminé du côté ouest par une abside en cul-de-four avec trois niches. Cette grande salle, couverte en voûte d'arête, est flanquée de quatre chambres ouvrant sur l'intérieur.

La fonction de ce monument et la date de sa construction ont suscité un grand débat qui a donné lieu à plusieurs hypothèses dont deux méritent l'attention : la première en fait une « horrea » où l'on percevait les impôts en nature ; la datation du monument dans ce cas est antérieure au IV^e siècle comme la plupart des autres monuments à auges découverts dans le pays et situés, d'ailleurs, non loin du Kef. La position de ce monument en haut de la ville, difficile d'accès pour des livraisons massives de céréales, l'absence de silos adéquats, la difficulté de manipulation des auges, sont autant d'inconvénients qui rendent cette hypothèse inacceptable. Quant à la deuxième explication, se référant à la fois au plan grec de la salle, aux chrismes martelés de l'atrium et à l'acrostiche en caractères byzantins sculptée sur l'archivolte du tympan de l'entrée de la salle et terminée par une petite croix grecque, y voit les signes évidents d'un monument à caractère chrétien « officiel » : une basilique.

Nonobstant, et à une date qu'il est difficile de déterminer avec exactitude, mais qui semble remonter au Moyen Âge, le monument a été transformé en Grande Mosquée. Il a fallu tout simplement apporter quelques aménagements minimes. Ainsi, la salle cruciforme a été conservée telle quelle et n'a subi aucun changement, on y a installé les annexes nécessaires notamment la salle d'ablution. Désormais, elle joue le rôle d'une cour latérale couverte. Quant à la salle de prière, elle a été aménagée dans l'atrium avec, là aussi, respect de l'ancien état. Ainsi, l'ajout de quatre colonnes au centre de la cour a permis de créer une salle voûtée de 5 nefs et six travées. Le *mihrab* a été creusé dans



Fig. 12 Salle à auges réutilisée dans une mosquée au Kef.

l'âme du mur. La travée du mur de qibla, se présentant comme un transept, a été dotée d'une coupole qui surmonte le carré du mihrab. Plusieurs ouvertures ont été pratiquées au Nord et au Sud pour faciliter l'accès à la salle et lui fournir la lumière. L'exploitation d'une église et sa transformation pour le culte musulman n'est pas un fait unique. Nous savons que les mosquées de Damas et de Cordoue ont été au début des églises. L'exemple du Kef, nous prouve que cette même pratique a existé en Ifriqiya. Les sources arabes relatives à la conquête semblent confirmer que la ville du Kef (Sicca Veneria/Shiqqa Banāriya des Arabes) fut parmi les cités de la Numidie qui ont été conquises au milieu du VII^e siècle, probablement lors du raid de 647 mené par Ibn Abī Sarḥ. A cette époque, les monuments antiques de la ville étaient en bon état et pouvaient servir pour le nouveau pouvoir et sa religion.

Le réaménagement d'un édifice antique en le conservant ou en lui apportant quelques petites modifications est un phénomène assez rare pour qu'il soit signalé. Car la règle en Ifriqiya consistait à ce que le monument musulman occupe un espace du site antique avec reconstruction du monument qui s'y trouvait, sans souci de continuité. Les exemples sont nombreux et multiples. A Ammaedara/Haidra, un petit oratoire se dresse au cœur de la citadelle byzantine. A Bellalis maior/Henchir al-Fawar (Hanshīr al-Fawār), non loin de Béja (Bāja), et à Ain Tbornok (ʿAin Tuburnuq/Tuburnuc), dans la région de Grombalia, les oratoires sont édifiés avec des matériaux de récupération à l'intérieur des forts byzantins. Une partie de la courtine des forteresses a été intégrée dans l'édifice musulman. Manifestement, ces exemples qui sont pris dans le monde rural traduisent la modestie de ces populations villageoises peu soucieuses des apparences. Mais cela n'est pas toujours valable, du moins dans les grandes villes où il a fallu tout raser. Dans ce

cas, la présence des vestiges s'avèrent utile pour la connaissance des cités antiques. Nous avons pour illustrer notre propos l'exemple de la Grande Mosquée la Zaytūna de Tunis.

6 La Zaytūna : à la recherche des origines !

La Grande Mosquée de Tunis, la Zaytūna est un monument ancien dont on ne connaît pas la date d'érection. Les sources arabes le rattachent au gouverneur Ibn al-Habhâb qui l'aurait fait édifier en 116/734 de l'hégire, un quart de siècle après la conquête de la ville par le lieutenant arabe Ḥassan b. al-Nu' mân. Au IX^e siècle, sous le règne d'Abû Ibrâhîm Aḥmad, le sanctuaire a été entièrement reconstruit. Deux inscriptions, la première couronnant la base de la coupole du mihrâb, la deuxième courant le long de la corniche de la façade de la salle de prière, donnent la date de 250/864. Au X^e siècle, les galeries et la coupole du *babū* ont été ajoutées. Depuis, la Mosquée de Tunis se présente sous la forme d'une salle hypostyle basilicale avec une nef centrale et une travée le long du mur de qibla, plus larges et plus hautes que toutes les autres. La cour qui précède la salle a été dallée et entourée de portiques de tous les côtés. De ce fait on ne connaît pas le monument originel, ni même l'état des lieux avant sa fondation, car les grandes transformations mentionnées ci-dessus ont effacé toutes traces antérieures au IX^e siècle pour lesquelles nous ne possédons que quelques maigres vestiges réemployés.

Les travaux d'entretien et de restauration ainsi que le décapage des murs extérieurs ont permis de mettre au jour les éléments suivants dont l'interprétation est délicate :

- Un petit pan de mur en briques crues à l'ouest de la salle de prière.
- Des murs en pierres de taille de grandes dimensions sur la façade orientale.
- Une tour d'angle circulaire occupant le Nord-Ouest, dotée d'un soubassement de grand appareil et d'un donjon construit en moellons consolidé par un chaînage en *opus africanum*.

L'utilisation de la brique crue, dans un monument où triomphe la pierre, semble être un fait inattendu et intrigant. En effet, Tunis est une ville entourée de collines? Dont certaines sont situées à moins d'un kilomètre, et qui auraient pu servir de carrières! A vrai dire la découverte de ce pan de briques crues ne doit pas nous faire oublier que l'Africa, depuis la plus haute Antiquité, était familière de ce matériau. Il est attesté à Carthage, à Kerkouane (Karkwân), à Thysdrus (al-Jamm), à Thinae et dans les premières réalisations arabes de Kairouan. C'est en somme un matériau ancestral. Mais ce qui nous intrigue dans la brique de la Zaytūna c'est sa taille (0,36 m/0,10 m) qui se rapproche

étrangement de celle très largement employée dans les constructions romaines. En effet, nous savons que le module le plus fréquent chez les Romains était le *pentadoron* qui fait 0,36 m/0,36 m/0,10 cm, module qui diffère de celui de Kairouan, qui est de 0,42 m au début du III/IX^e siècle.

Sans vouloir donner un âge précis au mur en brique de la Zaytūna, il nous paraît évident que le fait que cette partie soit masquée par la construction en pierre du III/IX^e siècle, témoigne de sa relative ancienneté. Nous sommes en face de deux hypothèses.

- La première, la plus plausible, est que ce mur est un vestige d'un monument préislamique, sans doute romain.
- La seconde est que ce vestige remonte à la première époque islamique, dans ce cas comment expliquer que le module n'est pas celui des Arabes?

Cette construction légère s'oppose à celle des murs latéraux maçonnés en gros blocs de calcaire ayant un module assez régulier, reliés par des joints plus ou moins épais (4 à 5 cm). La stéréotomie, de même que la technique du coffrage laissent penser que nous sommes en face d'un mur byzantin. La même technique de construction massive est aussi employée dans la base de la tour circulaire de l'angle Nord-ouest qui est, quant à elle, érigée en moellons avec un chaînage en harpe.

Lucien Golvin admettant que le chaînage en *opus africanum* est caractéristique de la période aghlabide accepte une origine antique de la partie orientale de la mosquée et de la base de la tour d'angle. Les Arabes auraient ainsi récupéré un ancien édifice qu'ils auraient transformé en mosquée. Cette dernière conclusion s'appuie aussi sur le fait que le II/VIII^e siècle a été marqué par un très grand penchant vers le remploi des matériaux antiques. Une tendance qui s'observe dans la totalité des monuments de la première époque arabe et qui nous est confirmée par les textes arabes qui font de Carthage une carrière inépuisable desservant le monde entier. L'idée n'a rien d'étonnant si l'on se rappelle que la Zaytūna se dresse sur un site antique, comme l'a bien démontré P. Gauckler³⁰ et l'a confirmé H. 'Ajābī.³¹ Toutefois, un problème reste posé : celui de la nature du monument ou des monuments auxquels appartenaient le pisé et les murs en pierres de taille. On pourrait penser à une église ancienne, mais cette hypothèse semble peu probable du fait que l'église exhumée par les archéologues du début du siècle se trouvait, stratigraphiquement, à un niveau inférieur par rapport à celui des vestiges qui nous occupent. Il nous semble que la Zaytūna ait été érigée sur un site qui comportait plusieurs édifices, les uns sont bien construits, les autres sont en pisé ou en briques.

30 Gauckler 1907, 791–795.

31 Al-'Ajābī 1982, 20.

Mais, pour s'en assurer il faudra mener plusieurs sondages archéologiques à différents endroits.

7 Conclusion générale

Les idées sur lesquelles nous insistons et qui méritent la rétention sont :

- L'Ifriqiya était au sein de la Méditerranée le pays le plus riche en matériaux de construction et en marbre antiques.
- Au Moyen âge de grandes quantités de ces produits ont été exploitées dans les monuments du pays et exportées à l'étranger, surtout en Espagne.
- L'extraction du marbre et des colonnes antiques était encadrée juridiquement et se faisait parfois dans le cadre d'associations professionnelles de métiers.
- Les matériaux ont été utilisés pour leurs commodités mais aussi pour leurs effets artistiques.
- Quelques pièces remployées peuvent se révéler des documents historiques d'une importance insoupçonnée.
- Le remploi ne doit pas se limiter aux pièces architectoniques isolées mais doit tenir compte de la réaffectation des monuments anciens.

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Reuse and Redistribution of Latin Inscriptions on Stone in Post-Roman North-Africa

Summary

The article examines the redistribution and reuse of Latin stone inscriptions in Maghreb North Africa from late antiquity to the colonial era. Successive modes of reclaiming the carrier, the script on it or both are discussed.

Keywords: Archaeology; epigraphy; Algeria; Tunisia; Libya; history of science; spolia; re-use.

In diesem Beitrag wird die Umverteilung und Wiederverwendung römischer Inschriften im nordafrikanischen Maghreb von der Spätantike bis in die Kolonialzeit untersucht. Im Mittelpunkt steht dabei der sich mit der Zeit wandelnde Umgang mit den Inschriftenträgern und den Texten.

Keywords: Archäologie; Epigraphie; Algerien; Tunesien; Libyen; Wissenschaftsgeschichte; Spolien; Wiederverwendung.

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I Introduction

Unlike most archaeological artefacts inscriptions are exceptionally well documented. Academic documentation, which started rather early, often contained information on locations of inscriptions before they were potentially concentrated in lapidaria and depositories or re-arranged in excavation sites. Thus the distribution of inscribed blocks from Roman times at least during the last centuries is generally much better retrievable than the locations of archaeological material in general.

Inscriptions offer a diagnostically extravagant case, as they consist of a carrier and a text inscribed on it. Motivations of re-use might differ according to the amount of interest devoted to the qualities of the carrier (e.g. as simple building material) or to the text (as something markedly uncommon and usually recognizable as ‘old’).

Inscriptions allow for a particular encounter of researchers and ‘common people’. As archaeology and partly history as academic practices developing in recent times cannot be regarded as anthropologically self-evident, the quest for old artefacts is often conceived by outsiders as search for mundane material wealth – for hidden ‘treasures’. A search for stone blocks inscribed with texts offers the opportunity to avoid this misapprehension – unless the texts are suspected to contain information leading to ‘treasures’.

2 The loss of the “epigraphic habit” of Graeco-Roman antiquity

Graeco-Roman antiquity witnessed an excessive production of durable and openly advertised inscriptions on stone – texts to commemorate public affairs and honours, donations of buildings or the lives, deeds and merits of individuals. Put on display in a closely built-up urban environment, which included an inestimable multitude of figural representations of likewise honorific and commemorative functions, these inscriptions accumulated to public archives of civic history as it was seen by local elites and – in the case of grave inscriptions – also broader social groups.

This situation did not even survive the final phase of Roman North Africa. Late antiquity was characterized by a considerable transformation of the urban model of the foregoing centuries. By the 6th century CE hardly any city resembled its predecessor of the 4th century.¹ This transformation included the reduction of extension and intraurban density, accompanied by the dismantling of no longer used edifices – and the introduction of new building types like city defences and churches. Dismantling provided much of the material that was needed for new building; re-use of old material

1 Recent syntheses: Leone 2007; Altekamp 2013.

restricted the amount of dilapidated constructions, which otherwise would have been left as disfiguring ruins.

Late Graeco-Roman antiquity marked a sharp break with earlier habits of producing and displaying inscriptions. Although new public and private inscriptions were still supplied in the Byzantine period – even if to largely restricted numbers² – the corpus of earlier inscriptions that had been amassed during centuries was largely disposed of, whereas in previous times inscriptions kept in the public sphere had been deeply stratified, ranging from very ancient up to contemporary times. It is amazing to detect, how even cemeteries were emptied up and some newly erected buildings, especially fortresses, turned to new types of depositories of their cities' history, as they contained inscriptions of whole ranges of major public buildings, like the fortresses of Mustis³ (al-Krīb) or Ksar Lemsā⁴ (Qaṣr al-Limsa, Limisa, both Tunisia).

Late antiquity was only the first of many phases to transform the Roman cultural landscape of North Africa. The characteristics especially of late antique metamorphosis are still roughly traceable, as many sites had been given up in successive times or simply had kept individual constructions essentially in their late antique state (like some defence works). Thus common late antique patterns of re-use of inscribed stones are retraceable as well: the poor regard to their traditional function and their content, their general downgrading to building material, but the continuing display of many inscribed surfaces, even if under conditions that did no longer enable or even encourage reading (see below). Successive situations of survival and distribution of Roman inscribed stones are mostly much less well known, especially what their employment in situations other than important mosques and defence buildings is concerned. Thus many aspects particularly of every-day or local responses to available old stones with inscribed Latin texts on them remain unclear. For the first time an overall re-use and distribution pattern emerges from the epoch of advanced systematic documentation, i. e. in the 19th century CE. The state of affairs made explicit at that time, however, involves many situations frozen in during much earlier periods likewise only very recently created allocations.

3 Reading

Most Latin inscriptions of North Africa produced over centuries lost their functions as texts displayed for public reading at a time when their language was still the dominant means of communication. Although many of them were displayed with inscribed sides turned visible in various contexts of re-use, it is obvious (as it remains puzzling)

2 Durliat 1981.

4 CIL VIII no. 12,026–12,057.

3 M. G. Schmidt 2009, 310.

that hardly any attention was paid to their content any more – as many inscriptions were turned upside down, re-used at levels too elevated to allow reading⁵ or broken into fragments relocated at different positions. Structurally, the late antique allocation of old and re-used inscriptions is already reminiscent of situations in which intended reading can be excluded for cultural reasons: individual inscriptions are found in analogous conditions, e. g., in the late 6th century CE Byzantine fortress of Ain Tounga (‘Ain Tunqa, Thignica, Tunisia) and in the minaret of the Great Mosque at Kairouan (Qairawān), probably from the earlier 9th century CE⁶: they are placed at eye level, but alternatively in correct orientation or upside down and in a fragmented state so that a potential reader would miss parts of the content anyway.

Latin speaking communities lived on in North Africa well after the Arab conquest, but mastery of the language impoverished, while it did not assume any function as an instrument of intercultural communication. Newly produced Latin inscriptions on tombs are still known from Ain Zara (‘Ain Zarā) and en-Ngila (an-Niqla) in Tripolitania⁷ or from Kairouan⁸ up to the 11th century CE, but eventually knowledge of writing and even reading Latin faded out.

North Africa stood out within the Arab empire as a region where the new elites made no use of their predecessors’ language of administration and memory⁹ – unlike the Muslim East and unlike the far West, al-Andalus. Even centuries later only a thin line of pre-Islamic literary tradition had affected the rich Maghrebian historiography, obviously informed by learned interest in some late antique Latin authors like Orosius or Isidore of Seville in Muslim Spain.¹⁰ The very restricted knowledge of pre-Islamic conditions of North Africa still displayed in Leo Africanus’ “Cosmographia et geographia de Affrica” (1526) can be regarded as symptomatic for this phenomenon of commemorative discontinuity.¹¹

When the Fatimid caliph al-Manṣūr (946–953 CE) launched a war campaign against a Berber opponent (946–948 CE), he visited and studied some historical places the army came along, as is reported by an eyewitness reporting on the war.¹² Nobody in the caliph’s entourage was able to decipher Latin inscriptions. So locals reading Latin were asked to help, but they only partly succeeded.¹³

5 The frequent CIL autopsy remark “telescopio usus” points to corresponding positions.

6 Mahfoudh 2003, 153–161.

7 Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 21–22.

8 Mahjoubi 1966.

9 Strohmaier 1999, 163; Schmitt 2003.

10 Vallvé Bermejo 1967; Molina 1984; Toral-Niehoff 1999; Hurusiyus 2001; Mahfoudh and Altekamp (in press).

11 In general: Siraj 1995. On Leo Africanus: Cresti 2009.

12 Probably by the military judge al-Marwarrūdhi: Halm 1987, 252.

13 Two inscription at two different sites were studied: Halm 1984, 195–197; Halm 1987, 252; Halm 1996, 325–326.

At the beginning of the 14th century CE the traveller at-Tijānī describes the arch of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus at Tripolis (Ṭarābulus = Oea) on which “several lines in Latin characters” had been visible. A Tripolis inhabitant explained to him that his father had looked out for a Christian to decode the inscription and only after great efforts succeeded in receiving a translation, which is cited by at-Tijānī, but offers a shortened and rather free version of the original text.¹⁴

Many centuries passed during which for the inhabitants of North Africa Latin inscriptions meant objects of (special) provenance with conspicuous, but undecipherable signs on them. As we will see, there could be various ways to pay attention to them, but obviously they were not read – at least in the strict sense of a perception of those contents laid down in the Roman era.

Several inscriptions with invocations of pagan gods or with explicit Christian invocations or symbols were visibly re-used – even in mosques (see below). If they did not assume an apotropaic function, one is left with the simple fact that the content played no role, as it was not taken as such.

This constellation of re-use of non-read texts changed drastically with the arrival of European travellers first, and colonizers later. From the beginning inscriptions belonged to the favourite objects of interest of learned visitors, as they promised to ‘speak’ of antiquity. Inscriptions were a first-rate source of ancient local history, which was not reported by those literary sources, which had been available long before. The clue to the historical reading of the inscriptions was knowledge of Latin. While this knowledge was absent in the lands in which ancient inscriptions in that tongue abounded, virtually every early European traveller disposed of a decent knowledge of the dead language. Therefore the Latin reading travellers were able to transform the intricate, but ‘mute’ landscape of Latin inscriptions, as they had been distributed over centuries and presented themselves scattered and often enclosed in later buildings for defence, cult, living or at other places, into an expressive landscape of specific knowledge about political, religious and cultural institutions of the region during a specific era of its ancient history. This acquaintance with aspects of the region’s past added to the fatal conviction of being culturally at home.

Assia Djebar recalls anecdotes and reports of the French conquest of Alger in 1830, when even interpreters failed to communicate with the besieged (as they were not acquainted to the spoken Arab of the area).¹⁵ Simultaneously, the army started to act on the ground as on belonging territory. The antagonists of colonialism were divided by power, but also by competences. On the side of the colonizers, lacking knowledge of nature and culture of the subdued country was compensated by techniques to acquire military, economic and administrative command. Technocratic control relied on skills

14 Al-Tijani 1853, 154.

15 Djebar 1985.

to transform the country's complex realities into codified representations, which supported the instruments of force to govern. These representations included maps, statistics, all other forms of classification, imaging tools like the emerging photography – and Latin. The Latin language was a primary tool to open up systematically an (allegedly) historical background and a precedent to the situation of the 19th century CE. Whereas archaeological remains tend to reflect long-term economic and cultural developments of a predominantly anonymous character, inscriptions offered a key to military, institutional, genealogical and prosopographical aspects of Roman North Africa. Identifying, reading and publishing as many Latin inscriptions as possible became a preferential tool to illuminate an ancient world as model for the colonial one and to present oneself as being familiar with this world. Epigraphy became the most active branch for the study of antiquity in North Africa. In the late 19th century CE the intensity of epigraphic research was further fuelled by international competition, as French activities were supplemented by the megalomaniacal *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, launched by the Prussian Academy of Science, which for the sake of autopsy sent its own emissaries into the territory.¹⁶ And – by the way – as late as in the 1940s CE lack of epigraphic competences (i.e. of comprehending Latin inscribed in stones) could be the most severe professional accusation between academics.¹⁷

Knowledge of Latin, indispensable for epigraphic studies, had integrating and segregating effects. The integrating impact made itself felt on the side of the colonizers. As Latin was part of any higher school curriculum, educated Europeans mastered sufficient skills to spell out and to transcribe Latin inscriptions in a decent way. Bringing Latin inscriptions to public knowledge thus became a kind of common project of the colonial society, in which members of very different professional orientations (from militaries to the clergy) could participate.

On the other hand, the Latin language obviously caused segregation. Even if the Latin script spread once again in the Maghreb and the French (and later Italian) tongues were introduced as languages of administration and higher education, Latin as language remained a European domain. Reading Latin continued to be a symbol of a 'learned' way of appropriation of the Maghreb on behalf of the Europeans as opposed to a 'lived' cultural rootedness on the site of the Maghrebians. This rift is incorporated in a little anecdote from the travel report of Victor Guérin who reports:

Au moment où j'allais abandonner les ruines de cette ville, un vieillard de la localité m'apprend qu'il a vu, dans son enfance, une grande pierre revêtue d'une longue inscription et qui depuis a été enfoui. Le prenant aussitôt pour guide,

16 Irmscher 1987.

17 Bartoccini 1942.

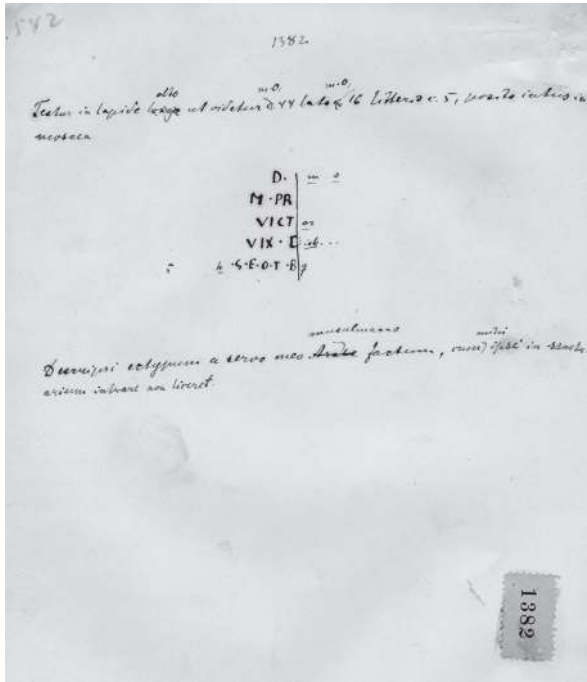


Fig. 1 Latin inscription, re-used in the interior of the Great Mosque of Testour (Tastūr = Tichilla, Tunisia). Record card of CIL VIII no. 1382 by Gustav Wilmanns: “Descripti ectypum a servo meo musulmano factum, cum mihi ipsi in sanctuarium intrare non liceret.”

je me dirige vers l’endroit où il me conduit, et la nuit me surprend au milieu des fouilles que je fais exécuter sur ce point. [...]

Les indications du vieil Arabe sont parfaitement vraies, car, étant revenu vers six heures du matin au point où j’avais commencé à faire fouiller la veille, je découvre un long bloc à peu près intact, sauf quelques brisure.¹⁸

Whereas the local knowledge of the villager ensures the discovery of the inscription, the French traveller instantly recognizes that the hardly uncovered text reveals the previously unknown ancient name of the place: Sufes (Sbiba, Sabība Tunisia).¹⁹

Similar episodes of a ‘collaborative’ identification of inscriptions – of local spatial knowledge combined with European reading – are included in the – Latin! – commentaries of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* at several instances.²⁰ A related entry reported local memory of a recent manipulation of an ancient inscription.²¹

In a few instances, Muslim assistants or other helpers provided squeezes of inscriptions recovered in mosques, which remained inaccessible to ‘infidels’, among them the researchers from Christian Europe (Fig. 1).

18 Guérin 1862a, 371.

19 Guérin 1862a, 372.

20 The position of an inscription is recalled after 20 years: CIL VIII no. 5230 – An inscription is shown

The rich epigraphic harvest was successfully banned into voluminous editions. Gradually the content of tens of thousands of inscriptions diffused into the analyses and narratives of ancient history. The hunt for inscriptions calmed down, simultaneously the ‘public’ knowledge of Latin on the site of the Europeans faded. De-colonisation did not improve the reputation of this ancient language, which could be blamed as a symptom of colonial rule (in Libya, the Latin script had been banned from official signposting).²²

Today Latin is arcane knowledge also in the West, reading Latin in North African studies is a marginalized competence of specialized European and Maghrebinian scholarship.

In their current allocations, Latin inscriptions (as applied on their original physical carriers) are basically unread again.

4 Patterns of re-use and distribution from the Arab conquest to the eve of the colonial regimes

Re-using material leftover from Roman production remained an ongoing practice throughout this period. Therefore it is important not to neglect chronology and a possible periodization of patterns or re-use and distribution.

It should be further taken into account that demand of or interest in objects which significantly reveal themselves as ‘old’ (e.g. by ‘ancient’ scripts on them) are likely to respond to different conditions of local situations, even when they were transferred from prior contexts.

Openly displayed Latin inscriptions were widely distributed; they appear in public monuments and private dwellings, in buildings of cult, defence, work and living. Obviously, the inscriptions were not read in a ‘literal’ sense. But it is hard to assume that visibility of inscriptions only occurred at random, just when inscribed sides of building blocks happened to turn outside during construction. If visibility of inscribed surfaces was not prevented, it was intended.

Motives of intention to keep the inscriptions visible could have been multiple and this argument will be restricted to the presentation of a few systematized speculations:

after walking three quarters of an hour: CIL VIII no. 8243 – “Les indigènes se rappellent une pierre carrée avec inscription”: CIL VIII no. 10,992.

21 CIL VIII no. 10,230: “Inscription recueillie par un Arabe sur la pente du Djebel Aurès à Tecoult chez

les Touabas. Quelques lettres, dit-il, ont été récemment gravées par les Kabiles [Anonymus].”

22 Benseddik 2006, 69–70 points especially to Algeria, where Latin has been perceived more widely as the alphabet of the colonizers and the language of Christians.

12331 (= Eph. VII n. 86) in lapide alto m. 0,36, lato 1,97, litt. 0,08—0,035; rep. in sacello Sidi Augeb prope Bu Djelida, ubi supra portam muri positus est.

S A T V R N O ◊ A C H A I A E ◊ A V G · S A C R
 P R O · S A L ◊ I M P · C A E S ◊ A N T O N I N I ◊ A V G · P I I · P · P
 G E N S · B A C C H V I A N A · T E M P L V M ◊ S V A · P E C · F E C E R V N T · I D · D E D I C ·
 C A N D I D V S · B A L S A M O N I S · F I L · E X ◊ X I · P R · A M P L I V S · S P A T I V M · I N · Q V O · T E M P L V M · F I E R E T
 D O N A V I T ·

Descriptimus et ectypum sumpsimus. Acceptam a Bordier et Tauzia de Lespin edid. *Cagnat bull. du comité* 1885 p. 154; iterum ab ipsis descriptam Cagnat et Reinach *comptes-rendus de l'acad.* a. 1885 p. 260.

1 cum *Saturno Achaiae* editores comparant *Cererem Graecam* n. 10564 (cf. etiam *graecosacraneam deae Cereris* VI n. 1780) adduntque fortasse eo nomine Saturnum in hoc templo cultum distinctum esse a Saturno Punico. — 3 *gens Bacchuiana* intellegenda est res publica, sive pagi instar fuit sive civitatis, cui undecimprimi praeerant et, nisi fallor, etiam princeps ac decuriones (sive seniores). Conferendae sunt quae prius in titulis Africanis prodierunt gentes *Severi* . . . n. 883 cf. infra n. 12386, *Saboidum* n. 7041, *Serteitana* 8813. 8814. 8826. 8828, *Suburbur(ensium)* n. 10335 (*res publica gentis S.*) 8271, *Ueutaman* . . ., aliae, omnes eodem fere modo constitutae.

Fig. 2 Latin inscription re-used as door lintel in a small sanctuary at Bu Djelida (Bū Jalida, Gens Bacchuiana, Tunisia): “SATVRNO ACHAIAE AVG” CIL VIII no. 12,331.

Basically the decorative or ornamental character of script should be kept in mind. A carefully carved Roman Capitalis produces an eye-catching artefact, and even sloppy scripts from texts of humble or late antique origin provide the kind of aesthetic appeal lettering or writing characters in stone hardly ever fails to evoke.

Many inscriptions appear in positions that suggest a culturally more loaded significance than decor or ornament. This leads to the question in which respect the pre-Islamic provenance of the Latin inscriptions could have directed their allocation and display. It already has been mentioned that several inscriptions of decidedly religious content (pagan and Christian) appeared in prominent positions of relocation. Most remarkable in this context is the display of religious Latin inscriptions in mosques or related religious buildings (Figs. 2–3).²³

Whereas, as argued, the content was not read, pre-Islamic inscriptions in general could have been placed in religious buildings to fulfil an apotropaic function, to neutralize pagan or Christian spirituality or to demonstrate a triumphalist attitude. In this perspective, religious texts of gone civilizations in buildings of the governing religion only haphazardly found their way to these destinations – as a considerable percentage

23 E.g. Mena (Minā, Algeria): CIL VIII no. 2467 (“IOVI OPTIMI MAXIMI”) – Bu Djelida (Bū Jalida, Gens Bacchuiana, Tunisia): CIL VIII no. 12,331 (“SATVRNO ACHAIAE AVG”) – Slougiah (Slūqiya, Chidibbia, Tunisia): CIL VIII no. 1326–1327 (= 14,874–14,875) (“HYGIAE AVG SAC” / “IOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO”) –

Tarābulus (Oea, Tripolis, Tripolitania): IRT no. 229 (“APOLLINI SACRUM”) – Sidi ben Gammu (Sīdi bin Qammu, Tripolitania): IRT no. 852 (“DIS MINIBUS SACRUM Q LICINI”) – el-Msufin (al-Mašūfin, Tripolitania): IRT no. 863 (“ΑΩ” + Chi-Rho).

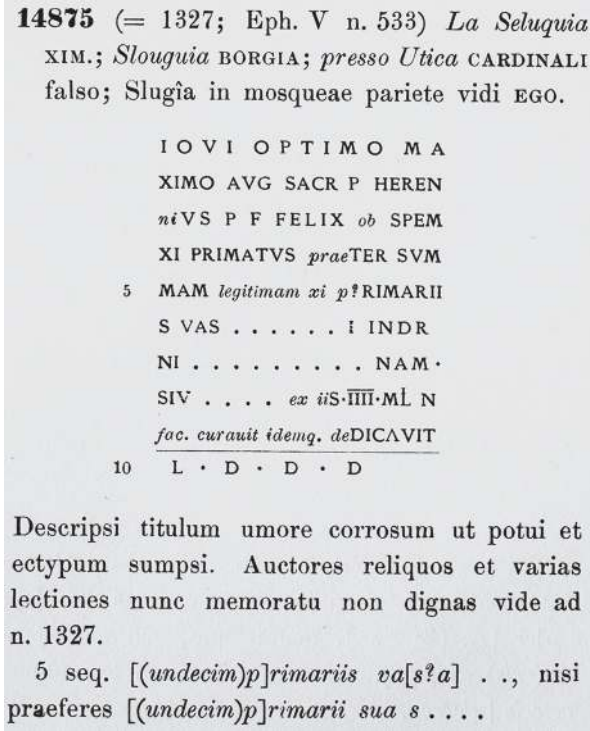


Fig. 3 Latin inscription, incorporated in a mosque wall at Sloughiah (Slūqiya, Chidibbia, Tunisia): “IOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO”. CIL VIII No. 14.875.

of Latin inscriptions in general had religious connotations. They were not set as specifically religious, but as ancient pre-Islamic texts.

Religious pagan and Christian inscriptions also occur in private houses, but again it seems difficult to deduce a more specific significance beside that of Latin inscriptions in general. Attention, however, should be paid to particular positions in houses.

A Latin inscription placed as threshold of an inn at Thala (Tāla, Tunisia) displayed an apotropaic magical formula set between the depiction of a plant and a phallic representation (Figs. 4–5).²⁴

In Roman antiquity, thresholds often contained adhortative or prohibitive messages. The new allocation as threshold of the inn thus (coincidentally?) corresponded to a prior practice. If the Latin script was not read, the magical sense of the verse escaped initiators as well as inn users. However, the ancient script as such and the visual signs on it were recognized. Because of these attributes, the stone could have assumed an apotropaic function, protecting against the Evil Eye. The position of this particular stone possibly gives a hint to a potential apotropaic function of Latin inscriptions set

24 CIL VIII no. 11,683 (“HOC VIDE VIDE ET VIDE VT (POSISIS PLVRA VIDERE”) – Ghaliā 1991, 259.

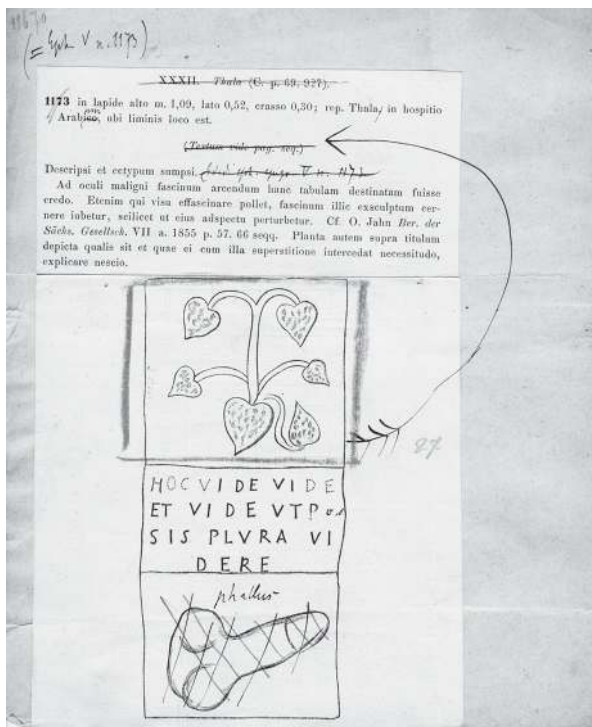


Fig. 4 Latin inscription, re-used as threshold of an inn at Thala (Tunisia): “HOC VIDE VIDE ET VIDE VT P(OS) SIS PLVRA VIDERE”; with detailed drawing of imagery. Proof for publication as CIL VIII no. 11.683.

as thresholds. Visual images others than scripts (but below the level of fully developed figural representations) could have invited to assume an apotropaic meaning even more easily.

At Henchir Metkides (Hanshīr Makkidās, Tinfadi, Algeria) an ancient inscribed block with a Chi-Rho monogram (“Christos”) was used as the threshold of a private house.²⁵ The optically conspicuous sign possibly decided the choice of this stone for this location – to fulfil an apotropaic function. Correspondingly, also at Testour (Tastūr, Tichilla, Tunisia) a gravestone with Chi-Rho added to the lettering was set as threshold of a private dwelling.²⁶ For a potentially more complex motivation of choosing the stone especially at Testour see below.

In a different position, i. e. in the wall of a private house at El-Kef (al-Kāf, Sicca Veneria, Tunisia), a stone was placed with a conspicuous visual marker – the cross –, accompanied by the Christian battle cry “IN HOC SIGNUM [sic] SEMPER VINCES. AQ”²⁷

25 CIL VIII no. 16.756.

26 CIL VIII no. 1390.

27 CIL VIII no. 1767.

11683 (= Eph. V n. 1173) in lapide alto m. 1,09, lato 0,52, crasso 0,30; rep. Thala in hospitio Arabum, ubi liminis loco est.



HOC VIDE VIDE
ET VIDE VT POS
SIS PLVRA VI
DERE

phallus

Descripsi et ectypum sumpsi.

Ad oculi maligni fascinum arcendum hanc tabulam destinatum fuisse credo. Etenim qui visu effascinare pollet, fascinum illic exsculptum cernere iubetur, scilicet ut eius adspectu perturbetur. Cf. O. Jahn *Ber. der Sächs. Gesellsch.* VII a. 1855 p. 57. 66 seqq. Planta autem supra titulum depicta qualis sit et quae ei cum illa superstitione intercedat necessitudo, explicare nescio.

Fig. 5 Same inscription as fig. 4 with reduced representation of imagery. CIL VIII No. 11.683.

Significant visibility of Latin inscriptions in post-Roman contexts is attested in cities which continuously remained urban centres²⁸ as in settlements of rather recent appearance like villages founded by refugees from Andalusia as late as the 16th or 17th centuries CE.²⁹ In both cases vicinity to ancient monuments is a necessary, but not a sufficient con-

28 E.g. Beja (Bāja, Vaga, Tunisia): CIL VIII no. 1216ff. 14,394ff. – El Kef (al-Kāf, Sicca Veneria, Tunisia): CIL VIII no. 1626ff. 15,829ff. – Thala (Tāla, Thala, Tunisia): CIL VIII no. 11,677ff. – Gafsa (Qafṣa, Capsa, Tunisia): CIL VIII no. 101ff. – Qasantinah (Qasantīna, Cirta; Constantine, Algeria): CIL VIII no. 6939ff. 10,298ff.

29 Like Testour (Tastūr, Tichilla, Tunisia): CIL VIII no. 1,353ff. or Slougiah (Slūqīya, Chidibbia, Tunisia): CIL VIII no. 1,326ff. in the Medjerda (Majardā) valley. – On Andalusian immigration to Tunisia see Latham 1986. – For Slougiah see Ben Abdallah and Ben Hassen 1992, 294–295.

dition of the phenomenon. General considerations of re-use patterns of old objects of restricted availability may suggest a more collective commemorative function or a more individual competitive interaction.

In the first case the public presence of ancient objects, the old age of which was attested by a no longer used or even no longer readable script on them, could have added to a sentiment of civic pride in the time-honoured venerability of the place. Arab authors repeatedly mention ancient inscriptions at Carthage, which allegedly testify episodes of a very remote past – which in this case is imaginatively related to history recorded in the Koran.³⁰ Thus, interest in old ages could have especially fit the historic cities with continuity of settlement.

But also new settlements – close to ancient ruins – could have established a link to the tradition of their location by referring – via display – to physical remnants of earlier residency. In this case the distribution of inscriptions to private houses could have added an indicator of domestic prestige, maybe based on the accessibility of resources (inscribed stones) or on luck of discovery.

By the way – an analogous practice can be observed in some Algerian farmer settlements during the colonial era; the later custom is willy-nilly accepted by the archaeologists of the time, who grudgingly praised the spirit of the settlers having turned their houses into a collective village museum (see below).

The case of the villages of Andalusian immigrants might provide a further motive for – collective and individual – interest in Latin inscriptions: Refugees from Spain unlike their new neighbours in the Maghreb were accustomed to a cultural environment in which the Latin script – if not the tongue – was in ubiquitous current use. Thus collecting bits and pieces with Latin letters on them could have been reminiscent of a particular aspect of the visual culture in the lands from which they were forced to go. If this had been the case, the frequent inscriptions in the mosques of Testour or Slougiah could have assumed a more explicitly triumphant significance. But to which extent was the Latin script read by the newcomers from Andalusia? In this context the “HYGIAE AVG SAC” and “IOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO” inscriptions in the mosque of Slougiah³¹ are of special interest.

It has also to be remembered that a gravestone with a Chi-Rho monogram on it appeared as a threshold of a private house at Testour (Fig. 6). The house dwellers probably were very aware of the cultural context of this sign (see above).³²

In several recorded instances, stone slabs inscribed in Latin were re-used to cover the graves at Muslim cemeteries.³³ If, as assumed, Latin was not recognized for the content

30 Mahfoudh and Altekamp (in press).

31 CIL VIII no. 1326–1327 (= 14,874–14,875).

32 On Testour see Saadaoui 1996.

33 Qusantinah (Cirta; Constantine, Algeria): CIL VIII no. 7409 – Henchir Ras Beker (Hanshir Ra's Bakr, Algeria): CIL VIII no. 17755–17756 – Tibissa (Theveste; Tébessa, Algeria): CIL VIII no. 16,626 –

5 Patterns of re-use and distribution in the colonial and post-colonial eras

European investigation of Latin inscriptions in North Africa, which already had become a regular phenomenon before, was enormously intensified with the beginning of the colonial era. The only ever attempted snapshot of the spatial distribution of all existing Latin inscriptions originated from this period. Its initial phase resulted in two processes:

a) Researchers swarmed out to identify and document inscriptions. Their commentaries kept records of the allocations of inscriptions where encountered. These records give an unrivalled insight in a palimpsest of successive patterns of distribution and usage up to the 19th century CE. As the present allocation of many inscriptions recorded for this ‘inventory’ is not known (if the stones still exist at all), the survey remained unique and might prove to be unrepeatable. The moments of identification and documentation produced a maximum of encounters between researchers and population, which could not fail to change drastically and irrevocably attitudes towards Latin inscriptions.

Even extensive journeys could have been made exclusively to collect or publish inscriptions – as that of Victor Guérin in 1860.⁴² Archaeological excavations that did not provide enough inscriptions could be regarded as “*série noire*.”⁴³

Researchers now aspired completeness and for this goal accepted great exertions⁴⁴ and even life danger.⁴⁵ Gustav Wilmanns died of exhaustion after having documented some 15 000 inscriptions during two campaigns to Tunisia and Algeria in 1873/1874 and 1875/1876.⁴⁶

Binoculars were used to read distant letters, squeezes obtained to facilitate independent research at home.⁴⁷ If necessary, inscriptions were dug from foundations⁴⁸ or liberated from limewash.⁴⁹ No fragment was too tiny or insignificant to be included,⁵⁰ eventually even lost texts were established thanks to imprints they left in bedding materials.⁵¹

42 Guérin 1862a, V.

43 Duval and Hallier 1971, 3/6 note 1: a church excavation at Sbeitla (Sbaytla, Sufetula, Tunisia) in the early 20th century CE.

44 CIL VIII no. 17211: *recognovi stans in nive et sole occaecatus*.

45 CIL VIII no. 35: *sed periculis pressus amisi schedulam, in qua descriptum erat, neque iterum eodem reverti placuit, cum quia id sine vitae periculo fieri non poterat*.

46 Theodor Mommsen in: Wilmanns 1881, XXXI: *Gustavus Wilmanns [...] peragravitque primum per annos 1873 et 1874 regnum Tunetanum, deinde per duos sequentes provincias Algerienses, colluctatus non solum cum incepti vastitate unius viri viribus vix exuperabilis*

caelique inclementia, sed etiam cum hominum animis infestis non Arabum, sed Gallorum.

47 CIL VIII no. 11,319: *recognovi telescopio usus a. 1882 et contuli ectypum photographicum subministratum a Cagnato; item recognovit Cagnat a. 1886 et ectypum contulit idem*. – CIL VIII no. 11,326: *contulit Wilmanns telescopio usus; recognovi ipse item oculis armatis*.

48 El Kef (Sicca Veneria, Tunisia): CIL VIII no. 1628 (Guérin and Wilmanns); CIL VIII no. 15,847.

49 CIL VIII no. 1267 (Krich el-Oued = Qrīsh al-Wād, Chisiduo, Tunisia).

50 E.g. CIL VIII no. 16,452–16,453.

51 IRT no. 23. 27. 75a. 126. 286.

In certain privileged locations, generations of house dwellers met generations of researchers. Occasionally, generations of squeezes were obtained from one inscription and distributed to different learned institutions.

A private home at El Kef (Sicca Veneria, Tunisia) was visited by four successive parties within half a century (Fig. 8).⁵²

Scholars were allowed to enter many private environments, and it is to be asked how the knowledge about so many 'hidden' and privately kept inscriptions had been established. Intermediators must have played an important role, and the promise of material compensation for the permit to examine inscriptions is likely, although the otherwise talkative commentaries in the editions are not explicit in this respect.

Access to a considerable group of inscriptions was potentially difficult for religious reasons: Christians were not welcome in mosques and related prayer halls, even less when they came with the intention to examine non-Muslim inscriptions and to produce squeezes. In some mosques, however, this work was nevertheless allowed. In other cases, the researchers did not succeed. Alternatively, they tried to have made their observations (and squeezes) by persons of Muslim faith, who were entitled to enter the places.⁵³

It should be noted that the denial to enter the mosques at Testour, one of the villages of Andalusian refugees in the Medjerda valley, was reported as being especially fiercely from the side of local people.⁵⁴

Under these circumstances living with inscriptions was no longer the same as before. Now values were attributed to Latin inscriptions that differed from those that had been attached to them earlier. In individual cases, suspicion was nurtured and sometimes followed by destruction.⁵⁵

b) The colonial period witnessed the most massive relocation of Latin inscriptions since late antiquity. A primary motif for systematic translations must have been the prevention of further (unrecorded) re-use of carriers, possibly without visibility of the inscribed parts, and the avoidance of destruction, e.g. in lime kilns. Ironically, a record number of inscriptions was re-used 'improperly' or even destroyed during the initial phase of the colonial regime itself, especially in Algeria. For reasons of protection and to facilitate study, inscriptions were collected and concentrated. Any single object in these new contexts lost the functions it had assumed previously. Simultaneously the inscriptions were elevated to the status of historical sources, which were read again, and devaluated as cultural markers in a traditional social environment.

52 CIL VIII no. 15,846: Camillo Borgia and Jean Émile Humbert visited El Kef together in 1815; Wilmanns 1881, XXVI; Grenville T. Temple travelled Tunisia in 1832/1833; Wilmanns 1881, XXVII; Victor Guérin in 1860; Guérin 1862a. Final observations were contributed by Roy, who reported to René Cagnat, who is quoted by Wilmanns.

53 E.g. Mses el-Bab (Majāz al-Bāb, Membressa, Tunisia): CIL VIII no. 1302; Testour (Tichilla, Tunisia): CIL VIII no. 1365, 1373, 1382, 10,069; Thala (Thala, Tunisia): CIL VIII no. 11,725.

54 CIL VIII no. 10,069.

55 CIL VIII no. 18. 53. 250. 693.

15846 (= 1624; Eph. V n. 612) in lapide alto m. 1,0, lato 1,05, litt. v. 1 0,07, seqq. 0,05; rep. el-Kef in Arabis cuiusdam aedibus.

F O R T V N A E R E D V C I A V G
 I M P C A E S M A V R E L I I S E V E R I A L E
 X A N D R I P I I F E L I C I S A V G P O N T I F
 M A X T R I B P O T E S T X I I C O S I I I P P a. 233
 5 E T I V L I A E M A M M A E A E A u G m a t r i s A V G
 N O S T R I E T C A S T R O R V M E T S E N A T V S
 E T P A T R I A E T O T I V S Q V E D O M V S D I
 V I N A E S P L E N D I D I S S I M V S O R D O
 S I C C E N S I V M D E V O T u S N V M I
 10 N I M A I E S T A T I Q V E E O R V M D D P P

Descriptam a Roy edidit Cagnat *bull. épigr. de la Gaule* III p. 35; versuum 1. 2 frustra quaedam descripsit C. Borgia in *Borgianis Leydensibus* IV n. 14 et in *Humbertianis* V n. 196, 63; item versum 1 *Temple* II p. 351 n. 174; Guérin *voy.* II p. 61 n. 236. Reliqua tunc calce obtecta fuerunt.

2 AVRELI (non *Aurelii*) in lapide esse puto, item 5 MAMMAEAE. — 4 ^{vii} traditur. — 9 DEVOTIS traditur. — Titulus spectat ad reditum imperatoris de expeditione contra Persas facta cf. C. VIII, 14447. 14816. 15260; III, 3427.

Fig. 8 Latin inscription in private house at Le Kef (Sicca Veneria, Tunisia). CIL VIII no. 15846.

Apart from museums and museum-like institutions, inscriptions were often concentrated at places of public administration or at military sites, reflecting the involvement of different professional groups. Most conspicuous places have been the prisons at Tazoult (Tazūlat, Lambaesis, Algeria)⁵⁶ and Ain el-Bey (‘Ain al-Bay, Saddar, Algeria)⁵⁷, the commandant’s office at Suq Ahras (Sūq al-ahrās, Thagaste, Algeria)⁵⁸ or the cercle des officiers at Khenchela (Ḥanshīla, Mascula, Algeria).⁵⁹

Collection points illustrate the trend to withdraw inscriptions from dispersed positions in the public or private sphere. Absolute control, however, could not be achieved and thus a considerable amount of inscriptions is found to be diverted to inofficial or private use again, now under the conditions of colonial society.

For a limited period of time, the city of Qusantinah (Cirta; Constantine, Algeria) boasted a “Café de l’Inscription Romaine.”⁶⁰

Otherwise, numerous inscriptions found their (temporary) home in houses or on farms of European immigrants.

At Kherbet Madjuba (Khirbat Majūba), a village of colonizers from France in Algeria, a phenomenologically similar attention to Latin inscriptions was paid as has been observed in some villages in the Medjerda valley in Tunisia. Several inscriptions found by the farmers were included in their private homes. The farmers’ activities are hailed by a local scholar as having created a kind of historical archive of their place.⁶¹

Information on private new re-use by non-Europeans is very scarce.

Transferring inscriptions to museums abroad was mainly a phenomenon of the period preceding the era of formal colonialism and the initial phase of colonial rule. Museums of Florence (Italy), Leiden (Netherlands) and – of course – Paris⁶² profited most from North African inscriptions. The influx from Algeria to Paris corresponds to the topography of major interference (destruction, transformation) with ancient monuments on behalf of the French army: Skikda (Sukaikida, Rusicade; Philippeville), Satif (Saṭīf, Sitifis) or Qalama (Qālīma, Calama; Guelma).

Today, the landscape of Latin inscriptions in the Maghreb – of those inscriptions outside their places of origin in archaeological sites – can be regarded as mortified. The stones themselves have become victims of the extraordinary success story of epigraphy, which due to the quality of its standardized publications has ultimately diverted the scholarly interest from objects to editions or to surrogate objects, the squeezes.

Alienated from more open and general forms of display, collected inscriptions are highly marginalized items in museums or museum depots.

56 CIL VIII no. 2601ff. 18,064ff.

57 CIL VIII no. 5,937ff. 10,293.

58 CIL VIII no. 5,142ff.

59 CIL VIII no. 17620ff. Gsell and Graillet 1893, 501; Duval 1972, 110–113; Gui, Duval, and Caillet 1992,

294–296.

60 CIL VIII no. 6944: “incendio aedium titulum perisse Wilmansio narraverunt Constantinae.”

61 CIL VIII no. 10,907–10,929; Poulle 1878, 402–404.

62 Duval and Royo 1984.

6 Abbreviations

CIL

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum VIII. Inscriptiones Africae, Berlin: Reimer 1881–1959.

IRT

Joyce Reynolds and John B. Ward-Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, Roma: British School at Rome 1952.

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Wissenschaften. 5 Cagnat and J. Schmidt 1891, Nr. 11.683. 6 Courtesy: CIL Archive Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. 7 Wilmanns 1881, Nr. 101. 8 Cagnat and J. Schmidt 1891, Nr. 15.846.

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Simonetta Ciranna

Pulcherrima Spolia in the Architecture and Urban Space at Tripoli

Summary

The examples studied testify an ample and significant use of Roman spolia during the first Ottoman domination of Tripoli. In this period a variety of causes led to the improvement of the urban image of the city. The study focuses less on the re-use of spolia as construction material inside the main Muslim buildings (mosques) and more on the re-use of spolia for the specific urban purpose of preserving and immortalizing the Roman urban matrix. Particularly significant is the case of the Tetrapylon of Marcus Aurelius of the Roman Tripoli (Oea), and its 'quotation': the cross-roads of Arba' Arsat, known as the Four Columns of the Arab and then Ottoman Tarabulus. The second is an evident reproduction of the form and urban function of a Roman model. Its genesis may have preceded Turkish rule, but its symbolic value was certainly consolidated during the first Ottoman domination.

Keywords: Re-use; spolia; Tripoli; urban matrix; Roman model.

Die im Beitrag vorgestellten Beispiele belegen eine intensive Verwendung römischer Spolien zur Zeit der frühosmanischen Herrschaft über Tripolis. Während dieser Epoche kam es aus den unterschiedlichsten Gründen zu einer Weiterentwicklung des Stadtbildes. Der Beitrag befasst sich weniger mit der Verwendung von Spolien als Baumaterial in den wichtigsten islamischen Bauten (Moscheen) als vielmehr mit dem Einsatz von Spolien zum Zweck der Bewahrung und dauerhaften Sichtbarmachung der auf die römische Zeit zurückgehenden Stadtstrukturen. Ein besonders aufschlussreiches Beispiel ist das Tetrapylon des Marc Aurel im römischen Tripolis (Oea) und dessen architektonisches/städtebauliches „Zitat“ in Gestalt der Kreuzung von Arba' Arsat, die im arabischen und osmanischen Tarabulus als die „Vier Säulen“ bezeichnet wurde – offensichtlich ein formales und funktionales Abbild des römischen Vorbildes. Auch wenn die Anlage auf die Zeit vor der türkischen Herrschaft zurückgeht, gewann sie in frühosmanischer Zeit deutlich an Symbolkraft.

Keywords: Wiederverwendung; Spolien; Tripolis; Stadtstruktur; römisches Vorbild.

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I Introduction

The present paper has been inspired by two observations made by professor Altekamp relating to the re-use of Roman *spolia* in Tripoli (Ṭarābulus, Libya). The first one regards recognizing the potential of Tripoli as a place where the material reality of the Roman city has been consumed almost totally, so that “single instances of visibility” of ancient remains (like capitals) are probably “conscious” references to the past. The second highlights a specific matter that concerns the whole of the Eastern Maghreb, asking “whether later, e.g. Ottoman instances of spoliation still create references to a Roman past or maybe to an early Muslim past, when Roman objects were despoiled and reused in a conspicuous and exemplary way (Great Mosque of Kairouan (Qairawān)); thus an imitation of an older practice of Muslim context”.

The following will attempt to give some answers to those questions, summarizing in:

1. Do the cases of re-use at Tripoli – where the Roman remains have practically disappeared – suggest a precise meaning?
2. Do the forms of re-use adopted by the Ottomans recall the Roman past and/or the kind of re-use developed by the first Muslims?

2 Preliminary remarks

The re-employment of ancient monuments and classical fragments is a highly diffused phenomenon that spans an extensive chronological period and a wide geographic area and is determined primarily by practical advantage. However, this paper only examines examples of ‘conscious’ re-use where a relationship of admiration, interest and continuity with Roman antiquity either directly or by means of Christianity/Early Islam continues to exist.

Re-employment develops where abandoned remains provide continuity of use, architectural models, resilient, pre-worked construction material plus a varied and wonderfully ornamental lexicon easy to utilize.

This means that in the specific case of Tripoli, the following must first be considered: the vitality, importance, strength and continuity of Roman Oea and the nearest Roman sites (e.g. Leptis Magna) after the fall of the Roman Empire. Subsequently, consideration also has to be given to the role played by: invasions, the Eastern Byzantine Empire and Christian communities linked to the Roman Church or other Eastern Churches. The latter, above all, fulfilled the important function of intermediary between the Ro-

man past and the first Arabic invaders, maintaining pre-existing towns, individual buildings, construction technologies and figurative traditions (continuity/discontinuity). An important example in Tripolitania is the church built by the Emperor Justinian (483–565) inside the Basilica Severiana at Leptis Magna. Only the southern apse of the Roman Basilica was reutilized in this church devoted to Theotokos.

3 Historical notes

In 642–643 ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ conquered Libya (Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, Fezzan), already occupied by the Byzantines. The final conquest occurred in 666–667.

Arabs, and before them the Byzantines, found a network of towns especially along the coast, the result of Greek, Punic and Roman civilization. In Cyrenaica: Apollonian, Cyrene, Tolemaide, Barca, Teuchira, Berenice; in Tripolitania: Leptis Magna, Oea, Sabratha. Nevertheless, these towns had lost part of their richness and prosperity as a result of an earthquake in 365, attacks by Vandals and invasions by warriors from closer regions during the 5th century.

During the Byzantine period the coastal towns recovered their prestige as fortresses, but they were overtaken by the hinterland as important commercial centers.

Oea in Tripolitania and Barca in Cyrenaica were the main towns along the coast where the Arab invaders settled. Ultimately, they lived together with the local Christian population.

Coexistence with the Christian communities is testified by the presence in Leptis and Oea/Ṭarābulus (and perhaps in Sabratha) of bishop's sees during the first half of the 9th century. The cemetery at an-Ngila, south Tripoli, provides evidence of the existence of a Christian community until 1021 in Tripoli or thereabouts. Moreover, Abū Ubayd al-Bakrī (1028–1094) in his description of North Africa in 1068 refers to the coexistence of Muslim and Christian communities (linked both to the Church of Rome and Coptic Egypt). Al-Bakrī, who wrote before the terrible invasion of desert Arab tribes, gives information on the fertility of the Leptis hinterland and the presence of monuments and ruins.

Around 1050, the Maghreb was invaded by the cruel hordes of the Banū Hilāl and Bani Sulaym tribes, who were nomad warriors armed by the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt. Many historians identify the Hilalian invasion as the cause of the break with the ancient world, a connection that had survived during the first Muslim period.

The Arab geographer al-Idrīsī, writing a century after al-Bakrī, confirms the disruption provoked by these attacks. He makes no mention of Christian communities and

describes a poorer urban economy. He refers to Lebdah (Labda, Leptis) only as a fortress and place of rest along the road between Mahdia (Mahdiya) and Alexandria.

In 1146 the Normans conquered Tripoli but after twenty years the Almohads (al-Muwaḥḥidūn), who came from Andalusia, replaced them. From the mid-14th to 15th century the Hafsids (al-Ḥafṣiyyūn) of Tunis controlled Libya but the main towns were initially self-governed, founding their economy on corsair wars.

To stop these attacks in 1510 Tripoli was annexed to the Crown of Castile by Ferdinand de Aragón, twenty years later Carlo V entrusted Tripoli to the Knights of Malta. This conquest led to the destruction of the town and the reconstruction of the Castle, both to the detriment of the city wall that had conserved many Roman spoils.

In 1551 Tripoli became steadily Turkish. During the long Ottoman period the harbor towns of Mediterranean Africa didn't undergo extensive transformation. From the end of the 17th century to 1835, with the permission of the Ottomans the Qaramānlī, a self-governing dynasty, ruled Tripoli (particularly Yūsuf Pasha, 1795–1832) lived in the Castle, repaired the city walls and built an aqueduct for the Qaramānlī's Mosque and Madrasa.

4 Reports on the main Roman antiquities: the first descriptions of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius and the spoliation of Leptis Magna

Sheikh al-ʿAbdarī coming from Valencia, leaving Mogador, Morocco in December 1289 for Mecca, was one of the first to describe the four-sides Arch of Marcus Aurelius. The Arch, the heart of Roman Oea, was positioned at the crossroads of the *cardo* and the northern *decumanus*. The monument, which he characterized as a *qubbah*, aroused his admiration for antiquity. In this period another structure existed on the roof of this monument.

The Sheikh also gave some information regarding the ruins of Leptis Magna, already abandoned in his time. After these brief notes, silence fell on Leptis for about four centuries. Its inhabitants had moved west to present-day Homs.

In 1307 at-Tijānī, a learned Tunisian, left Tunis and on reaching Tripoli described the Arch of Marcus Aurelius as follows:

un edificio antico, meraviglioso, a foggia di cupola (*qubbah*), di marmo scolpito adeguato alla grandezza e alla sontuosità dell'edificio; cento uomini non sarebbero capaci di portare un solo blocco. L'edificio sorge quadrato; giungendo al tetto, si fa ottagonò con precisione mirabile e solidità che stupisce. È ornato di molte belle figure scolpite nella pietra. Ora vi hanno costruito sopra

un santuario in cui si compie la preghiera e mi fu detto che ciò si fece perché un capo aveva tentato di abatterlo e prenderne i marmi. Su alcuni blocchi del fronte nord sono scritte righe in carattere romano e Abū 'l-Barakāt figlio del dotto Abū Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'd-Dunyā mi ha riferito che suo padre Abū Muḥammad cercava sempre qualcuno che sapesse tradurre l'iscrizione; infine trovò un Cristiano ...¹

The existence of this particular construction was confirmed two centuries later by the Frenchman Nicolas de Nicolay at Tripoli in August 1551, a few days after the Turkish conquest. The monument even appears in two views of Tripoli dated 1559 and 1567 (Fig. 1). At-Tijānī also documents the “pleasant anomaly” in the Arab Tarābulus of the presence of a different urban network composed of wide level and orthogonal roads, probably coinciding with Roman roads (Rossi). The same observation is found in a later report written by a Miss Tully, in Tarābulus between 1783 and 1793, indicating the existence of remains of paved roads – presumably of Roman origin – coexisting with the dusty roads of the Turkish town.²

In *Descrizione dell’Africa* (Venezia, 1550) the Arab geographer al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wazzān, known as Leone Africano, documented the renewal of construction activity in Tripoli; this activity involved re-using large quantities of material from Leptis. In this *Descrizione* the admiration of the author for the wonderful columns of the Great Mosque of Kairouan is also expressed.

The building material probably came from Oea itself or the nearest villas by the sea, a large part being used to produce mortar. Moreover, to the south of Leptis, the quarries of Ras al-Hannan (Rās al-ḥanān) produced a wonderful white-grey travertine as described in *Histoire chronologique du royaume de Tripoli de Barbarie* by Girard from Digne, a surgeon residing in Tripoli from 1670–1676.

The extensive use of the Leptis ruins as a quarry for marble to be exported to Europe (and elsewhere) has been amply documented since the end of 17th century, when the Frenchman Claude Lemaire was consul (1683, 1707–1708). A specific article of the French-Turkish Treaty of 1693 regulated this trade. Shafts and slabs of cipolin, pavonazetto, breccia, ancient green, porphyry, many of them coming from the Severian Forum, were re-employed in churches, cathedrals, palaces and museums in France, Malta, Constantinople, Venice and later in England. For example, in 1816–1817 Captain W. H. Smyth arrived in England with 37 columns, slabs, sculptures and inscriptions received as a gift from the Pasha of Tripoli Yūsuf Qaramānī for the King of England.

1 Rossi 1968, 78–79.

2 Cabasi 1979.

‘transferred’ towns, such as Carthage-Tunis (Tūnis, Tunisia), Hippo-Annaba (‘Annāna, Algeria), Salé-Salā (Morocco).

In describing this kind of urban structure the term ‘Hellenistic-Mediterranean town’ is often used, the first word referring to the hippodamian scheme (pre-existing or assumed as a model) and the second word defining (albeit imprecisely) a remote cultural substratum that also includes the experiences of both local populations and invaders.

Mosque: the invention of a new architecture. In the Western world the outlook on re-use in early Christendom swings between the historiographical patterns of continuity (Krautheimer) and breaking with the Roman past (Deichmann).

According to Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, the transformation of the pagan temple in early-Christian architecture involved a total changing of the holy space. Christians destroyed the shape and meaning of the sacred pagan space – demolition of the temple was only the macroscopic aspect of this revolution. The entire symbolical space of the Christian church became of utmost importance, sacrificing single parts or components: “Für die feinen Unterteilungen der antiken Bauteile, für ihr abgewogenes Verhältnis zueinander, ihre ornamentale Struktur ist in der frühchristlichen Architektur kein Platz mehr. Die Bauglieder haben als Ganzes nur noch strukturelle Funktion. Die Struktur ist nicht mehr ornamentalisiert. Das Oberflächenornament verunklärt eher die Struktur. Daher war diesen Gliedern selbst keine Entwicklung mehr beschieden.”³ In this new kind of space, the individual element becomes replaceable but can also bear a specific meaning due to its figurative characteristics (sculptures, color, dimension).

Are these points of view applied to the Muslim world and, in particular, to the problem of the re-use of Roman *spolia* in its major building: the mosque?

To answer this question it is indispensable to understand the architecture of the mosque, a place for prayer.

Basically, the mosque has to satisfy three needs: it has to indicate the direction of Mecca (*qibla*), provide a clean kneeling space and offer a place for ablution.

Firstly, existing spaces and buildings were re-used. The Great Mosque of Omayyad (7th–8th century) in Damascus, built in the sanctuary of Jupiter Damascene, which already served as St. John the Baptist’s Cathedral, is one of the most famous examples of this custom, another being St. Sofia in Constantinople, many centuries later.

There are three main types of mosques: Arab, Persian and Ottoman. The main mosque is called the Cathedral Mosque or Congregational Mosque (Great Mosque and Mosque of Friday). It also functions as a school, place of justice, meeting and business place and a reception area for pilgrims, etc., which is why it is called a ‘Muslim forum’. The architecture always assumes an expandable horizontal shape.

3 Deichmann 1940, 117–118.

The Arab mosque consists of an arcade court with a hypostyle hall. The elementary framework is made up of a rectangular enclosure, a portico with two or more naves parallel to the *qibla* wall (where the *mihrab* [niche] is to be found), a fountain in the courtyard (*ṣaḥn*) and a place for ablution. The reference model is not clear but it could be the house of the Prophet at Medina.

The Persian mosque-madrasa is a mosque with four *iwān* (balls) (11th century). Mausoleums, monumental tombs and schools are added to this religious place. The courtyard with its *iwān* assumes a pivotal role. The dome, already adopted in some mosques, strengthens the axis of the *mihrab*.

Under the Seljuks the dome covers the principal space and probably recalls the vault of heaven. The funerary-mosque (mausoleum + mosque + other annexes) also originated in this period.

The Ottoman mosque (15th–16th century) divides the prayer hall from the courtyard, interrupting their continuity. The prayer hall becomes the central body of the mosque with its inner space often covered by a dome.

The Libyan mosque. Libya, a border zone prone to invasion, was neither able to create its own artistic school nor to take advantage of the two neighboring schools: Syrian-Egyptian (Egypt) and Maghreb (North West Africa). In Libya, qualified workers didn't exist and that prevented the diffusion and growth of an Ottoman architecture. Nevertheless, in this general framework, it is important to underline that in Libya an original kind of mosque, different from the Arab, Persian or Ottoman, emerged and spread.

The Libyan mosque has a quadrilateral plan, composed of modular squares repeated in various rows. Each square has a cubic volume defined by four columns or pillars, arches and a dome (Fig. 2). This particular shape was probably influenced by the presence of mausoleums, *martyria* and monuments already in existence before the Arab invasion and dedicated to Christian saints and martyrs. The phenomenon later became known as 'maraboutism' and spread widely during the 12th century and onward. The simple structure of the Libyan mosque persisted even under the Ottomans.

The re-use of Roman spolia in Libyan mosques. The question nevertheless remains whether a specific link emerges between the characteristic planimetric of the Libyan mosque and the re-use of individual Roman elements inside?

Is it possible that the repetitiveness of modular structure, together with a simple and poor technology, influenced a specific kind of re-use?

These factors probably centered on the re-use of shafts of columns (more shafts than capitals). The list of shafts and other fragments re-used in the courtyards and prayer halls of the mosques is extensive. However, it is difficult to estimate quality and quantity with precision because of the transformation, destruction and reconstruction of the buildings over the centuries.

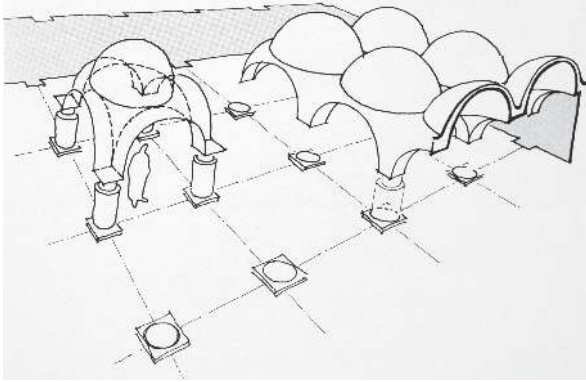


Fig. 2 The characteristic architecture of the Libyan mosque.



Fig. 3 Jāmi' of Sidi Darghūt Pasha, reused granite column.

These architectural elements maintained their structural function but it is very hard to say whether the Muslims utilized them because of their specific color or their stonework, or if they used single architectural components to repeat or re-invent a Roman model, in particular the 'classical order'. Near Tripoli, two mosques (at-Tājūrā' and al-Khums) seem to confirm the appreciation of both the quality of the material and of the Roman (classical) architectural order.

In 1561 Sidī Darghūt, the Pasha of Tripoli (the governor of Ottoman Libya appointed by the Turkish sultan between 1553–1565), utilized the 'small dome mosque' (or Libyan type), which was usually adopted for a district mosque (*maṣjid*), to construct a *jāmi'* (or Friday mosque) dedicated to himself. This monument evidences an unusual T-shaped prayer hall, probably the result of an extension/adjustment to a former chapel of the Knights of Malta. After being restored in the 1920s, the mosque was damaged in the Second World War and then extensively repaired. During this second effort many

(re-used?) granite shafts were substituted with concrete and the *miḥrab* and the *minbar* (*pulpit*) were also reconstructed (Fig. 3–4). The architectural history of Jāmi‘ an-Nāqa (also known as She-Camel), the most important mosque in Tripoli, is particularly significant being probably the oldest in Tripoli, even though the present structure dates back to 1610. Safar Dey (Şafar Dāy), a very rich Turk appointed Governor of Regency, rebuilt the previous Fatimid mosque (perhaps Jāmi‘ al-ā‘zam) which had been destroyed by the Spaniards. Like Darghūt, Şafar chose the ‘small dome mosque’ type instead of the Arab type (used in Kairouan, Sfax, Sousse, Cordoba, etc.) or the Ottoman type.

A large courtyard, with porches covered by cross vaults along the four sides, precedes the prayer hall. This *ṣaḥn* probably coincides with the oldest mosque (Arab type), as demonstrated by the existence of a *miḥrab*. The prayer hall consists of forty-nine modules (about 2.60 x 2.60 m) of which forty-two are covered with domes. In the courtyard and the prayer hall there are many re-used columns (without bases). The majority of those utilized in the 17th century reconstruction are of granite, and two are in fluted marble (final section of Doric columns). The shafts appear very ‘stocky’ and on average about 2 m high. The granite ones were probably cut from originals about 7.45 m in height and could have come from the same set. The prayer hall and the *ṣaḥn* also exhibit dozens of Ionic and Corinthian capitals all skillfully crafted. These beautiful capitals and fluted shafts seem to be placed in key positions because of their superior quality, however the spatial *ratio* between the components is not clear (Fig. 5, 6a–b).

Other mosques in Tripoli use Roman columns: Masjid Sarayā al-Ḥamrā’ (inside the Castle), Masjid of Sheikh al-Mahtan (o Mabtan), Jāmi‘ Sīdī Sālīm al-Mashāt, Sīdī Maḥmūd, Masjid Zāwya ‘Aṭīya, Masjid Ibn Ṭabīb, Masjid Ibn Şuwān, Jāmi‘ ad-Durūj (Fig. 7), Jāmi‘ al-Kharūba, Jāmi‘ b. Sulaymān.

This admiration for Roman *spolia* seems to occur in two later important mosques built on the Libyan plan – Jāmi‘ Aḥmad Pāsha al-Qaramānlī (1735–1737) and Jāmi‘ Mustafa Bey Gurgi (1833–1834). In the first, Roman and Islamic spoils appear in the space of ablution, however both mosques employed new architectural components in the prayer hall, probably to showcase the wealth of the founders. Nevertheless, these two later mosques (like the Jāmi‘ an-Nāqa) were built facing Mecca without changing the original Roman urban structure. For this reason, their plans appear ‘rotated’ in relation to this particular urban texture.

Furthermore, three buildings in Cyrenaica testify to the persistent re-employment of classical *spolia* during the 19th century – the Zawāya sanūsīya (Sanussi religious schools), built at al-Marj (1818), at Zāwya al-Ḥamāma (1834) and at Lamluda (Lamlūda)(1850).

An interesting case of re-use appears in the mosque of ‘Alī al-Farjānī at Sūq al-Khamīs outside Tripoli. Here, in addition to capitals re-employed in the prayer hall

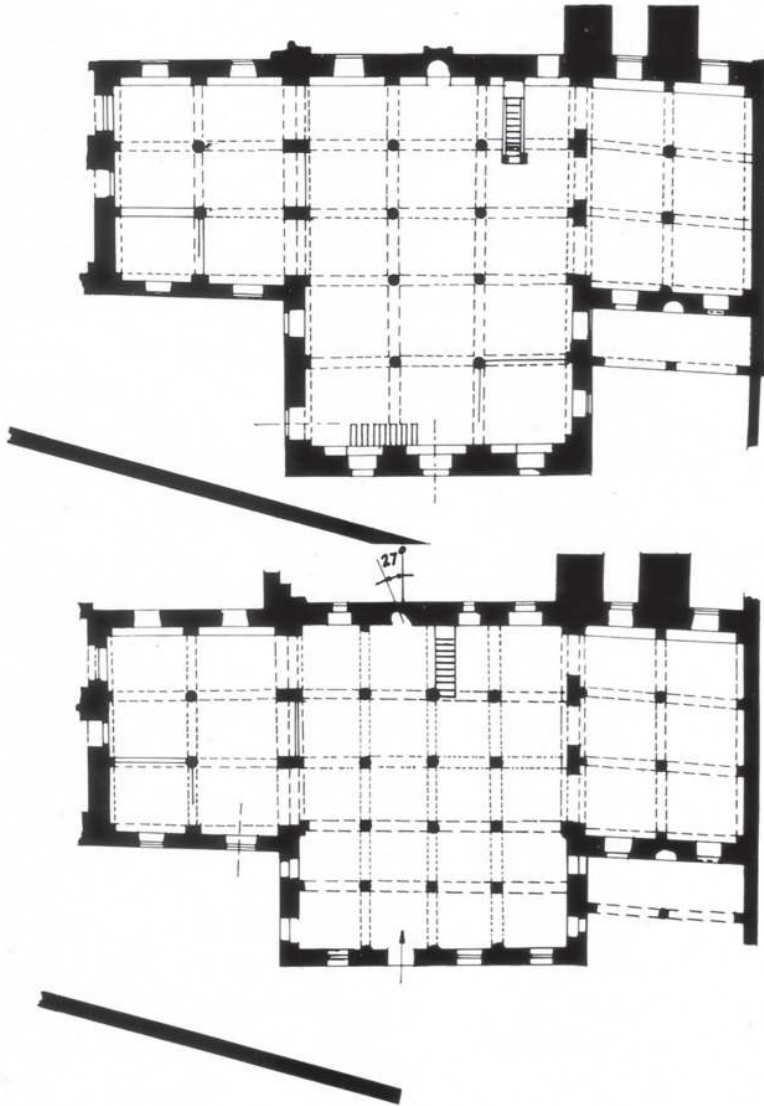


Fig. 4 Jāmi' of Sīdī Darghūt Pasha, floor plan, first phase and after reconstruction.

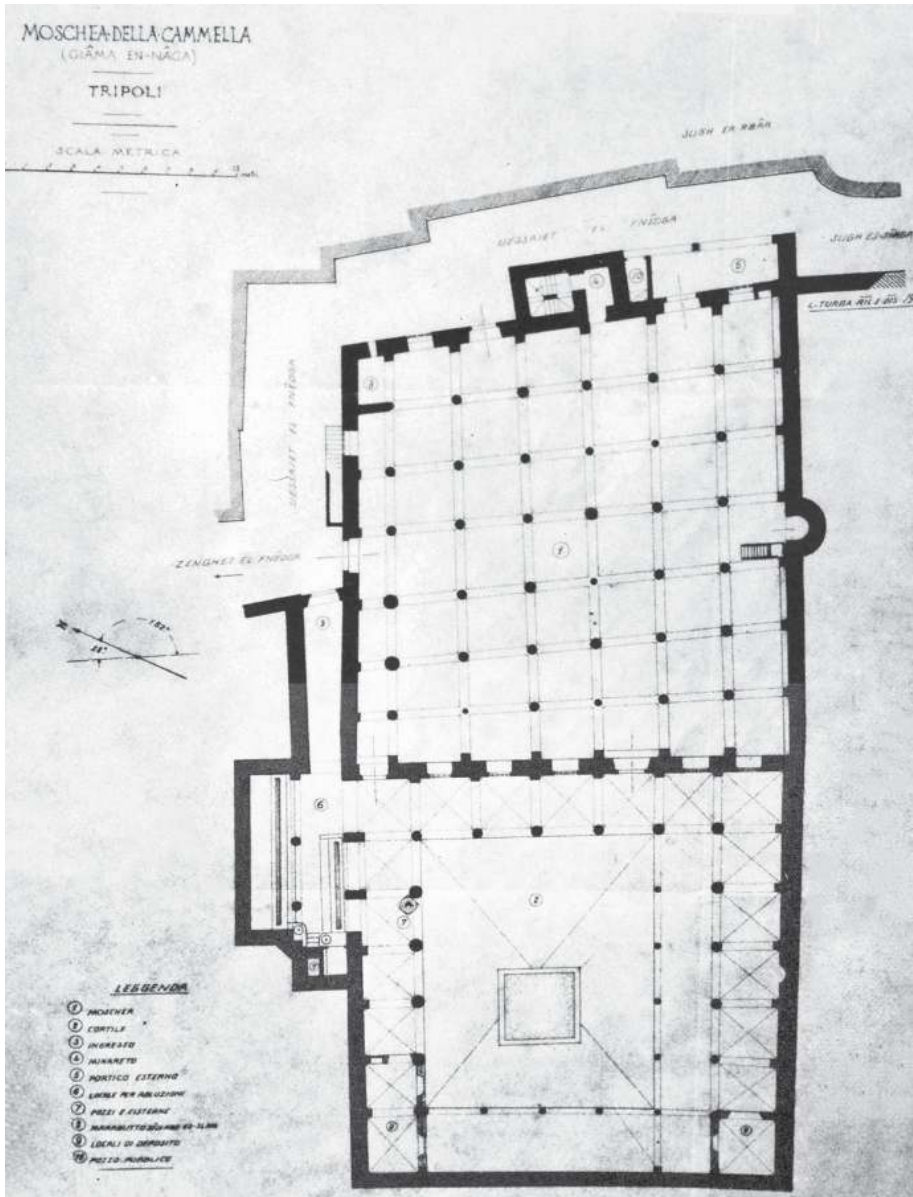


Fig. 5 Jāmi' an-Nāqa, floor plan of the courtyard and the prayer hall.



a



b

Fig. 6 Jāmi' an-Nāqa, pictures of the courtyard and the prayer hall.



Fig. 7 Jāmi' ad-Durūj, reused column and capital in the prayer hall covered with a green coat paint.

and in the room for ablution, the architrave and doorjamb at the entrance to the prayer hall are made of monolithic blocks from a Roman building (as in many examples in Tunisia, i.e. Kairouan).

Other interesting examples of re-use of Roman *spolia* exist in inner Libya. More specifically, in the district of Jabal Nafūsa (Tripolitania) they are present: 1) at Tmizda (Tamizda), Mezghura (Mazghūra): the mosque at Mezghura, 800–899 (perhaps a Rustamide foundation but rebuilt); the Umm at-Ṭabūl mosque (probably built on the ruins of a church); the Abū Zakarīya' at-Tūkītī mosque, to the north of Wifat (Wifāt), 800–899; the Kanisiya mosque (Masjid Kanīsa); the Mashhad Taghliis mosque (Masjid Taghlīs); the Būqar or Abū Kār mosque; the Damriyya mosque; 2) at Jadu (Jādū): the Khirbat al-Ḥāra mosque; the Shu'bat Mīrī mosque; 3) at Forsatta (Fursata): the Taghlīs mosque (Ottoman); 4) at Ibughturin (Bughtūra: the Taghlīs mosque; 5) at Nalut (Nālūt): the Tin Adrar (Tindarār) mosque.

Further south, at Ghadāmis, *spolia* coming from a late-Roman mausoleum called al-Aṣnām (the idols) were re-employed in many Islamic monuments starting with the dual Great Mosques of this small Arab-Berber town.

Significant examples include the Mosque of Mūrād Aghā at Tājūrā' (1553–1556) and the Mausoleum of Sheikh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamūda b. Jaḥā (1670–1680).

6 Mosque of Murad Agha (Mūrād Aghā) at Tājūrā' (1553–1556)

Tājūrā' is about 16 km east of Tripoli. In the spring of 1309, at-Tijānī described this place as a large and populous village with a castle and an old city wall. This village existed from Roman times when many villas were built near the sea (e.g. the villa called 'gara delle Nereide'). In 1532 Mūrād Aghā, a Turkish naval officer, probably born in Ragusa, was the sovereign of Tājūrā'. In 1551, together with the privateer Darghūt, he conquered Tripoli from the Knights of Malta. After two years spent in Tripoli as governor, Mūrād was replaced by Darghūt and returned to Tājūrā'. At this point he probably decided to build a fortress in Tājūrā', but was compelled to turn this project into a mosque. According to tradition, Murad built the mosque utilizing Christian slaves but the architect probably came from the Maghreb. Furthermore, tradition maintains that the columns used in the prayer hall came from Leptis Magna, more precisely from a ship that had sunk along the beach of Tājūrā' while bringing that material to Europe. This may be true or it may only serve to stress the importance of the mosque. In addition, many ruined imperial villas existing along the coast of Tājūrā' provided readily available *spolia*.

The mosque has a rectangular perimeter (about 40 x 32 m), and in contrast to a plain exterior its interior space is characterized by forty-eight columns, without bases, supporting pointed horseshoe-shaped arches (Fig. 8a–b). Only the plain and fluted shafts are Roman *spolia* and their stones are pink and red breccia, cipolin, black granite and limestone. The capitals are formed by a triple abacus capable of adapting to the superior diameter of the shaft. Here, instead of the small domes found in the Libyan type barrel vaults were used as coverage. Moreover, the central nave doesn't exceed the others in width as evidenced in the Tunisian model.

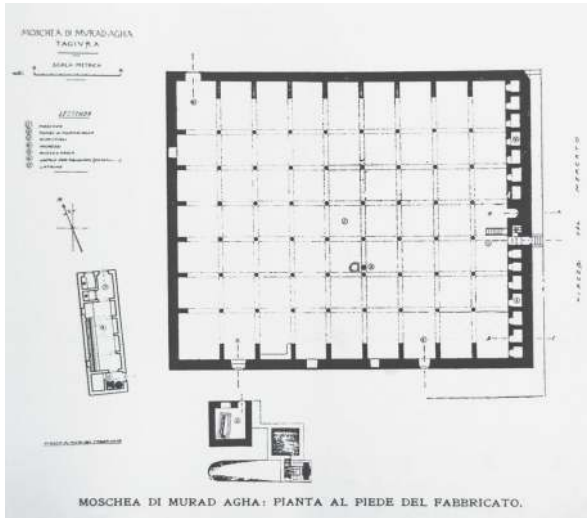
7 Mausoleum of Sheikh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamūda b. Jaḥā (1670–1680)

The Mausoleum, adjoining the mosque and *zāwiya* of the same name, was built in 1670–1680 at Al-Khums (al-khums), a small village in the Tripoli region about 120 km east of Tripoli and 2 km west of Leptis Magna. The village was founded as a Sanjaka (Sanjaq) during the Turkish domination.

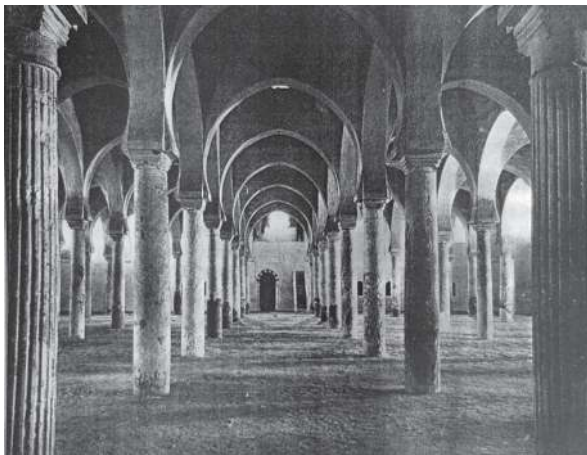
The Mausoleum was built for the burial of Sheikh Aḥmad b. Jaḥā, a leading teacher of the Koran and the Ḥadīth, who was the son of another venerated saint named Muḥammad b. Jaḥā and a pupil of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Salām al-Asmar from Zlīṭan.

The way in which Roman *spolia* were used here caught the attention of the late professor Cuneo, who described and commented as follows:

The simple exterior volume of the building, made as usual of a cubic basis, an octagonal drum and a slightly pointed spherical dome, can hardly announce the far more elaborated articulation of the inner space. The main space of the mausoleum is that of a dome burial chamber with the green-clothed coffin of the saint on one side. But (with a device found also in an analogous dome tomb in the mosque of Sheikh ‘Alī al-Farjānī at Sūq al-Khamīs), the square domed hall is flanked by a lateral extension (here covered by a couple of groined vaults), which has an exterior entrance and leads into the prayer hall, thus allowing an afflux of the faithful to the mosque bypassing the burial area proper. Despite the lack of a perfect bi-axial symmetry caused by this lateral corridor, which makes the whole space a rectangle, the chamber keeps its classical unity thanks to the application of the same motif of blind arcades along all four sides and the use of six pilasters projecting from the side walls and four angular ones at the corners. The ten vertical elements, all of them in limestone blocks enriched with fluted surfaces and cubic Corinthian capitals, exhibit their common origin: a disused ancient monument. Those elements re-create, in a sev-



a



b

Fig. 8 Mosque of Mūrād Aghā at Tājūrā: (a) Plan of prayer hall, (b) interior of prayer hall.

enteenth century Islamic monument, a well controlled rhythmic sequence of wall arcades, successfully matching a provincial Roman and a provincial Ottoman style, which constitutes the main quality and the most elegant feature of the whole building. The only free standing support, a granite column set at the connection between the room and the corridor, adds to this ensemble an impression of structural lightness and spatial dynamism. This monument

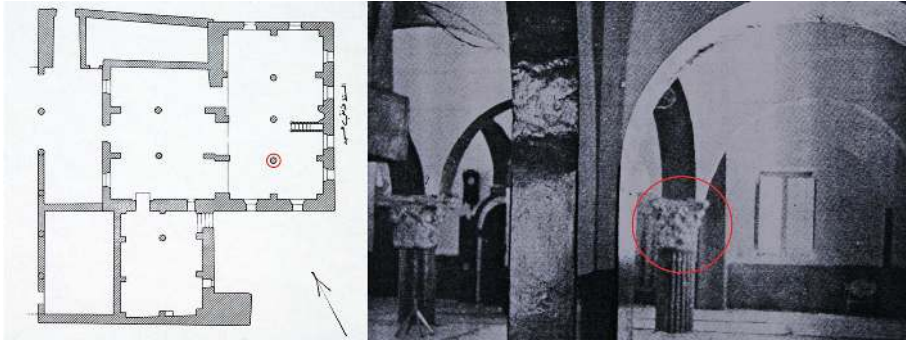


Fig. 9 Mausoleum and mosque of Sheikh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥamūda bin Jahā at Al-Khums. Left: Floor plan, with a Corinthian Roman capital reused in the prayer hall of the mosque (circled in red). Right: Corinthian Roman capital reused in the prayer hall of the mosque.

seems to testify that the architect's attitude was not very different from that of the Classical school of Ottoman architecture derived from Sinan's experience and well known to modern criticism. The architect did not hesitate to take creative advantage of the artistic languages and spatial principles of the Hellenistic-Roman, Early Byzantine.⁴

This interpretation requires two additional remarks:

Firstly, the re-use of *spolia* in the mausoleum is different to that used in the former prayer hall of the mosque (Libyan type). In the latter, short shafts made from sections of higher shafts are surmounted by impressive large capitals, also *spolia*. These columns support small domes without following the classical spatial code (Fig. 9).

Secondly, the re-invented classical space in the mausoleum could suggest the influence of western architectural culture, *in primis* Venetian or Italian Renaissance, also by means of the work of Sinan.

8 The cross-roads of Arba^ʿ ʿArṣāt

The type of re-employment of Roman antiquity which refers to an entire model and its urban function is exemplified in the case of the Tetrápylon of Marcus Aurelius of the Roman Tripoli (Oea), and its evident and perfect 'quotation': the cross-roads of Arba^ʿ ʿArṣāt, known as the Four Columns of the Arab and then Ottoman Ṭarābulus (Fig. 10).

The four-sides Arch of Marcus Aurelius (Fig. 11–12), the heart of the ancient town, placed to the North of the crossroads of the *cardo* and the *decumanus*, becomes, for the

4 Paolo Cuneo, unpublished notes, March 1995.

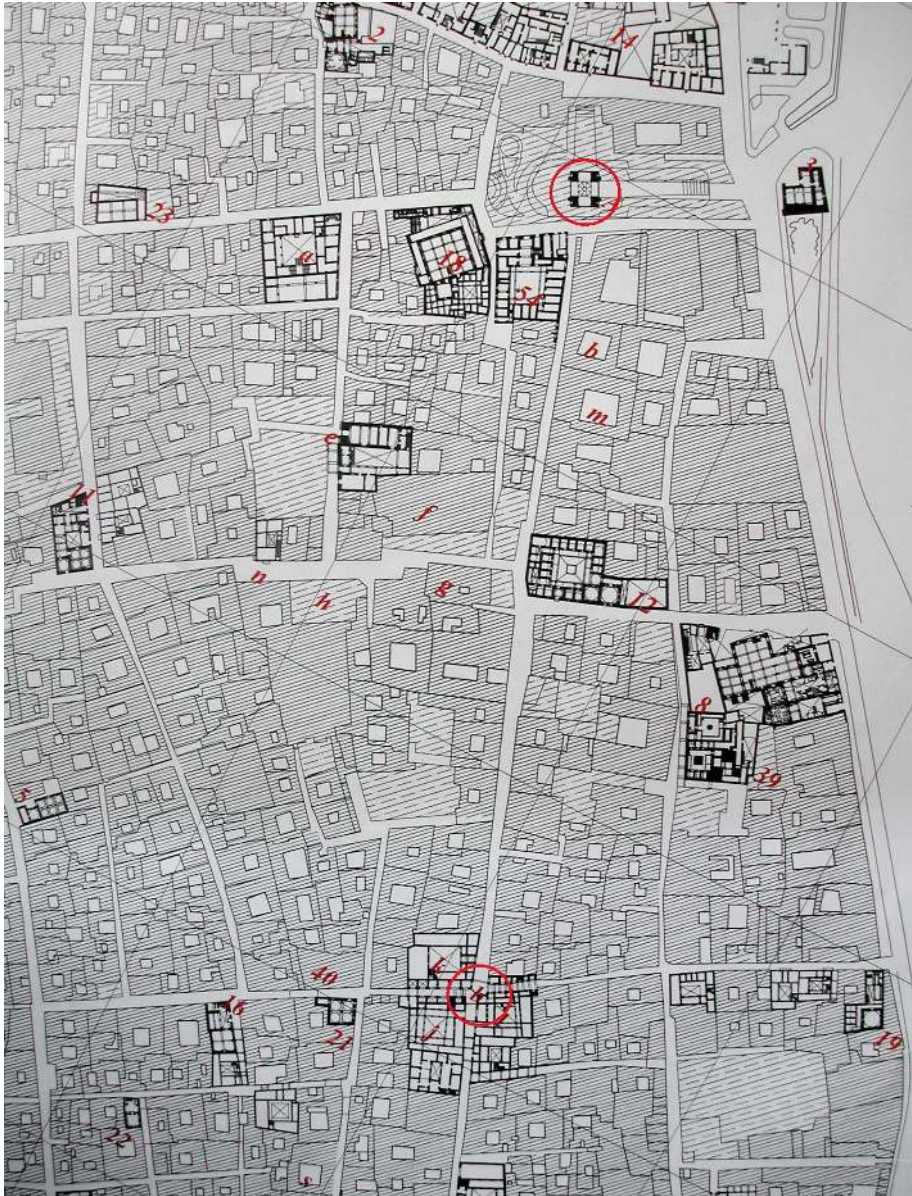


Fig. 10 Detail of the map of Medina. Circled in red the Tetraylon of Marcus Aurelius and the cross-roads of Arba' 'Arşät situated along the Sciara Arba'a Arsat and Sciara Jama al-druj.

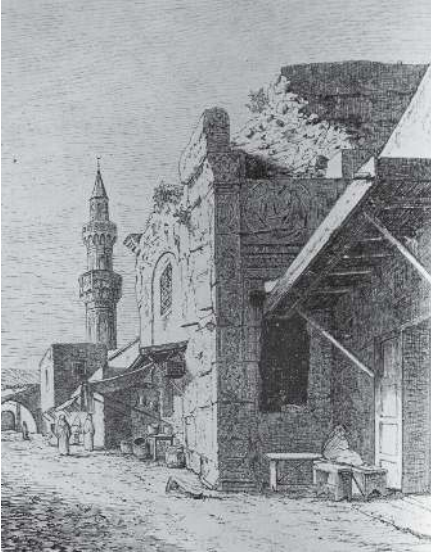


Fig. 11 Drawing of the Tetrapylon of Marcus Aurelius in 1873.



Fig. 12 Tetrapylon of Marcus Aurelius after the Italian restoration ended in 1918.

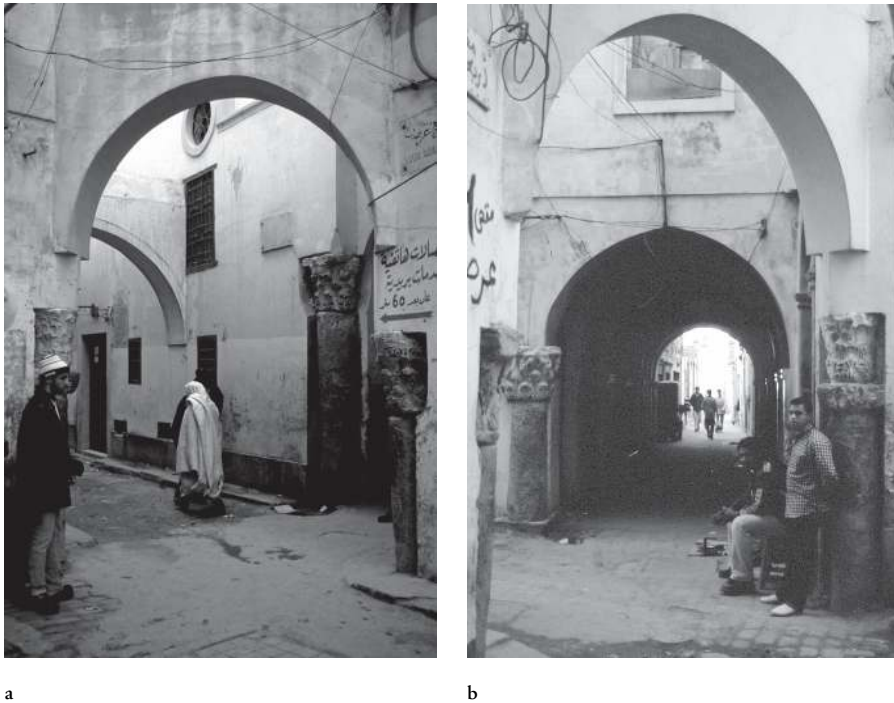


Fig. 13 Shafts and drums of columns with Corinthian capitals on the corner of the urban junction of Arbaʿ Arṣāt.

claritas of which it is the bearer, the figurative model of the urban junction of Arbaʿ Arṣāt.

This junction is situated further south along the *Sciara Arbaʿa Arsat* (Arbaʿ Arṣāt) and *Sciara Jama al-druj* (Jāmiʿ ad-Druj) (*cardo*?) and forms the crossroad with the second *decumanus* of Roman Oea. Shafts and drums of columns with Corinthian capitals and a system of archivolts and covered walkways, identify this new ‘four-sides arch’ (Fig. 13a–b).

Its genesis may have preceded Turkish dominion but it certainly consolidated its symbolic value as an urban center during the first Ottoman domination. In this period the Muslim built-up area strengthened its trade with the hinterland to the west and south of the *Medīna*, as evidenced in part by the houses of the Qaramānli dynasty (where Yūsif Pāsha died in 1838), of Jusef Gurgi (Yūsif Qurjī, a rich merchant of Tarābulus) and of Mohsen (Fig. 14–15).

Professor Ludovico Micara questions the common opinion that *Sciara Arbaʿa Arsat* and *Sciara Jama el-Druj* coincide with the Roman *cardo* (Fig. 16–17). This road is neither

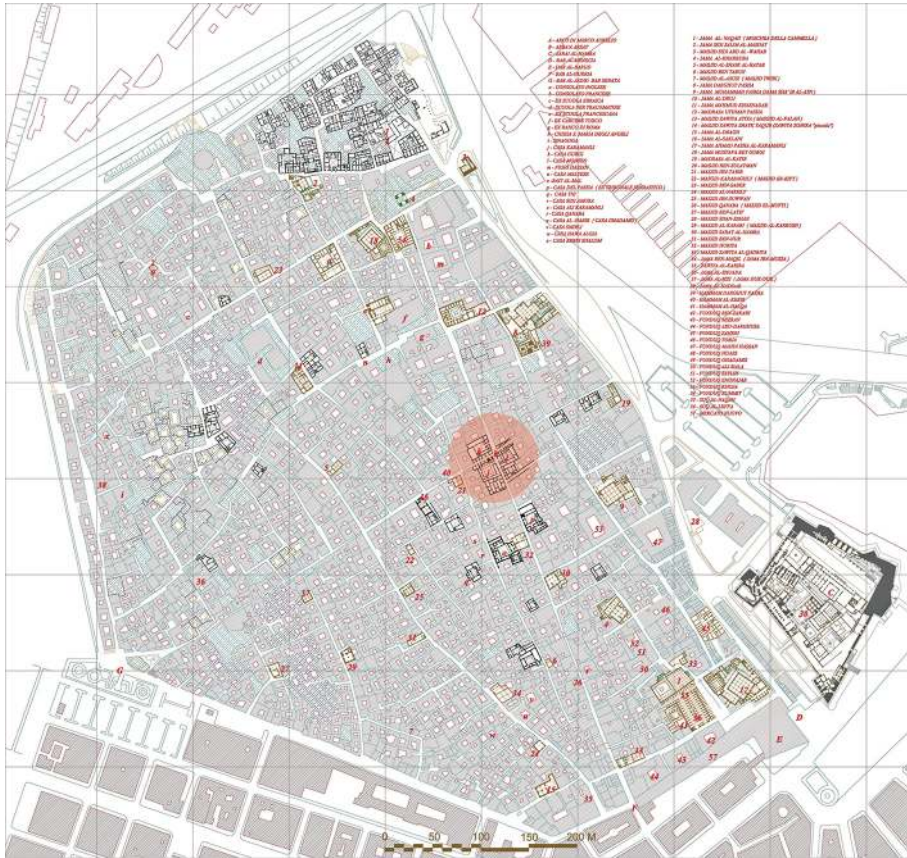


Fig. 14 Plan of Tripoli’s Medina: houses of the Qaramānli dynasty, Yūsif Qurjī and Mohsen (marked by a circle).

orthogonal at the *decumanus* nor at the other roads that it crosses; in fact these follow the direction of *decumanus*. Micara believes that *Sciara Arba’ a Arsat* and *Sciara Jama el-Druj* developed subsequent to the occlusion of the Roman *cardo* after the Spanish occupation and disruption (Fig. 18). Therefore, its origin was Ottoman at the time of Pasha Darghūt. Leone Africano testified in his *Descrizione* that Darghūt rebuilt *Ṭarābulus* using many *spolia* coming from *Leptis Magna* (as did his contemporary and political competitor *Mūrād in Ṭājūrā’*).

In the case of Tripoli, the toponymic identification also forges a strong link between re-employed fragments and resumption of an urban model. *Arba’ ‘Arṣāt* in fact signifies Four Columns, *‘arṣāt* (sg. *‘arīṣa*) being a local term for columns (in Arabic *‘umūd*, sg. *‘imād*). This toponym, therefore, binds the place to its town. *Ṭarābulus* was characterized, in the Ottoman age as well, by a detached political and cultural autonomy. The

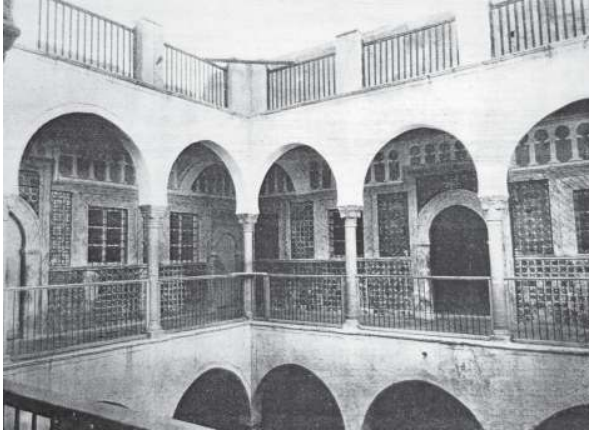


Fig. 15 Courtyard of Qaramānli's houses situated on Arba' ʿArṣāt.

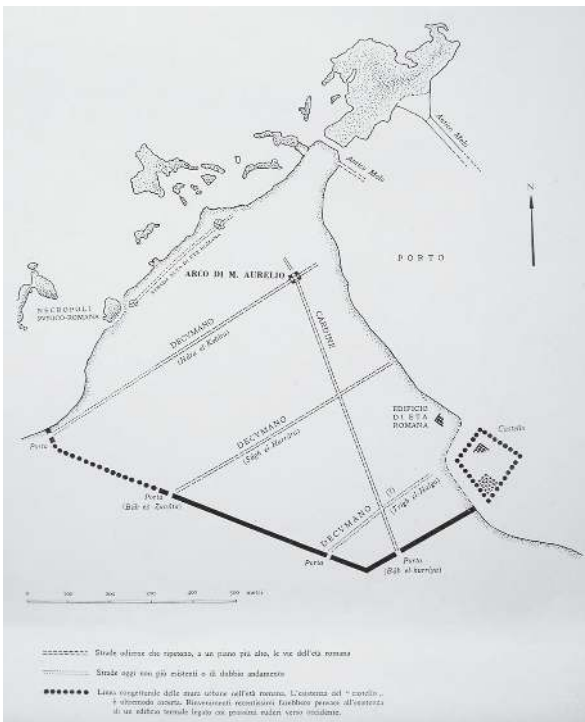


Fig. 16 Lay-out of the main roads of Roman Tripoli.

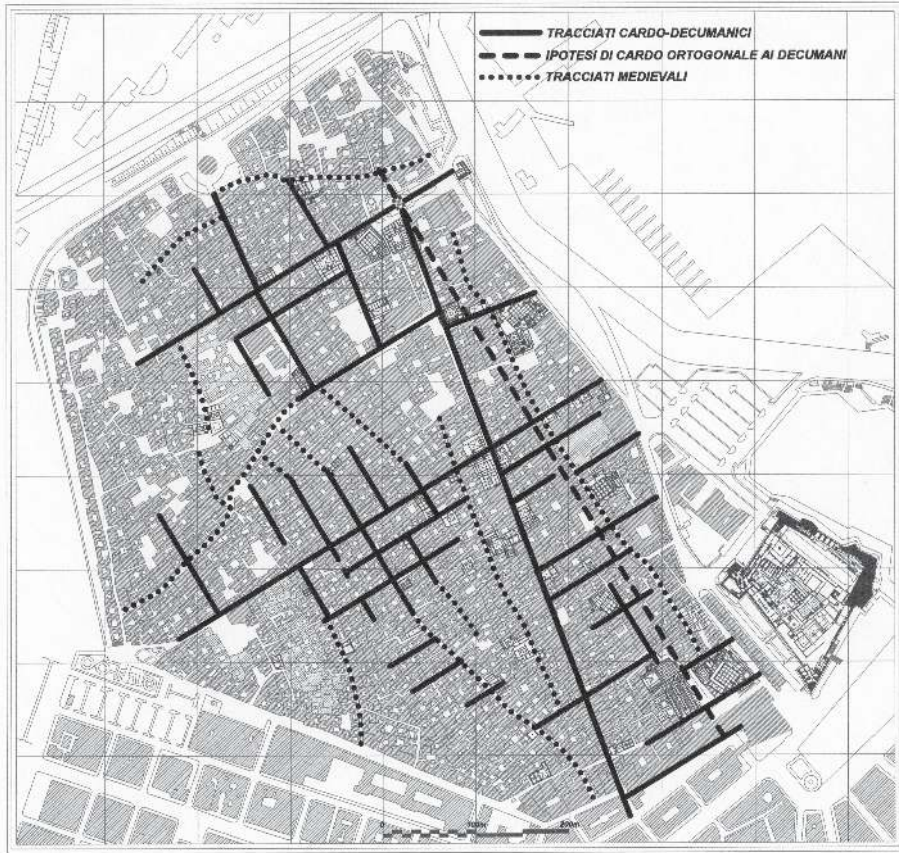


Fig. 18 The Roman and Ottoman roads of Tripoli in Prof. Micara's version of the origin of the Roman *cardo*.

9 Conclusion

Summing up, after the fall of the Roman Empire and before the rise of the Ottoman Empire, three main situations characterized Tripoli: its lack of a strong political or economic role, its position as a border town and its weak economy and low quality of life. This meant that *spolia* were essentially used for convenience (i. e. shafts, capitals, pieces used inside the city wall, for docks and to prepare mortar). A significant example dating back to the Ottomans no longer exists.

With the rise of the Ottomans, Tripoli was subjected to repeated destruction and reconstruction, which makes it difficult to evaluate the continuity of the Ancient world throughout the Ottoman Empire. It also suffered from a lack of local schools and local qualified workers.

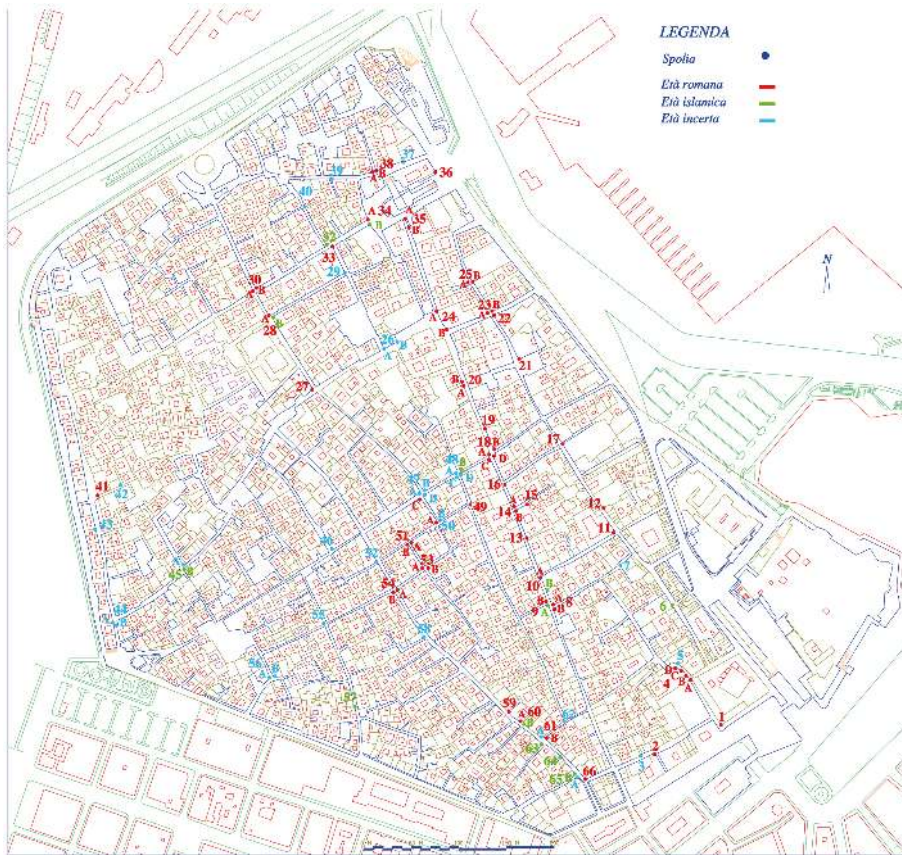


Fig. 19 Map of Tripoli indicating the presence of *spolia*.

The Libyan small-domed mosque, with its modular and repetitive space and absence of a larger central nave to underline the axis of *mirhāb*, is linked to an extensive re-use of Roman shafts (with and without capitals). These shafts were ‘recycled’ primarily for their structural function, but were also appreciated for their strength, quality of stone and superior workmanship.

The examples analyzed above testify to a significant use of Roman *spolia* during the first Ottoman domination. In this period the urban image of Tarābulus was improved for various reasons, including: the influence of the cultural core of the Ottoman Empire, the interest and fascination of western countries in the classical ruins (starting with Roman marble, see Leptis Magna), the aspirations of Darghūt and Mūrād following the autonomy of the Qaramānli. It was probably in this context that Roman Oea was ‘re-discovered’. However, it was less a matter of using *spolia* as construction material inside the main Muslim buildings (mosques), and more a matter of using *spolia* for the specific urban purpose of preserving and immortalizing the Roman urban matrix.

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1 © Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg, Graphiksammlung, G 151 III. 2 Messina 1972, 33 fig. 3. 3 Messina 1972, plate 24. 4 Messina 1972, 107 fig. 24. 5 Messina 1972, plate 26. 6 (a) and (b) Messina 1972, plate 27. 7 Photo: L. Micara, approx. 2005. 8 (a) Bartoccini 1924, 340 (b) Bartoccini 1924, 344. 9 El-Ballush 1984, 204; El-Ballush 1984, 207. 10 Ciranna and Marino 2005, 6–7, pl.

4. 11 Aurigemma 1970, pl. 48. 12 Di Vita 1983, 70, fig. 1. 13 (a) Ciranna 2005, 59, fig. 8. (b) Ciranna and Marino 2005, 14, fig. 21. 14 Ciranna and Marino 2005, 6–7, pl. 4. 15 Romanelli 1923/24, p. 194, fig. 1. 16 Aurigemma 1970, p. 9. 17 Cabasi 1979, p. 40. 18 Micara 2005, p. 47, fig. 4. 19 Elaborated by B. Pinna Caboni and L. Micara.

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Said Ennahid and Eric Ross

Adding a Layer. Functioning Muslim Shrines at Archaeological Sites in Northwestern Morocco

Summary

Archaeologists working in Northwestern Morocco (former Roman province of Mauritania Tingitania) were often struck by the ubiquitous association of pre-Islamic archaeological sites and Muslim shrines. Although several studies have been devoted to maraboutism as a form of popular piety in Morocco, Muslim shrines found at archaeological sites were rarely if ever studied in connection to their archaeological context. This research 1) revisits saints and sainthood in Morocco, and more importantly, 2) examines six case studies in Northwestern Morocco (Lixus, Zilil, Thamusida, Chella, Banasa and Hajar al-Nasr) in order to shed light on how the active devotional layer, i.e. the shrines, relates spatially and architecturally to the archaeological remains beneath and around them.

Keywords: Cult of saints; popular piety; Muslim shrines; hagiography; oral tradition.

Archäologen, die im nordwestlichen Marokko (der einstigen römischen Provinz Mauretania Tingitania) arbeiten, überrascht die häufige Verbindung von präislamischen archäologischen Stätten mit muslimischen Heiligtümern (Schreinen). Zwar befassen sich einige Untersuchungen mit dem Marabutismus, einer Ausprägung der Volksfrömmigkeit in Marokko, doch wurden muslimische Schreine nur selten vor dem Hintergrund ihres archäologischen Kontextes untersucht. Der Beitrag befasst sich erstens mit Heiligen und Heiligtümern in Marokko und widmet sich dabei zweitens sechs Fallstudien in Nordwest-Marokko (Lixus, Zilil, Thamusida, Chella, Banasa und Hajar al-Nasr) mit dem Ziel zu beleuchten, wie sich die gegenwärtige kultische Nutzungsphase, d. h. die Schreine, sich räumlich und architektonisch auf die sie umgebenden und unter ihnen liegenden archäologischen Überreste beziehen.

Keywords: Heiligenverehrung; Volksfrömmigkeit; muslimische Schreine; Hagiographie; mündliche Überlieferung.

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I Introduction

While conducting field surveys in the countryside of northwestern Morocco, archaeologists have often been struck by the ubiquitous association of archaeological sites and Muslim shrines. Although many studies have been written on *maraboutism* (the veneration of 'saints' or hagiolatry) as a form of Moroccan popular piety,¹ the relationship between shrines and archaeological sites is poorly understood. Moroccan archaeological literature has just recently begun to investigate this phenomenon.² It is our contention that the association of Muslim shrines and archaeological sites in northwestern Morocco is not accidental; the construction of these shrines by local populations indicates an attempt on their part to tame these unfamiliar and potentially threatening elements of the landscape.

Shrines, especially the domed *qubba*, are an important component of Morocco's landscape. Several studies have already established the connection of such shrines to other significant elements of topography. In rural areas they are associated with trees and groves, rocks and caves, hilltops, springs, and estuaries. In urban settings they can mark city gates or sites of manufacturing or trades. These religious structures are therefore not simply part of the landscape; they have helped to create it. They structure the landscape in so far as they relate to settlement patterns, land use, transportation routes, toponymy and other elements of human topography. In the cases of interest to this study, the shrines are associated in some way to archaeological remains and they provide additional insight into how topographical elements are 'marked' for use by communities.

This is a case study of the historic re-use of archaeological sites after their 'abandonment.' It appears that sites are rarely if ever truly abandoned.³ In Morocco, colonial period archaeologists deliberately focused on pre-Islamic (mostly Roman) occupation at archaeological sites at the expense of later Islamic ones as if these sites ceased to have

1 Westermarck 1926, Westermarck 1935; Lévi-Provençal 1953; Dermenghem 1954; Alberich 1954; Doutté 1984; Calasso 1992; Cornell 1998.

2 Siraj 1995, 439–461.

3 Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 19.

any scientific significance beyond the Roman withdrawal in 285 CE. Post-Roman layers were often considered ‘parasitical’ by early 20th century archaeologists and simply removed without further study.⁴ The archaeological site of Volubilis (medieval *Walīla*) continued to thrive well beyond 285 CE. A. Akerraz identified two main phases of post-Roman occupation.⁵ The first phase extends from 285 CE to the sixth century CE. The second phase began with the building of the late city-wall (‘enceinte tardive’) enclosing the northern section of the city and ends with the arrival of Idris I. The Idrisid occupation of the site is attested by the finding of several Idrisid dirhams, the earliest of which is dated to 789–790 CE.⁶

Six archaeological sites were chosen for investigation: the Chella complex in Rabat (ar-Ribāt), Thamusida north-east of Kenitra (Qunaiṭira), Banasa on the Oued Sebou (Wād Sibū) near Souk-el-Arba (sūq al-arba‘a), Hajar al-Nasr (Ḥajar an-Naṣr) in the Jbala (Jbāla), Lixus north of Larache (al-‘Arā’ish), and Zilil north-east of Asila (Aṣīla) (Fig. 1).

Thamusida, Banasa, Lixus and Zilil are ancient (Phoenician/Punic/Roman) sites, Chella is a Roman site with a significant medieval (Marinid) layer, and Ḥajar al-Nasr is an entirely early medieval (Idrissid) site. This list is hardly exhaustive. There are very few archaeological sites of any significance without an active Muslim shrine of one type or another associated to them. Two such sites: Tamuda (upstream from modern-day Tetouan [Tiṭwān]), and the megalith cromlech at M’soura (Mizūra), were visited. Even in these cases however, the absence of a shrine may be a recent development; it is possible that early 20th century archaeologists removed shrines located on top of the layers they were investigating. A thorough investigation of the published data from these excavations would be necessary to determine their prior state. One major site, consisting of Volubilis and Moulay Idriss Zerhoun (Mūlay Idrīs Zarhūn), though initially considered, was not investigated. The size and complexity of the site, despite the abundance of published studies of it, would necessitate a complete study of its own.

The purpose of the field investigation, conducted in the spring of 2002, was to establish the relationships between the archaeological remains, considered to be more-or-less ‘inert’, and the ‘active’ devotional layer. While these relationships are complex and multifaceted, this study will limit itself to a discussion of their spatial and architectural configurations in the landscape. Each site is assessed in order to determine how the active shrine relates to the archaeological remains. How do the shrines relate to the layout and original functions of the archaeological layer? What do the written record and local traditions about the shrine have to say about the archaeological remains? How was construction material from the archaeological remains reemployed in the shrine, if at all?

4 Penetier 2002, 147.

5 Akerraz 1985, 185–191.

6 Akerraz 1998, 299; Eustache 1970–1971, 162–169.



Fig. 1 Map of Northwestern Morocco locating sites discussed in study.

Beyond the standard review of the literature for each site (archaeological reports, where they exist), we consulted large-scale maps (1:50 000 and 1:25 000), both current and archival. Our primary purpose was to determine if any kind of Muslim shrine appeared to be associated with the site. We then made at least two field investigations of each site, plotting, photographing and describing the various types of shrines observed. We also interviewed the curators of the sites (whether official or otherwise) and, for the larger shrines, the individual responsible for the shrine about the history of its use and the types of pious activities which occur there. When we present these data in the second section of this paper we start with the least complex of these sites, Lixus, and build up to sites like Banasa and Chella which exhibit more complex linkages between the archaeological and the devotional layers.

2 'Saints' in Moroccan Islam

While it is generally admitted that the veneration of saints, along with animistic cults, may have been well ingrained in pre-Islamic Berber societies, the proliferation of saint's shrines in Morocco is a phenomenon that began during the Marinid period, in the 13th century.⁷ 'Saints,' in the Christian acceptance of the term, do not exist in Islam; Sunni doctrine recognizes no holy persons apart from the prophets and messengers of God mentioned in the Qur'ân. Yet Muslim societies, like others, have produced pious individuals (*ṣâlih*), ascetics (*faqîr*) who have renounced worldly pursuits, 'friends' of God (*wâlî*), and mystics otherwise known as 'Sufis'.⁸ These 'saints' can range in type from the most erudite theosophists, like Suhrawardî and Ibn 'Arabî, to ecstatic 'lovers' of God, to illiterate, impoverished, isolated hermits.

Colonial-era ethnographic studies of shrines in Morocco set up a distinction between erudite, urban Sufi 'saints' (the 'Saints of the Learned,' of the '*ulamâ*') on the one hand and 'popular' rural cult-figures (the 'Saints of the Commoners,' al-'*amma* or ad-dahmâ') on the other.⁹ The first category is represented by well-known Sufi mystics and founders of brotherhoods such as Mûlây 'Abd al-Salâm b. Mashîsh in the Jbala, Imâm Muḥammad b. Sulaymân al-Jazûlî (Marrakech/Marrākush) and Sîdî Muḥammad b. 'Îsâ (Meknes/Miknās), and by highly venerated patron saints of capitals and/or regions, such as Mûlây Idrîs (Idrîs II the patron saint of Fez [Fās]) and Mûlây Ibrâhîm in the Haouz (Iqlîm al-Ḥauz). The second category of saint is represented by local, often obscure, rural holy men or women whose tombs are scattered all over the countryside. Their shrines are the loci of the 'unorthodox' types of 'popular' practices, such as animal sacrifice and

7 Berque 1982.

8 *Sûfî*, one who wears *sûf*, or wool, an 'ascetic' or 'mystic'; Cornell 1998.

9 Dermenghem 1954.

annual pilgrimage. Whereas the shrines of the learned tend to be well-endowed urban institutions, and for that reason well documented, the shrines of the commoners tend to be rural, patronized and sometimes managed by illiterate people. Their historiography is often an amalgam of oral accounts, myths and legends which contain standardized hagiographic elements. We know very little about the saints buried in most rural shrines and may even be led to doubt the historical existence of individuals purported to be buried in some of them. This is the case of the many little shrines all over Morocco named for *Sîdî al-Makhfî* ('the Hidden Lord,' which recurs in association with archaeological sites),¹⁰ *Sîdî Masâ' al-Khayr* ('my Lord Good Evening'), *Sîdî Qâdî al-Ḥāja* ('My lord who fulfills the vows'), and *Lālla Raḥma* ('Lady Mercy').

Yet, the dichotomy between the scholarly (orthodox) and the popular (unorthodox) hardly explains the complexity of the phenomenon. The tombs of some very erudite scholars have developed into quite 'popular' types of shrines; the tomb of the scholar and copyist *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Ashir al-Anṣarî* (d. 1362 CE) in Salé (Salā) for instance became specialized in the treatment of mental disorder, whereas another Slawi scholar, *Sîdî 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasûn* (d. 1604 CE), became the patron saint of sailors. Moreover, the same 'popular' practices characterize both types of shrines; prayers (*du'ā'*) are recited, animals are sacrificed, all-night vigils are held, supplications for intercession are uttered, candles are lit, ribbons are tied to the iron-work, etc. Furthermore, the types of annual gatherings ('visits' or *ziyāra*, seasonal pilgrimages or *mawsim [feast]*), complete with gifts and offerings, which occur at shrines,¹¹ do not correlate to the scholarly/commoner dichotomy.

In *Realm of the Saint* (1998), Vincent Cornell offers a more nuanced typology of 'saints' in Morocco:

- The most appropriate Arabic term for such individuals is *walî* ('friend' of God, one who is 'close' to God, who has both befriended Him and been befriended by Him). Whereas the attribution of saintliness in Christianity is top-down, the saint being declared such by an ecclesiastical authority, in Sunni Islam it is bottom-up. The saintliness of an individual, his or her 'closeness' to God, is recognized by peers (other scholars) or else by the local population.
- The first condition of this status is level of piety. The term *ṣāliḥ* or *ṣālah* designates a pious individual, typically someone who was absorbed in supererogatory prayer, fasting, Qur'anic recitation and 'remembrance' (*dhikr*) of God. Such individuals adhered scrupulously to proper Islamic precepts, related to acceptable sources of food for example, and were likely to seek a measure of isolation from society and

10 See Siraj 1995, 456–459.

11 Reysoo 1991.

worldly pursuits. People would nonetheless seek out a *ṣāliḥ* for help with a personal matter, or to settle a dispute. Such help, often manifest in the form of a *karâma* (pl. *karâmât* in Arabic, ‘marvel of a saint’) of one type or another, could continue after the death of the *ṣāliḥ*, with the tomb replacing the living individual as link to the numinous.

- A second condition of closeness to God, one closely related to piety, is level of religious expertise. Mastery of the religious sciences, which required mastery of many textual sources, has always been highly valued in Muslim societies. Certain scholars, *‘ālim* (pl. *‘ulāmā’*), were recognized in their day as exemplifying the epitome of exoteric knowledge. This was the case of Sîdî ‘Abdallâh b. Ḥasûn (d. 1604 CE) in Salé and of Abû l-Hasan ‘Alî ibn Ḥirzihim (Sidi Harâzim, d. after 1164 CE) in Fez. After their deaths, their tombs continued to transmit their legacy and enable collective memory. These tombs would be patronized by the urban elite, and then by State (the makhzan, the monarchic State in Morocco) as they were seen as symbols of religious legitimacy.
- Yet other intellectuals were acknowledged for their esoteric learning. These were the Sufis properly speaking, sheikhs like Abû ‘Abdallâh Muḥammad Amghar (d. c. 1090) of Ribât Tit-n-Fitr (Ribât Tīṭ-n-fīṭr), Abû Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Maghribî (aka Sîdî Bū Ṣāliḥ, d. 1234) of Safi (Āsfi), and Sîdî Muḥammad b. Sulaymân al-Jazûlî (d. 1465), one of the ‘seven saints’ of Marrakech. The legacies of such saints as these, has been perpetuated through the centuries to our own time by the Sufi institutions (*ṭarîqa*, *ṭâ’ifa*) they established. Their tombs have thus evolved into major Sufi shrines. The erudite saints, be they jurists or mystics (or both), are known to us through hagiographies (biographies of saints, or *manâqib* such as that of Ibn al-Zayyât al-Tâdilî)¹² and other documentary sources. The shrines themselves are also well documented (treatises and literary works, missives and correspondence, but also legal deeds, *waqf* (pious) donations, officialized genealogies, etc.).
- Another important category of saint in Morocco is the *sharîf* (pl. *shurafâ’*), a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad through ‘Alî and Fâṭima. The special ‘noble’ status of *shurafâ’* is acknowledged across the Muslim world, but in Morocco, where the title ‘Mûlây’ is reserved for them, it has acquired a unique position. Three of the Muslim dynasties of Morocco: the Idrissids (Adâriṣsa) (789–985 CE), the Sa’adians (Sa’dîyun) (1524–1627) and the ‘Alawis (‘Alawiyûn) (since 1660), have claimed sharifian descent. Of the three, it is the Idrissid lineage which accounts

12 Ibn al-Zayyât al-Tâdilî 1995.

for most of the venerated *shurafā'*. Some, such as Mūlāy Idrīs I on Mount Zerhoun (Zarhūn) and Mūlāy Idrīs II, patron saint of Fez, are venerated for their national political stature. Others, such as Sīdī Qâsim b. Idrīs II (sea-side shrine of Sidi Kacem near Tangier [Ṭanja]) are remembered as *ṣâliḥs* (*ṣawāliḥ*). Many others, such as Sīdī Mazwâr (died c. 864 CE), 'Abd al-Salâm b. Mashîsh (1163–1228) and Mūlāy 'Abdallâh Sharîf of Wazzân (1596–1678) were important Sufi masters.

- A final category of 'saint' is the warrior, *murâbiṭ* or *ghâzî*. Pious or erudite, prince or pauper, certain men acquired saintly status by fighting for the faith. This strand of saintliness first manifested itself along the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts in the 10th century CE, when a network of *rubuṭ* (sg. *ribâṭ*), or 'forts,' were built. The tradition was revived in the 15th and 16th centuries to combat the Portuguese occupation of ports and coastal areas. Saints of this type include Sīdī al-Ayyâshî (d. 1641) of Salé, the Ghaylân sheikhs of Asilah, as well as the aforementioned Abū 'Abdallâh Muḥammad Amghâr and Sīdī Muḥammad b. Sulaymân al-Jazûlî.

This typology of saints in Morocco is not mutually exclusive. An individual can become a saint by any combination of criteria. Moreover, the original rationale for the saintliness of an individual can be superseded by later accretions of saintly traditions and practices. Also, whatever the origins of Morocco's myriad of saints, and whatever the rationale for the saintly status accorded them, the vocabulary of this spiritual landscape was largely in place by the end of the Marinid era (end of the 15th century CE).

3 'Shrines' in Moroccan Islam

Just as the Christian concept of 'saint' must be qualified when applied to Muslim contexts, so too does the concept of 'shrine' require qualification. Functionally, Muslim shrines should be qualified as 'para-religious' in the Islamic context. In Islam, prayer (*ṣalât*) is conducted in mosques, or indeed in any clean place, and only three places on earth: Mecca (Makka), Madina (Madîna) and Jerusalem (al-Quds), are recognized as sacred in the founding texts of the religion. None of the canonical obligations of Islam require recourse to the tombs of 'saintly' individuals, or to the kinds of activities that habitually take place there (animal sacrifice, burning of incense, lighting of candles and tying of ribbons). These places are designated as 'Muslim' only in so far as Muslims created them and continue to use them. Similar practices on the European side of the Mediterranean qualify as 'Catholic' because they are associated with a multitude of oftentimes obscure Catholic saints. South of the Sahara such practices are classified as

‘animist’ or ‘traditional’ and are conducted in shrines associated with places like groves, caves, trees, springs, etc.

Not only do the shrines in these different traditions share certain practices (animal sacrifice, candle and incense burning, offerings of gifts, etc.) they share a common understanding of relations with a complex spiritual world, a world inhabited by non-human entities who intervene in human affairs. In the Muslim world such spiritual entities are subsumed under the designation *jinn* (relate to ‘genie’ in English). *Jinn*, both a singular and a collective noun, are mentioned in several Qur’anic verses. They are creatures of “fire”¹³, as opposed to humans who are creatures of clay and to angels who are of light. According to popular Moroccan traditions, there are male *jinn* and female *jinn*, Muslim *jinn*, Jewish *jinn* and unbelieving *jinn*. There are good *jinn* and bad *jinn*. *Jinn* inhabit the world and may manifest themselves in any number of ways. *Jinn* can also interfere in human affairs, sometimes in very dangerous ways. Illness, and especially mental illness, is often believed to be the result of such interference. People can become ‘possessed’ by a *jinn*, they are *majnûn*, while madness, dementia or insanity is called *junûn*.

Jinn are directly relevant to our study for two reasons. First, *jinn* are believed to inhabit special types of places: caves, springs, trees, groves, and any abandoned place, such as ruins, and hence their relevance to archaeological sites. Secondly, many popular religious practices have as objective to initiate some dialogue with the *jinn*. As illness is construed as a manifestation of the displeasure of a *jinn*, people seek to free themselves from this ‘possession,’ hence recourse to shrines specialized in treating *jinn*-related disorders. This is the case in particular of the shrine of Sîdî ‘Alî Bû Junûn at the Banasa site. In fact, many of the most ‘popular’ practices at shrines have as much to do with the realm of the *jinn* as they do with the saints purported to be buried there.

In Morocco, Muslim shrines go by a variety of Arabic designations. In French literature since the Protectorate period they have come to be subsumed under the general designation *marabout* – a term often used in English as well – derived from *ribât* (or fortified monastery).¹⁴ In French, the term applies equally to shrines and to saintly individuals, living and dead. The term does however have negative connotation, akin to ‘charlatan,’ and is not accurate. E. Westermarck proposed a useful typology of shrines based on their Arabic designations and determined according to physical appearance rather than function or practices.¹⁵

- The *zâwiya* (pl. *zawāyā*) is the largest and most important type of shrine, both in terms of physical structure and institutional organization. While at the origin of

13 Qur’an: Chapter 55:15.

15 Westermarck 1926.

14 Lévi-Provençal 1953.

many *zawāyā* there may be the tomb of a founding saint, in the Maghreb the term (Arabic for ‘corner,’ used for a Sufi ‘lodge’)¹⁶ designates a shrine affiliated to a specific Sufi institution (a *ṭarīqa*). For example, the Wazzāniya Ṭarīqa is headquartered in the town of Wazzân (or Ouezzane), where the ‘mother’ *zâwiya* containing the founder’s tomb is located. In addition, there are Wazzânî *zawāyā* located in cities across Morocco where local disciples and affiliates of the *ṭarīqa* meet, worship, teach, etc. Physically, a *zâwiya* can be a complex of buildings, including: a mausoleum, a mosque or prayer space, a cemetery, ablution and washing facilities, a hostel, a Qur’anic school, residences for *ṭarīqa* officials, etc. A *zawīya* is a spiritual center, serving as a prayer hall and recitation space for a particular Sufi group and helping to perpetuate the spiritual legacy of its founder. It can serve as hostel or ‘retreat’ (*khalwa*) for visitors. One of the sites under study, Sîdî Mazwâr at Ḥajar an-Naṣr, seems to fall into this category. Some *zawāyā* have played important social, economic and political roles historically.¹⁷ Other *zawāyā* cater to the health and welfare needs of the local population, treating mental illness for instance, or infertility problems. The *zâwiya* of Sîdî ‘Alî Bû Junûn at Banasa, is a fully functioning *zâwiya* of this sort. A second site, Sîdî ‘Umar al-Masnâwî at Chella, was certainly equally as active in the past, but not anymore. In all cases a *zâwiya* will have some apparatus or personnel, a *shaykh* or a *muqaddam*, to administer it. These administrations were recognized and highly regarded by the *Makhzan* (the Moroccan state).¹⁸

- A *dārîḥ* (pl. *ḍarā’iḥ*) is a mausoleum. It is often a cubic whitewashed structure covered by a *qubba* (‘dome; *dārîḥ* and *qubba* (pl. *qibāb*) are used interchangeably).¹⁹ The building materials and techniques depend on the local resources and building traditions: masonry walls and brick-and-mortar dome are most common. Inside the *dārîḥ* there is usually a rectangular catafalque marking the saint’s grave. The cenotaph will be hidden beneath a green cloth and sometimes fenced off by a metal or wooden enclosure. The *dārîḥ* of Sîdî ‘Alî ibn Aḥmad at Tamusida is perhaps a typical example of this type of shrine. *Ḍarā’iḥ* are often found in cemeteries where they are surrounded by graves and lesser *ḍarā’iḥ*. Banasa has two structures of this kind but they are largely ruined now. Major *ḍarā’iḥ* may be covered with a pyramidal roof of glazed green tiles. Like *zawāyā*, important *ḍarā’iḥ* are likely to have ancillary structures, like a mosque, a hostel and ablution and washing facilities attached to

16 Elsewhere in the Muslim world this institution might be called a *khānaqa* (in the Arab East and Iran), a *tekke* (Turkey) or a *durga* (Indian Subcontinent).

17 Mouhtadi 1999.

18 See description of the Sultan’s visit to Chella, Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922, 421.

19 There are saints who objected to having a roof over their graves, “when a roof has been built they have made it fall down.” The best example in this regard is the sanctuary of Mûlây ‘Abd al-Salâm b. Mashîsh on Jabal ‘Alam: Westermarck 1926, 54; Zouanat 1998.

them. From a purely practical point of view, the small *ḍarā'ih* and *qibāb* which dot the landscape are useful reference points for archaeologists conducting field surveys because (1) they are easily recognisable, and (2) their location is usually plotted on topographic maps. Many *qibāb* are located on hilltops, possibly because they were meant to be seen from afar and from all directions.

- *Ḥawsh* (enclosure) – Smaller in size than the *qubba*, a *ḥawsh* refers to a small roofless shrine consisting of an enclosing wall of masonry, sometimes whitewashed. The *ḥawsh* is perceived as marking a grave, whether an actual individual is buried there or not, and is often surrounded by other graves. There is a good example of a *ḥawsh* at Lixus (Sîdî Ghazzal).
- *Ḥawîta* (diminutive of *ḥā'it*, wall) – Like the *ḥawsh* but smaller, a *ḥawîta* consists of a low-walled enclosure, sometimes simply a ring of whitewashed stones, around a saint's 'grave.'
- *Karkûr* – The smallest of shrines, a *karkûr* designates a heap of stones in Maghribî colloquial Arabic. *Karkûrs* are made on various occasions and for various reasons, but usually in order to address some entity in the spiritual world. Typically, candles will be lit at a *karkûr* and elements of clothing may be left at them. Contrary to the types listed above, the *karkûr* does not usually mark a grave, though it might be found in or near graveyards. It is often surrounded by vegetation, bushes and trees, and is not very visible in the landscape. We are concerned here especially with cases where building material is taken from an archaeological structure and 'sanctified' in this way. Sanctification is achieved by giving a saint's name to the stones, as indicated by the prefixes *sîdî* or *lâlla*. The use of whitewash is also an indication of sanctification. There are examples of *karkûrs* in and around the site of Zilil.
- Ribbon trees – Always designated as feminine, as in 'Lâlla 'Aîsha' or 'Lâlla Raḥma,' 'ribbon trees' and bushes are singled out as places of worship for women especially. Ribbon trees are not shrines in their own right; they are always associated to one of the shrine types listed above. Women address their supplications to God, or to a saint, at these trees. Their supplications often relate to fertility or marital issues, or else to the health and welfare of family members. Part of the practice requires that candles be lit and that ribbons cut from personal items of clothing be tied to the tree's branches. Ribbon trees tend to be secluded from view, hidden in a ravine or within a grove. They are also mobile. If a given ribbon tree dies or is cut down (by the men who manage the shrines and who often take a dim view of ribbon trees and the activities that occur at them), women will select a new one somewhere and resume their practices. There are ribbon trees at nearly all the sites studied here.

Two other types of shrines are relevant to contemporary Morocco mostly because of the impact they have had on toponymy:

- A *ribât* (pl. *rubuṭ*) originally referred to as a fort erected to protect an exposed border. Numerous *rubuṭ* were set up along Morocco's Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts, and at the mouths of rivers especially, in the 9th century. These *rubuṭ* constituted small communities of volunteer fighters and some later developed into full-fledged Sufi institutions. They survive today mostly in toponymy. For instance, the name of the capital of Morocco derives from just such a settlement. The Franco-Arabic term 'marabout' (discussed above) and the Almoravid (*al-Murâbiṭûn*) dynasty also derive from this term.
- A *khalwa* (pl. *khalawât*) is a spiritual retreat. Many Sufis have felt the need to isolate themselves from worldly concerns and distractions and have settled in appropriately isolated places. Ironically, some of these *khalawât* later developed into shrines and thus have attracted people and activities. The toponym 'Khalwa' (or 'Khaloua' in common French transliteration) appears at many of the sites discussed below.

While these structures are listed here as separate entities, shrines in Morocco are often composed of a variety of such elements. Shrines come in clusters, rarely do they stand alone. Each element at a complex site will have a special function or meaning. In some cases there is clear architectural and hagiographic hierarchy between the shrines that compose a religious site. In other cases the various elements may lay several kilometers apart yet their relations to each other will be known to the local population. As a rule-of-thumb, the presence of whitewash on stones, on pieces of masonry, or at the base of shrubs and trees, is usually a good indication that these elements have religious status. Whitewash acts as a marker of 'sanctity' of a shrine. As it washes away easily, the presence of fresh whitewash is an indication that the shrine is still in use.

The upkeep and running of shrines in Morocco is in the hands of an apparatus of permanent custodians – who are usually direct descendants of the saint. Even a small *darîh* in a cemetery will have a custodian, a *muqaddam* or a *murîd*, who is responsible for its upkeep. Larger shrine complexes, and especially *zawāyā* with attached schools, hostels, etc., will be home to an entire institution.

Attitude towards such shrines vary across the Muslim world, and across Moroccan society as well. Generally speaking, the Moroccan religious authorities tolerate the types of 'popular' devotional activities which take place at shrines so long as they do not appear too 'extreme' (self flagellation and mortification for example are proscribed), or as long as the more 'extreme' practices are done discretely. Some shrines, such as those of Mūlāy Idrīs I and Mūlāy Idrīs II, have benefited consistently from royal patronage since the

Thirteenth Century. On the other hand, many other shrines, and especially the generic types of *darā'ih* one finds in rural cemeteries, are losing their demographic and social base. Younger generations of Moroccans practice Islam differently from their parents and grandparents. There is also a 'religiosity of scale' at work. Smaller, less celebrated shrines lose their attractiveness as larger, better endowed, or more media savvy shrines expand their 'clientele.'

4 Sacred places in Islam

Today, shrines, especially the domed *qubba*, constitute one of the main characteristics of the rural Moroccan landscape. Several studies have already established the connection of such shrines to other significant elements of topography: trees, groves, waterfalls, caves, hilltops, springs, cliffs, city gates, etc.²⁰ These religious structures are therefore not simply part of a given landscape; they have helped to create it. They structure the landscape in so far as they relate to settlement patterns, land use, transportation routes, toponymy and other elements of human topography. In the cases of interest to this study, Muslim saints' shrines are associated in some way to archaeological remains. These cases can provide insight into how such places are 'marked' for use by a community.

Places are human creations. People, individually and in groups, act in and across spaces. These actions: social, economic, political, ideological, artistic etc. generate specific 'places'. Places are individually configured out of the abstract matrix of space through human agency. People give them names (toponymy); they have stories (history) attached to them. Religion can be an important part of this process. Religion provides a worldview, a conceptual or ideational framework through which places become related to each other, and connected to an ultimate, overarching, reality. Each religion has developed its own 'codes', i.e., a vocabulary of signs and symbols to express these relationships. In the case of Islam, the code is rooted in the Qur'ān, the legacy of the Prophet Muhammad (the *sunna*) and the historiography of the Rightly Guided Caliphs' period. These are considered the most legitimate 'roots' of Islamic religious practice. The landscapes created by Muslim societies will ultimately be read and interpreted by Muslims accordingly.

'Sacredness' in the Muslim worldview is global in scope and possesses a definite center. The Ka'ba in Mecca is the center of the world, the *qibla* (the direction towards the Ka'ba) of life on earth. Muslims the world over face it in prayer. By focusing these prayers, the Ka'ba connects the world to God. This basic structure of sacred geography

20 Dermenghem 1954, 135–151; Calasso 1992.

is complemented by the mosque of the Prophet in Medina and *al-Haram ash-Sharîf* (Temple Mount) in Jerusalem (the first *qibla* with its Al-Aqsa Mosque (*al-Aqṣā*) and Dome of the Rock).²¹ These constitute the three ‘sacred’ (*ḥaram*) places of Islam. The Arabic root *ḥ.r.m* conveys the concept of ‘restricted’ or ‘forbidden,’ as well as ‘sacred’. *Ḥaram* and the related terms *ḥarîm*, *ḥurm* and *ḥurma* all designate ‘inviolable’ space. Though only the three holy cities mentioned above are universally recognized as *ḥaram*, many places in the Muslim world have *ḥurm* status; these are areas directly contiguous to shrines, where animals may not be killed, where plants are allowed to grow freely,²² where men can find refuge from persecution, where lands and goods are not taxed. This is the case for example of the famous *ḥurm* around the shrine of Mûlây ‘Abd al-Salâm ibn Mashîsh on Jabal ‘Alam which also extends to the *zâwiya* of Sîdî Mazwâr at Ḥajar an-Naṣr.²³ In the case of major urban *zawāyā*, such as that of Mûlây Idrîs in Fez,²⁴ the *ḥurm* will comprise an entire neighborhood, with soup kitchens, bath houses, hostels, shops, etc. surrounding the religious edifice and delimited by clear spatial markers – in this case wooden beams across the street. The *ḥurm* of rural shrines might be marked by small piles of whitewashed stones (*karkûr*).

E. Dermenghem argues that many of the rural shrines of the Maghrib are in fact pre-Islamic shrines that have been “assimilated” into Islam by the erection of a *qubba*.²⁵ This would explain the importance of natural elements such as trees, rocks, springs, caves and ponds to the configuration of these places. The *qubba* of the ‘saint,’ real or imagined, and the *ḥurm* it creates around itself thus become mechanisms for the continuity of popular religious practices within an increasingly Muslim social and intellectual context. This opens up interesting questions in the case of the six archaeological sites under investigation here. What were the religious practices at these sites before the creation of the shrines? Do these shrines confer Islamic legitimacy to otherwise non-Islamic practices? In the absence of documentary evidence, without reliable oral traditions dating back to period of origin, and being unable to conduct archaeological excavation within the ‘protected’ areas of the *ḥurm*, these questions must remain unanswered.

21 It is from this Rock that the Prophet made his ascension (*mi‘râj*) to God’s presence (Qur’an: Chapter 17:1).

22 For a discussion of plant types growing at Muslim shrines, see Mikesell 1961, 107–110.

23 Zouanat 1998, 171.

24 Le Tourneau 1949, 601.

25 Dermenghem 1954, 34.

5 Case studies: A preliminary analysis

Unless otherwise indicated, all archaeological site descriptions in this paper are synthesized from S. Ennahid's previous work on the *Political Economy and Settlement Systems of Medieval Northern Morocco*.²⁶

5.1 Lixus

Lixus (medieval Tushummush) is one of the most important Roman-period sites in Morocco (Fig. 2). Archaeological evidence suggests that Lixus was abandoned in the beginning of the fifth century CE.²⁷ The site was reoccupied during the Islamic period. It was mentioned – as Tushummush – in several medieval Arabic texts.

Archaeological evidence for the Islamic period at the site is represented by a mosque, a house with a central courtyard, and a number of water management facilities. The mosque is located within the boundaries of the reduced city (*'la ville réduite'*) in what is known as 'the quarter of the temples'. Michel Ponsich argued that this structure was originally a Christian basilica before it was converted into a mosque.²⁸ A. Akerraz and M. Euzennat attributed this structure to the Islamic period.²⁹ The Islamic-period house at Lixus is built against the later city-wall within the reduced city.³⁰ It has a central courtyard with portico and a basin in the middle. A series of rooms with plastered walls open into the courtyard. This house is equipped with a private bath (*ḥamâm*) with its own small cistern. N. El-Khatib-Boujibar's work (1992) on the water management system at the city identified several water facilities dating to the Islamic period. This includes a well and two cisterns.³¹ The presence of a mosque with three naves (300 m²) suggests that there was a relatively sizeable population at the site. It is most likely that medieval Tushummush was confined within the reduced Roman city since all the Islamic-period archaeological evidence was found there.³²

There is a *ḥawsh* at the northern extremity of the Roman city, very near the highest point of the site (88 or 89 m). According to the curator of Lixus, this part of the site had served as cemetery following the retraction of the city.³³ The *ḥawsh* is designated by the name *Sîdî Ghazzal* and consists of a rectangular pit (ca. 1.25 x 2 m) lined with reddish-brown baked brick (possibly Roman period, re-used) topped with dry-stones. The pit is surrounded by a low perimeter wall of irregular dry-stone (ca. 9 x 9 m), the *qibla* end of which is semicircular. The orientation of the *ḥawsh* is identical to that of the mosque.

26 Ennahid 2002, 97–109.

27 Akerraz 1992, 383–384.

28 Ponsich 1981, 113–114.

29 Akerraz 1992, 382–383; Euzennat 1974, 175–181.

30 Ponsich 1981, 126–127, fig. 36.

31 El-Khatib-Boujibar 1992, 306, 310.

32 For more detail on Tushummush, see Ennahid 2002, 102–103.

33 Mr. H. Hassinî, the curator, was interviewed on site on 19 March 2002.

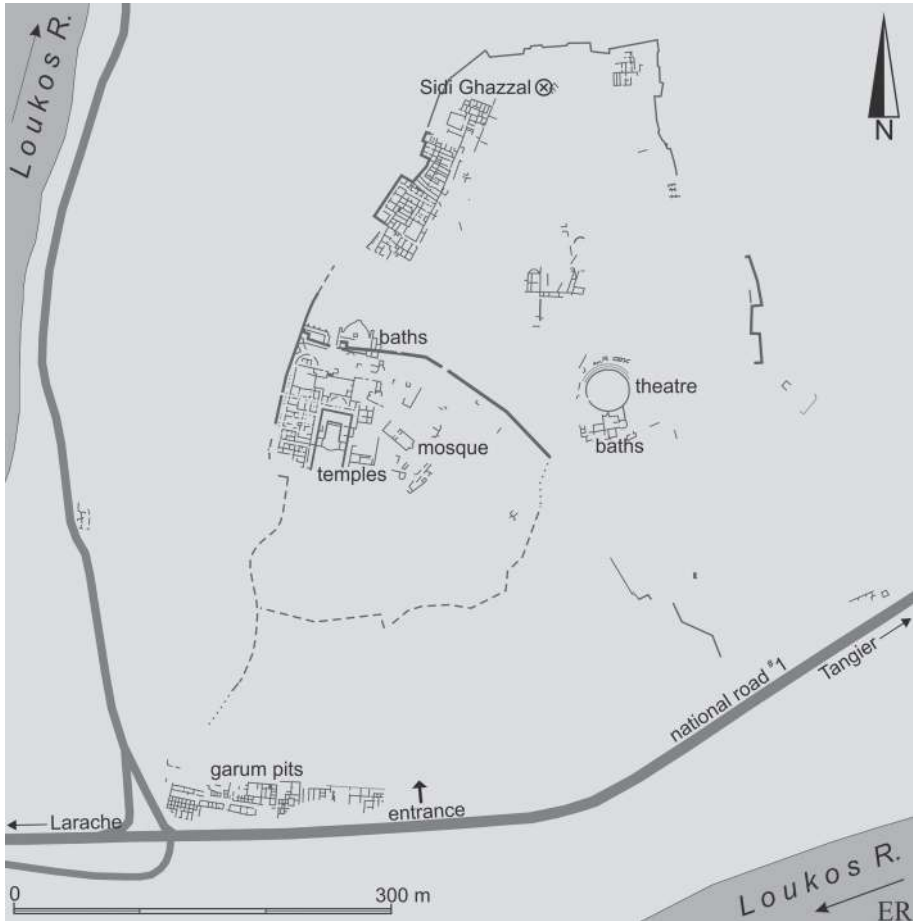


Fig. 2 Plan of Lixus archaeological site.

Both the pit and enclosing wall are whitewashed. The space between the pit and the wall shows evidence of paving (large round pebbles). The area in the doorway shows evidence of recent digging – possibly by treasure seekers.³⁴ Candles have been burnt in the surrounding brush. According to Ḥassinī, people from Larache and neighboring

34 The search for gold caches at or in the proximity of archaeological sites, Muslim shrines and cemeteries has been a curious occupation conducted by a group of people known as *swāsa* (from *Sūs*, a region in southern Morocco). These are local *faqīhs* (reciters of the Qurʾān) who engage in witchcraft, geomancy, and exorcism. Using some sort of geomantic

or talismanic writings, they roam the countryside in search of hidden treasures. Leo Africanus (1956) has provided an account of such practices in medieval times by ‘Elcanesin’ or *al Kanāzīn*, from *kānz*, Arabic for treasure (Africanus 1956, 216–220, 225–226). For more details, see Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922, 391–399 and Westermarck 1926, 289–290.

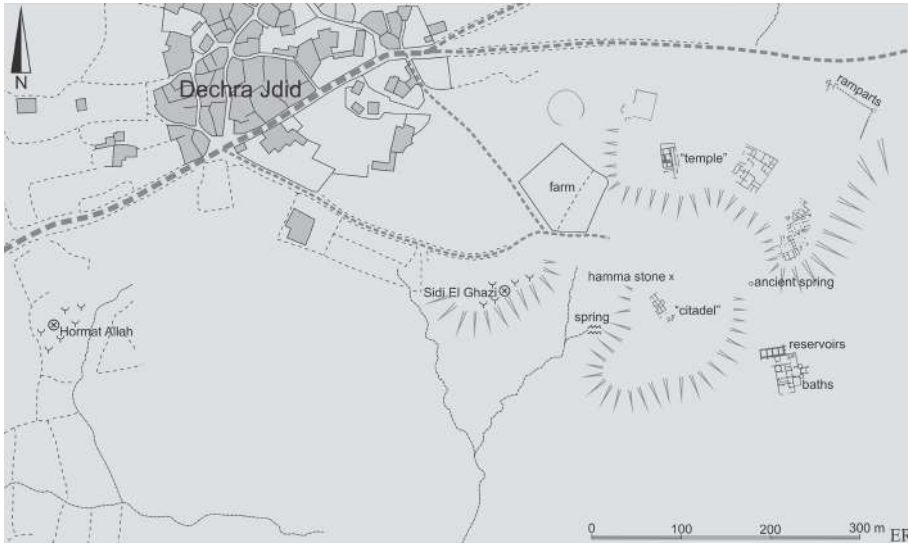


Fig. 3 Plan of Zilil archaeological site.

villages visit Sîdî Ghazzal, usually on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Sîdî Ghazzal is reputed to ‘cure’ headaches, but people will seek his aid for a number of other ailments as well.

A 1912 topographic map of Larache shows the symbol of a qubba on the site of Lixus marked as ‘Chemnich Lixus (R.R. [ruines romaines?])’ with no saint name; symbols of several other qubbas and marabouts are visible within a 10 kms radius of the site.³⁵

5.2 Zilil (Dchar Jdid / Dashar aj-jadîd)

Archaeological evidence found at the Roman site of Dchar Jdid confirmed that this latter was in fact the Roman site of *Colonia Iulia Constantia Zilil*, founded by Augustus between 33 and 27 BCE.³⁶ Six pedestals were discovered at the site in 1986; the toponym of the site was inscribed on five of them.³⁷

The current Islamic ‘layer’ of this archaeological site is very scattered (Figs. 3–4). There are three shrine elements (the ‘Ĥamma’ stone, Sîdî agh-Ghâzî, Ĥurmat Allâh) on or near the Roman ruins, some Roman-period cut stones at the *zâwîya* of Sîdî Aĥmad Tardânî in the village of Khaloua (Khalwa) (1.7 km northwest of the site), and others at the cemetery of Lâlla Raĥma (2.5 km to the west of Zilil).

35 Source: Map *Larache, Maroc au 200.000^e Feuille No. III (Ouest)*, Bureau Topographique des T.M.O., Décembre 1912, Inventory number 317719. Map consulted at

the Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc, BNRM on Jan. 26, 2011.

36 M. Lenoir 1993, 507.

37 M. Lenoir 1993, 509. For more recent literature on Zilil, see E. Lenoir 2005.

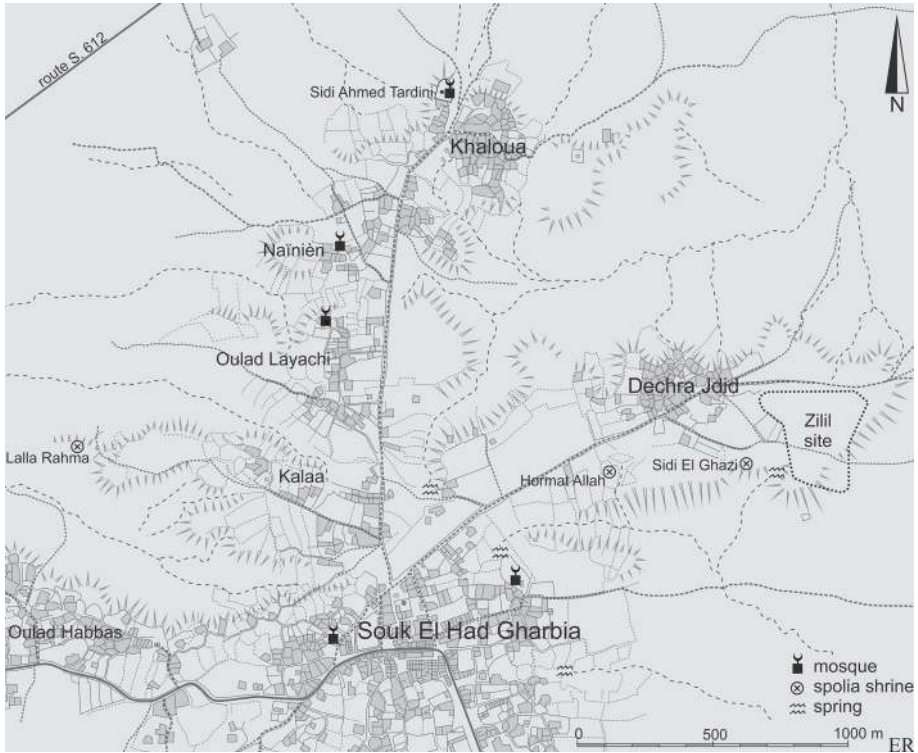


Fig. 4 Map of Zilil area.

The ‘Ḥamma’ stone is a piece of Roman masonry (stone-and-mortar) which protrudes from the ground in the middle of what is now a farmer’s wheat field.³⁸ The masonry may possibly have been part of the foundations of a Roman building, as it resembles part of an arch. According to Ahmed Kadi Wahabi (Aḥmād Qāḍī al-Wahabī), the guardian of the Zilil site, the Ḥamma stone, whose name was not explained, was ‘visited’ occasionally by the local population.³⁹ It was mostly of use for treating illness in children. Candles would be burnt and ribbons left at the site. Money could also be left. There were no burials associated with the site, and visits could occur at any time; there was no special day of the week for this. In December 1984 the Ḥamma stone was broken open, probably by treasure seekers. This act amounted to the desecration of the stone. When we visited the site in March 2002 the stone lay in large fragments. There was no trace of whitewash or of candles, ribbons, etc; once the *baraka* (God’s grace) had left the stone, the place was abandoned.

38 See Siraj 1995, 440–441 for details. See also Westermarck 1926, 364–365.

39 Ahmed Kadi Wahabi (Aḥmād Qāḍī al-Wahabī) was interviewed on site on 21 March 2002.

Just west of the Zilil site, on a slope which faces it across a shallow ravine, is the shrine of *Sîdî agh-Ghâzî*. This shrine consists of two masonry graves separated by a clump of short doum-palms surrounding an olive tree. The shrine is surrounded by a cemetery which is no longer in use. We were unable to find out anything about this shrine apart from its name.

About 200 m further west is the shrine of *Ḥurmat Allâh* (or ‘Sanctuary of God’), there was some discussion as to which of the titles, ‘*Sîdî*’ or ‘*Lâlla*’, was appropriate for *Ḥurmat Allâh*. *Ḥurmat Allâh* occurs near an outcrop of Roman-period concrete and masonry. The outcrop occurs at the surface and is mostly lichen-covered. The shrine itself consists of thicket of short trees, including olive and doum-palms, at whose roots is a section of stone column. The column section and other large stones in the composition are not whitewashed. The shrine is visited by people who suffer from back pain. The *Ḥurmat Allâh* site also includes a well (no longer in use) and two cemeteries: a children’s cemetery directly behind the thicket and closer to the masonry outcrop, and a cemetery for adults off to the side. We were informed that the children’s cemetery is still being used.

1.7 km north-west of Zilil, in the neighboring village of Khaloua, is the *zâwîya* of *Sîdî Aḥmad Tardânî*. This *zâwîya* is not directly associated with the Zilil site, or the shrines connected with it. It does however harbor within its precinct two cut stones of probable archaeological origin: a large rectangular piece of cut sandstone, and a large millstone. The *zâwîya* consists of a *ḍarih* with a *qubba* and a separate mosque with a minaret. These whitewashed buildings are set within a grove of fig trees at the summit of a narrow spur (90 m wide), with a spectacular view northwards, to the valley of the Hachef River. The grove also contains a well and three whitewashed graves. According to the custodian of the *zâwîya*, the large rectangular piece of cut sandstone was found when the mosque was built; it now serves as a garden bench overlooking the western precipice. Large cut stones were commonly used in Roman Zilil, as in other Roman-period sites, but have not been used much in architecture since then. This stone was probably removed from the Zilil site sometime in the past and brought to Khaloua for some purpose. Possibly, it may have been used for some building where the mosque now stands. The second archaeological feature at this site is a large millstone with a square hole at its summit for the wooden peg. Such millstones are common at Roman sites; they are larger than those currently in use by rural households but smaller than those used in traditional commercial mills. Most probably this stone too was removed from the Zilil site and brought to Khaloua. Contrary to the cut sandstone piece, the millstone continues to have some religious status. It lies at the foot of one of the garden graves and, like the other structures around it, is whitewashed.

Finally, 2.5 km west of Zilil is the shrine of Lālla Raḥma. Lālla Raḥma ('Lady of Mercy') is a cemetery. It occupies a low ridge (50 m wide) that juts westward from El Had Rharbia (al-ḥaṭ agh-gharbiya). The ridge in fact culminates in two different places, about 50 m apart, and these are where the shrines are located. The western-most summit is dominated by a large, old, olive tree enclosed by a low *ḥawsh* of dry-stone. There are traces of whitewash on the stones, but not on the tree trunk. The shrine is surrounded by graves. The eastern summit, which also has many graves, is forested. Hidden amongst the brush is a half-ruined circular stone structure which resembles a well. It is whitewashed. Ten meters from this structure is a set of rectangular cut stones (sandstone), similar to the one in the *zāwīya* of Sîdî Aḥmad Tardâni. Some of them are arranged horizontally, while another has been placed upright; they are all whitewashed. Other dry-stone *ḥawīta*, also partially whitewashed, complete the composition, along with a ribbon tree some 10 m away.

5.3 Thamusida⁴⁰

The site of Thamusida, north east of Kenitra, occupies a low embankment along the left bank of the Sebou River (Roman *aminis sububus magnificus et navigabilis*) (Fig. 5). The ruins today extend over an area of 15 hectares. Several archaeological field seasons were conducted at the site starting with the work of A. Ruhlman between 1932 and 1934. The most recent archaeological work at Thamusida was conducted between 1999 and 2007 by a team of archaeologists from the *Institut National des Sciences de l'Archéologie et du Patrimoine* (INSAP) in Rabat and the *Università degli Studi di Siena* in Italy.

Archaeological evidence shows a Mauretanian (pre-Roman) occupation at the site, represented by traces of adobe dwellings ("des constructions en terre"), at around the mid 2nd century BCE. The finding of a Phoenician amphora (Type R1) pushes the earliest occupation at Thamusida to the 6th century BCE. The settlement continued to thrive until the Romans annexed it and launched a major urban program. Under the Flavians (69–96 CE), Thamusida became a Roman garrison town complete with a temple and a number of bath houses. The orthogonal layout of the city dates to the 2nd century CE when Thamusida became the largest garrison town in all Mauritania Tingitania, extending over an area of 2.25 hectares. Although the city was officially abandoned by the Roman garrison between 274 and 280 CE, several archaeological indications point to the occupation of the site subsequent to Roman withdrawal.⁴¹

40 The archaeological description of the site of Thamusida was synthesized from R. Arharbi, see Arharbi 2011.

41 Arharbi 2011, 63–66.

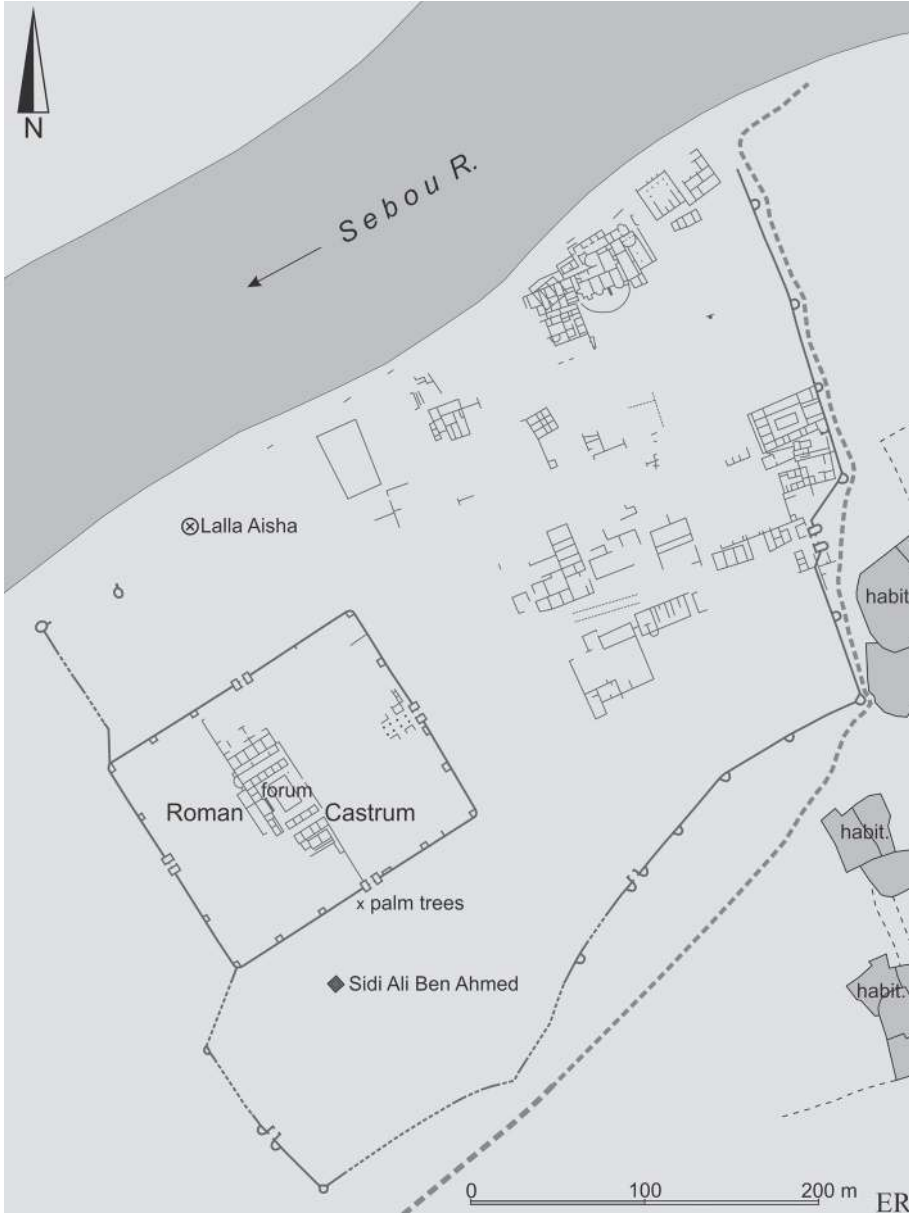


Fig. 5 Plan of Thamusida archaeological site.

The current Islamic 'layer' consists principally of the *ḍarīḥ* of Sîdî 'Alî b. Aḥmad.⁴² This mausoleum is perhaps a typical example of a rural *qubba*. It stands very near the highest point of the site (12 m alt.) to the south of the *castrum*, and is visible from every direction. Today it serves as a marker for those who are looking for the archaeological site of Thamusida, which otherwise has no vertical components. The *ḍarīḥ* is a white-washed, domed structure with a single door, painted green. Nothing is really known about Sîdî 'Alî b. Aḥmad. The *ḍarīḥ* has a custodian who looks after it and collects 'gifts' left by visitors, but it has no documentation. The custodian could only give imprecise information about the site and the *ḍarīḥ*. He did report that the shrine was originally a fig tree, that the tree became a *karkûr* or a *ḥawsh*, and that only later was the mausoleum built. Sîdî 'Alî b. Aḥmad may well be one of those 'generic' saints scattered around Moroccan rural landscapes. Sîdî 'Alî b. Aḥmad is visited on Wednesdays, mostly by women who wish to treat problems of infertility. It also has an annual *mausim*, in summer.

The shrine of Sîdî 'Alî b. Aḥmad is complemented by two ribbon trees. The first of these consists of a stand of three palm trees directly adjacent to the *ḍarīḥ*. The base of these trees shows evidence of much burning of candles and bits of cloth are left there. We were unable to determine if this shrine had a proper name. The second ribbon tree is a bush right on the river bank. The custodian informed us that it was called Lâlla 'Aisha. The bush is wrapped in long green banners, has many ribbons attached to its lower branches, and shows evidence of candle burning. The shrine is obviously used by women, but the custodian was very dismissive of 'women's things' and we were unable to obtain any additional information. He did however tell us that the shrine had moved; formerly, Lâlla 'Aisha had been located at another tree along the river bank, to the east.

There are no burials around Sîdî 'Alî b. Aḥmad. Rather, the shrine is related to two cemeteries some distance away: Sîdî Saba' Rijâl 4 km to the south-southwest, and Sîdî Bû Ma'iza 1.7 km directly south of the *ḍarīḥ* (Fig. 6).

Sîdî Saba' Rijâl ('My Lord of Seven Men') serves as cemetery for all the villages and hamlets in the immediate vicinity. It lies on a low hillock (13 m alt.) and is crowned by a small whitewashed *qubba*. The archaeological material found in this cemetery indicates that a settlement existed there in Roman times.⁴³ Today, the Rabat-Tangier highway runs right past it. The second cemetery, at Sîdî Bû Ma'iza, is more problematic. This is a children's cemetery. It consists of an almost perfectly conical hill some 200 m in diameter which culminates at 28 m. It lies in open country and has a commanding view of its surroundings, including of the *qubba* of Sîdî 'Alî b. Aḥmed. At the summit of the cone is a small concrete marker. The area immediately around it has been recently dug up, possibly by treasure seekers. The graves of small children, as well as discarded

42 The *qubba* of Sîdî 'Alî b. Aḥmad was identified by C. Tissot, see Tissot 1878, 280.

43 Siraj 1995, 452.

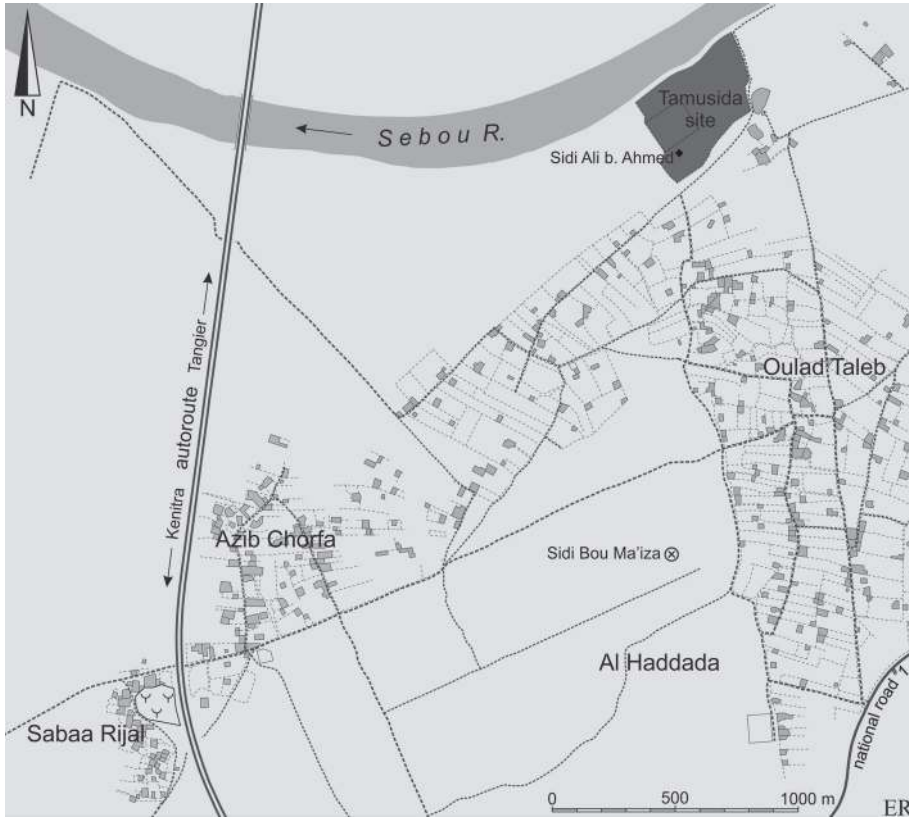


Fig. 6 Map of Thamusida area.

children’s clothing, occupy the slopes of the cone. Mr. Muḥammad ‘Alâm, the guardian of the Thamusida archaeological site, told us that children have been buried here since before he was born. There are also a lot of pottery shards and pieces of iron slag at the site. The area is known as ‘Azîb Ḥaddada, or Al-Ḥaddada, toponyms which relate to blacksmiths and iron-working. The custodian indicated to us that there was some kind of ordinal relationship between Sîdî Bû Ma‘îza and Sîdî ‘Alî b. Aḥmad, that somehow Sîdî Bû Ma‘îza was first, before Sîdî ‘Alî b. Aḥmad.

5.4 Ḥajar an-Naşr

Ḥajar an-Naşr (‘Eagle Rock’) is an Idrisid fortress located about 30 km southeast of Jbel Sîdî Ḥabîb (Jabal Sîdî Ḥabîb) (Fig. 7). The site sits above the modern village of Douar el-Ḥajar (Duwâr al-Ḥajar). It was mentioned in several medieval Arabic texts. Ḥajar an-

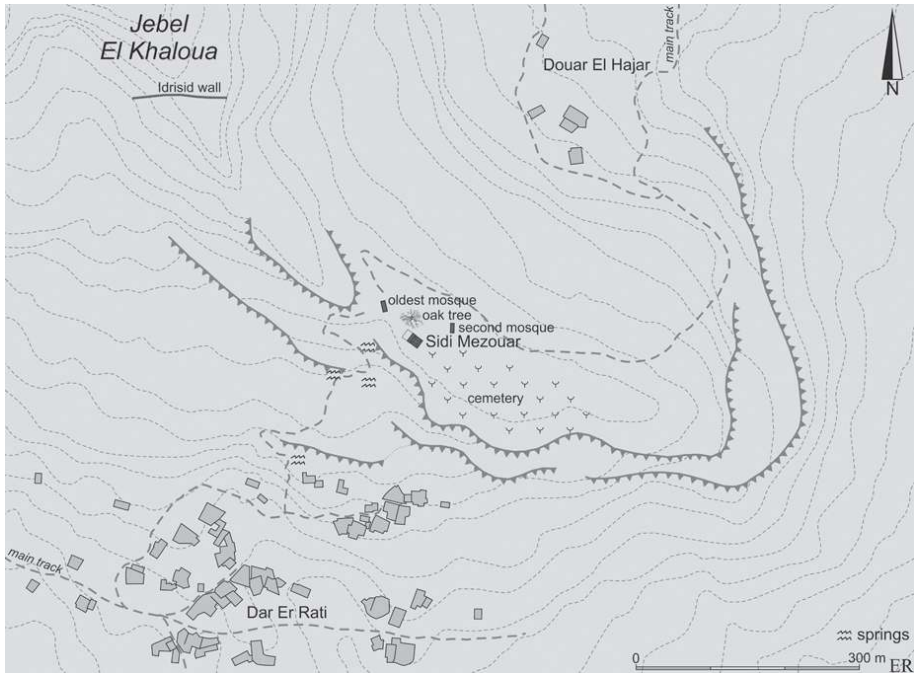


Fig. 7 Plan of Hajar an-Naşr archaeological site.

Naşr is located on a *mesa* of about 5 hectares and the site was first surveyed by a team of Moroccan, French and Spanish archaeologists.⁴⁴ Several archaeological features were found at Hajar an-Naşr including an enclosing wall and a large central complex (7.5 m by 19.5 m) arranged in the shape of the letter L. Although textual evidence points to the presence of water within Hajar an-Naşr, no storage facilities for food (silos) or water (cisterns) were found at the site.⁴⁵ The ceramic material found at Hajar an-Naşr date to the tenth century CE.⁴⁶

The site is today known for the *zâwiya* of Sîdî Mazwâr. It is located about 25 km south-west of the shrine of Mûlây ʿAbd al-Salâm b. Mashîsh, which is the most important shrine in the Jbala region and to which it is related. In spite of a number of discrepancies between the hagiography of Sîdî Mazwâr and Idrisid historiography, the former played an important role in the identification of Hajar an-Naşr. In fact, considering the remoteness of the site, it would have been almost impossible to identify it archaeologically if the local tradition has not kept a vivid memory of Sîdî Mazwâr.

44 For a detailed historical-archaeological description of the site, see Cressier et al. 1998.

45 Cressier et al. 1998 323–326, 331.

46 Cressier et al. 1998, 329, 332.

During our field survey the *muqaddam* of the *zâwîya*, Aḥmad al-Jamaîlî, was able to give valuable complementary information.⁴⁷

The hagiography of Aḥmad b. ʿAlî Ḥaydara b. Muḥammad b. Idrîs b. Idrîs, alias Sîdî Mazwâr, places this Idrisid prince in Ḥajar an-Naṣr well before the site was developed as a fortress by his cousins. Sîdî Mazwâr (died c. 864 CE) is reported to have come to the secluded site to seek refuge not from political or military turmoil, but for spiritual reasons. Ḥajar an-Naṣr was his *khalwa*, his spiritual ‘retreat’, and this legacy survives in the name of the mountain which dominates the site. If the hagiography is historically correct, the spiritual function of the site precedes its function as an urban center or fortress. The Idrisid princes who founded Ḥajar an-Naṣr were building on an existing Idrisid establishment, rather than starting out *ex nihilo*. Sîdî Mazwâr is reported to be the ancestor of nearly all the other Idrisid saints of the Jbala, including of Mûlây ʿAbd al-Salâm b. Mashîsh (died c. 1224 or 1227 CE).⁴⁸ Following its brief career as an Idrisid fortress, the site appears again in the historical record after the Battle of the Three Kings (1578 CE). In return for the support of the powerful Idrisid lineages of the Jbala, the Saʿdian Sultân Aḥmad al-Manṣûr officially recognized the *ḥurm* of both Sîdî Mazwâr at Ḥajar an-Naṣr and of Mûlây ʿAbd al-Salâm b. Mashîsh on Jabal al-ʿAlam.⁴⁹ We can surmise from this that the *zâwîya* of Sîdî Mazwâr was already an important shrine in the 16th century, on par with that of Mûlây ʿAbd al-Salâm b. Mashîsh. Ibn Mashîsh is still a major shrine in Morocco today, but Sîdî Mazwâr is hardly known beyond the Jbala.

The *zâwîya* of Sîdî Mazwâr (19th century CE?) and its dependencies occupy a narrow ridge. The *zâwîya* consists of a main burial chamber, surmounted by a large central dome and four smaller corner domes, preceded by an antechamber. The main chamber has a *mihṛâb* (pl. *maḥârib*). To the left of the entrance, outside the building, is a well constructed masonry *ḥawsh* purported to contain the grave of the founder of Ḥajar an-Naṣr; this could be either the Idrisid prince Ibrâhîm b. Muḥammad b. al-Qâsim b. Idrîs, or his son Muḥammad.

Two other buildings, both mosques with *maḥârib* (sg. *mihṛâb*), share the narrow ledge. The oldest mosque is a long narrow structure with an arched gallery along the outside of its *qibla* wall. It is in a state of disrepair but seems to get a fresh coat of white-wash every once in a while. The inside of the gallery is covered in graffiti of a decidedly profane nature, which is a very good indication that the building is no longer used for religious purposes. The second mosque stands lower down the slope. It has the same general physiognomy as the older one (long and narrow), but without the outer gallery. It has corrugated sheet-metal roofing and seems to be used as a stable for sheep and goats.

47 Aḥmad al-Jamaîlî was interviewed on site on 20 March and 25 May 2002.

48 ʿAbd al-Salâm b. Mashîsh b. Abû Bakr b. ʿAlî b. Ḥurma b. ʿÎsâ b. Salâm b. Mazwâr, according to Zouanat 1998, 27.

49 Cressier et al. 1998, 315.

The whitewash on its walls is nearly completely washed away. Interestingly, the *qiblas* of the three structures indicates a succession in time. The *qibla* of the oldest mosque faces almost due east; that of the second mosque faces a bit more south than the first, while the *qibla* of Sîdî Mazwâr's *darîh* faces almost perfectly south-east. This is in fact a reversal of the usual trend in the history of the *qibla* in Morocco. The *qiblas* of the earliest (Idrisid) mosques in Morocco faced almost due south. They were slowly re-oriented toward the south-east and then towards the east over a period of many centuries.⁵⁰ In the case of Sîdî Mazwâr the east-facing *qibla* was progressively re-oriented southward.

The central space between the three structures described above is dominated by a great oak tree. This space is used twice a year to accommodate the small crowd that attends the annual *mawâsim* (sg. *Mawsim feast day*): the *Mawlid al-Nabawî* (the Prophet Muammad's 'birthday' on the 12th of Rabi' al-Awal) and the *Ād al-Fitr* holiday which marks the end of Ramađân. Otherwise, visits to the shrine occur mostly on Mondays, Thursdays and Fridays. According to the *muqaddam*, Sîdî Mazwâr has no specific therapeutic abilities; pilgrims just visit his tomb for reasons of personal piety.

The remainder of the ridge consists of an active cemetery. Along the upper-most reaches, right up to the cliff-edge to the south, are a large number of dry-stone *aḥwāsh* (sg. *ḥawsh*), some of them quite large. None are whitewashed and there is no indication that any cultic or devotional activities occur there.

The southern cliff-edge, down to the hamlet of Er-Rati, constitutes the main route to the site. There are a number of springs along this steep path which are used for specific devotional purposes, according to P. Cressier et al.⁵¹ *Āin al-Ṭalaba* is used by students of the *zâwīya* for their ablutions. *Āin al-Kurûsh* is used to wash the entrails of sheep sacrificed during the *mawâsim*. *Āin al-Baraka* is purported to cure skin ailments by washing, while the anonymous spring next to it cures fevers. There is also the *Āin Mûlây Aḥmad*, purported to be 'haunted' (*mashûra*).

There was no evidence of a ribbon tree attached to Sîdî Mazwâr, but we did not explore the entire site. Ribbon trees, or, more frequently, ribbon bushes, tend to be discreet places. Women who use them know where to find them. There is no need for them to 'stand out' in the landscape.

5.5 Chella

Chella (pronounced *Shâlla*), located just outside the ramparts of Rabat, is etymologically related to *Salâ* (Salé), Rabat's twin city across the Bou Regreg (Abū Raqrâq) river, and ultimately to *Sala Colonia*, the Roman colony on the site (Fig. 8). The site is complex in that it has both ancient (Roman) and Medieval (Marinid) archaeological layers, as

50 Bonine 1990.

51 Cressier et al. 1998, 330.

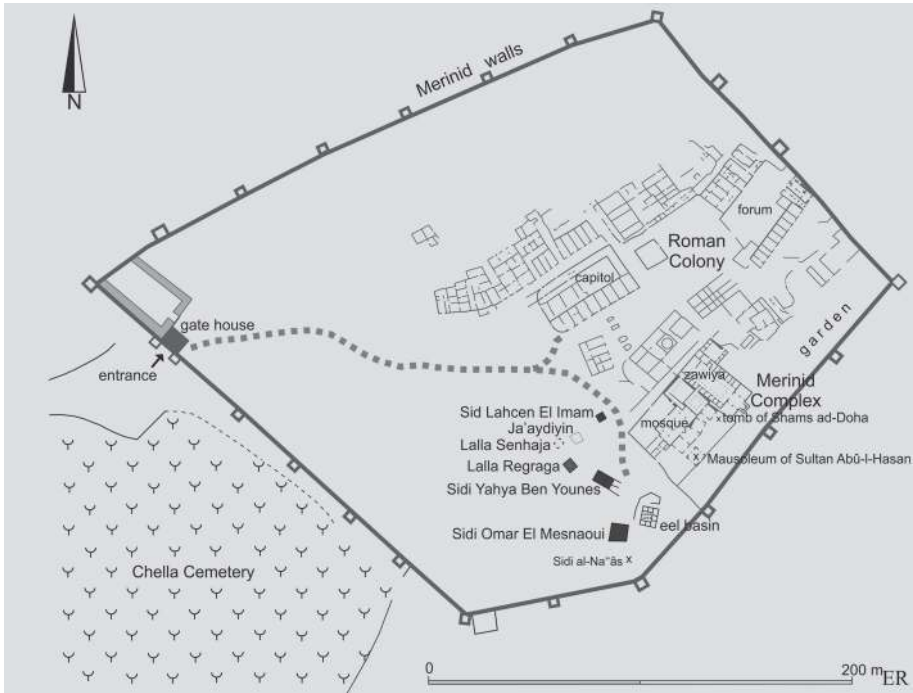


Fig. 8 Plan of Chella archaeological site.

well as the subsequent Islamic shrines. The site occupies the slope of a narrow spur on the left bank, or south-western side, of the Bou Regreg valley. It is well defined by a solid perimeter wall and most of it is planted with beautiful gardens. The gardens, shrines and ruins make Chella one of Rabat's most picturesque sites and a major tourist attraction.

The earliest archaeological evidence at the site points to *Sala* as a port of call for Phoenician ships in the 7th century BCE, then to a Mauretanian occupation between the 2nd to 1st centuries BCE. Following Roman annexation, *Sala* was designated as a *colonia* for retired soldiers. It was fortified in 144 CE and was provided with an orthogonal urban layout and a monumental complex in keeping with Roman classical tradition. The Bou Regreg River marked the southern limit of the province of Mauritania Tingitania, and of the Roman Empire in North Africa. The little territory lying south of the Bou Regreg Estuary where *Sala Colonia* was built was fortified with a ditch, or *fossatum*. Following the withdrawal of Roman administration the city declined in importance and a new port city, Salé, on the north bank of the estuary, came to replace it.

The Islamic archaeological layer at Chella consists of an important mortuary complex established by the Marinids. H. Basset and E. Levi-Provençal wrote a seminal and

comprehensive study on the historiography, art history, archaeology, and architecture at Marinid Chella including a section on post-Marinid shrines (“Les Qoubba mérinides en dehors du sanctuaire”)⁵² and one on the “Légendes et Cultes.”⁵³ More recently, Shudūd has reviewed all relevant literature on the “mausoleums and marabouts at Chella” (“*al-adrihā wa-l-qibāb fi-shalla*”) and produced an annotated transliteration of Muḥammad Abū Jandār’s *Al-ightibāt bi-tarājim A‘lām ar-Ribāt*, a biographical dictionary of eminent figures in Rabat including saints buried in Chella.⁵⁴

Sultān Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb (reigned 1258–1286) was the first Marinid sultan to invest in the ancient site, building a funerary mosque for his wife Umm al-‘Īzz in 1284.⁵⁵ Subsequent sultans continued to develop the site. Abū-l-Ḥassan (1331–1351) built a large complex, consisting of a mosque, a *zāwiya*, his own monumental *ḍarīḥ* (mausoleum) and that of his wife Shams ad-Dūha. He also completed the great perimeter wall, with its monumental gate, which still encloses the site today. The architecture of Abū-l-Ḥassan’s complex incorporates reused baked brick from the Roman layer, as well as white Carrara marble which the Marinids imported from Italy. Chella was the major necropolis of the dynasty; many important members of the Marinid court were buried there. This Marinid necropolis, and Abū-l-Ḥassan’s complex in particular, is now in ruins and thus qualifies as an archaeological site alongside Roman *Sala Colonia*. Yet, in subsequent centuries Chella continued to serve as cemetery, and there is still a large active cemetery directly adjacent to it, outside Abū-l-Ḥassan’s walls. There is thus continuity between the medieval archaeological occupation of the site and the more recent shrines.

This continuity is expressed at the spiritual or mythical level by two shrines within the ruined Marinid complex itself: the shrine to the ‘Black Sultan’ and to his ‘daughter’ Lālla Shalla. The shrine to the Black Sultan (as-Sultān ak-Kaḥal) is none other than Abū-l-Ḥassan’s mausoleum. Now roofless, the mausoleum has open arches on three sides. The *qibla* side is a solid masonry wall, elaborately decorated on its outside. On its inner surface is a niche in the stonework where candles were still being burnt in 2002.⁵⁶ Abū-l-Ḥassan’s marble tomb catafalque lies in the middle of the floor, yet popular tradition holds that this is the tomb of ‘Mūlāy Ya‘qūb,’ a mythical Black Sultan. Basset and Lévi-Provençal also report that the tomb stone of Abū-l-Ḥassan’s wife, Shams ad-Dūha, is popularly believed to be that of an equally mythical ‘Lālla Shalla,’ daughter of the Black Sultan.⁵⁷ Similar rituals used to occur at her gravesite as well.

The later Muslim shrines at Chella are grouped in a small area to the south and west of the Marinid complex and consist of a number of elements: *ḍarā’ih*, *aḥwāsh*, a

52 Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922, 312–315.

53 Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922, 385–422.

54 Shudūd 2011, 229–236 and Appendix 3: 139–149 respectively.

55 Chastel 1994, 219.

56 From more recent visits it appears that the practice of burning candles at this site has stopped.

57 Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922, 406. The marble stele of Shams ad-Dūha has been removed from her tomb.

karkûr and a pool. The principal shrine today is the *ḍarīḥ* of Sîdî ‘Umar al-Masnâwî. The Mausoleum chamber, beneath a *qubba*, contains two tombs and is preceded by an antechamber. It has a custodian who lives on-site and it is still visited today. Next to it is the *ḍarīḥ* of Sîdî Yâhyâ b. Yûnus. This is an imposing mausoleum with a *qubba*. The main chamber contains two catafalques, while the antechamber contains four additional tombs, the most recent of which carries the date 1964 CE. Next to this in turn is a *ḍarīḥ* named Sîdî al-Ḥassan al-Imâm. It is a typical whitewashed cubical structure with a *qubba*.

Still more historically obscure are the two female saints associated to the funerary structures attributed to Lalla Ragra (Lâlla Raqrâqa) and Lalla Sanhaja (Lâlla Sanhâja).⁵⁸ Both these names refer to important Amazigh (Berber) tribes.⁵⁹ It is possible that all the male saints issuing from these tribes have been subsumed into a single female entity as it was argued by Basset and Lévi-Provençal.⁶⁰ Nestled among these female tomb structures is a stone *hawsh* named Ja‘aydiyîn which contains three or four stone-marked graves. Two other tombs listed by Basset and Lévi-Provençal: Sîdî aḏ-Zâhir and Sîdî Bû Ma‘îza, which may lie further up the wooded slope were not seen by us during our survey.⁶¹

It is important to note here that the current custodian of these shrines was unable to give any information on the various saints, men and women, purported to be buried in these structures. Only the *ḍarīḥ* of Sîdî ‘Umar al-Masnâwî, with its attendant eel pool, is still a functioning shrine. The *ḍarīḥ* of Sîdî Yâhyâ b. Yûnus, Lâlla Ragra and Sîdî Ḥassan al-Imâm are in good repair but do not seem to be loci of pious visits. The entire cemetery is overgrown and some of the trees are now quite mature; it is no longer an active cemetery. Moreover, a large colony of storks and egrets has made its home in the cemetery. The sound of chattering birds there is often deafening,⁶² yet it is somehow strangely in keeping with the mystical dimension of the place.

The *ḍarīḥ* of Sîdî ‘Umar al-Masnâwî, the only active one today, faces the eel pool, one of Chella’s most original features. The eel pool consists of a masonry basin with seven small lateral chambers. The construction dates from the Marinid period, though its original purpose is open question. It is built over a natural spring and has anywhere between 50 cm and 1 m of water in it at any time. Basset and Lévi-Provençal suggested

58 For a detailed architectural description, see Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922, 312–315.

59 The Ragra are a Berber tribe from the area around present-day Essaouira (aṣ-Ṣawîra). They famously have ‘seven saints’. The Sanhâja are a large Berber tribal confederation which produced the Almoravid dynasty in the 11th century CE.

60 Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922, 415–417. This transformation is facilitated by Arabic grammar. The collective designation of a group, in this case tribal designations, is identical to the female singular form.

61 Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922, 417.

62 One is reminded here of the Persian mystic Farîd ad-Dîn ‘Aṭṭâr’s *Mantiq at-tâ’ir* (‘The Conference of the Birds’), an allegorical work in which thirty birds assemble in an effort to reach God.

this was originally an ablution chamber.⁶³ This shrine is clearly related to issues of fertility. Women used to visit it for treatment; they would immerse themselves in the water and isolate themselves in the chambers. They would also feed hard-boiled eggs to the eels that live in the basin.⁶⁴ Today, according to the custodian, this is no longer done. The eel pool is now part of the Chella tourist circuit. The custodian will feed eggs to the eels while tourists leave coins in offering. There is evidence however that the shrine is still visited for devotional purposes as burnt candles can be seen at the site.

Contiguous to the *ḍarīḥ* of Sîdî ʿUmar al-Masnâwî was a shrine known as Sîdî an-Nuʿâs (‘My Lord of Sleep’). The shrine, as described by Basset and Lévi-Provençal,⁶⁵ consisted of a section of stone column used as a *karkûr*, and patronized by people with sleep disorders. Clearly, Sîdî an-Nuʿâs never existed as a person. The column section, no longer extant, was undoubtedly taken from either a Roman-period structure or from the Marinid necropolis. As in other popular shrines built around specific stones, the column piece was believed to be inhabited by a spirit, or *jinn*. The custodian of Sîdî ʿUmar al-Masnâwî showed us the spot where the shrine used to be, a small space hidden away between the bushes and trees at the back of a garden. There is nothing there now which would indicate the presence of Sîdî an-Nuʿâs.

5.6 Banasa⁶⁶

The site of Banasa occupies a low bluff on the left bank of the Sebou River (Roman *aminis sububus magnificus et navigabilis*) (Fig. 9). The first archaeological excavations at the site were conducted between 1933 and 1955 by R. Thouvenot and A. Luquet. The most recent ones were conducted by archaeologists Rachid Arharbi (*Institut National des Sciences de l’Archéologie et du Patrimoine*, INSAP) and Éliane Lenoir (UMR 8546, CNRS-ENS, Paris). The presence at Banasa of fragments of Phoenician amphorae, among other archaeological artifacts, points to the occupation of the site prior to the 5th century BCE. Mauretania Banasa was annexed to Roman administration between 33 and 27 BCE and became *Iulia Valentia Banasa*; a name that will change again, under Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius (161–180 CE), to *Colonia Aurelia*.

The orthogonal layout of the central area of the site (‘quartier central’) dates probably to the first Roman contact. This area hosts an important monumental complex made of a temple, a forum, and a judiciary basilica. The macellum quarter (‘quartier du macellum’) boasts one of the largest houses in Banasa built around a peristyle and richly decorated with polychrome mosaics. As in Thamusia, several archaeological indications point to the occupation of Banasa subsequent to Roman withdrawal in 285

63 Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922, 399.

64 In 1922 Basset and Lévi-Provençal reported both sacred eels and sacred turtles inhabited the pool.

65 Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922, 417–418.

66 The archaeological description of the site of Banasa was synthesized from Arharbi and Ramdani 2008.

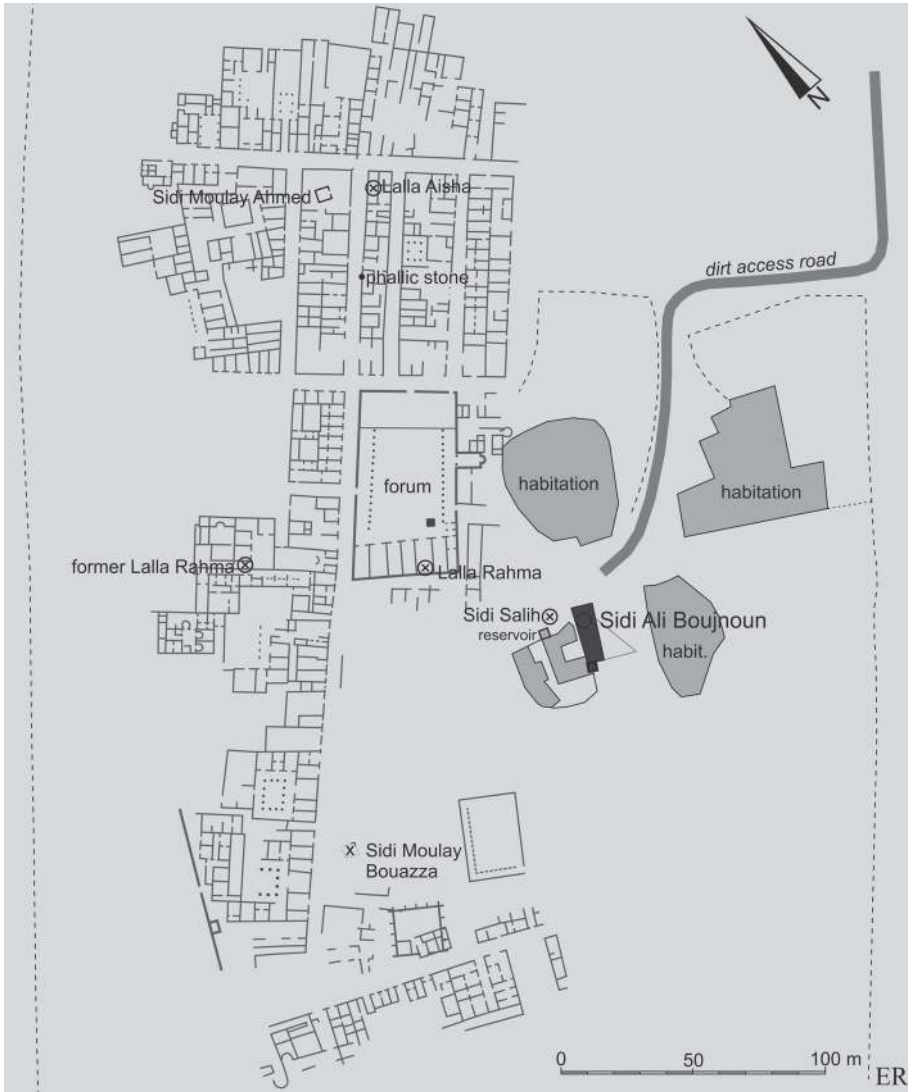


Fig. 9 Plan of Banasa archaeological site.

CE; an occupation that extended probably until the 12th century CE as attested by recent findings of Islamic pottery.⁶⁷ The site is known today for the *zâwiya* of Sîdî ‘Alî Bû Junûn, a major religious center in the largely rural Gharb region.

67 Arharbi and Ramdani 2008, 60–63.

Sîdî ‘Alî Bû Junûn is a full-fledged *zâwîya*.⁶⁸ The *muqaddam* was able to produce two notarized acts retracing the genealogy of the *zâwîya*’s saint.⁶⁹ According to the *muqaddam*, Sîdî ‘Alî (‘Abû Junûn’ is his sobriquet), of the Khult tribe, came from Ksar El-Kebir (Qâsr al-Kabîr, 25 km north of Banasa, at the base of the Jbala) ‘300 years ago’ to teach Qur’ân to the people of the area. Ksar El-Kebir (Qâsr al-Kabîr, 25 km north of Banasa, at the base of the Jbala) is still the home of the saint’s descendants, and that is where the *zâwîya*’s original documents are kept. Sîdî ‘Alî had power over the *jinn*, and was especially competent in dealing with handicaps, psychological problems, and epilepsy (*ṣar‘* in Arabic).⁷⁰ He was especially adept at exercising control over ‘unbelieving’ (*kâfir*) *jinn*. This legacy is clearly expressed in his sobriquet, ‘Abû Junûn,’ which could be unpoetically translated as ‘Possessor/Controller of Jinn-induced Insanity.’ Sîdî ‘Alî Bû Junûn liked to isolate himself in spiritual retreat, or *khalwa*. It is possible that he chose to inhabit the ruins of Banasa in order to isolate himself for this purpose. It is also possible that he chose to inhabit the ruins in order to better ‘control’ (‘*azîma*) the *jinn* who lived there. In any case, it appears that the saint was buried amidst the ruins of the Roman colony and his tomb is now at the center of a *zâwîya* complex.

What is certain is that the Banasa site developed into a Muslim cemetery. When the French began archaeological excavations at Banasa in 1933, the site was still actively used for burials by the populations of surrounding villages and the archaeologists had to relocate graves to get to the Roman level. Like many cemeteries in Morocco, the Banasa cemetery had a number of mausoleums: the *ḍarā’ih* of Sîdî Mûlây Aḥmad, of Sîdî Mûlây Bû ‘Azza, as well as that of Sîdî ‘Alî Bû Junûn. While archaeologists were able to relocate most of the graves on the site, excavation was not conducted in the immediate vicinity of these three mausolea. As excavations progressed, the surface level of the Banasa site was lowered, and the three shrines now stick out above the surrounding landscape – though they seem to have been located on the higher ground in any case. Banasa is not much visited as an archaeological site. Its Roman monuments cannot compare to those at Volubilis or Lixus and it lacks the romantic charm of the Chella ruins. However, the *zâwîya* of Sîdî ‘Alî Bû Junûn is very active and attracts many visitors from the Gharb region. Most visitors come for reasons related to mental health issues, as the *zâwîya* has built a reputation in this regard.

Today, the *zâwîya* of Sîdî ‘Alî Bû Junûn consists of a *ḍarîh* with a conical roof over the tomb chamber. The chamber is surrounded on two sides by a wide triple-arched

68 The *qubba* of Sîdî ‘Alî Bû Junûn was identified by Tissot 1878, 277.

69 ‘Abd al-Salâm al-‘Agûbî was interviewed on site on 17–18 March and 23 May 2002. He provided the investigators with copies of these documents written

in traditional *maghribî zimâmi* script; they are being transcribed and translated.

70 For a list of saints in Morocco who rule over the *jinn*, see Westermarck 1926, 363–364.

gallery. There is a mosque with a stout minaret attached to the south side of the building. The entire complex, built in 1964, is whitewashed each year before the *mausim* (held in August or September), as are all the other active shrines connected to the site. Attached to the west side of the *zâwîya* is the home of the *muqaddam* and his family, one of three farmsteads on the site. Within this farmstead is a masonry water tower whose foundation consists of large cut stones most probably of Roman-period origin. Between this water tower and the *ḍarîḥ* is a small tree shrine called *Sîdî Şâliḥ* ('My Lord the Pious One'). The *muqaddam* explained that the tree marked the grave of *Sîdî Şâliḥ*, but was unable to tell us anything about this saintly figure. The base of the tree consists of a *karkûr* of whitewashed dry-stones. The shrine complex thus constituted dominates the rest of the Banasa site, which contains a number of active shrines amidst its archaeological remains.

Nothing could be found out about the two ruined *ḍarâ'ih* which still stand on the site. According to the *muqaddam*, *Sîdî Mûlây Aḥmad* and *Sîdî Mûlây Bû 'Azza* were originally more popular than *Sîdî 'Alî Bû Junûn*. Most of the graves in the cemetery were located around their *ḍarâ'ih*, an indication that people wanted to be buried in their vicinity. In their day, the *ḍarâ'ih* of *Sîdî Mûlây Aḥmad* and of *Sîdî Mûlây Bû 'Azza* were well constructed, of (probably reused Roman-era) baked brick, and were domed. The *ḍarîḥ* of *Sîdî 'Alî Bû Junûn*, on the other hand, was a mud and wattle *ḥawsh*, without a roof, until the present structure was built in 1964. Fate has now dictated a reversal of fortunes of sorts. The crumbling *ḍarîḥ* of *Sîdî Mûlây Aḥmad*, though it is regularly whitewashed, now stands roofless, while that of *Sîdî Mûlây Bû 'Azza* has all but disappeared. Only one corner of the structure is left standing today, but it too is whitewashed. Candles are still burnt at both shrines.

The ruins of Banasa also harbor a number of ribbon trees. *Lâlla 'Aîsha* is a large bush across the *cardo* (the main north-south thoroughfare of the Roman town) from the *ḍarîḥ* of *Sîdî Mûlây Aḥmad*. It is actively visited, probably by women who tie ribbons to its lower branches and leave bits of clothing. Like *Lâlla 'Aîsha* in Thamusida, this shrine may relate to issues of fertility. There is even the possibility that it may be related to the presence of phallic symbols on Roman-period stones found in the vicinity. Brothels were legitimate commercial establishments in Roman towns and cities. Their commercial signs often consisted of bas-relief stone depictions of phalluses placed at strategic intersections which 'pointed' the way to the brothel. Volubilis has a good specimen of such a phallic stone. The *cardo* of Banasa also has two specimens of these commercial signs, less than 50 m from the *Lâlla 'Aîsha* tree. That such 'phallic' stones might have served as catalyst for the development of a local fertility shrine is an interesting hypothesis, but it is not one that could be verified on site.

Banasa's other ribbon tree is named *Lâlla Raḥma* ('Lady Mercy'). This large fig tree is situated in one of the six axial temples of the forum (the fifth temple from the west). Like *Lâlla 'Aïsha*, *Lâlla Raḥma* has ribbons attached to its lower branches. We were informed by the *muqaddam* that this is the *current* *Lâlla Raḥma*. Formerly, *Lâlla Raḥma* was another, smaller, tree which still grows in the Roman *therme*, 40 m to the west. As with *Lâlla 'Aïsha* in Thamusida then, ribbon trees can 'relocate,' though the mechanism of how such a move is determined is not known to us. What can be safely assumed however is that all the ribbon trees at the Banasa site (and this excludes the *Sîdî Şâliḥ* tree which is not a ribbon tree, and which is 'male,' ribbon trees are always 'female') are relatively recent in their current manifestations. The site was excavated in the early 1930s; any ribbon trees present at that time would simply have been removed along with the rest of the surface vegetation. The current ribbon trees grow within the excavated ruins, and have thus grown up since that time. It is significant also that many of the ribbon trees are fig trees. Fig trees, like weeds, tend to grow in 'awkward' places, in gutters and crevices, in ruined and abandoned buildings, etc. They are therefore common 'pioneer' plants in freshly excavated areas.

6 Conclusion

What can we conclude from this field investigation? While each of the six sites shares some characteristics with the others, there is no single model of succession from abandoned or partially abandoned settlement to functioning shrine.

Many of the shrines incorporated older building materials. This is a common condition at archaeological sites; durable building materials such as cut stone and baked brick are sufficiently valuable to warrant reuse in subsequent structures. In some of the cases studied (the *ḥawsh* at Lixus, *Sîdî an-Nu'âs* in Chella and throughout Zilil especially), the older materials, cut stones especially, are not reused for construction but, rather, have been transformed into devotional objects, incorporated along with field stone, shrubs and trees into informal shrines and then whitewashed. There may even be the possibility that one particular type of cut stone only found at Roman sites, the phallic sign post, has been creatively put to new symbolic use as fertility agent. There is evidence for this at Banasa but it may also be the case at Thamusida and Chella, and possibly even at Zilil, as women's fertility issues are addressed at these shrines.

Where substantial built shrines exist, as in Thamusida and Banasa, they crown the highest elevations of the old settlements. This is in keeping with practice throughout Morocco, where rural shrines tend to be built on hilltops or on the crests of ridges so as to 'command' the surrounding landscape.

Some earlier scholars⁷¹ have argued that many of the rural shrines of the Maghrib are in fact the loci of pre-Islamic cults and that these have been ‘assimilated’ into Islam by the erection of a *qubba*. This is held to explain the importance of natural features such as trees, rocks, springs, caves and ponds to the configuration of these places. The *qubba* of the ‘saint’, real or imagined, and the *ḥurm*, or ‘sanctuary’, it creates around itself were thus mechanisms for the continuity of popular religious practices within an increasingly Muslim social and intellectual context. This opens up interesting questions in the case of the six archaeological sites investigated here. What were the religious practices at these sites before the creation of the shrines? Did the creation of these shrines confer Islamic legitimacy to otherwise non-Islamic practices? In the absence of documentary evidence, without reliable oral traditions dating back to period of origin, and being unable to conduct archaeological excavation within the ‘protected’ areas of the *ḥurm*, these questions must remain unanswered.

Two hypotheses nonetheless present themselves to us. The first hypothesis has to do with the activities of holy men or ascetics. Such people are known to intentionally isolate themselves from the mainstream activities of communities. This spiritual isolation, called *khalwah*, is central to Sufi practice and we find *khalawāt* associated with the sites of Zilil, Ḥajar an-Naṣr and Banasa. Ruined settlements can offer ideal retreats of this type as the ascetic holy man can easily find shelter in them. The second hypothesis relates to a widespread popular belief that abandoned places are the haunts of spirits, assimilated to the concept of *jinn* in Islamic contexts. *Jinn* may be good, bad, or indifferent but it is always advisable not to upset them or interfere in their lives. In the case where *jinn* have come to inhabit ruins, it is possible that the holy man will intentionally establish his *khalwah* there in order to subdue or ‘tame’ it. This seems to be the case in Banasa as the patron of that place, Sîdî ‘Alî, is ‘Bû Junûn’; meaning he has power over the *jinn* and the havoc they can wreak. Unfortunately, the current state of our knowledge of these sites, based on field observation, historic documentation and oral tradition, does not permit us to come to any kind of firm conclusion. To build on the preliminary results discussed above and advance our knowledge of the research questions at hand, we suggest that future investigations should involve more collaboration between archaeologists, geographers, social anthropologists, and historians.

71 Dermenghem 1954, 34.

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Sétif, Tébessa, Guelma: The French Army and the Destruction of Roman Monuments in Algeria

Summary

The antique landscape of Algeria – remains of towns, fortresses, villas – was radically altered by the French army, which invaded in 1830, and sought through its building activities to cater for a large number of troops and auxiliary services, and then colonists, recycling materials from Roman ruins for many of their buildings. The French officer-corps was often educated in the classics, as was the bureaucracy, so accounts of discoveries and destruction are often comprehensive. Alas, the requirements of technology, war and colonial settlement – roads, railways, hospitals, barracks – ensured the destruction of much of Roman Algeria. Without the guerilla war which plagued the country for decades, and the continuing need for forts, many of the remains would probably have remained intact.

Keywords: Archaeology; epigraphy; Algeria; Tunisia; Libya; history of science; spolia; re-use.

Die antike Landschaft Algeriens – Überreste von Städten, Festungen, Villen – war einer radikalen Veränderung durch die französische Armee ausgesetzt, als diese 1830 in das Land einfiel und eine große Anzahl von Truppen, Hilfskräften und später Kolonisten mit sich brachte und zu versorgen hatte. Für die nun nötigen Bautätigkeiten wurden Materialien aus Römischen Ruinen neu genutzt. Das französische Offizierskorps und ebenso die Beamten hatten oft eine klassische Ausbildung genossen, weshalb ihre Berichte über Entdeckungen und Zerstörungen der Altertümer sehr umfangreich ausfallen. Dennoch erforderten die Bedürfnisse der Kriegstechnik und der kolonialen Siedlungstätigkeit – Straßen, Schienen, Krankenhäuser, Kasernen – die Zerstörung eines großen Teils des römischen Algeriens. Ohne den Guerilla-Krieg, welcher das Land über Dekaden verwüstete und eine anhaltende Nutzung von Festungen erforderte, wären vermutlich viele Überreste der Römer unversehr geblieben.

Keywords: Archäologie; Epigraphie; Algerien; Tunesien; Libyen; Wissenschaftsgeschichte; Spolien; Wiederverwendung.

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1 Synopsis

The ancient landscape of Algeria was marvelled at by earlier travellers because of the ubiquity and quantity of standing Roman remains, and because nothing similar survived anywhere in Europe. Most of the Roman remains were disused, but some had their elements converted into fortresses, churches or mosques. But that antique-looking landscape – towns, fortresses, villas – was radically altered by the French army, which invaded in 1830, and sought through its building activities to cater for a large number of troops and auxiliary services. Importing materials from France was, generally, out of the question – so the Roman ruins of Algeria suffered greatly.

The French army had an officer-corps educated in the classics, and a bureaucratic chain of command back to Paris, where many ministers were similarly interested in the past (cf. Napoleon Bonaparte in earlier decades). All building activities required much paperwork, comments, signatures, arguments, sometimes plans, and finally approval or rejection. Plenty of paperwork survives, enabling us to chart (a) what was on the ground before the French started building; (b) the destructive nature of their building-work; and (c) the occasional activities of the military in recording or even saving antiquities. The paper will document the extent of French destruction by charting the degradation of the three centres of Guelma (Qālima) (from 1837), Sétif (Saṭif) (from 1839) and Tébessa (Tibissa) (from 1851).

The conclusion will be that it is the requirements of technology, war and settlement allied to prejudice which ensured the destruction of many of the Roman remains of Algeria. Without war, many of the remains would probably have remained intact. Had the French not been concerned of the possibility of attack by Europeans with cannon, the repaired Roman forts of the first decade after the invasion would probably have survived. The big caesura for the survival or destruction of ancient monumental fortifications is the invention of gunpowder, with which it was soon demonstrated that most ancient fortifications had outlived their usefulness: no antique fortresses survived in use in post-gunpowder Europe without a substantial refurbishment which hid or destroyed antique walls. (Mehmet the Conqueror made this very point with his guns in 1453.) With the ‘success’ in Algeria came colonization. The French ‘colons’ (often described as ignorant, rapacious and low-grade) were still reusing (quite illegally) Roman blocks well into the twentieth century. All three trends might help explain the destruction of Roman antiquities in mediaeval Europe, where it is a truism that useful buildings (amphitheaters, tombs, theaters – all for protection and/or housing) survived whereas useless ones (temples, stadia) did not.

The archives used are the Archives Nationales d’Outre-Mer (ANOM) in Aix-en-Provence, and the Service Historique de la Défense / Armée de Terre (SHD/T) in Vin-

cennes, especially the Engineers (Génie), who were responsible for building work, and sometimes the Artillery, who were their main clients.

2 Introduction

It is an unfortunate fact that many more monuments in Algeria would survive today had not the French invaded in 1830. The troops found themselves a long way from home, and in need of services – water, defensive protection, most foodstuffs – which could only be supplied locally. Sometimes this involved the reconstruction of ancient monuments, or their dismantling so that the materials could be re-used. For water-supply, ancient systems were refurbished. But destruction was also associated with the predatory behaviour of some French officers, who dismantled what they could take, including marble and sold it – a practice as old as the hills, but not to be expected from a disciplined army in the 1830s.¹ In this the soldiery no doubt simply adopted the attitudes of the Army itself, and especially the engineers, who destroyed monuments for building materials with the one hand, and collected inscriptions with the other.² Prompt documentation of new discoveries was the key, said Poujoulat, quoting Texier in the 1840s;³ but then, in the same breath, adopts a plenty-more-in-the-ground attitude

- 1 Pellissier 1836 I, 187–188 on dubious activities of some French officers in Algeria: “plus d’un militaire se mit dans la catégorie de ce qu’on appelait les banqueroutiers, et plus d’un spéculateur dans celle de Vandales. Plusieurs officiers achetèrent des maisons et des terres, et ne déployèrent pas dans leurs transactions plus de scrupules que les spéculateurs de profession, et un grand nombre de ceux-ci se mirent à dévaster leurs propres possessions, coupant les arbres, enlevant les boiseries, les marbres et les ferrements des maisons, enfin tout ce qui était enlevable; après avoir réalisé de cette manière quelques milliers de francs, ils se laissaient exproprier par leurs vendeurs maures pour faute de paiement de la rente qu’ils avaient consentie.”
- 2 Poujoulat 1847 II, 305–307: “Conservation des monuments historiques en Algérie: Dans la dernière séance de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, M. Charles Texier, inspecteur général des bâtiments civils en Algérie, et chargé en cette qualité de la conservation des monuments historiques, a lu la partie de son dernier rapport au ministre de la guerre où est exposé l’état de ces monuments dans plusieurs parties de l’Afrique française. C’est au mois d’août dernier que M. Texier a exploré la

plupart de ces lieux, en se joignant à M. le contre-amiral Rigodit, qui avait à inspecter tous les ports de l’ouest. Il a pu ainsi observer, avec les autres détails des bâtiments civils, les moyens de conserver les ruines, traces des anciennes civilisations ... Le corps du génie a puissamment contribué à la formation d’une collection des inscriptions antiques de l’Algérie. Mais cette collection ne peut s’accroître autant qu’elle en est susceptible que lorsque des moyens seront fournis par l’administration pour le transport des pierres épigraphiques dans le musée local le plus voisin, comme celui que le ministre de l’instruction publique a récemment visité à Cherchell. Bien des inscriptions anciennes gisent encore sur le bord des chemins, exposées à chaque instant à être brisées ou employées comme matériaux de construction. Tel a été l’emploi des restes de beaucoup de monuments à Philippeville, à Cherchell, à Guelma.”

- 3 Poujoulat 1847 II, 307: “Les instructions du ministre de la guerre s’opposent, en général, à la destruction des monuments antiques. Mais, pour prescrire des mesures précises, il serait nécessaire, dit M. Texier, que l’administration fût informée des découvertes faites par les fouilles et par les travaux des routes,

– sufficient to attract tourists from Europe even if some of the currently available crop had of necessity to go into new building.⁴ In what is unfortunately not a quip, he adds that “Les instructions du ministre de la guerre s’opposent, en général, à la destruction des monuments antiques” – but the general was evidently to be distinguished from the particular.

But it was also this same army discipline which, via its bureaucracy, provides us with the best interface between that army and the past, as we shall now discover, by means of the ample quotations from archival documents which follow, and which demonstrate very clearly how many antiquities were to be seen when the French arrived in Algeria – and how few were to survive.

3 Tracing monument histories through army documentation

This paper is the result of solid and exactly contemporary documentation and ensuing discussion provided by the French army on the ground in Algeria, who grappled day by day with the problems of security, housing and supply. The French army (not only in Algeria) was schooled in form-filling, and also in methodical reporting. Luckily, many officers also had an interest in the past: the weight of Rome often lay heavy on their shoulders, and they pursued these interests when time also lay heavy on their hands – as it does in many armies. Reconnaissance reports (cf. the series MR – *Mémoires et Reconnaissances* – in the SHD/T at Vincennes) are not all on printed forms for our period, but they display such consistency in what they report and how they report it that we can be sure that the appropriate techniques were drummed into the officers concerned.

These archives are extraordinary, for four reasons. The first is that they deal with all aspects of building, in response to a central administration, which expected the authors to be aware of the historical context, and therefore included space for it on their required

et pût envoyer sur-le-champ un dessinateur pour copier les monuments découverts, de manière à pouvoir statuer sur leur conservation. Les archives recevraient tous les documents recueillis, tant par les officiers du génie que par les agents des bâtiments civils et des ponts-et-chaussées, et chaque année ces documents seraient imprimés à la suite du tableau statistique. Alors si, par la force des choses, les monuments se trouvaient détruits, leur description serait au moins consignée dans un registre officiel, et ainsi conservée pour la science.”

4 Poujoulat 1847 II, 306: “Il faut sans doute faire la part de la nécessité qui commandait de construire au plus vite les édifices nécessaires aux principaux centres de population. Ces considérations-là passent avant toutes les autres. Mais, dit M. Texier, si l’on peut regretter ainsi quelques monuments détruits, il en est encore une multitude qui, convenablement dégagés de leurs décombres et restaurés seulement pour en arrêter la ruine, seront encore un des ornements de l’Algérie et un but d’excursion pour les voyageurs de l’Europe. Il est urgent pour cela que l’administration les prenne sous sa garde et qu’un crédit soit demandé pour les soutenir.”

forms. The second is that the authors were soldiers generally with a good classical education who grasped very well the Algerian context within which they were working. The third is that the Army was always short of money and manpower, so that they were often thrown back on re-using the Roman monuments in their work, as the bureaucrats kept trying to cut capital expenditure year after year. The result of this was that we learn of various ways in which the ancient remains would be mis-used, reused or ignored. The fourth is that nowhere else (except perhaps in the English Royal records) do we find such detailed information on the building/rebuilding cycle, and frequently come up against the dire necessity felt by soldiers who admired the remains they found, but were sometimes forced by circumstance to destroy them if they were to survive.

As a result, we can be sure to find in such documents accurate information on topography, but also on Roman roads, bridges, cisterns and forts. And where actual financial outlay was contemplated, record-keeping in terms of building-work was punctilious; and it was plentiful since annual requests by the Engineers and the Artillery for building starts or alterations on the settlements and forts by which the French presence in Algeria was to be secured had to go through a well-tried process. This involved a formal printed 'livret' with requirements for historical background, justification and estimates, submitted for comments to the Director of Fortifications at each centre.

The ledgers therefore allow us to trace the alterations, projected and completed, made to Roman monuments, especially walls, and the often very large costs involved, of which we have many details. At Bougie (Bijāya),⁵ for example, the building works required three forts, four observation posts, the Casbah (Qaşba) and 4.2 km of wall – that is, some 18 400 m³ of stone to repair the wall from the Casbah to Gouraya (Qūrāya), which alone would cost 920 000 francs (perhaps EUR 2 million). The total fit-out (not including any military buildings let alone the water supply) was estimated at over 3 million francs (perhaps EUR 6.5 million) – a considerable sum.⁶

It is because of the military need for immediately available fortifications, rather than for purely academic reasons, that we learn so much of their historical dimension. To take one example amongst many, when Chef du Génie Captain Antonin wrote a *Mémoire militaire sur la Place de Sétif* on 28 Feb 1857, this historical account was considered by a committee and then put in the archives of the Génie “ou il sera utilement consulté”

5 Génie 8.1 Bougie carton 1: 1833–1840, Vivien, Chef du Génie, Projets pour 1834, *Mémoire sur la place de Bougie*, 14–24 for good descriptions of the Casbah (Qaşba), walls and forts; *ibid.*, Capitaine de Génie en Chef Boutauli, *Notes sur Bougie*, 19 mai 1837, pp.11–12 for a description of the Roman city.

6 Génie 8.1 Bougie carton 1: 1833–1840, Dr L. Mercier, *Mémoire sur l'évacuation ou la conservation*

de Bougie, 3 mai 1835, p. 19; and *idem*. *Rapport sur la place de Bougie* 12 Nov 1833, 15. Price equivalence is difficult to determine, especially given the exceptional circumstances in Algeria; but in 1806 the lead for the Colonne Vendome (251 367 kg) cost 1975,417F (EUR 4.3 million), and in 1875 Courbet was charged 323 000F 6 centimes (EUR 710 000) as the cost of rebuilding it.

– by most for its military information, but by us for what it reveals of the reuse and maltreatment of the ancient monuments.⁷

Reports and submissions (which will be studied for three Roman sites in Algeria) make it abundantly clear that the Army officers – often artillery or engineers – concerned with re-using the ancient monuments were well aware of the glories of Roman Algeria, if not through education, then because of bureaucracy. For some of the forms they had to complete annually when requesting funds for construction work required an overview of the historical context to be written. The accounts of many soldiers detail the various wonders of this huge country. Between 1837 and 1839, for example, Commandant Niel visits Djemilah (Jīmīlā), near Sétif, the ruins of which

... présentent plus d'intérêt que toutes celles qu'on a trouvé en Afrique jusqu'à ce jour. Aucune occupation barbare n'a succédé sur ce point à celle des Romains. Le temps seul a détruit les monuments. Aussi on peut admirer leur belle architecture et retrouver toutes leurs formes en réunissant les pierres éparses autour d'eux.⁸

He sees the same date and typology at Milah (Mīla),⁹ and also at Guelma where, remarking on the large quantity of columns of red marble, beautiful cornices, etc., he describes¹⁰ the citadel as “une reconstruction faite avec des pierres prises dans les édifices déjà ruinées” – and occupied by the first expedition from Constantine (Qusanṭīna) in 1836.

4 Colonies and their historical context

The French concern with colonizing the country within a decade of the invasion gave her officers a further interest in destruction – namely the demise of Roman settlements of which walls incorporating antiquities were often a good indication. In this sense there is a dialogue between the antique strategy that could be read in the ruins and what might be learned from it for current purposes – an interest well seen in Charon's

7 Génie 1H910: Place de Sétif, 1839–1903: recommendation of 4 Jan 1861, the copy-document is signed by Charon, Général de Division; Genet, secretary and Lieut-Col de Génie; Charrier, Chef de Bataillon, Chef d'Etat Major du Génie en Algérie; and Randon, Secretary of State for War.

8 Génie H227, Niel, *Reconnaissances faites dans le Province de Constantine en 1837, 1838 et 1839*, 29.

9 Génie H227 Niel, *Reconnaissances*, 27: “une piscine romaine assez bien conservée, qui s'appuie sur l'enceinte. Elle est défendue par une enceinte romaine, ou du moins construite avec les pierres de l'ancienne cite romaine, qui était beaucoup plus étendue, si l'on en juge par les ruines éparses qu'on trouve en dehors des remparts actuels.”

10 Génie H227 Niel, *Reconnaissances*, 34.

Mémoire militaire sur l'Algérie of 1848.¹¹ It should be underlined that colonization was at this date a military matter – perhaps the crux of whether the French could make a success of the conquest – and that here, as with the re-use of Roman monuments, history was of vital practical use. This is well illustrated by the commissioning by the Minister of War in the 1840s of a survey of the history of colonization.¹² The report was of 63pp. in-folio, and there were three volumes projected for publication. But were they ever published?

5 Case study 1: Sétif

At Sétif (Saṭīf) (Fig. 1) we can trace, sometimes year by year, the depredations of the French on the Roman monuments. Immediately after the capture of the town by the French in 1839, Commandant de Génie Niel reported on the magnificent enceinte of the citadel,¹³ which was 10 m high in parts, but with gaps where it was “écroulée et d’énormes pierres de taille recouvertes de terres ou de décombres donnent un accès facile dans l’intérieure” (Fig. 2).

He underlined the “richesse de matériaux”, but admitted that this presented a problem, since “on aurait à déplacer et à remonter sur le mur de pierres de dimensions énormes et qui exigeraient des chèvres sur des bigues et beaucoup de pinces de grandes dimensions”. The work would require 900 men, and although most of the work of making good could be done in 2–3 weeks, a battalion would be needed to finish the task within 2–3 months. He looked at the problem with a practical eye, because he had to determine what work would be needed to put the defences in order for a battalion of 600 men. Noting that stone for making lime was plentiful (was he referring to antiquities –

11 Génie H229 Algérie: *Mémoires divers* 1844–1859: Général Charon, *Mémoire militaire sur l'Algérie*, 1848, 370 pages. He is well aware of Roman strategy, and keeps comparing it (i.e. in effect paralleling it) with current requirements (e.g. 335 on Sétif & Djemilah). This well-written and legible account covers the whole country.

12 ANOM f80 1733, undated but 1840s, “Note sur le travail confié à M. F. Lacroix: un travail historique ayant pour objet d’étudier le système de colonisation adopté par les Romains en Afrique, et plus particulièrement, de rechercher comment ils organisèrent ce pays, quels furent leurs procédés en matière agricole, financière, administrative, judiciaire, politique, religieuse, militaire etc.; quels furent les résultats économiques de leur domination sur cette contrée; quelle influence elle exerça sur la population indigène, enfin pour quelle cause elle cassa.

Il s’agit en d’autres termes de faire la philosophie de la colonisation Romaine en Afrique et de signaler les enseignements qui purent en résulter pour la domination française.”

13 Génie 8.1 Sétif Carton 1, 1839–1844, Commandant de Génie Niel, *Rapport sur la citadelle de Sétif*, 30 mai 1839, 1. This he recognizes as late antique: these walls are from “une seconde occupation ... Des pierres tumulaires, des chapiteaux, et des fûts de colonnes, forment parement dans les murs des deux enceintes” – and the very size of the ruin field indicates the importance of the Roman city (pp. 31–32). Cf. also Carton H227 Niel, *Reconnaitances*, wherein the enceinte at Sétif is described 31–32: “Les matériaux sont sur place mais il faudrait les engins nécessaires pour remuer les énormes pierres de taille des Romains.”

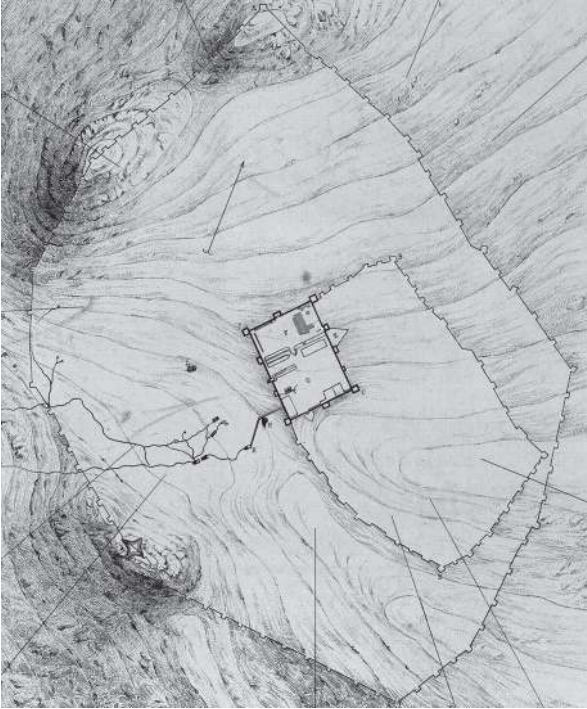


Fig. 1 Sétif: map of the area, with the various encampments.

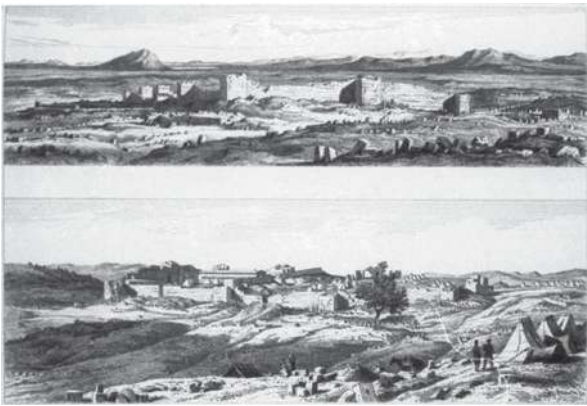


Fig. 2 Sétif: view of the central Byzantine fort, with French soldiers living in tents.

if so, to marble antiquities?), he pointed out that the lack of wood was a severe problem. The suggested building work was not undertaken, for the wall was in the same state two years later.¹⁴

Sétif provides an early example of the large expenditures in men and money to make-and-mend the Roman walls, with the degradation of the ancient remains increasing in line with the population as greater constructional robustness was required. When the French arrived at Sétif in 1839, their forces were so small that they took possession of the later Byzantine enceinte, rather than the much larger Roman one.¹⁵ A plan of 1844 (by which date there were 3160 men there) shows the relationship between the two enceintes¹⁶; and another of 28 May 1846 shows the French also camped outside the Byzantine enceinte and inside the larger, earlier Roman one, less of which was now visible. It was clearly fast disappearing: and although a *Mémoire* of 1844 noted the work needed to “empêcher la dégradation du mur romain”,¹⁷ the fact was that the French settlement soon outgrew early projections.¹⁸ Another *Mémoire* by the Chef du Génie of 28 Feb 1857, Captain Antonin, notes that “Les ruines de sa première enceinte dont les fondations étaient encore visibles à notre arrivée” – but no longer.¹⁹ In spite of the fact that this enceinte was some 460 m west to east, and 310 m north to south, with walls standing to between 1.5 m and 2 m in height, little now remained. For sixteen years, writes the engineer, Sétif had been exploited as a quarry, and was still far from exhausted. But then, he also noted that in 1857 there were 178 masons and stone-cutters at Sétif. With the population rising from 3164 in 1856, to 9257 in 1876, the thirst for building materials is easily understood even if, as early as 1844, the apparently inevitable

14 Génie 1H910 Sétif Art 1: Sétif Projets pour 1841 “restaurer et organiser l’enceinte de la citadelle ... relever la portion de l’enceinte ... et la rattacher à la Citadelle”. Plan of 20 March 1841 shows Citadel with NS wall cutting it two-thirds to the West and one-third to the East. And in the Apostilles du Directeur des Fortifications for 1841 it is noted that in parts the Citadel “est en mauvais état, elle n’a que deux ou trois hauteurs d’assises”.

15 MR H229, Général Charon, *Mémoire militaire sur l’Algérie*, 1848, 336.

16 Génie 1H910: Place de Sétif, 1839–1903, *Plan d’ensemble des environs de Sétif*, 31 July 1844.

17 Génie 1H910: Place de Sétif, 1839–1903; *Mémoire sur les Projets pour 1844*, 1 May 1844, Apostilles du Chef de Génie.

18 Génie 1H910 Sétif Art 1: Plan of Sétif 31 July 1844 clearly shows the large Roman enceinte with the fort within it. By throwing a wall north from the fort to the Roman walls, the French restricted the

defensible area in Byzantine fashion! As for building materials, “on a dans son enceinte même une immense quantité de pierres de taille romaines qui a coup sur ne seront pas épuisés avant la fin des constructions militaires de Sétif. Les débris de ces pierres servent pour faire de la chaux”. But the enceinte was too small within a decade: cf. *Mémoire Militaire sur la place de Sétif*, 26 Feb 1857, Capitaine de Génie Antonin: he begins with a “Historique de la Place”, then reviews fortifications by date: 1841: “On s’est borné à faire quelques réparations à l’enceinte romaine”; 1842: masonry courtines built; 1843–1845: completion of (erstwhile Roman?) towers; 1847: expansion of graeco-roman enceinte, including crenellations, demolition of antique bastions, and courtines; 1855: military enceinte too small, and is therefore expanded.

19 Génie 1H910: Place de Sétif, 1839–1903, Captain Antonin, *Mémoire militaire sur la Place de Sétif*, 5.

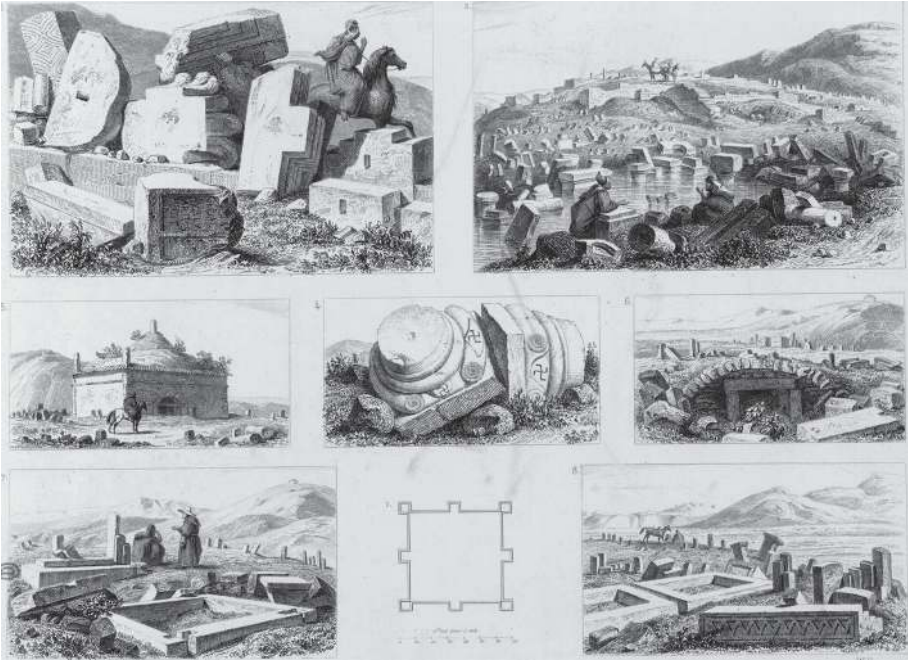


Fig. 3 Sétif: antiquities – temples and tombs – around the site.

destruction of the Byzantine enceinte was a matter for regret.²⁰ Not that regrets, even when expressed in official documents, prevented action on what was really a field of ruins (Fig. 1–2).²¹

The smaller Byzantine enceinte was also quickly destroyed. An account of 1848 describes it as rectangular, with ten large towers; this “existait encore il y a quelques années”.²² Niel’s answer to the fortification possibilities might have been the same as that in the letter of 11 June 1839 from Général Galbois to Maréchal de la Vallée, namely that 15 days of work would see the fort unattackable by Arabs. But this was obviously a rush job, and perhaps not well done, since in 1842 it is proposed to reduce the village enceinte, and cut it back to follow the trace of the Roman enceinte, with a height of 3 m,²³ and it is clear that the old walls were used to build the new. Thus “La forme adoptée

20 The *Mémoire Militaire de Sétif* 31 July 1844 by Capitaine en Chef du Génie Champanhet mentions “les ruines immenses que nous découvrons” (i.e. in arranging their own defensive constructions) and also the latest enceinte “après l’expulsion des Vandales” made with reused materials. But “malheureusement les ruines que les siècles ont entassées les unes sur les autres ne sont mises à jour que par les fouilles

nécessaires pour les constructions nouvelles, ce qui n’a fait faire encore que peu de découvertes” – i.e. the new destroys the old.

21 MR1317 item 69, Tacot, *Notice sur la subdivision de Sétif*, 20 August 1848.

22 Ibid.

23 Génie 8.1 Sétif Carton 1, 1839–1844, Projets pour 1842, Apostilles du Directeur, 13.

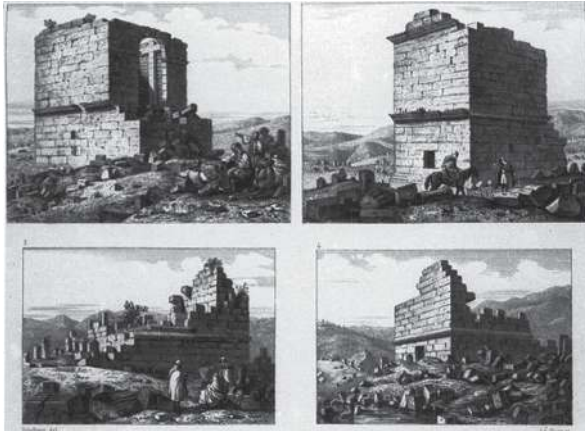


Fig. 4 Sétif: tomb monuments in the environs.

pour la nouvelle enceinte est une conséquence de ce qui existait déjà” (Apostilles du Directeur des fortifications, Projets pour 1842) – and crenellations are to be added for the riflemen, and a couple of the towers strengthened for mortars. Much building work is required to house the soldiers, and the accounts show a lot of dry stone walls. An 1842 survey²⁴ shows the extensive Roman walls, which the French clearly recognized (“Enceinte de la ville romaine à la première époque”) and, smaller, the Byzantine enceinte (“Enceinte de la 2ème époque”) with the Roman citadel and its ten square towers toward the middle. The Byzantine walls link to the east wall of the citadel, move north then west, south and east, linking up with the southwest tower of the citadel. The *Etat des Lieux* for 1843 shows just how much building work was in progress: the Byzantine walls have in part been fortified to the west, a barracks for soldiers erected to the north, and four large barracks for colons to the south of the fortress. And in a *Vue d’Ensemble* for 1843 (including works projected as well as completed) the outline of the fortress has almost gone, in favour of roads, squares, barracks, bullock lines, and new “ouvrages à cornes” for the artillery. The liasse for 1843 includes no fewer than 13 sets of drawings for constructions, as well as for improvements and additions to the fortifications, and “un mur en pierres de taille provenant des ruines Romaines et posées sans mortier.”²⁵ The army continued to use antique materials: as the Apostilles du Chef du Génie for 1845 remark on the readying of the towers and the courtine.

Push turned to shove in 1844, when the final decision was taken to settle colons at Sétif, and safety and speed required that this be done “en conservant ainsi une plus

24 Génie 8.1 Sétif Carton 1, 1839–1844, *Etat des Lieux du camp de Sétif*, in *Projets pour 1842*.

25 Génie 8.1 Sétif Carton 1, 1839–1844, *Mémoire sur les projets pour 1843*, Apostilles du Chef du Génie, Sétif, 5: ... and there are plenty of walls in “pierres sèches” mentioned throughout this document.

grande partie de l'ancienne enceinte Romaine,²⁶ with the towers of the Roman enceinte used as grain silos. This expansion of colons and the military to protect them (a projected garrison of 3000 men) had consequences for the antiquities, since inconvenient stretches of the (much smaller) Byzantine enceinte were torn down and used as building materials.²⁷ Thus the 1844 *Plan d'alignement de la Ville de Sétif* – note it is no longer just a military camp – drawn up by Chef de Génie Champanhet shows no remaining traces of the fortress or Byzantine walls as such – everything is neat, with roads bordered by trees. By contrast, Tébessa in 1857²⁸ still is just the square fort, with the French extension to the N (with its own 'ouvrages à cornes'): but it is at this date – matters will change radically in time – obviously a much smaller operation, because the army/infantry quarter occupies only the NW quarter of the fort).

Still not secure by 1845, the 'cité nouvelle' already had 500 inhabitants, and the completion of the 'enceinte de la ville' was recognized as being urgent;²⁹ so masons were employed to re-lay (and rework?) Roman blocks, which had to be carted into place, and to make good antique structures as foodstores.³⁰ But part of the courtine must go on top of the "ruines bien conservées de la citadelle justinienne (La position de ce rempart est parfaitement choisie)". Rushed work set up on top of unstable infill ("On ne peut s'appuyer sur les ruines qui sont en mortier de terre et fondées sur des remblais") will have to be taken down, as well as several provisional buildings no longer needed. Luckily, "de beaux blocs à tailler restent à pied-d'œuvre."³¹ As for the gates, money is too tight for monumentality.³² But saving money by using soldiers to build walls sometimes didn't work, as at Bougie, where the Chef du Génie thought the dry-stone-wall work in 1833 very poor, and in need of a rebuild using ancient foundations.³³ Şalāḥ ad-Dīn could have told him this: he took professional masons on campaign with him, to deal with both construction and destruction of walls.

26 Génie 8.1 Sétif Carton 1, 1839–1844, *Projets pour 1844*, Apostilles du Directeur, Sétif 5.

27 Génie 8.1 Sétif Carton 1, 1839–1844, *Projets pour 1844, Ville de Sétif*, for plans.

28 Génie 1H879 Tébessa, *Plan d'Ensemble*.

29 Génie 8.1 Sétif Carton 2, 1845–1847, *Mémoire sur les projets de 1845*, 3, 13.

30 Génie 8.1 Sétif Carton 2, 1845–1847, *Etat estimatif pour 1845*, 1: quotes for "maçonnerie en pierres romaines prises sur la place et remplissage", under the heading "Bardage des Pierres Romaines" – bardage meaning carting or barrowing. 20 for the Bâtiment for foodstuffs, which must have been built into a Roman structure, hence items for the "rejointement des maçonneries Romaines".

31 Génie 8.1 Sétif Carton 2, 1845–1847, *Mémoire sur les projets de 1846*, Apostilles du Chef du Génie, 17.

32 Ibid., 23: "... l'inconvénient signalé par le comité de donner aux portes un aspect trop monumental en égard à celui du mur d'enceinte a déterminé la suppression de la voûte" (cf. designs on feuille no. 3).

33 Génie 8.1 Bougie carton 1: 1833–1840, Apostilles du Chef de Génie sur les articles d'ouvrages à faire en 1834 – "pour rétablir l'ancienne muraille de la Ville", Casbah upwards. Built up by soldats "non maçons en pierres sèches" and hence hopeless. He wants a rebuild, "à profiter des fondations de l'ancienne", the wall to be 8 m by 1 m thick. Further arguments in favour of re-establishing the whole of the old enceinte are in the Apostilles du Directeur, *Projets généraux pour 1834*, 1–4.

Perhaps as a result of their practical needs, the army's commitment to the Roman past at Sétif was a good deal more tenuous in artistic terms than had been that of the Middle Ages in Europe, who displayed their Roman heritage (found locally, or imported) with pride. Algeria in the decades after the initial landings was often too dangerous to cultivate the arts of peace, but it is easy to believe that (as has already been suggested) some prime opportunities were missed, apparently through a lack of heroic élan or arrogant confidence – or the inclination or resources further to embellish their settlement. Vast quantities of Roman remains in relatively good condition are still to be found at Djemila, only some 40 km north-east of Sétif, but the French were evidently content with the pedestrian re-usable material they found at Sétif for their purposes, and were in any case probably unable to drag more blocks over such a distance.

6 Case study 2: Tébessa³⁴

6.1 Tébessa's prestigious antiquities

The importance of Tébessa's (Tibissa's) Roman remains was recognized long before the French invasion, for example by Marmol Carvajal (travelling in 1571), who connected them typologically with Rome herself, for

... veense en la placa y en otros lugares de esta ciudad grandes antiguallas y buetos d epiedra marmol, y tablos con letras latinas, como las que vemos en Roma y en otras partes de Europa.³⁵

As Diehl remarked generally at the end of the 19th century,³⁶ “L'Arabe, qui ne bâtit guère, n'avait trouve nul profit à démolir ces édifices”. But this is more than the French did, and the costs involved in destroying Rome in Algeria are itemized nowhere better than at Tébessa (ancient Theveste, Département of Constantine), which is in a mountain valley close to the Tunisian border, and some 180 km from the sea as the crow flies. The Roman triumphal Arch of Caracalla (AD 214) is still the jewel of the city, and forms part

34 Tébessa is far from the only site where documentation allows us to study the destruction of the monuments. Cf. Génie 8.1 for the following sites: Ammi-Moussa ('Ammī Mūsā); Blidah (Bulayda), Bone ('Annāba), Bougie (“reconstruction de l'ancienne muraille”), Cherchell (Shirshāl), Constantine, Djidjelli (Jijal), Guelma, Mascara (Mu'askar) (“plan de la vieille enceinte de Mascara”), Medeah (Midiya), Mostagenem (Mustaghānam) (“perfectionnements

de l'enceinte de M”), Nemours (al-Ghazuwāt) (“reporter la ville militaire sur la rive gauche de Ghazouana, relier son enceinte avec l'ancienne”), Philippeville (Sukaikida) (“enceinte de la ville ... réparations des voûtes romaines situées au pied du ravin des citernes”), Sétif (“restauration du mur romain” as late as 1861–1874).

35 Marmol 1593, fol 237v.

36 Diehl 1892.

of Belisarius' Byzantine walls (the Roman city was far more extensive). The Turks had a small detachment of janissaries here until the site was occupied by the French in 1851.

The army documentation for Tébessa provides a blow-by-blow example of how plums such as the Arch survived at the expense of the not-so-interesting remainder. We still have the Arch, but the tale of the destruction of its context is plotted in the meticulous projects and reports of the engineers. Mis-use degraded some monuments: the small temple in the citadel was used as a soap factory, then prison, canteen, parish church and eventually museum. Military necessity provided the impetus for rebuilding and repointing sections of the ancient walls and reusing other antique elements, and the officers involved were well aware what they were doing. One difficulty at Tébessa, as elsewhere in Algeria, was a changing horizon for troop establishments and, therefore, no consistent planning of the refurbishment of antiquities because the numbers and hence the military needs kept changing, with requests for expansion in 1845.³⁷

The monuments of Tébessa were noted by the French well before the city was garrisoned. Out on patrol during 1842 in what was as-yet unconquered territory, and far from safety, time was taken to record the city's antiquities. Still occupied by Arabs, Tébessa was first sketched by Lieut-Général de Négrier's column, whilst encamped under the city's walls, probably in order to show what needed doing in order to repair the fortifications for occupation.³⁸ The environs of Tébessa were also explored; and eventually the Commandant du Génie at Constantine wrote a three-page letter to Charon, Colonel de Génie at Algiers, detailing the finds and reproducing the two inscriptions; obviously from friend to friend (signed "mille amitiés"). This letter demonstrates the antiquarian interests of two officers, for most of it is taken up with a description of the Tébessa remains, including the "arc de triomphe, debout et bien conservé. La pûreté de cette architecture de l'ordre Corinthien et la richesse des dessins rappellent les beaux temps de Rome."³⁹ Perhaps with a view to publication, Général de Négrier himself wrote five pages of description of the Roman city, with measurements of wall-heights and tower dimensions. Sure enough, an annexed undated note in a different hand says they should be published "même lithographiés au Dépôt de la Guerre, en nombre d'exemplaires suffisant pour pouvoir être répandues et insérées avec les plans au Moniteur."⁴⁰ Indeed,

37 Cf. the letter of 16 September 1854 (Génie 8.1 Tébessa, *Projets pour 1854–1855*, from the Colonel du Génie at Tébessa, disputing the assessment of Général de Division Noizet, who believed that the garrison there should be much extended.

38 Cf. the very careful pen and wash drawing *Plan de Tébessa levé le 1er et le 2 juin 1842, pendant que la colonne mobile du Lieut. Gen. NEGRIER était campé sous les murs de la ville*. This shows that the walls

and towers were generally in a remarkably good condition.

39 Génie 1H402, *Reconnaissances et expéditions, 1840–1843, Expédition de Constantine à Tébessa du 4 mai au 17 juin 1842*.

40 MR1317 items 19–20, Général de Négrier, *Quelques notes sur Tébessa*, undated, but "1842?" in pencil on page 1. By this date, lithography was much used not just for 'pencil sketches', but for the duplication of military orders and reports.

de Négrier's description did appear in the *Moniteur* (29 June 1842), noting inside the town near the El-Kedim Gate (Bāb al-Qadīm) a “petit temple conservé tout entier dont la forme et les détails d'architecture rappellent la Maison Carrée de Nîmes”, with monolithic columns in red marble. Négrier also notes⁴¹ the 1370 m of walls built in “belles pierre de taille”, the triumphal arch (for which he gives the inscriptions), and the antiquities to be found at every step within the ancient city, not forgetting the springs used by the Romans, the water of which still reaches the town through a Roman aqueduct. The enceinte is Byzantine, built AD 539,⁴² and the city was on a caravan route.⁴³ Strategically, Tébessa is on the route Constantine-Tunis, so that any European attack from Tunisia (and this was agreed to be the only feasible route) might be halted here, and the city plays an important part in defending French Algeria.⁴⁴ Not only this but, as the Chef du Génie observes, the road to Constantine is good for vehicles for most of the year, and the Roman road to Tunis “est également presque toujours en plaine et des travaux de campagne de faible importance suffiraient pour la rendre praticable aux voitures”.

A decade later, much had disappeared. An 1856 plan⁴⁵ shows the Roman enceinte with its towers, and the smaller French one projecting from it. Outside these, nothing was indicated but gardens, and the ruins of the Basilique to the north. Nothing more shows up on the plan of 1867, except that the old and new enceintes now appear fully occupied with military buildings. But by the 1896 plan the new enceinte has been extended to the southwest, there are houses along the roads out of the fort, and a railway line and station to the north. The legend states it has a population of 6613 souls, of whom 572 French, 245 Jews, 1867 Arabs, and 3924 “étrangers à la commune (européens, tunisiens, marocains, mozabites)”. Many of the destructions since the French arrival are detailed in the ledgers of the army.

6.2 Destruction by ledger

With a classicist's eye on the riches provided by the Roman ruins and Byzantine rebuilds, Général Charon suggested in 1848 that the French army occupy Tébessa, one of his

41 Génie 8.1: Tébessa: *Description de la ville de Tébessa, extraite du Moniteur du 20 Juin 1842.*

42 Delair 1875, 129–130 for the enceinte of Tébessa.

43 Bekri 1913, MS finished 1068; cf. 278: Tébessa is “une grande et ancienne ville, batie en pierres de

taille” – caravans shelter here, and one of the vaulted rooms will hold more than 2000 pack-animals.

44 Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875, overview in Apostilles du Directeur, Projets pour 1862–1863.

45 Génie 8.2, *Tébessa: Plan d'ensemble de la Place*, 22 October 1856.

arguments being exactly the easy availability of building materials to reuse.⁴⁶ What happened can be followed in the army's ledgers.

The state of Tébessa, described as we have seen by de Négrier in 1842, shows that the Byzantine enceinte, built by Justinian's general Belisarius, was in a remarkably good condition. But an auxiliary fort, projecting from its late Roman predecessor, was soon planned and, by 1852, Belisarius' work could be described by Général d'Artois in his summary of Engineers' work throughout Algeria as in a poor state. Yet nevertheless the site was important: "il est indispensable de mettre en état le réduit, en attendant qu'on puisse exécuter l'enceinte telle qu'elle est projetée". And he implies that the walls as they are can be used – "malgré son mauvais état, peut être conservée longtemps avec quelque entretien, grace aux fortes dimensions des matériaux superposés les uns sur les autres, presque partout sans mortier".⁴⁷ This is confirmed by the *Mémoire pour les projets de 1860–1861*, dated 31 March 1860, p. 16, where it is pointed out that some of the 5–6 m³ blocks "recourant ces vides ne se soutiennent que par un miracle d'équilibre". This is an important observation, since the French seem usually to have lacked heavy lifting equipment suitable for shifting such blocks, which were much heavier and larger than the artillery pieces they needed to manoeuvre every day.

Tébessa was not occupied in the very early years after the French conquest, but this did not save all her antiquities, and the chance to preserve an ancient city semi-intact fell before the needs of the army which, after an initial make-and-mend of the Byzantine enceinte,⁴⁸ needed large quantities of stone,⁴⁹ the estimates distinguishing "pierre de

46 Génie H229, Général Charon, *Mémoire militaire sur l'Algérie*, 1848, 324, 327–329: "... dont les communications avec le littoral traversera les territoires des Maractas et des Mannenchas, et laissera ainsi Guelma à l'Ouest": Soukaras (Sûq Ahrâs), on the Bone-Tébessa road, 25 leagues from Bone, has good water, and "les matériaux propres aux constructions, tels que pierres à chaux, moellons à bâtir, pierres de taille, y sont abondants ... On trouve à M'da-Ouzonch (Madâwrûsh) qui est l'ancienne Madaure des ruines considérables et les matériaux de construction sont fort abondants à l'exception toutefois des longues pièces de bois ... L'emplacement de l'ancienne cité serait très propre pour une ville nouvelle que l'on pouvait faire très régulière" ... At Guelma "l'enceinte du poste est formée d'une muraille crenelée flanquée de tours; elle est construite avec les matériaux trouvées sur place. Le poste militaire offre une surface de 5 hectares environ... Plusieurs voies romaines aboutissaient autrefois à Kalama ... en parcourant le pays on retrouve quelques vestiges de ces anciennes voies qui peuvent faciliter l'étude de voies nouvelles carrossables."

47 Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875: *Extrait du Rapport d'ensemble de M. le Général d'Artois sur l'inspection des trois directions du Génie en Algérie*, 1852, Tébessa; and *Installer une poste militaire à Tébessa*. Projet du Commandement Supérieure de Génie, 6 Dec 1852. The project mentioned is in fact the auxiliary fort which projects from the Byzantine walls – shown in the document *Installer une poste militaire à Tébessa*. Projet du Commandement Supérieure de Génie, 6 Dec 1852.

48 Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875, *Etat sommaire for 1871*, 2: "A partir de 1865 on s'est contenté de mettre l'enceinte byzantine à l'abri de l'escalade en y fermant de nombreuses brèches et en lui donnant partout une hauteur minimum de 6 metres au dessus du chemin de ronde extérieur."

49 The work seemed never-ending: Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875, *Etat estimatif, Projets pour 1864–1865*, 2: "Pour l'escarpe du bastion 9, Pierre de taille de ruines: 380 cubic metres; ditto escarpe de la courtine 9–10–11" 730 cubic metres; ditto "pour l'escarpe de l'ouvrage en cornes 11" – 570 cubic metres – in all,

taille de ruines” from “pierre de taille à l’Etat”, which is freshly quarried, as we see from the 1872–1873 estimates for recutting the “vieilles pierres” and reusing the “pierres de ruines”.⁵⁰ This ruins-and-quarry approach was used elsewhere, for example at Sétif in the mid-1840s,⁵¹ and might have to do with the difficulties of manoeuvring the enormous Roman blocks (see below), and certainly with costs and the lack of skilled quarrying manpower. The Commandant du Génie, wishing in April 1872 to work on Towers 9 and 12 by lowering them to courtine level because they were in any case overlooked, notes perhaps nervously that “ces tours, souvenirs de l’occupation romaine, sont jusqu’à un certain point de véritables monuments historiques, qu’il convient de ne pas dénaturer plus qu’il n’est absolument nécessaire” – fine words which did not cancel the need for totals of 2045, 1275 and 103 m³ for unspecified ‘parements’. Some of this stone might have been freshly cut, but this work nevertheless required the “démolition de l’ancien mur de la courtine 9–10–11 jusqu’à l’ouvrage en cours”. And that in its turn entailed the “démolition et bardage de maçonnerie de pierres de taille”, to the tune of 700 m³, and another 140 for the “ouvrage à cornes”. As with the courtine, so with the towers, which had already been modified to take cannon embrasures.

6.3 Rationale for destruction

The above account may be glossed by reviewing several recurrent problems the French army faced with Roman and Byzantine enceintes, all exemplified at Tébéssa. The first is that much of the stonework, especially in the towers of Tébéssa’s enceinte, was too unsteady to take artillery;⁵² and this required both demolition and the scavenging of Roman blocks. Presumably there is a difference between what looks solid to an archaeologist, and to an artillery officer. Thus the assessment by Moll in 1862 that the ma-

1680 cubic metres of “pierres de taille de ruines”! And compare the *Etat Estimatif* for 1855 (loc. cit.) where various sections of the enceinte need 100, 124, 416, 765, 455 and 65 cubic metres of masonry (variously for the foundations, the courtines and the towers – and this is separate from ‘pierre de taille’; and also from the 450 cubic metres demolished ‘à bras d’hommes’ to rebuild the top of the courtine).

50 Génie 8.1 Tébéssa 1842–1875. This contains plenty of wash drawings of the site and of its Arch of Caracalla, and its walls. *Etat estimatif des dépenses à faire aux fortifications de la place de Tébéssa, projets pour 1872–1873*, 1, shows estimated cost for “à couper de vieilles pierres” – 15 days worth of work projected! Also listed are “Disposer des étais pour soutenir la maçonnerie lors de la démolition” – 15 days of second class masons, 15 days of native workmen. p.2:

for a tower, and its topping, “Parement nu de pierres de ruines, rustique pour surfaces planes”

51 Génie 8.1 Sétif Carton 2, 1845–1847, *Etat estimatif des dépenses à faire aux fortifications de Sétif 1847* 9:

“Maçonnerie en pierres romaines prises sur place et mortier ordinaire”, noted for “une partie de l’enceinte”. But they’re also getting a lot of ‘pierre de taille’ cut at the adjacent quarry.

52 Génie 8.1 Tébéssa, For a description of the original state of the walls, cf. *Mémoire pour les projets de 1860–1861*, dated 31 March 1860, 16, where it is pointed out that some of the 5–6 cubic-metre blocks “recourant ces vides ne se soutiennent que par un miracle d’équilibre” – and that the Byzantine walls were in fact in a much worse state than had been believed when Tébéssa was first occupied.

sonry, especially of the towers, was “dans un état de conservation remarquable, et il est facile de voir que l’ingénieur a mis beaucoup de soin à leur construction”⁵³ would not necessarily have impressed either the Artillery or the Engineers, who wished to solidify fortifications to face modern European artillery pieces.

The second problem was the need to deploy firearms right around the courtine, rather than just ballistae from the towers, as the Romans had done. This necessitated protection for the soldiers – that is, crenellations. How were these to be provided? In 1858, it was proposed to dismantle completely stretches of the Byzantine walls, and re-lay them more firmly; this was reckoned too expensive, so “jointoyer avec soin le parement extérieur de ces murs” – that is, pointing – was substituted! As for a proposal to lower the height of the walls for the soldiers to deploy their weapons over it,

... la véritable force de la place de Tébessa doit consister dans son réduit, dont les maçonneries anciennes sont fort élevées et coûteux de percer des créneaux dans des murs de pierre de taille de cette épaisseur; et leur usage serait incommode. Il serait préférable de déraser les murs actuels à la hauteur des terre pleins, et de faire les murs au dessus en maçonnerie de moëllons.⁵⁴

The soldier writes, then, not of an historical monument, but of an active fortification, and how it must be improved.

The third problem concerned weighing up the possibility that an attacker might approach the defences with cannon, in which case the stronger the defences were the better. Tébessa’s position near to the Tunisian border caused anxieties, and it is perhaps these which provoked the plan for 1852–1853 to throw the Arabs out of the Casbah (i.e. the old Byzantine fortress), to remake the Roman wall there with antique blocks to a height of 4 m, and to establish a European colony outside the fort with water drawn through existing Roman pipes. All this would be easy:

L’ancienne muraille bien qu’en assez mauvais état de conservation, peut encore présenter un obstacle suffisant dans le cas d’une attaque faite par une troupe indigène généralement sur les lieux; de la pierre de taille en abondance et pouvant être mise immédiatement en oeuvre presque sans le secours des tailleurs de pierre.⁵⁵

This accords with Lieut de Génie Masson’s *Mémoire Militaire sur l’Expédition de Tébessa en 1846*, where he describes the Byzantine enceinte at Tébessa, offers sketches of what

53 Delair 1875, 129–130, citing Moll, *Mémoire historique et archéologique sur Tébessa*, Société Archéologique de Constantine 1862, 77.

54 Tébessa, 30 May 1858, *Projets, Apostilles du Commandant Supérieure*.

55 Génie 1H878: *Tébessa: Projets pour 1852–1853, and Mémoire sur le projet d’un établissement français à Tébessa: agrandissement en dehors de la ville actuelle*.

would need to be done to repair it, and suggests using the Casbah for troupes, as well as refurbishing the water conduit, etc.⁵⁶ Several water projects were undertaken, and involved the refurbishment of Roman aqueducts and fountains and leading the water into the new parts of the settlement.⁵⁷ Reworking the ancient fortifications was expensive. Thus the *Etat estimatif des dépenses à faire aux fortifications, projets pour 1862–1863*, quotes, p. 1, for 230 m³ of “reworking of stones from the ruins” (i.e. “ébauchage de pierres de ruines”) for the demolition and rebuilding of a tower, plus another 150 m³ of “pierres de ruines” for the courtine.

Work began on the wall in 1862, when courtines 7–8 and 8–9 were demolished, and “on s’occupa à cette partie de la vieille enceinte un mur complètement neuf”; following a ministerial decision of 9 March 1868 to strengthen the fortifications. Indeed, just how seriously the ‘three problems’ listed above were taken may have been something of a moveable feast, depending on local circumstances. Thus when heavy rains provoked a landslide which brought down a 14.5 m stretch of Byzantine wall (courtine sections 11–12) at Tébessa on 4 March 1880, the ancient blocks were put back exactly as they were – suggesting either that funds were very short, or that Byzantine walls still provided an adequate defence. The second is the more likely, because the Byzantine enceinte was improved by the addition of a “chemin de ronde” on top in 1878⁵⁸ – an addition the Engineers had been requesting for twenty years. A document emanating from the Commandant du Génie in Algeria and entitled *Marches pour l’exécution des travaux*,⁵⁹ is useful here, because it is enthusiastic both about cut stones and about saving money:

C’est surtout par le volume énorme des blocs employés et par l’extrême précision que l’on apportait à la juxtaposition des pierres les unes sur les autres, que les constructions obtenaient des résultats qui excitent notre admiration autant par la durée que par la beauté du travail ... On doit bien penser que de tels procédés devaient donc lier à d’énormes dépenses et ne seraient guères applicables de nos jours qu’à des constructions monumentales proprement dites ... [For military work] nous devons chercher à obtenir pour les maçonneries en pierre de taille, la plus grande durée au meilleur marché possible.

There was sometimes a fourth problem, namely that French-built masonry (‘pierre de taille’) could not stand up to the local conditions, and fell away when it was penetrated by rain and subjected to frost. The Chef du Génie underlines the problem in the Aposittiles for 1858–1859 (*Mémoire sur les projets pour 1858–1890*), and “On a supposé l’emploi

56 Génie 1H 403: *Reconnaitances, Expéditions, 1844–1847*; op. cit. 11–12.

57 Génie 1H879, Tébessa 1888–1921: *Projet Supplémentaire* for 1857.

58 Génie 1H878: Tébessa: various.

59 Génie 1H448 Affaires Générales, Commandant du Génie en Algérie, *Marches pour l’exécution des travaux* Art 4 1807–1940: 116 note 92; undated, printed in-folio, but c. 1840?

de l'appareil dit opus incertum, rejointoyé en serrant le mortier qui reflue par la jointe." Thus, the French are intent on reusing Roman building techniques, and not just materials, because they discovered from bitter and expensive experience that ancient techniques (no doubt developed after much trial and error) suited the often harsh conditions.

A fifth problem was a result of building on an old site, and was the mirror-image of the convenience of reusing existing structures – namely that establishing foundations was often difficult. The Chef de Génie (Apostilles, *Mémoire sur les projets pour 1858–1859*), notes the problems of building a barracks:

En effet la nature du terrain, forçait à descendre toujours à 4 ou 5 mètres. Souvent même de grands silos, creusés dans la terre vierge, sous des mosaïques romaines, amenaient, soit à jeter des arceaux, soit à descendre des piliers, jusqu'à 3 ou 4 mètres en contre-bas. De plus, la grande quantité de débris et de matériaux de toute nature auraient forcé, à faire des fondations plus larges qu'on ne pouvait le prévoir.

Nor did the various parties necessarily always agree about what needed doing to the fortifications. The Commandant Supérieur (Apostilles, 30 March 1858) notes a dispute over whether the redoubt and the annex wall should stay at 5 m or be raised to 6 (a considerable outlay of materials); and again whether the courtine 5–6–7 (section a) should be taken down to the very foundations and completely rebuilt, or (as he believes) be left alone.

Entries for the labour associated with the extraction of "pierres de ruines" are common, as in the Etat Estimatif for 1860–1861, where under the heading "taille" are listed "ébauchage de pierres de ruines", followed immediately by "taille de parement rustique", so perhaps it is the reused materials that got rusticated? Getting at the reusable blocks was also expensive: accounts for 1858–1859 show "à arracher des pierres de ruines" mainly done by natives, with a sprinkling of Europeans, overseen by an NCO. Rebuilding work could itself throw up usable pieces, as in the project for the reconstruction of courtines 7–8 and 8–9 (Apostilles du Directeur, Projets pour 1860–1861), the result of which would be "de fournir une notable quantité de pierres de taille pour la construction des parties non achevées de l'annexe et du réduit et permettre sans doute de réaliser encore quelques économies sur cette construction".

6.4 The Arch of Caracalla

If ancient walls could be rebuilt (and often destroyed in the process), then more prestigious monuments were a headache for the army. Civil funding had already allowed

the base of the Arch of Caracalla, the most prominent and prestigious monument of the Roman city, to be cleared down to the Roman level, and a small surrounding area; but to reintegrate the monument within the line of the walls (where of course it belonged) would be much more expensive.⁶⁰ The Director of Engineers suggested in 1862 incorporating its south facade in the enceinte, “et que sur les trois autres faces il serait dégagé et débarrassée des constructions byzantines qui obstruent les arceaux latéraux.”⁶¹ But the Commandant Supérieur in the following year notes that any alterations are for conservation of this historic monument. Read: nothing to do with the army, hence not to be paid for by the army – “le déplacement de cette partie de l’enceinte intéressent particulièrement la conservation d’un monument historique et de l’espace réservé aux constructions civiles étant très reserré a Tébessa”. Hence it follows in this classic – not to say monumental – piece of bureaucracy that “c’est au service civile à provoquer la modification ou le déplacement de la partie 9–12 de l’enceinte et à en supporter les frais (sic!)”⁶²

One plan in 1864–1865 was to isolate the Arch within a triangular bastion⁶³ and, as we see from a contemporary sketch,⁶⁴ that bastion made the Arch invisible from outside the walls. It was also proposed to site riflemen on top of the Arch. If this was bluff to prove that such work was militarily necessary, it seems to have worked, for funds were found to isolate the Arch:

Depuis cette époque d’importantes travaux de consolidation et de déblais exécutés sur les fonds des budgets civils ont permis de dégager complètement le pied du monument, de raccorder l’ancien sol romain avec la ville, la rue de rempart et le terrain extérieur ... Nous ferons remarquer en outre, qu’en appuyant l’enceinte au monument, on avait à démolir, dans un avenir peut être peu éloigné, les extrémités des deux courtines neuves à construire, que le prix des terrains va chaque jour en s’élevant à Tébessa.

60 Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875, 8: “Nous ferons remarquer en outre, qu’en appuyant l’enceinte au monument, on avait à démolir, dans un avenir peut être peu éloigné, les extrémités des deux courtines neuves à construire, que le prix des terrains va chaque jour en s’élevant à Tébessa.”

61 Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875: Apostilles du Directeur, 30 December 1863, 5.

62 Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875: Apostilles du Commandant Supérieur, Projets pour 1864–1865, 5–7. The same note observes that “Nul doute que si les restes des fortifications byzantines de Tébessa n’eus-

sent pas existé, on n’eut pas entouré la ville civile d’un mur crénelé.”

63 Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875, *Mémoire sur les projets pour 1864–1865*, 6: proposal to deal with the “massif de la tour 11 (i. e. the Arch of Caracalla) pour isoler l’arc de triomphe de Caracalla et l’envelopper d’un ouvrage à cornes”.

64 Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875, pen and wash drawing, done by Capitaine de Génie Carrière, dated 19 December 1863, shows the arch clear in its own area, with the “ouvrage à cornes” around it.

So the proposition was evidently ‘sold’ because it was the cheaper option.⁶⁵ In the estimates for 1862, however, the Commandant Supérieur du Génie in an ‘avis’⁶⁶ had reminded his readers that isolating the arch would be satisfactory “au double point de vue de l’économie et du respect qu’on doit aux oeuvres d’antiquité”.

Nevertheless, the suspicious amongst us must wonder whether (given his track-record) he was just as interested in the building materials to derive from such isolation – on which compare the same liasse, Etat Estimatif, for the “démolition des maçonneries de remplissage et de pierre de taille du mur d’enceinte, dépose de pierres de taille avec machines et engins” – all coming from the Byzantine blocking up of the arch, and the adjacent wall sections.

By the 1880s, it at first appears that the wind has changed in favour of preserving all the significant monuments at Tébessa, and not just the Arch of Caracalla. But this is probably just a cost-saving measure – witness the notes of the Chef du Génie in 1887, regarding the Byzantine infill to the Roman theater, using column-shafts some 1 m in diameter. This, he avers,

constitue sans contredit une des parties les plus pittoresques de l’enceinte et présente, au point de vue archéologique, un spécimen des plus intéressants des procédés expéditifs de construction employés par Solomon [m. 544] pour se retrancher dans Tébessa.

He continues:

Les piliers du théâtre sont en mauvais état. A ce titre, ils sont à conserver précieusement, conformément à toutes les instructions laissées dans la place par les Inspecteurs généraux du Génie, qui ont toujours recommandé de ne pas enlever à l’enceinte son caractère actuel. C’est pour nous conformer à l’esprit de ces instructions que nous avons laissé subsister non seulement les filières du théâtre, mais encore les colonnes accumulées par les byzantins. Du reste, ces colonnes pèsent environ 5 à 6000 kilogrammes chacune et leur enlèvement entraînerait une dépense assez considérable.⁶⁷

Given the history of the defences at Tébessa, recounted above, this officer’s piety is touching, but it might also have been genuine, for appreciation of Byzantine remains at this period was rare indeed.

65 Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875: *Mémoire sur les projets pour 1864–1865*, 8.

66 Génie 1H879, Tébessa 1888–1921, *Etat Estimatif* for 1862.

67 Génie 1H878: *Tébessa, Projets pour 1887*, 12 avril 1887, Apostilles du Chef de Génie.

But in spite of any desire on the part of Inspectors Général to retain the monuments (which is not reflected in the archives), much was lost. The Arch of Caracalla, the Temple of Minerva on the old Forum, and Solomon's Byzantine citadel (with some of the later additions removed), survive today – sentinels to the change in attitude to conservation in France, and to a civil administration in 1870, with a museums and collecting policy, rather than to any change of heart on the part of the French army. The Arch was still a problem in 1898, when Capitaine de Génie Rousseaux sent a report⁶⁸ saying it was dangerous, and should be demolished “si l'on ne veut pas s'exposer à voir certaines parties de détacher et tomber en occasionnant des accidents dont le Département de la Guerre serait rendu responsable”. Is this military-civilian bureaucratic skirmishing, vandalism, concern for public safety, or a continuing thirst for cut stone? The arch survived, and still forms part of the walls, and a lot of traffic is carried through it. In 1900, Capitaine de Génie Roblot sent another report, instancing the damage (including water penetration and frost damage), and saying its repair needs a specialist sculptor, probably from Paris, as well as first-class masons.

6.5 The increased pace of building

But the Arch bulked small in the minds of an army needing to house increasing numbers of troops. In the 1870s, the pace of engineering work increased, although the Chef du Génie lists out the increasing works bill 1854–1861 and tries to explain it.⁶⁹ Whereas from

... 1865, on s'est contenté de mettre l'enceinte byzantine à l'abri de l'escalade en y fermant de nombreuses brèches et en lui donnant partout une hauteur minimum de 6 mètres au dessus du chemin de ronde extérieur,⁷⁰

much more extensive work was required, in order (for example) to lower the Roman Towers 9 and 12 to courtine level, because they were in any case overlooked. But this was projected with some trepidation, because “ces tours, souvenirs de l'occupation romaine, sont jusqu'à un certain point de véritables monuments historiques, qu'il convient de ne pas dénaturer plus qu'il n'est absolument nécessaire”. Included in the plans are pen and wash plans and elevations of both these towers, both of which have already been modified for canon embrasures, and the note that the stonework to be used as “parement nu de pierres de ruines, rustique pour surfaces planes.”⁷¹ But by the Etats Estimatifs

68 Génie 1H879 Tébessa 1888–1921.

69 Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875: *Mémoire sur les projets pour 1860–1861*, apostilles du Chef de Génie.

70 Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875: *Etat sommaire for 1871*, 2.

71 Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875: *Etat estimatif des dépenses à faire aux fortifications de la place de Tébessa, projets pour 1872–1873*, 2.

of the 1880s, it looks as if “pierre des ruines” has been exhausted by so much building work, and is no longer an option.⁷² The need to deploy modern fortress artillery dictated the refurbishment and strengthening of the towers, which, in their antique state, were too unsteady to house guns. Repairs were made with antique blocks, often recut; and accounts from the early 1860s show the reuse of several 100 m³ of them.⁷³ But this is just one of the rebuilding campaigns of this period: the scale of rebuilding in the 1860s and 1870s is reflected in the actual accounts. In 1872–1873, 15 days of work are projected “à couper de vieilles pierres”; but in 1864–1865, for repairing the enceinte, we have cited here just one example⁷⁴ of which there are many echoes in succeeding years. It was also cost which dictated the reuse of ancient blocks, as this bill from the same period demonstrates (with the livre worth slightly less than the franc):

Maçonnerie de pierres de taille a l'Etat	Livres 141.5
Maçonnerie de pierres de taille de ruines	3048.44
Taille plane, rustique	2013.78
Transport of pierre de ruines	1429.83
Total	6633.20

Tab. 1 Account from the 1860s showing the reuse of antique blocks for measures of re-building.

When we put such costs together with the 400 m³ of antique blocks reworked and reused in 1862–1863 alone (see above), the continuing scale of destruction, year after year, is obviously gigantic. And these figures are only for military reuse: equally high figures would probably be generated by the buildings erected to service the needs of the ‘colons;’ were accounts such as these to survive. The large cost of ‘maçonnerie’ indicates reworking of Roman blocks, while the large cost of transport suggests that these did not come from Tébessa itself. A good candidate for a source of large Roman blocks is Kalaa (Qal‘a) (i.e. ‘the fortress’ – a standard North African term for ‘ruins’), some 37 miles to the north-west, where in 1852 “les pentes jusqu’à la plaine sont couvertes de ruines Romaines,”

72 Génie 1H879 Tébessa 1888–1921: the *Mémoire sur les projets pour 1888* includes “la pierre de taille, extraite à la carrière, taillée avec parement vu rustiquée, et transportée à pied d’œuvre”.

73 E. g. Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875, *Etat estimatif des dépenses à faire aux fortifications, projets pour 1862–*

1863, quotes, 1, for “ébauchage pierres de ruines”, 230 cubic metres; 4: quotes for demolition of a tower, plus another 150 cubic metres of “pierres de ruine” for the courtine.

74 Génie 8.1 Tébessa 1842–1875: *Etat estimatif, Projets pour 1864–1865*, 23.

there are the ruins of a late Roman fort, and between Kalaa and Ain Ksiba (‘Ain Qaṣība) a Roman monument with walls still 2 to 3 m in height and, nearby, a Marabout “au milieu de vastes ruines Romaines, qui ont servi à le construire.”⁷⁵

7 Case study 3: Guelma

As we shall see, destruction at Guelma (Qālīma) follows much the same lines as we have seen at Sétif and Tébessa so, from what we have already learned from Sétif and Tébessa, the pace and extent of deprecation at Guelma is easily understood as a chronological listing:

1837: it seems likely that the site was chosen precisely because the Roman enceinte was in good enough condition to occupy immediately⁷⁶ – although to this it was objected that the ambush-ready ruins made the site dangerous.⁷⁷ The French camp was in the citadel, and large parts of its walls remained (Fig. 5), while antiquities carpeted the walled town outside to a depth of some 1.5 m.⁷⁸ (Nor was Guelma exceptional: compare the Duc d’Orléans’ description of Cuicul as another Herculaneum.)

1838: Colonel Duvivier⁷⁹ marvels at the amount of building materials lying around:

Une immense amas de pierres de fortes dimensions toutes taillées, ne demandant plus qu’à être mises en place; elles représenteraient une valeur de plusieurs millions dans un pays à routes et à voitures.⁸⁰

75 MR882.2: Lieutenant Warnet, Mémoire sur la subdivision de Bone en 1852, 35–37.

76 Génie 1H891, Capt. de Génie Boutault, Mémoire militaire sur Bougie, 25 January 1837, 1; Correspondance du Maréchal Clauzel, cit. His eye is clearly on the reuse of materials for fortification, at II 299, writing to the Minister on 1st December 1836 about Guelma: “Il reste à Guelma de nombreuses ruines de construction romaine, et notamment l’enceinte de l’ancienne citadelle est assez bien conservé pour permettre d’y établir en toute sûreté contre les Arabes un poste militaire.”

77 Génie 8.1, Guelma, Carton 1, 1837–1847: Capitaine Niel, Reconnaissances du Camp de Guelma, prefers Drea to Guelma, because “Il eut donc bien mieux valu s’établir sur la route même que d’aller chercher au loin des ruines qui d’ailleurs sont difficiles à défendre à cause de l’immense carrière qui est auprès et des tas de pierres derrière lesquels on peut s’embusquer à demi portée de fusil.”

78 Camp de Guelma, capitaine Niel, n. d., perhaps March 1837 like a similar document in same carton (Génie 8.1 Guelma Carton 1, 1837–1847): the French camp is in the old citadel, “dont l’enceinte est en partie restée debout. La ville était beaucoup plus grande ... son emplacement est recouverte d’une masse de pierres et d’encombres qui en indiquent à peu près le contour. On remarque sur plusieurs endroits des débris de colonnes en marbre rouge, des chapiteaux et d’énormes pierres de taille qui appartenaient sans doute à des monuments publics. Les décombres ayant relevé le sol actuel d’environ 1m50.” Niel includes sketches of the arènes, of inscriptions, and showing the walls (with the corner towers standing highest, the courtyard lowest) substantially intact.

79 Colonel Farriadis Fleurus de Duvivier, born 1794, who was to go on to write *Solution de la question de l’Algérie*, 1841 (pp. 344) and *Les inscriptions phéniciennes*, 1845.

80 Génie H226 Mémoires divers 1835–1838, Colonel Duvivier, Rapport sur l’établissement actuel de

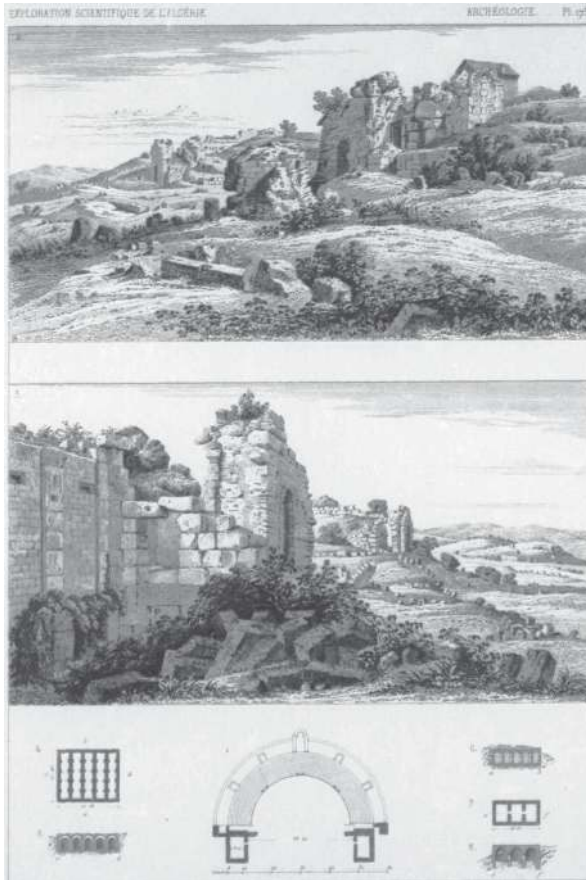


Fig. 5 Guelma: views of the defences, built from very large blocks.

He also has plans to repair the “camp supérieur” – not with the “pierres de taille énormes” lying all around, “mais avec des petits pour aller plus vite”⁸¹ The French continued, indeed, to experience great difficulties in shifting large antique blocks, so Duvivier might well be implying the impossibility of the task if large blocks were tackled. Duvivier liked rebuilding, and recommended it elsewhere, with the defences stiffened with cannon.⁸²

In view of such riches, the 1844 projects hope simply to reuse the ancient masonry:

Guelma, 1838, 36 (unnumbered) pages. Cf. note 13.

81 Ibid., 6–7.

82 Génie 8.1 Constantine carton 1: 1836–1840, Colonel Duvivier, Sur les moyens d’employer pour maintenir la communication avec Constantine, 26 March 1838, 12: at Announa (‘Annūna) “on trouve

des pierres de taille en quantité considérable, une source excellente est à côté. On pouvait donc y créer facilement un bon poste militaire... Relever le fort romain situé à 3700 mètres de Guelma, l’organiser pour recevoir une garnison de 40 hommes, avec une pièce de canon à affut marin sur sa plate forme..”

on rejouera l'ancienne maçonnerie, et remplacera avec mortier les assises en pierres sèches ... on pourra creuser les fosses de manière à arriver jusqu'au niveau des anciennes fondations, et à rendre plus difficile l'escalade.⁸³

At the same date, they are reusing Roman ruins (unspecified) on the site of Batiment C, to make good the wall; and they dug down to see how extensive the ruins were – no doubt to determine how much material they could extract.⁸⁴ But an 1843 exploratory dig had determined that the ancient masonry was in worse state than had been supposed.⁸⁵ This was because of earthquake damage, which had moved the blocks.⁸⁶ It is rather pathetic that the French could not produce sufficient technology to right earthquake-disturbed blocks; and also that the 1838 plan for refurbishing the citadel was projected to use “petit appareil” for the same reason. Were the Génie undertrained or perhaps undermanned? If they could shift cannon, why not antique blocks, at least up to the capacity of their gear?

1845: The Inspecteur Général recommends reusing the foundations of the Roman enceinte (“dont les fondations au moins serviront, et produiront une économie en donnant plus de solidité aux nouvelles constructions”), and making silos out of the towers.⁸⁷ Similarly, Roman water arrangements are more than adequate: “les anciens bassins restaurés l'année dernière sont plus que suffisants pour un grand établissement” – and they will go ahead and restore more “anciens bassins dans le voisinage des Sources” – so the French are clearly using Roman springs and water receptacles (Fig. 6).⁸⁸

1846: As elsewhere, it was planned expansion which helped destroy the ruins. By now the enceinte was considered too small, and huge amounts of materials were estimated for the extensions, required for a tripling of the garrison. The new walls are to be 4 m high and 0.5 m thick.⁸⁹ And once again, the high cost of restoring the wall is attributed to the use of civilian labour.⁹⁰

83 Génie 8.1 Guelma Carton 1, 1837–1847, Mémoire pour les projets pour 1844, Apostilles du Chef du Génie, 3.

84 Génie 8.1 Guelma Carton 1, 1837–1847, Projets pour 1844, Apostilles du Directeur.

85 Mémoire pour les projets pour 1844, Apostilles du Chef du Génie, 3.

86 H226 Mémoires divers 1835-8, Colonel Duvivier, Rapport sur l'établissement actuel de Guelma, 1838, 36 (unnumbered) pages. Cf. 5–6: “dans plusieurs endroits en fouillant jusqu'au fond des fondations, nous avons trouvé celles si dérangées et déviées. Quelques angles élevés, de tours qui montent encore comme des aiguilles, présentent des pierres tout isolées qui ont tournée les unes sur les autres, en laissant les joints verticaux à jour, comme seraient

quelques dominos, placés de champ les uns sur les autres par des enfans.”

87 Génie 8.1 Guelma Carton 1, 1837–1847, Mémoire sur les projets pour 1845, Place de Guelma, 5. Ibid. 2 confirms that use of the foundations is to save money on civilian labour.

88 Ibid., Apostilles du Directeur Projets pour 1845, cf. the plan in Article 5, “Etablissement provisoire de bains à Hamman-Meskoulina”, with a hospital erected near the “anciens bassins restaurés”, these by a hot water spring.

89 Génie 8.1 Guelma Carton 1, 1837–1847.

90 Apostilles du Directeur, 1846 Projets; cf. the water-colour plans in the Projets for 1846 showing what was intended.

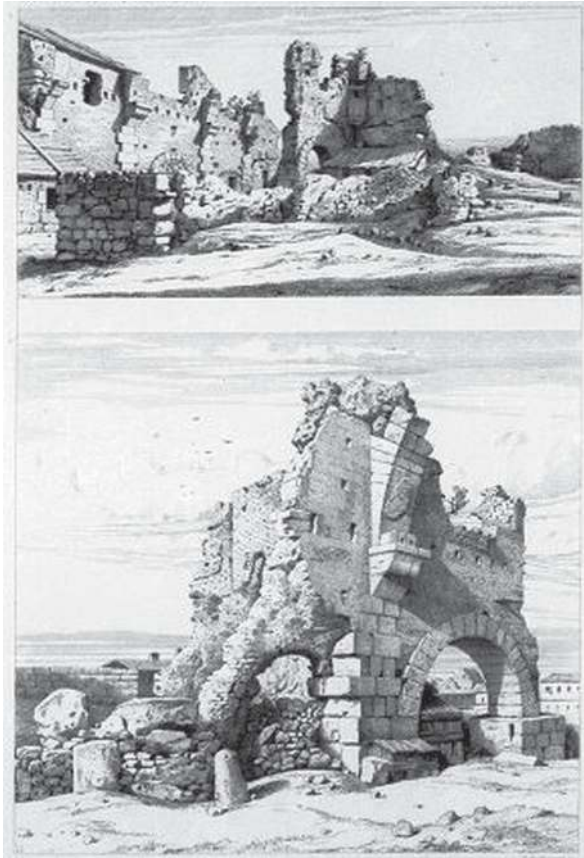


Fig. 6 Guelma: views of vaulted Roman buildings.

1847: Second thoughts arrive, when a submission wonders whether Guelma actually needs an enceinte, although “une enceinte quoque tardive sera toujours utile parce qu’elle servira au moins pour l’octroi”. And, in any case, there are new sections of wall already building – because “on n’a pas pu se servir d’aucune partie des fondations pour les portions d’enceinte qui ont été nouvellement reconstruites”.⁹¹ And since storage is always at a premium, the same year sees plans for casting covetous eyes on the ruins of the Roman Baths. These were large and extensive, and had been proposed as protection for the French camp in 1838⁹² and probably fortified under the Romans.⁹³ They were

91 Génie 8.1 Guelma Carton 1, 1837–1847, Projets pour 1847, Apostilles du Directeur, 5, 9–11.

92 Génie H226 Mémoires divers 1835–1838, Colonel Duvivier, Rapport sur l’établissement actuel de Guelma, 1838, 36 (unnumbered) pages. Cf. 5: “D’immenses thermes tres anciens, formant un vaste

bâtiment dont il n’existe maintenant que quelques murailles, étaient enclavées dans le périmètre des remparts, et comme une vaste tour ou petite citadelle faisaient partie de ceux-ci.”

93 Durliat 1981, 38 dedication inscriptions. Cat 3: Guelma (pp. 539–544) includes the line *Posticuis /*



Fig. 7 Guelma: the defences, with re-used antiquities in upper courses.

now proposed for use as cellerage, or by building over some of the bath foundations for “des Magasins d’Orge”⁹⁴

1847: Whether an enceinte was needed or not, the main interest groups evidently squabbled over who got what, both recognizing the value of the antique blocks.⁹⁵ The documents record one volley in a dispute between the chiefs of the Génie and Artillery, item 3: “les matériaux provenant des murs de l’ancienne courtine (4-3) et (3-2) resteront à la disposition du Génie”.

1848: the Chef de Génie⁹⁶ countermands building on the ancient foundations between towers 11 and 18, but

... toutefois on aura l’avantage de tirer des fondations des pierres de taille qui serviront à la construction de la partie supérieure du mur, et on ne regrettera probablement point de les y avoir laissées enfouis, car elles deviendront tres couteuses si l’on se trouve obligé d’aller les extraire à la carrière.

Later in 1848: all change! It is now decided⁹⁷ that Guelma will house only 390 men and 9 horses. So the task is to close the enceinte “le plus tôt et les plus économiquement possible” – reckon 12 years to finish the Quartier Militaire. So proposes a “courtine en terre”.

1850–1851: The Chef du Génie⁹⁸ was certainly not against safe re-use of the monuments: in from of the south gate of the antique enceinte are cisterns with a capacity of 675 000 l, and well preserved: “les murs sont parfaitement intacts et les voutes seules

sub terras balteo concluditur ferro – suggesting closing and protecting the baths with an iron postern gate was part of the idea.

94 Génie 8.1 Guelma Carton 1, 1837–1847, Apostilles du Commandant Supérieur, Génie, Place de Guelma, Projets pour 1847, 33.

95 Ibid., Procès verbal 1847.

96 Génie 8.1 Guelma Carton 2: 1848–1855 Projets pour 1848, Apostilles du Chef de Génie, 4.

97 Ibid., Apostilles du Directeur, 3.

98 Génie 8.1 Guelma Carton 2: 1848–55, Projets pour 1850 & 1851, Apostilles du Chef de Génie, 5–7:

auraient besoin de quelques reparations”. But to open a new gate in the SE corner of the enceinte, writes the Directeur, “il faut raser les restes de constructions romaines qui se trouvent sur cet emplacement et dont une partie mérite d’être conservé à titre d’ouvrages d’art, et comme pouvant d’ailleurs être utilisée...” So they’ll take another route, and demolish Roman cellars instead.⁹⁹ The Commandant Supérieur does not agree, noting¹⁰⁰ that the ruins are “assez considérables ... Ces ruines ne présentent aucun caractère ... il vaut mieux les raser complètement que d’adopter pour en conserver quelques restes, la disposition proposée par le Directeur...” – although nobody says exactly what these ruins are.

1852–1853: The Roman enceinte is still not completed, and work proceeds to refurbish the Roman baths near the Roman ruins, where they discovered in 1851 yet more antique “bassins à côté des bassins actuellement en service”. To save money, the antique basins would be restored, and the accompanying cisterns as well.¹⁰¹ These springs delivered nearly 1000 m³ of water per day, and were certainly curative.

8 Roman hydrology survives the French army

The reuse of ancient monuments to help in containing expenditure continued throughout the 19th century across all of French North Africa and, with many monuments above-ground mangled or completely destroyed, the ancient water system (aqueducts, barrages, cisterns etc) survived. At the end of the century, Paul Gauckler’s work on hydraulics,¹⁰² based on surveys carried out by the French army, gave monument by monument “des indications nécessaires sur l’état actuel de la ruine et son utilisation possible.”¹⁰³ Presenting a summary of urban hydrology for 19 Roman cities, he concluded (I 128) that

La réfection de ces travaux urbains, ou même la captation à nouveau des sources que les Romains avaient utilisées, ne pourra être tentée avec quelques chances de succès que le jour où la population se sera suffisamment développée pour en nécessiter l’exécution, et où l’élément français cherchera à restaurer méthodiquement les centres de la colonisation romaine, ce qui n’a eu lieu jusqu’ici que dans une très faible proportion et sur des points peu éloignés de la côte.

99 Ibid., Apostilles du Directeur 3.

100 Ibid., Apostilles du Commandant Supérieur, 3.

101 Génie 8.1 Guelma Carton 2: 1848–1855, Projets pour 1852 et 1853, Apostilles du Directeur, 19; Apostilles du Commandant Supérieur, 15.

102 Gauckler 1897–1912.

103 Gauckler 1897–1912 I, 5.

This is indeed archaeology as the servant of colonial survival. In Algeria in 1964, French archaeologists were still fascinated by Roman hydrology, and still for reasons of colonial settlement spliced with the advantage of low cost. Jean Lassus, in his preface to Birebent's *Aquae Romanae*, focussed on the interest of semi-desert areas:

Comment avaient-ils alimenté ces villages et des fermes, irrigué cette plaine, aménagé ces pentes? Ce qu'ils ont fait, on peut le refaire.

And again:

L'examen attentif, la recherche systématique des aménagements romains facilitait donc la tâche du chercheur d'eau. Parfois même il était possible de réemployer les puits, les captages ou les canalisations antiques, moyennant un effort bien moindre que celui qui eut été nécessaire pour construire de toutes pièces un nouveau réseau.

That this is not mere archaeology is clear from Birebent's position: his boss, the Directeur de l'Hydraulique en Algérie, gave him permission to undertake a systematic search "des vestiges anciens pour savoir si cela pouvait éventuellement permettre de découvrir les ressources dont s'alimentaient les agglomérations romaines".

The result is an interesting, detailed and highly practical manual – but containing no hint that the French army was doing the same thing a century previously.

9 Fingers in the dyke: saving Algerian monuments

Until late in the 19th century, there seems to have been no official brake upon military and colonizing requirements in Algeria, but only the small backwash of the growing popularity of museums in Europe, and minimal funding to preserve and house Algeria's Roman antiquities. There were expeditions and explorations, commissions and reports, but these were piecemeal, there being apparently no overarching policy for Algeria. This is perhaps similar to the situation in France where, likewise, much Roman material (especially *late* Roman, despised as decadent, or ignored completely) was destroyed in the cleaning-up of towns and the destruction of city walls and military fortifications (the relicts to be seen in for example the museums of Narbonne, Saintes and Langres).

The problem in Algeria was on an altogether larger scale because, as stated at the beginning of this paper, only a very small percentage of the antiquities appear to have gone between the end of the Byzantine and the beginning of the French occupation. Many were incorporated in later buildings, as can be seen in Delamare's views of Constantine (Figs. 8–11).



Fig. 8 Constantine: walls incorporating column shafts, altars and inscriptions.

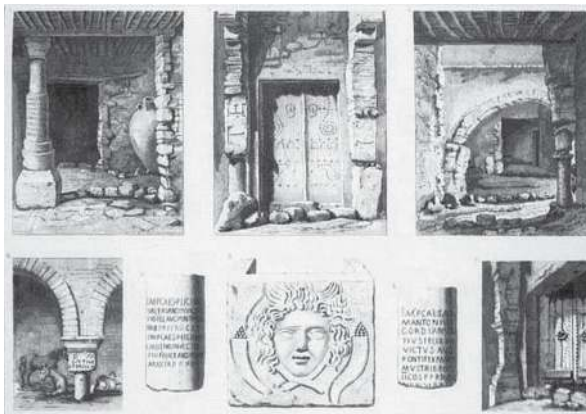


Fig. 9 Constantine: antiquities, including milestones, built into much later houses.

Perhaps there was simply too much material discovered and underground to be coped with comprehensively in the early, dangerous years. Texier notes the great riches of the Province of Constantine, and relays from Lambaesa (Tāzūlt) the commandant's observation that there are "dans les environs un grand nombre de villes antique remplies de monumens et d'inscriptions"; which he was prevented by bad weather from examin-

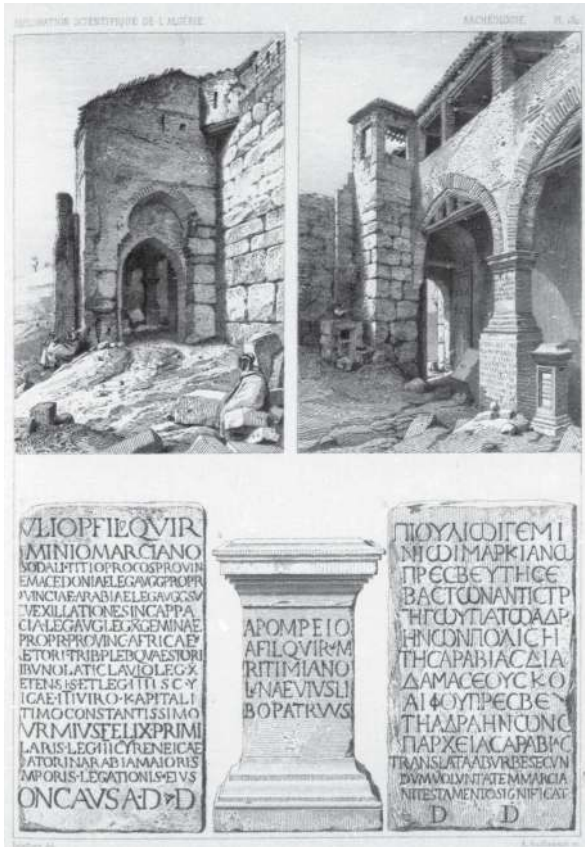


Fig. 10 Constantine: reworked Roman walls, with inscribed blocks (altars, honorific bases) for interior support.

ing.¹⁰⁴ With monuments such as mosaics, should they be left in place or lifted? When a large Christian mosaic was discovered at Orléansville (ash-Shlaf), A. de Saint Arnaud, the Colonel in charge, made the interesting suggestion of 15 October 1846 building a church on top of it, for which he provided a plan. The plan was shelved, being too costly at 20 000F.¹⁰⁵ Such projects were competing for funds against absolute necessities – such as repairing the aqueducts at Cherchel (Shirshāl), for 45 871F (over EUR 100 000).¹⁰⁶

The Ministry of War evidently wanted to be seen to be doing something, and had planned for Prosper Mérimée and the Comte de Laborde to visit Algeria, “pour visiter les antiquités romains qui s’y trouvent et vous adresser un rapport sur les moyens d’en

104 2N75 Texier to Minister of War 10 Dec 1847.

105 ANOM and DOM-TOM. 2N75: Texier to Minister of War 24 Jan 1848, following the Colonel’s sugges-

tion dated 15 Oct 1846; Texier recommends against implementation in his letter of 13 Jun 1848.

106 2N75, Texier to Minister of War 21 Jan 1848.

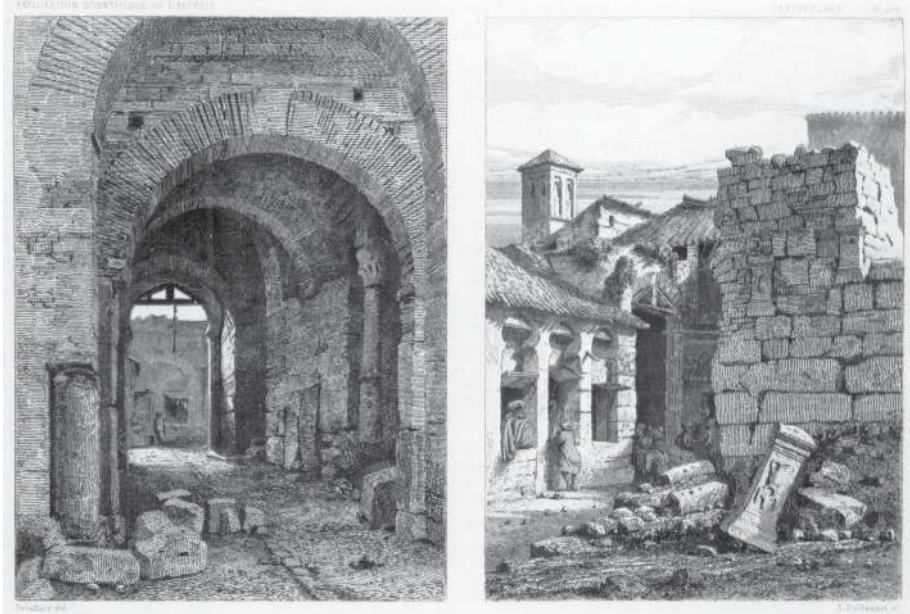


Fig. 11 Constantine: antiquities incorporated into the fabric of the Moslem town.

assurer la conservation” – and the 15 000F (EUR 33 000) mentioned “pour la restauration, l’entretien et la conservation des monuments historiques de l’Algérie” was surely a proposal for some part of an annual vote.¹⁰⁷ The reason for the visit is given by de Laborde: Algeria was to be treated like metropolitan France, and “notre seul but était d’appeler sur les ruines de l’Algérie l’intérêt que la Commission des Monuments historiques est parvenu à obtenir pour les monuments de la France.”¹⁰⁸ The irony – once again – is that at the very same time that strenuous efforts were afoot in metropolitan France to preserve and restore monuments, the agents of the state were destroying them in Algeria, leaving scholars to pick up and document the ever-sparsier pieces.

Clearly, Algeria needed its own volumes in the series *Inventaire général des richesses d’art de la France*. And, indeed, a *Commission départementale d’Alger* was set up, deriving from a proposal of 1856 of Congrès des Sociétés Savantes to do an inventory, but the lines of guidance seem designed for Christian countries with churches and paintings, not for places like Algeria with Arab, Roman and Byzantine monuments.¹⁰⁹ The context

107 2N75 Letter from Minister of War dated Sept 1847.

108 2N75, Letter from Comte de Laborde 14 Sept 1847.

109 ANOM 54.S.1–2 Minute book, *Inventaire Général des richesses d’art de la France*, Commission, Séance du 19 avril 1878 etc. But they do not meet very of-

ten, and do not decide much either except at the strategic level. No great lines of principle seem to be laid out. This liasse contains examples of submissions, presumably for use as models.

for this is perhaps the *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie* which, from surveys made in 1840–1842, produced from 1845 to 1870 volumes in various disciplines. At the same time, help was sought from amateurs, by the tried-and-tested method of fill-in questionnaires accompanied by advice. Léon Renier's sixteen-page *Instructions pour la recherche des antiquités en Algérie* (Paris 1859)¹¹⁰ gives locations on which to concentrate, how to copy inscriptions, and measures to be taken to preserve antiquities. The lack of any Algeria-wide regulations is obvious, and the research is to be done on the cheap:

Il serait, du moins, possible de se procurer, sans frais, les monuments que le hasard, les progrès de la colonisation, les travaux publics et particuliers font tous les jours découvrir. Il suffirait pour cela que les commandants militaires et les fonctionnaires civils de l'Algérie voulussent bien faire recueillir toutes les inscriptions découvertes actuellement.

By analogy with similar developments in metropolitan France, the heritage of Algeria was therefore to be treated to the *Commission des monuments historiques*, and to be preserved in museums, which were sometimes to be sited in interesting buildings. Thus Texier, the Inspecteur Général des Batiments Civils, writes¹¹¹ to the Minister of War (14 February 1848) on his proposal to make the Praetorium at Lambaesa into a museum: the ruins of the town “passent pour les plus importants de toute l'Algérie”, and this 27 m by 19 m space “pourrait recevoir un appropriation utile en le consacrant à abriter tous les petits monumens, toutes les inscriptions qui se comptent par centaines, et tous les fragmens de sculpture que l'on pouvait découvrir par la suite dans les ruines de Lambaesa”.

Were no such secure shelter to be provided, the monuments “épars par le sol, sont exposés à toutes les causes de destruction”.

Costs – estimated at 7 710F12c (EUR 17 000), which could be kept down by using troops for the work. But this project was never executed.

Large monuments required restoration and often digging out. The theater at Tipasa (Tibāsa) (the town was admired by Ibn Ḥauqal in the 10th century¹¹²) and the Temple of Aesculapius at Lambaesa would cost 15 000F (EUR 33 000), and the former required the excavation of some 1 550 m³ of earth – work which would allow the study of the whole, “mettrait à découvert des parties de sculptures qui sont certainement enfouis sous terre”. Although far from any inhabited town or village, Texier argued that “la possibilité de

110 ANOM F80 1733, extracted from the *Revue Algérienne et Coloniale* Nov. 1859, 3.

111 DOM-TOM 2N75.

112 Ibn Ḥauqal (travelling 943–969) 1842, 225 Tipasa: “une ville d'une très-haute antiquité. Elle est entourée d'une ancienne muraille construite de pierre et de chaux”.

communiquer par mer rend les travaux d'une exécution facile"¹¹³ – some indication of the problems of moving heavy weights by land.

The main problem for the surviving monuments continued to be the wilful or careless destruction of the past, as Delamare pointed out in the early 1840s. Delamare's biography is one of frustration with authority, and of disappointment at the early recall. He had to struggle to remain in Algeria after 1842, but finally left on 15 May 1845.¹¹⁴ Too much bureaucracy to fight, too many monuments to protect? In fact, his volume of the *Exploration Scientifique de l'Algérie* (Archéologie: vol 1)¹¹⁵ was fragmentary, covering only those eastern sections already conquered – Bône, Sétif, Constantine, Guelma, Philippeville – so his withdrawal was a loss to scholarship. But the drawings he left, some of which illustrate this paper, provide an important record of French outposts in Algeria before the army destroyed most of them.

Beyond the scholars, Paris was perhaps not much interested in the antiquities of Algeria. Diehl notes¹¹⁶ the 1845 opening of the Musée Algérien at the Louvre. He retails the story of 12 marble statues, acquired by a French consul in the South, which were shipped to Toulon for the Louvre, on a French warship. They languished in the Arsenal for 35 years, and only got to their destination “à la suite d'une réclamation formelle”.

Societies were certainly established in Algeria for the study and protection of the monuments, but it was often their mournful task to document destruction. Thus cognoscenti at Constantine defined their task as to “recueillir, conserver, décrire”, although much had already gone¹¹⁷ – forming the kernel of a museum. Stéphane Gsell¹¹⁸ lists (p. III) the disputes at Philippeville over whether antiquities should go into a local museum, or back to France. In the long correspondance between Delamare (the discoverer of Lambessa: see below) and the Ponts & Chaussées engineer Laborie, Gsell found an annotation, probably by Governor-Général Bugeaud himself: “ces savants mettent le désordre partout avec leurs exigences, dans l'intérêt de leurs grands travaux, qu'ils ne publient jamais” – a palpable hit! But a large number of the entries in Gsell's text illustrate what happened without preservation; for there is an abundance of phrases such as

113 2N75 Restauration du théâtre de Tipasa, letters from Texier to Minister of War 17 & 19 Nov 1849.

114 Dondin-Payre 1994, Dondin-Payre 1995.

115 Delamare 1850.

116 Diehl 1892, 7–8: Commandant Delamare in 1844 announces discovery of Lambessa. He and others began (“restée malheureusement inachevée”) L'exploration archéologique de l'Algérie. 8: Commission Scientifique attached to the military from 1840, which allowed Ravoisié to publish Monuments Antiques et Modernes de l'Algérie in

1846. Also Commandant Delamare, *Exploration archéologique de l'Algérie*, Paris 1850.

117 *Annuaire* 1853, 13, 15: “Constantine ... renfermait encore au moment de la conquête française, un grand nombre de ruines romaines, dont la plupart ont disparu dans les travaux de construction de notre établissement ... quelques morceaux d'architecture et de sculpture ont été recueillis et attendant, exposés aux intempéries de l'air, que l'administration leur procure des abris.”

118 Gsell 1912, Texte explicatif des planches de A-H & A. Delamare, Chef d'Escadron d'Artillerie, Membre de la Commission Scientifique de l'Algérie.

“dont il ne subsiste que quelques vestiges ... on n'en voit plus que la trace ... qui était située...”

The gap between intention and achievement is seen nowhere better than in the *Bulletin Officiel de l'Algérie et des Colonies contenant les Actes officiels relatifs à l'Algérie et aux autres colonies* (publiés du 24 juin au 31 décembre 1858, Paris 1859, pp. 259–260). An *Envoi* signed Napoleon (Jérôme), offers hands-on advice and instructions from Renier to the various public functionaries of Algeria: the French need to investigate and protect the past, and Public Works could do this at little cost, and then gather the finds into local museums.¹¹⁹ Again, topographical officers with the army could help with charting Roman remains, especially roads¹²⁰, as indeed they had done since the Conquest. Nevertheless, in spite of such efforts, depredations continued, and conceivably increased with the increased rate of colonization and modernization of the country and new towns, roads and railways. Thus Diehl notes in 1892¹²¹ in disgust that “tous, maçons, entrepreneurs, colons, ingénieurs des ponts et chaussées, officiers du Génie, et jusqu'aux administrateurs eux-mêmes, ont rivalisé de zèle destructeur”. As an example he instances Lambessa: intact in 1844, in 1848 a prison was built here, precisely because of the building materials: “Le plus ancien des deux camps a disparu complètement; l'enceinte de l'autre est fort endommagée, et le pénitencier avec son vaste jardin en couvre d'ailleurs la meilleure part” – and it is the same sad story with the amphitheater. Nor did important buildings escape:

119 Envoi d'instructions relatives aux recherches archéologiques, dated 31 December 1858: “L'Algérie à gardé de nombreux vestiges de la domination romaine; malheureusement ces curieux débris disparaissent chaque jour, et les notions précises qu'ils pouvaient fournir sur l'organisation politique et administrative des colonies romaines s'anéantissent avec eux. Je m'intéresse particulièrement aux études qui ont pour objet de reconstituer l'histoire du passé de notre colonie... Les travaux d'utilité publique et privée qui s'exécutent ou vont s'exécuter en Algérie permettront, sans dépense spéciale, de faire de nombreuses fouilles et de retrouver beaucoup d'inscriptions précieuses pour l'historien et le géographe ... Quant aux monuments eux-mêmes, lorsqu'ils ne seront pas, comme les bornes milliaires, de nature à rester en place, ils devront être transportés dans le centre de population le plus voisin [hitherto, most had gone to the Musée d'Alger, which was costly, and damaged them – this must cease]. Chaque localité doit conserver les monuments relatifs à son histoire particulière. Les municipalités devront assurer la conservation des

débris historiques recueillis sur leur territoire, et en former de collections publiques. Lorsque ces collections sont assez considérables, comme elle le sont déjà ou le seront immédiatement à Constantine, à Philippeville, à Guelma, à Souk-Harras (Sūq Ahrās), à Sétif, à Cherchell et à Aumale, la garde en devra être confiée à un conservateur spécial, lequel sera en même temps chargé de veiller à la conservation des monuments d'architecture subsistant encore dans la ville ou dans les environs. La formation et l'entretien de ces collections devront, en tout état de cause, rester à la charge des municipalités.” In other words, a triple cost: 1) of forgoing reusable antiquities; and 2) quarrying new stock in their place; and 3) paying for a museum to house the antiquities they are not allowed to plunder.

120 Ibid.: “Je recommande aux officiers des bureaux topographiques de noter avec soin, sur les cartes et plans de leurs subdivisions, la direction des voies romaines, l'emplacement des ruines, des bornes milliaires, et de tous les monuments que l'on pourra découvrir.”

121 Diehl 1892, 14.

On a scié les marbres du temple d'Esculape; on a démoli le Nymphaeum si curieuse pour élever un bâtiment communal, on a martelé et brisé les inscriptions: plus de la moitié des textes épigraphiques jadis recueillis par Léon Renier a aujourd'hui disparu.¹²²

In the 20th century, attacks on the monuments did not cease, but came from one rather than the previous two directions. With the building of railroads and roads, and developments in fortification, and with the institution of civil government, the Army lost interest in the ancient monuments. Now the greatest threat to the survival of the monuments was the colons, "en utilisant des pierres romaines pour l'édification de constructions", and sometimes supported by commercial interests in the face of continuing official disapproval.¹²³ Such disapproval was eloquently if fruitlessly stated as a still-valid principle by the Architecte en Chef des Monuments Historiques in 1920:

Ces pierres peuvent ne pas offrir cet intérêt si elles sont posés isolément; mais ce qui est intéressant et à conserver, c'est leur groupement, ce qui constitue le plan d'une construction antique ... Il est abominable que de pareils vandalismes puissent encore avoir lieu à notre époque et l'indemnité à faire payer aux colon vandale doit être très forte si l'on veut que d'autres ne suivent son exemple.¹²⁴

Nor was officialdom unequivocally on the side of the monuments. For unfortunately, it can be clearly read in official documents that the civil administration connived at destruction: as a reason for re-using stone, the phrase "aucune valeur au point de vue archéologique" is a frequent refrain, even as late as 1899¹²⁵ – the museum equivalent is de-accessioning. As for restoration (largely necessary because of the depredations of the Army), an index of how much work remained to be done is the releasing in November/December 1914 (!) of 60 000F (EUR 38 000) for digs at Tipasa and Cherchel to give work to the unemployed (some of which might have destroyed inscriptions, as Gsell discovered in 1916¹²⁶), with digs at Timgad and Guelma already on the wish-list.¹²⁷

122 Diehl 1892, 14–15.

123 ANOM 55.S.1 Letter from Prefet of Constantine to Governor Général, 29 July 1920, in reply to a previous letter of 15 May 1920 from l'Administrateur de la Commerce Mixte à M. le Préfet (Cabinet) Constantine claiming the stones, which the colon got by digging a trench, "n'ont aucune valeur au point de vue archéologique". This annotated inexact on the letter.

124 ANOM 55S1 Draft reply from Gov. General of Algeria to prefect of Constantine, undated, and incorporating the Avis de l'Architecte en Chef des Monuments Historiques, Paris 4 juin 1920.

125 E.g. ANOM 55S1: depredations at Bouililet 7 oct. 1899: the Administrateur de la Commune mixte reports to the Prefect at Constantine that "Il n'y a eu enlèvement de colonne ou pierre avec inscriptions", and what has been taken "n'ont aucune valeur au point de vue archéologique".

126 Gsell 1922, 177 Tipasa: "En 1916 je n'ai pu retrouver à Tifech [Tifash] que sept pierres portant des inscriptions. On m'a dit que plusieurs autres ont été réduites en moellons pour la construction d'une ferme et celle d'un barrage."

127 ANOM Liasse 9860 nov./dec. 1914; letter to Minister of Interior dated 29 August 1914 from C.B. Lистраud

Diehl had already demonstrated in 1892¹²⁸ that archaeology continued to fight a running battle against the ignorance and self-interest of the colons. Conceding that re-use of monuments in the earlier stages of the conquest was dictated by force majeure. But when he was writing, the colons seemed especially interested in decorated blocks, perhaps because of the high quality of the stone employed. So that when a law was promulgated resiling to the State monuments and inscriptions, they simply went around and “se hâtaient d’effacer sur les pierres tout signe d’antiquité, afin de conserver des matériaux utiles dont ils se jugeaient les propriétaires légitimes.” There is also evidence of continuing official re-use of the remains in Algeria as well as in France.

So over the course of a half-century there is little difference between an 1842 document regarding the use of material from ruins in Toulon¹²⁹ and a similar document of 1905 for Algeria,¹³⁰ wherein “la taille des vieilles pierres à l’Etat sera fait avec les mêmes soins et aux mêmes conditions que la taille des pierres neuves ... à l’exception toutefois de celles qui pouvaient être mises en oeuvre en rafraichissant seulement le parement ainsi que les lits et joints” – which suggests to the suspicious mind that contractors were simply digging up antique blocks and laying them without so much as tidying up the faces; or perhaps that the State was ashamed of depredating the monuments, and expected contractors to hide the evidence by ‘refreshing’ the visible surfaces with a chisel?

10 Conclusion

One moral of this story is that it is the requirements of technology, war and settlement allied to prejudice, which ensured the destruction of many of the Roman remains of Algeria. We cannot know how many, because we lack coherent and detailed catalogues of what was to be seen before the French arrived. Without war, many of the remains would probably have remained intact; and had the French not been concerned of the possibility of attack by Europeans with cannon, the repaired Roman forts of the first decade after the invasion would probably have survived.

Some of the French despised the Arabs precisely because they had not adopted a sedentary way of life and therefore had left the ancient ruins alone. But not everywhere: The Arabs of Tunis, for example, enthusiastically reused many of the marbles

(Direction de l’Agriculture) has already suggested work at Timgad and Guelma.

128 Diehl 1892, 15–16.

129 1H448 Affaires Générales, Commandant du Génie en Algérie: “Bordereau Général des prix de différents espèces de matériaux et ouvrages à fournir ou à faire pour les travaux des Fortifications et des Batiments Militaires de la place de Toulon ..” 1 Jan

1842, which includes pierre à bâtir provenant des déblais.

130 Génie 1H448 Affaires Générales, Commandant du Génie en Algérie: Cahier de prescriptions générales des travaux militaires en Algérie 28 Jan 1905, printed, Algiers 1896 with MS additions, Art 64.

at Carthage; and the French might have wondered where the marble came from for the magnificent mosques of Cairo. The French ‘colons’ were still reusing (quite illegally) Roman blocks well into the 20th century. All three trends might help explain the destruction of Roman antiquities in mediaeval Europe, where it is a truism that useful buildings (amphitheaters, tombs, theaters – all for protection and/or housing) survived whereas useless ones (temples, stadia) did not.

In the broader picture, the big caesura for the survival or destruction of ancient monumental fortifications is the invention of gunpowder, with which it was soon demonstrated that most ancient fortifications had outlived their usefulness. Mehmet the Conqueror made this very point with his guns in 1453 – although the French still considered the walls of Constantinople an obstacle in the time of Napoleon. But because of developing gunpowder technology and ballistics, no antique fortresses survived in use in post-gunpowder Europe without a substantial refurbishment, which hid or destroyed antique walls.

A second moral is that the classically-inclined French officer corps should have paid more attention to their Roman history – and seen, as later scholars did, that the Roman conquest of Algeria was precarious and relatively short-lived. Instead, sensitive souls were made melancholy and waxed lyrical because of the contrast between near-perfect Roman monuments and the makeshift constructions built for the French army. In this sense the Roman example did a disservice to the French. The Duc d’Orleans, for example, marvelled at what remained. On 19 Oct 1839 at Mahalla (Maḥalla), he wrote:

Nous suivons presque partout la voie romaine tracée militairement en dominant les crêtes; tous les postes sont parfaitement marqués, leur enceinte existe encore et pas une pierre ne manque. La domination romaine est morte ici, mais son squelette est entier et, en l’étudiant, on voit ce que fut pendant sa vie ce colosse que rien n’a pu faire oublier depuis le temps où il a disparu du monde et que nous tentons vainement de parodier ici.

From which observation he concluded that the Roman system of occupation should be studied, “car ce n’est qu’en marchant sur leurs traces que nous tirerons parti de l’Algérie”.

A few days later at Mons he wondered at the perfectly preserved grand appareil, and intimates that success comes down to monuments: “Que nous sommes loin d’eux, et si le souvenir d’un peuple ne survit pas à ses monuments, quel pauvre avenir nous préparent nos huttes de torchis!”

The final moral is that aesthetic prejudice against ‘decadent’ styles (clearly stated in military assessments and, for puritanical travelers, to be applied to all the Roman architecture of North Africa) helped prevent the preservation of monuments as symbols of French triumph in the Napoleonic manner, while transport difficulties ensured that

few Algerian monuments were carted back to France. The Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile – an excursion as vulgar as the Altare della Patria – had been completed only in the early 1830s, but perhaps the immense casualty lists and mud and snow of Algeria helped infect artistic horizons with the radicalism of Courbet, who had his own ideas about what should happen to victory monuments. So the display of Roman antiquities in the manner of Constantinople or Aachen or Damascus or Cairo was defeated in Algeria by attitude, rather than by lack of opportunity.

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1850, pl. 176. 8 Delamare 1850, pl. 120. 9 Delamare 1850, pl. 126. 10 Delamare 1850, pl. 132. 11 Delamare 1850, pl. 133.
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Architectural Spolia and Urban Transformation in Rome from the Fourth to the Thirteenth Century

Summary

This paper is a historical outline of the practice of reuse in Rome between the 4th and 13th century AD. It comments on the relevance of the Arch of Constantine and the Basilica Lateranensis in creating a tradition of meanings and ways of the reuse. Moreover, the paper focuses on the government's attitude towards the preservation of ancient edifices in the monumental center of Rome in the first half of the 5th century AD, although it has been established that the reuse of public edifices only became a normal practice starting in 6th century Rome. Between the 6th and 8th century the city was transformed into settlements connected to the principal groups of ruins. Then, with the Carolingian Age, the city achieved a new unity and several new, large-scale churches were created. These construction projects required systematic spoliation of existing marble. The city enlarged even more rapidly in the Romanesque period with the construction of a large basilica for which marble had to be sought in the periphery of the ancient city. At that time there existed a highly developed organization for spoliating and reworking ancient marble: the Cosmatesque Workshop.

Keywords: Re-use; Rome; Arch of Constantine; Basilica Lateranensis; urban transformation.

Dieser Artikel bietet eine Übersicht über den Einsatz von Spolien in Rom zwischen dem 4. und dem 13. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Er zeigt auf, wie mit dem Konstantinsbogen und der Basilica Lateranensis eine Tradition von Bedeutungsbezügen und Strategien der Spolienverwendung begründet wurde. Darüber hinaus behandelt der Artikel die offizielle Haltung hinsichtlich des Bewahrens antiker Bauwerke im monumentalen Zentrum Roms in der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jh. n. Chr., auch wenn davon auszugehen ist, dass die Umnutzung öffentlicher Gebäude erst im 6. Jh. n. Chr. zu einer gängigen Praxis wurde. Zwischen dem 6. und 8. Jh. n. Chr. entstanden im Umfeld der größeren Gebäuderuinen einzelne Siedlungsinseln in Rom. Später, in karolingischer Zeit erlangte die Stadt eine neue Geschlossenheit, und es wurden mehrere große Kirchenbauten errichtet. Diese Bauprojekte erforderten die

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systematische Spolierung von Marmor. In der Zeit der Romantik wuchs die Stadt durch die Errichtung einer großen Basilika, für deren Bau Marmor in der Peripherie der antiken Stadt gesucht werden musste, sogar noch schneller an. Zu dieser Zeit existierte ein professionisiertes Unternehmen für die Spolierung und Umarbeitung antiker Werkstücke aus Marmor: die Werkstatt der Cosmaten.

Keywords: Wiederverwendung; Rom; Konstantinsbogen; Basilica Lateranensis; Transformation des Stadtbildes.

I Introduction: The role of Deichmann in the light of new research on reuse

Sources from late antiquity have handed down a notable number of descriptions of churches, which often cite as a characterizing element the ‘forest of columns’ (*selva di colonne*): thus in his solemn report on the basilica in Tyre, Eusebius took the trouble to describe columns, fountains and four-sided porticoes and briefly mentioned the sculptures of the central gate and of the ceilings, but he ignored the iconographic figures; and when Saint Jerome wanted to express his indignation at luxury in churches, in the first place he railed against marble, gold and precious stones and did not mention paintings or other elements.¹ In fact a characteristic of churches since late antiquity has been the role assumed by the columns and marbles of the elevations, which transcend their architectural meaning in as much as they express less a need for luxury, as Saint Jerome claimed, than the continuity of the Roman decorative tradition and therefore of the prestige attached to it, though with new Christian meanings.

To understand these meanings it has been necessary to study the modes of the different layouts of spolia elements in mediaeval churches in Rome all the way back to the origins of Christian architecture and to the moment when the prestigious models of the imposing basilicas were established: these latter, though they were directly or distantly reproduced by mediaeval churches, with all the attendant historical implications, do form a continuous point of reference.

It was Friedrich Deichmann who, in a kind of precursor role, in 1940 first considered in a systematic way the set of historical problems raised by reuse in early Christian and early mediaeval architecture. The content of the article, which was very slowly accepted into the history of the discipline, was then elaborated and developed by the author himself in 1974. Beginning with the distinction between ancient pieces as mere

1 Eus. hist. eccl. 10,4,26–29 = MGH Auct. Ant. 8,319.

building material (a phenomenon widely diffused everywhere and in every age) and the reuse of worked pieces with the aim of producing an aesthetic effect (a phenomenon found almost throughout the whole Mediterranean world from the age of the tetrarchs), Deichmann managed to outline the criteria for the display of columns and other architectural spolia. Whatever may be their validity in the light of more recent studies, it is still Deichmann's merit to have stated that the criteria adopted in the positioning of the different pieces to be reused in churches were not casual. Although in most cases each building has a precise, peculiar logic, we can recognize the aim to use similar shafts as far as possible and, to achieve a certain homogeneity, an arrangement in opposing pairs or longitudinal sequences.

We now know that it was in Constantine's basilicas that for the first time these criteria for placing spolia were expressed in a systematic way, but it is also known that the criteria did not remain unchanged through the Middle Ages, in as much as they changed according to historical circumstances, to the understanding of ancient architecture and to the ways it functioned inside the new churches.

We here briefly indicate the modes of displaying the columns:

1. Pairings or longitudinal sequences: the same or similar elements were placed in only one of the colonnades;
2. Symmetrical contrapositions (transversal axes): the same or similar elements correspond in the same position with each other in both colonnades;
3. Diagonal crossings: to the elements of a column in a nave correspond other elements equal or similar in the parallel nave, but not in a symmetrical position or, at most, brought forward or backward by two places. Though scarcely used, such a system acquires particular importance if it is interpreted as a symbol (in fact it reproduces a cross).

The use of these schemes may be aimed at satisfying different demands:

1. To distinguish areas intended for different functions inside the building: for instance in S. Agnese the chiasmic placement of the sixth and seventh pair of columns (preceded by two shafts of fluted pavonazzetto) is used to mark the perimeter of the presbytery; in the cross scheme, rather than using different materials, they instead used different varieties of the same marble, probably in order not to create an excessive lack of homogeneity.
2. To highlight the presence of a particular element of the building such as the Triumphant Arch or the Schola Cantorum: in S. Pietro in Vincoli the change of order

from Doric to Corinthian serves to indicate the Triumphal Arch whilst in S. Giovanni a Porta Latina the two last fluted columns are meant to highlight the choir.

3. In round churches to define with different materials the main axis or the direction of a route: for instance, in S. Costanza the shafts in pink Syene granite and grey granite may have had the function of leading towards Costanza's sarcophagus.

Deichmann insisted that one has to exclude that classicistic movements determined the usage of spolia, as the phenomenon was not limited to Rome only and the ancient pieces were set into a far from classical context, in which a reversal of the legitimate orders or the mutilation and reduction of their elements is found.² He also believed that looking at the reused pieces as evidence of an ancient grandeur, not only artistic but also political, or even a symbol of the triumph over paganism, couldn't be considered to be the origin of the phenomenon. We are dealing here with interpretations that, despite their grandiose effects, were given *a posteriori*.³

Now, several decades since Deichmann published his theories, which did not refer to the city of Rome alone and were chronologically limited to the period between the fourth and the seventh century, we believe that they must be considered in the light of a more comprehensive evaluation of the individual monuments and of the available material. Along these lines the more recent studies on reuse in the Lateran Basilica (of the Saviour) and in St. Peter's have proved to be more useful, as they show that in their colonnades not only spolia are present but also new materials, which were employed together with reused pieces. In this way they offer the opportunity of not reducing the problems of reuse to mere economics, but of taking into account other aspects such as the patrons and the construction times, which, if short, demanded the collection of larger quantities of spolia, a choice due to the building policy and not determined by the need to save money. If the starting point in each case is an inquiry into the function of the reuse within basilica areas, then the motivation and planning, which derive from the model of the vast early Christian basilicas in Rome, remain unchanged. Here it was the presbytery area with the tabernacle that made necessary the use of columns for the

2 Already in 1940, Deichmann observed that the use proper to the Roman age of employing different orders in the same building in order to identify locations and rooms was lost from the mid-fourth century when the uniformity of the order was replaced by the law of corresponding pairs (the most ancient example of which may be at Ba'udeh in northern Syria, whilst in the West the best substantiated case should be considered that of S. Paolo fuori le mura). This new type of display was not conditioned by the use of spolia, as is attested by the buildings where

they were not used (for instance Hagia Sophia in Constantinople) and by those where spolia were used together with new pieces crafted for that purpose (e.g. S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome): according to Deichmann, then, the phenomenon of reuse ought to be included within the more general process of transformation in early Christian and early mediaeval architecture. Cf. Deichmann 1940, 114–115. The 'classicistic' interpretation is that of R. Krautheimer, for which cf. Krautheimer 1981.

3 Deichmann 1976.

naves, which thus appear like a kind of *via triumphalis* leading towards the huge arch preceding the presbytery.

It should be underlined that there are two problems to bear in mind every time one faces a problem of reuse in the field of architecture. On the one hand there is the question of the source supplying the materials and the historical and economic conditions that caused changes each time; on the other, the modes for placing and using the material itself, once again in relation to the multiple historical and economic factors, though also artistic and ideological ones, which in a more or less decisive way determined the different choices. While Deichmann developed his line of thought mainly in relation to the modes of placement, he chose to give less attention to the historical-religious, historical-economical and, depending on the period, more-or-less ideological data, which are anything but irrelevant for the aim of a comprehensive and well structured assessment of the phenomenon itself.

The phenomenon of the reuse of ancient material from the third to the twelfth century has been the subject of a large number of studies, and in particular of specific cases, to the extent that one again feels the need to start updating the studies themselves to take into account the historical data and the results of the most recent research on ecclesiastical buildings. The vast extent of the phenomenon (both chronologically and geographically), the difficulty of retrieving a sufficient quantity of objective data, the need to consider the multiple motivations which determined it in each case and, not least, the “rigid separation of the disciplines of archaeology and of the history of art”⁴ have represented obstacles to an interpretation that would stay as close as possible to the historical reality of the phenomenon under study. However, from the historiographic point of view, as P. Fancelli observed in 2000,⁵ the problems of spolia have reached an ‘authentic mature stage’ which allows one to draw conclusions and to understand the assumptions underlying the direction or directions taken by the studies.

The contribution offered here is stimulated by the specific need to set the phenomenon of reuse in Rome into the history of the city, linking it closely to its urban and architectural transformations: we shall try to place – as far as is possible in a synthesis – the processes of spoliation and of reusing architectural materials within the historic context in which they took place, maintaining as a leitmotiv the reflections on the ways used to display the spolia in the churches, which derive from Deichmann’s studies.

4 Settis 1984, 313.

5 Fancelli 2000.

2 Fourth to fifth century

More than once it has been pointed out that the first Christian basilica, St. John's Lateran, with five naves and at first without a real transept,⁶ represents a voluntary imitation of the model of the lay imperial basilica,⁷ indeed perhaps of the Basilica Ulpia itself, similar both in size (more than 100 meters in length) and partly in plan (five naves but with two apses on the short sides). A voluntary imitation, it has been said, since it turns out that the choice fell on the forum basilica not only to obtain rapidly a building that could welcome large numbers of the faithful, but also for the ideological and propaganda meaning that such a choice endorsed. It seems to us that Constantine was expressing a personal political program linked to the great tradition of imperial euergetism, and perhaps ideally to Trajan with whom he wanted to be compared. On the other hand, but still within this tradition, Constantine was also countering the pagan buildings of the center with the new building with its Christian meaning and position at Rome's periphery. Better still, as Krautheimer noted, the city became surrounded by grandiose cemeterial and circus-like basilicas such as St. Peter's, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, S. Sebastian and the basilica in the area of S. Agnese,⁸ which represented a Christian Rome around the pagan one.⁹

In that direction too ran the analogous ideological desire represented on the Arch of Constantine of wanting to connect it to the great Roman tradition of triumphal arches, though in this case in order to celebrate victory in a civil war and not against external enemies of the empire (Fig. 1). The arch itself provided a framework of normality for this 'unusual' victory not only by means of the faithful imitation of the architectural prototype of Septimius Severus' arch, but also by putting together or – better – mixing reused friezes and reliefs with those worked *ex novo*. The former showed the representation of the traditional and classical imperial *virtutes*, the latter narrated on the friezes the vicissitudes of Constantine's war and the ways, once he was back in Rome, of expressing his own *virtutes* and stressing the framework of 'normality' through reliefs with barbarian prisoners and trophies, representing also victories and the *genii* of the seasons – a hint at his everlasting victory. The old interpretation may today seem antiquated, which saw in the reuse of reliefs representing the 'good emperors' of the second century AD the announcement of a political program, since the distance from them was bridged by the substitution of the emperors' head with Constantine's. Nowadays the prevailing interpretation sees the reused reliefs as the expression of patrons who want to present Constantine as the heir to the best military traditions and to imperial government through

6 Krautheimer and Corbett 1960.

7 Giovannoni 1921, 113–115; on the history of studying the origins of the Christian basilica see Testini 1980, 546–550; Duval 1962.

8 Cf. Tolotti 1982.

9 Cf. Krautheimer 1981, 35–40.

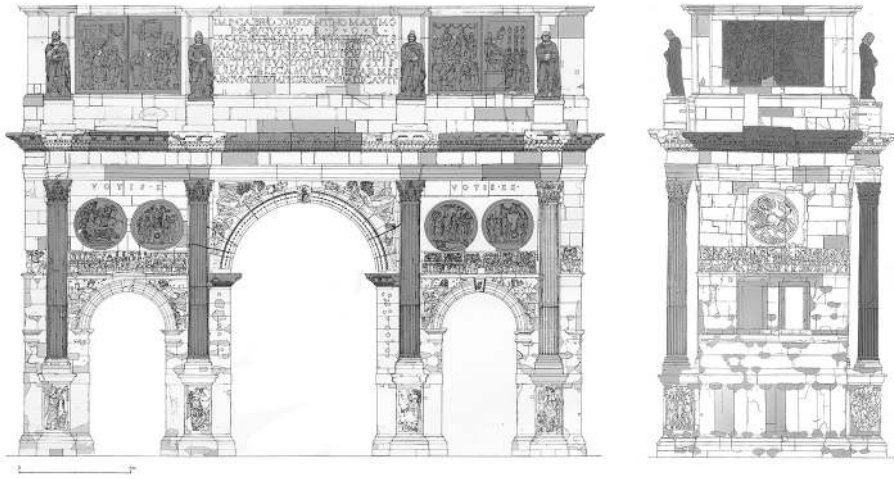


Fig. 1 Arch of Constantine: the reused elements appear in dark grey and the modern integrations in light grey.

the repetition of images where he is the actual protagonist. Of minor importance, then, would be the possible consciousness of being in the presence of reused materials originally portraying the ‘good emperors’: what is important is not the moment when the reliefs were made, but the period and modes of the reuse, and it is from here that a clear political program emerges which can easily be read on the arch.¹⁰

These remarks can perhaps be extended also to the interpretation of the aims in the choice of the spolia to be used in the new Christian monuments which, then, carry messages of *decus*, prestige, of closeness to the imperial architectural traditions, but which do not recall the past in an ideological key. But the particular situation of Rome in Constantine’s time must have influenced the choice of using mainly spolia (on the arch even the reliefs worked *ex novo* came from reused marbles) and not marble blocks or brand new shafts, as well as the heterogeneity of the marbles, of different qualities and colors and seldom identical. In the first place this was a time when they did not have the opportunity to reuse large quantities of homogeneous material, since most of the public buildings were still standing: only the latter could provide architectural elements of the appropriate dimensions for the new and huge Christian basilicas. This new way to use architectural elements, characterized by the lack of homogeneity of the order (for instance the use of Corinthian capitals different from each other) and/or of the orders inside each room, brings about new ways for their placement and at the same time a kind of new architectural aesthetics, which was treated for the first time by Deichmann.¹¹ On

10 Cf. again Settis 1984, 312–314; Settis 1986, 383–398.

11 Deichmann 1940; id. Deichmann 1975.

this point it suffices to mention the arrangement of the shafts in opposed pairs, based on the stone color in the central nave in St. Peter's where, besides, the transept differs from the naves because of the use of the composite capital, which will be so influential during the fourth century on the choice of the capital order of the architectural sarcophagi and in the capitals of the *domus* built at that time, as is the case in Ostia.

This heterogeneity was, then, motivated by the impossibility of having at one's disposal similar marble elements of large size. The Mausoleum of S. Costanza shows that when it was possible to obtain architectural pieces from the same source of supply, a substantial uniformity in the use of the architectural orders was achieved. In the Mausoleum the cupola drum stands on a double ring of marble columns from spolia, on which were reused two types of composite capitals: from the Augustan age¹² towards the inside, and from the Severan age towards the outside, with the exception of one single Corinthian capital. The columns in granite can also be considered uniformly placed.¹³

The small size of the capitals in S. Costanza suggested that the greater uniformity of the architectural order in the Mausoleum was enabled by easier availability of uniform reuse-pieces from a private or civil building of small size and for some reason no longer in use.¹⁴ To the contrary, the material available for the grandiose Christian basilicas in Rome would not have offered a large number of uniform pieces and must have been determined by casual factors: collapses due to earthquakes, warehouse stocks in Rome, in important provincial cities or at the quarries, or large suburban buildings no longer in use.

We have here met changes in both architectural taste and tradition, which were made possible because the foundation of new capital cities, and soon of Constantinople, had elsewhere stocked up marbles directly from the quarries and assembled workers more expert in crafting them. Therefore in Rome huge financial investments ceased to erect new public buildings, which would have permitted the presence and continuity of craft workers specialized in working marbles and who could have handed on the imperial decorative tradition. In fact, after Constantine's age the known examples of capitals and of other architectural elements represent an attempt at a classicistic resumption of traditional types rather than continuity, a fact that brings about the creation of new

12 On their dates see Strong 1960.

13 Twenty-four columns, out of which eighteen in grey granite from the Troad, four in red granite from Syene and twenty-two in granite "of the Forum" from Egypt (Corsi Romano 1845, 10): their position in correspondence to the niche where the princess's sarcophagus had probably been placed shows also in the Mausoleum of Costanza the use of material

from spolia according to the criteria of the subdivision of the space.

14 In the 4th century access to the spolia material was anyway the prerogative of the emperor and of his family, or even of the *praefectus urbi* or other officials but always by imperial authorization: Pensabene 1984, 61; Pensabene and Panella 1994.

forms such as the composite capitals with smooth leaves.¹⁵ Such a situation had not happened in Rome since the Augustan era, for although throughout the whole imperial age the typological particulars had changed often in connection with the changes and speeding up of the crafting processes, the essential forms of the elements of the orders had not changed. Apart from restoration works and what were in effect remakes, such as the Porticus of the Dei Consentes and the Temple of Saturn, the only large public buildings built in the fourth century are the Christian basilicas: Constantine's building activity is limited to the completion of sites already begun by Maxentius who had been the last great builder in Rome.¹⁶

But what strikes us about the reuse both in the Arch of Constantine and in the Lateran Basilica and in St. Peter's, as well as in the previous monuments of the tetrarchs and Maxentius, is the size of the column shafts, bases and reused capitals. That implies the availability of marble spolia presumably from public or at least imperial monuments, given their size and the quality of their craftsmanship. Though we are still in an age when the city in its monumental area was certainly almost all still standing, yet precisely because of the number and size of the reused shafts in the large Christian basilicas, we conclude that warehouses had been set up, probably owned by the government, where, as we have already said, the remains had been collected of buildings that had been damaged in some natural event (earthquakes, fires) or parts of monuments unfinished for a number of reasons, such as *damnatio memoriae*, adaptations or changes. Along these lines the hypothesis has been put forward that some of the architectural marbles came from the leftovers of Maxentius' reconstruction of the cells and colonnaded porticoes of the Temple of Venus and Rome, which had shortly before been damaged in Carinus' fire and which on the occasion of the reconstruction underwent the partial elimination of the internal colonnade of the peristyle: certainly from this temple are some architectural elements reused in Maxentius' basilica.¹⁷ Moreover the provenance of the Dacians on the Arch from Trajan's Forum is no longer certain, since none of the same dimension have been discovered in the forum and since fragments of semi-worked statues in pavonazetto have been found in marble warehouses connected to the river harbour near the Campus Martius.¹⁸ In fact the text *ad arcu(m)* engraved on the base of the Dacians of Constantine's arch suggests that they had previously been placed in a warehouse, where they could have been selected, rather than – possibly – on the forum porticoes, for which the inscribed indications of the intended use would

15 Cf. Pensabene 1986, 324–333.

16 Coarelli 1986, 1–58; Carè 2005.

17 Carè 2005, 51, 86, cat. n. 4 tab. 13 (element of an architrave 1, 24 m high which in the temple must have been part of the entablature of the peristyle).

Cf. Monaco 2000, 60, on “una considerevole quan-

tità di marmo proconnesio proveniente dallo smantellamento del tempio adrianeo di Venere e Roma” from which also came blocks of Proconnesian reused as the bases of the columns of the Temple of Romulus.

18 Maischberger 1997.



Fig. 2 Arch of Janus: reused decorated frieze set in inside the masonry and not destined to be seen.

have caused greater difficulties, especially if the statues were placed on the attic.¹⁹ We may recall that even in the Arch of Janus a block of travertine in the floor was reused, on which the ARCI mark was engraved and which may represent an indication of its intended use.²⁰ Both arches, that of Constantine and that “of Janus” (probably to be identified as the Arch of Divus Constantinus)²¹ already pose the problem of the existence of a large public building whose entablature must have already been abandoned, since in both arches elements of frieze/cornices and other parts of the entablature were reused (Fig. 2).

This fact presupposes an origin in important monuments, such as the Arch dedicated to Marcus Aurelius, from which may have come the reliefs on the attic of Constantine’s arch. Again, reused sections of trabeations, bases and column drums of noticeable size have suggested a provenance of some of their spolia in the Temple of Venus and Rome but also in some temple compound in the Campus Martius; we refer, in particular, to the threshold of the south side of the central vault of the Arch of Constantine, which consists of a huge lintel block of Proconnesian marble (5 m long, 1.40 m wide) and in another one, next to it but smaller, for which a provenance from the Temple of Matidia in the Campus Martius has been proposed.²² It is also known that the surviving honorary columns on the south side of the Roman Forum, which can be dated on the

19 The Dacians in pavonazetto found in Trajan’s forum are apparently smaller than the arch. The others are instead in white marble: Ungaro and de Nuccio 2002, 336–337.

20 Pensabene and Panella 1994, 42, fig. 20.

21 Pensabene and Panella 1994.

22 Pensabene and Panella 1994, 262, fig. 98; the use of the Proconnesian makes it possible to rule out a connection to another gigantic temple in Rome, that of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, with

columns in Luni marble; see also pp. 268–281 on the doubt whether the threshold is related to the eighteenth-century restoration, but the reuse of the huge shaft in Phocas’ column, erected in the time of Diocletian, and the drum, again huge, reused in the masonry of the Arch of Janus (see below) would prove that there had already been a building either ruined or restored with the remains of architectural elements (see above the Temple of Venus and Rome) from which huge spolia could be removed.



Fig. 3 Forum Romanum: Column of Phocas.

basis of the brick seals to the age of Diocletian or between Diocletian and Maxentius,²³ consisted of huge reused shafts (the cabled ones in pavonazzetto, the fluted in white marble, the smooth in grey or pink granite from Syene), which once again would indicate an origin in grandiose buildings. Also the column of Phocas (Fig. 3), the main phase of which is from the age of Diocletian or from the fourth century (during the phase of its re-dedication in 608 only the steps on the four sides were added),²⁴ consisted of one large Corinthian capital from the time of Trajan and a fluted shaft in Proconnesian marble (13.60 m high), divided up in drums that also date to the high imperial age. If already in the first decades of the fourth century there were thus large drums of fluted columns in Proconnesian such as those of Phocas' column available for reuse, it is no wonder that we find a drum with a 1.85 m diameter reused in the brickwork of the Arch of Janus.²⁵

23 Steinby 1986, 141.

24 Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 174–176.

25 Pensabene and Panella 1994, 62, fig. 59: the diameter of the fluted shafts in the Temple of Venus and Rome was of 1.85 m.

Moreover, it has been thought that indeed the 'Trajan' friezes reused in the Arch of Constantine may be Domitianic because it is believed almost impossible that Trajan's Forum would have been impoverished to the advantage of the Arch of Constantine, whereas Domitian's *damnatio memoriae* may have left monuments dedicated to him unfinished and their marbles kept in warehouses.²⁶ Other hypotheses may be possible, because it has already been noted that one of the composite capitals of the portico in *summa cavea* of the Colosseum reconstructed under Alexander Severus was sculpted as a single reused marble block with a section of a large inscription which has been recognized as a dedication to Trajan,²⁷ therefore suggesting the existence of a monument to Trajan already demolished or not finished, whose architectural elements could have been reused already at the end of the Severan age.

What is certain is that, during the course of the fourth century and mainly in the first half of the fifth century, the government's attitude towards the preservation of the ancient buildings of the monumental centre in Rome was not uniform. While on the one hand there are several restoration works in the area of the Roman forum, on the other hand an early abandonment of some monumental buildings such as the Temple of the Dioscuri has been noted. It has been proposed that structural issues had endangered the stability of this temple and of other structures, causing an untimely abandonment and the subsequent removal of some parts in marble. Moreover, it has been pointed out that the building of the Rostra Diocletiani must have 'cut out' of the Forum the temples of Castor and Pollux and of Divus Iulius. Their maintenance was therefore either neglected or interrupted, condemning them to a decline, evident from the middle of the fourth century, contrary to what happened to the Curia and the Basilica Iulia, which were reconstructed after the fire of 285,²⁸ and of the Temple of Saturn and the Porticus of the Dei Consentes, which were restored towards the end of the fourth century.²⁹ In fact a hostile attitude towards the pagan monuments in Rome and even to shrines for ancient cults did not immediately emerge. There was a series of gradual legal initiatives, which became more frequent and decisive in their anti-pagan content only at the end of the fourth century when the Theodosius I's various decrees (see in particular that of 391) give evidence of a new phase, definable as repressive, towards the ancient temples, and also dictate criteria for the preservation of ancient buildings. The Theodosian period is also important for the fact that the government and the bishops progressively

26 Gauer 1995.

27 Pensabene 1999, 33, fig. 23 and bibliography therein.

28 Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 58; Nilson, Sande, and Zahle 2009, 37; one of the last reports of the Temple

of Castor and Pollux is from the mid-fourth century when the Filocalian calendar (CIL2, 268) mentions the celebration of the *transvectio equitum* associated with the temple.

29 Pensabene 1984, 132.

began to share common intentions and show solidarity with each other regarding pagan buildings.³⁰

From the fifth century onward, apart from works of public utility such as aqueducts and baths or places of public entertainment such as buildings for the performing arts – which were being restored – many other ancient structures were abandoned since they had lost their original role: almost always they were reused, either by removing single parts, preferably pieces already crafted, or columns to reuse in new edifices, or by reusing the entire ancient building for a different purpose.

But it is from the sixth century that we find as a ‘normal’ activity the reuse of public buildings (and not only of temples), and – after the wars against the Goths which had devastated Italy – the availability of lands and money from the Church, in a larger quantity than from the Byzantine government itself, which proposed in consequence that the care and administration of many buildings passed to the Church itself.³¹ It should be pointed out, however, that the laws in late antiquity had never prescribed the systematic transfer of public buildings to the Church, although that does not exclude that they may have been the objects of specific acts of donation. It has been ascertained, however, that the actual controls by the authorities disappear with the sixth century³² and that the diversions of the *fundi templorum* went completely to the benefit of the *sacrae largitiones* soon after 423, as one can infer from the Theodosian Code.³³

Both the archaeological data and the laws offer the chance to follow the transformations taking place, by providing evidence of the removal of the spolia and consequently the partial or complete abandonment of public buildings, which began to increase in frequency from the late fourth century. An area within the city that seems to be affected in that sense is again the Campus Martius: the long succession of inundations by the Tiber, of earthquakes and finally the Visigoths’ pillaging seriously damaged the structure of some buildings. This triggered a process of transformation, destined to last also for the following two centuries, which began with the change of purpose of the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria, whose area was crossed by a road, and ended up with the creation of ecclesiastical structures in the area of the four temples of Largo Argentina, that is, the Boetianum monastery and the Church of S. Nicola de Calcarario and within the Porticus itself, the Xenodochium Aniciorum.³⁴ The topography of the Campus Martius must have been altered extremely when at the wish of Pope Damasus (266–384) a system of porticoes was built, the Porticus Maximae leading from the theater of Balbus to

30 Cf. the essays in Cupperi 2002 on the quoted sources and the discussion on the attitude of the governments about whether to maintain the ancient pagan monuments.

31 Krauthimer 1981, 92–93.

32 Cantino Wataghin 1999; Campese Simone 2004, 447.

33 CTh, XV,1,18; CJ,XI,71,3–4; CTh,XI,28,14.

34 On the transformations of that area see Manacorda 1993 and Santangeli Valenzani 1994, in particular on the construction of the ecclesiastical structures. On the Xenodochium Aniciorum see also Santangeli Valenzani 1998.



Fig. 4 Porticus of Octavia, Severan phase: internal fronton composed by architectural elements destined not to be seen.

the Pons Aelius.³⁵ Within that context we can understand how from the propylaea of the Porticus of Octavia (Fig. 4), which belong to the Severan restoration of the compound,³⁶ three capitals (Fig. 6) and probably other marbles were removed to reuse them in S. Paolo fuori le mura either in the late fourth century or, more likely, on the occasion of the extensive works of the fifth century, i.e. later than 441, under St. Leo the Great (440–461): three Corinthian samples reused on the columns of the central nave of the basilica match the five capitals still in situ (Fig. 5) in the propylaea, which were once tetrastyle (two capitals on the outside façade and three on the inside one), with a pediment on both sides.³⁷ Although mainly during the course of the fourth century and also, to a minor extent, in the first half of the fifth we notice the only partial demolition of ancient buildings, as the preservation until now of the façades of the Porticus of Octavia would prove (Fig. 4), it is probable that starting from the years immediately after the 410 sack of Rome, entire monumental compounds became available, evidently since they had been damaged and were not salvageable, or at least not restored for the lack of political will with this aim.

At the same time as a larger availability of elements for reuse in the fifth century there emerge utterly changed attitudes towards ancient buildings, which are expressed in Theodosius' law of 435 prohibiting all the pagan cults and encouraging the destruction and transformation of temples into churches, ordering, among other things, different forms of exorcism and purification by means of engraving crosses.³⁸ It is the time of exceptional destruction of temples by the Christian population and the bishops.³⁹ In any case, given the changes which had taken place in the fourth century (though in

35 Platner and Ashby 1929, 423.

36 Tedeschi Grisanti 1999.

37 On the propylaeum in the Porticus of Octavia see now Bruno and Atanasio 2008, fig. 2a, b.

38 Kunderewicz 1971.

39 See the Temple of Zeus at Apamea demolished in 389, the Serapeum in Alexandria in 391, the Marmeion at Gaza in 402 (see Deichmann 1939; Hanson 1978).



Fig. 5 Porticus of Octavia, Severan phase: Corinthian capital.



Fig. 6 S. Paolo fuori le mura: Corinthian capital of the central nave, from the Porticus of Octavia.

the first half of the fifth there was a more diffused uniformity in the employment of architectural spolia), the practice – by now the expression of a new taste – continued of highlighting different areas of a church by a change of orders or of the colour of the columns.

In Rome an indicative example is S. Pietro in Vincoli, built as a joint commission of the emperor's family and the pope in 430, where in the central nave were reused fluted columns and matching Doric capitals of the same white greyish marble (Parian from the Marathi quarries?) probably from a building nearby, perhaps the Porticus of Livia, which was already abandoned. The 'triumphal arch,' instead, which separated the nave from the presbytery, is supported by Asian Corinthian capitals on columns in grey granite. This building was promoted by the pope and by Eudocia, an imperial *evergetes*, which accounts for the permission to demolish and reuse a whole porticoed compound.

The almost contemporary case of S. Sabina can also be cited (Fig. 8): it was built by the bishop Peter of Illyria, who was close to the papal milieu, reusing almost entirely



Fig. 7 S. Paolo fuori le mura after the fire of the nineteenth century (veduta by Antonio Acquaroni 1823).

the architectural elements obtained by the demolition of one building, probably the Baths of Sura (perhaps situated north of S. Prisca). They did not hesitate – or they did not have any sensitivity about the issue – to reuse cornices or elements of cornices as the doorpost of one of the side doors: the naves are supported by cabled columns and Corinthian capitals (Fig. 9), all similar in white marble, and the central door reuses the doorposts of the building from which the elements derive;⁴⁰ the entablature and the walls supported by the columns are covered by precious marble slabs, forming an opus sectile in the coloristic taste of late Roman architecture.

Again in S. Paolo fuori le mura during the restoration works in 1823, already mentioned, 24 of the 40 columns in the naves were substituted with magnificent shafts in pavonazzetto, for which a provenance from Hadrian's Mausoleum was stated by Nicola Nicolai, drawing upon Piranesi, Nicolai being the most important source on the condition of the church before the 1823 fire (Fig. 7). In 1815 he also described the columns (24 monolithic columns in pavonazzetto, fluted from one third upward) and added a drawing of two of them (10.19 and 10.45 m high).

We have to point out, though, that the Ionian capitals, not preserved but known from historical sources, in S. Maria Maggiore and those in S. Stefano Rotondo from 467

40 Regarding the meaning of the reuse in S. Sabina, on the one hand one has to reject Krautheimer's triumphal attitude, which considers the church as a classicistic rebirth in that period, but on the other hand one has to soften Deichmann's anti-classicistic position. While one must accept the interpretation of the type of reuse in the gate on the right as evidence of the change of the architectural taste of that time in opposition to the past classicism, one cannot endorse the merely utilitarian interpretation

of the phenomenon of reuse, because it is precisely in the preference for spolia material – even when ex novo carving was perhaps still possible – that it is possible to identify a longing for the antique, though at a moment when the cultural tools for understanding it had changed. It is with respect to this change that it is possible to single out the new tradition born in the age of Constantine with the building of the first grandiose Christian basilicas.



Fig. 8 S. Sabina: right nave.



Fig. 9 S. Sabina: Corinthian capital.

– these latter probably depending, in their form, on those in Santa Maria Maggiore – and of the Triumphal Arch in S. Paolo fuori le mura (the model of this late revival of the production of Ionian capitals must have been Diocletian’s Baths and the Temple of Saturn), show that in the fifth century it was difficult to find in Rome a number of capitals to be reused and placed in the same church. Therefore, when the ‘classicist’ need to use only one order was felt and when the historical circumstances of the patrons permitted (see the period of Sixtus III), for a new building there was a recourse to capitals worked *ex novo* and sculpted in Rome throughout the whole process. Reused marble elements were also employed to be newly carved; we may cite the Ionian capital of the Antiquarium on the Caelian Hill, found in the excavation near the Chiesa Nuova, which



Fig. 10 S. Stefano Rotondo:
Attic base.

has been sculpted from a reused architectural block. But we also have the evidence of semi-worked capitals kept in the warehouses where pieces from demolished buildings were collected, or in the huge storehouses for the marbles along the Tiber, near the *Statio Marmorum* at the foot of the Aventine and at Porto. Here, as we have already observed in other studies, there were remains, in rather large quantities, of marble blocks and shafts that had never been set in place, often imported even in previous centuries and left unused; here Ionian and Corinthian capitals still arrived from eastern quarries that specialized in this kind of product (Proconnesus, Thasos, the Mani in the Peloponnese).⁴¹ We can also put forward the hypothesis that the preference, which we find for Ionian capitals was due to the fact that it was easier to carve their decorative elements than the acanthus leaves and other vegetal elements of the Corinthian and composite orders.

These warehouses and storehouses continued to supply ecclesiastical building sites even in the late fifth century, as attested by many of the granite shafts in S. Stefano Rotondo with unfinished scapes (extremities / scapi) (Fig. 10) and with initials on some of its architectural elements, to be interpreted as abbreviations of the proprietor or of the warehouse managers.⁴² The same evidence is also offered by the large group of Corinthian capitals with denticular acanthus for S. Paolo fuori le mura⁴³ and other churches, by the shafts in Thasian marble in S. Maria Maggiore, in the Porto warehouses and in the protyrum in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Fig. 11) and by the fact that, among other things, in the last two cases the initials are seals of ownership of important personages of the late antiquity.⁴⁴

Churches from the late fourth century and the first decades of the fifth century such as S. Vitale, S. Clemente and the old S. Sisto – not built under papal patronage⁴⁵ – as

41 Herrmann 1988; Brandenburg 1994, 543–546; Pensabene 1994.

42 Pensabene 1998; Pensabene 2004; Brandenburg 2009.

43 Deichmann and Tschira 1939; Brandenburg 2005/2006.

44 Pensabene 1994 and Pensabene 1998.

45 I should like to briefly recall that the church of S. Vitale, originally dedicated to the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius, was constituted as *titulus Romanus* thanks to Damasus, *ex delegatione* of Vestina who



Fig. 11 S. Giovanni e Paolo:
Attic base and Thasian marble
shaft with destination marks.

well as the private *domus* (see the examples in Ostia) had previously mainly adopted composite capitals with smooth leaves worked *ex novo*, in as much as it was more difficult for lay people to obtain spolia material. When also in the huge basilicas under imperial patronage one needed to use contemporary capitals they were preferably placed, as we have seen, in a secondary position, as is shown by the composite capitals with smooth leaves employed in the lateral naves of S. Paolo fuori le mura.⁴⁶ Also in one of the last churches where specially sculpted composite capitals with smooth leaves are used, that is S. Stefano along the Via Latina from 553, they are placed together with capitals from spolia, because of the impossibility of obtaining them in greater quantity.

In the fifth century we also observe a haphazard abandonment of the Imperial Forums: Some, such as the Trajan's Forum, are still preserved and were probably subject to maintenance, as is already shown by Constantius II's admiration when he visited it in 356 and as the archaeological evidence for quite prolonged use demonstrates. Others were abandoned, such as Caesar's Forum, from which a number of marble elements were removed for the new Lateran Baptistery built between 432 and 440 by Sixtus III. Among them were the famous bases with acanthus, the object of continuous graphic reproductions from the Renaissance onwards,⁴⁷ as well as several Corinthian capitals of the Asian style, which were probably part of some annexe of the forum, as fragments matching the capitals and the bases have been found there.⁴⁸

We also have the problem of the *tituli* already set in *domus* or their annexes, like the baths. In their architectural transformation into churches with naves they would

funded the building by selling her jewels and with a bequest (Duchesne 1981, I, 220); cf. Marazzi 1998, 34.

46 Deichmann and Tschira 1939.

47 Romano 1991.

48 This is a kind of capital not much in use in Rome, of the composite fluted type and of a rather elegant and vigorous craftsmanship: it has been noted how

they have the stylistic characteristics of an eastern workshop from the second half of the 2nd century. It has been supposed that they come from the Forum of Caesar in the phase of Trajan's restoration, where fragments of very similar, yet smaller capitals were found; Kähler 1937, 115, figs. 5–6. On the date see though Leon 1971, 241–242.

probably have used the columns of the same building in which they stood, as seems be the case in S. Pudenziana, where the columns and the capitals of the goblet type from the *thermae* annexed to the Pudentes' *domus* were reused.

A more complex issue is reuse that took place in the late fourth and in the first half of the fifth century in the new 'forums' and in buildings constructed or restored for lay purposes and re-dedicated to the reigning emperors by the urban *praefecti*, because they used elements from the buildings that were themselves under reconstruction, or partially from other adjacent and abandoned ones, or once again taken from warehouses. On this account we should like to mention, for its peculiarity, the compound that occupied the area in part underneath S. Maria in Cosmedin (Fig. 12) the foundation of which in blocks of tufa (21.70 x 31.50 m)⁴⁹ has been found under the apses of the church and which has been tentatively identified as the basis of the Ara Maxima.⁵⁰ Part of this compound still consists of the remains of an adjacent colonnaded hall of which 10 columns supporting the arches are visible, as they were incorporated in the west wall (seven shafts) and in the north wall (three shafts) of the church. It is possible to identify them as spolia because the remaining shafts – cabled and in white marble, but, according to a description from 1715 of the church, also smooth on the east side of the hall, which no longer survives⁵¹ – are of a slightly different height, at around seven meters: consequently the height of the capitals and bases differs, being shorter on the north side where the three columns are taller. This fact together with the six arches in reused bipedal bricks, ca. 2 meters high, preserved along the long side, has led to dating it to the late empire, an age to which also belongs the raising of the level of the square to the same level as the strip along the river bank (already raised by 1.77 m in the second century): to this time can be dated the dedication, found locally, of a statue of Constantine by Creperius Madalianus, *praefectus Annonae* in 337–341. We can therefore include the works in the Ara Maxima Herculis among the restoration works that were carried out in the squares between the fourth and mid-fifth century by the prefects of the city, who often commemorate their deeds such as the building of brand new forums.⁵² As regards the reused columns, then, we could think of a provenance from that very area, perhaps from a portico or a propylaeum (see the use of the composite order that in Rome was never used in temples), which would confirm demolition and damage in the cult area dedicated to Hercules in the Forum Boarium.

The fact that porticoes and propylaea with different functions were continually built in the fifth century is demonstrated by the portico which closes to the north the

49 Giovenale 1927. He thinks that these are the most probable measurements for the foundation.

50 Coarelli 1988; Fusciello 2001, 6.

51 Crescimbeni 1715, 2; Fusciello 2001, 11.

52 Bauer 1996; Bauer 1997; Bauer 1999; Liverani 2000, 49.

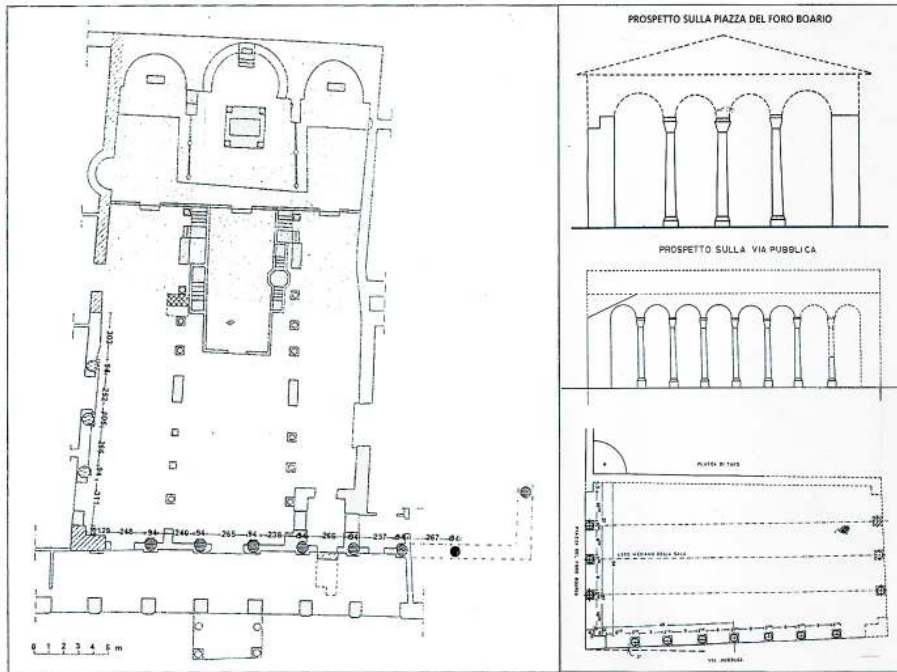


Fig. 12 S. Maria in Cosmedin: Church plan with inserted propylaeum colonnade.

Area Sacra of Largo Argentina and which runs parallel to the east extremity of the Hecatonstylum.⁵³ We believe that here columns and bases were employed from the compound of Pompey's theater, whose annexes, therefore, had already begun to be dismantled at this time.⁵⁴

53 Manciola and Santangeli Valenzano 1997, 16: "il portico settentrionale venne restaurato con materiali di reimpiego, probabilmente a seguito di un terremoto, forse quello del 408 o quello del 443 ... in un momento successivo databile probabilmente ai primi anni del VI secolo, l'area sacra subì una pesante ristrutturazione ... vennero tamponati gli intercolumni del portichetto settentrionale che venne trasformato in un corridoio coperto".

54 They are four fluted shafts – three in portasanta and one in cipollino, lower diam. 52–54 cm – with smooth astragal and spear tips between the ends of the grooves with three decorated bases probably associated, with the exception of one side not visible (which indicates they originally belonged to columns set against a wall, perhaps to the third order of the *scaenae frons*), whilst the fourth was obtained by reusing an inscription of Septimius Severus.

3 Sixth to eighth centuries

The Byzantine re-conquest of Rome did not bring major restoration works, despite the expression in the *Pragmatica Sanctio* of a wish to see to the maintenance of the public buildings, of the Forum and the Tiber river bed in Rome and of Porto (*consuetudines etiam privilegia Romanae civitatis vel publicarum fabricarum reparationi vel alveo Tiberino vel foro aut portui Romano sive reparationi formarum concessa servari praecipimus, ita videlicet ut ex isdem tantummodo titulis ex quibus delegata fuerunt praestentur*), but these few words indicate that the evidence for these works should be sought in epigraphic and archaeological sources. It is probable that the expression *purgato fluminis alveo* in the inscriptions (copied out by the Anonymus Einsiedlensis: CIL, VI, 1199 a–b; ILS 832; PLRE III Narses 1) on the Pons Salaris on the river Aniene, rebuilt by Narses in 565, refer to the directions of the *Pragmatica Sanctio*, but it is important to underline that the bridge parapets used the same plutei (known by means of the engravings by Seroux d'Agincourt) as the Byzantine imports in Proconnesian marble in S. Clemente.⁵⁵ This would therefore confirm that the great personages connected to the court in Constantinople were still intervening and still able to use imported, and not just reused, marbles. A further observation is that the inscription just quoted is the last to give us information about the renovation in Rome of a public monument by the imperial power – *ex praeposito sacri palatii ac patricius et exarchus Italiae* – the same formula used in the last attestation of a direct dedication by an emperor, on the Column of Phocas in the Forum Romanum in 608, though previously erected in the fourth century (Fig. 3).

Apart from the construction of churches with women's galleries (S. Agnese fuori le mura) it is not possible to establish precisely the echo in Rome of Justinian's great transformation of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople with its cupolas and women's galleries, but the sources inform us that eight huge marble columns were removed from the Temple of the Sun and transported to Constantinople to be used in Hagia Sophia. The stripping of these columns would go on to play a fundamental role in the attitude towards antiquity on the part of the builders of new churches in Rome, the more so if we accept the symbolic meanings that some have wanted to see in this grandiose and expensive reuse of shafts of porphyry from Rome in the capital of the Byzantine Empire.⁵⁶

But in the sixth century the developments in Rome are in full contrast to what was happening in Constantinople. The Forum of Peace, which had remained in partial use despite various transformations in the fourth century when commercial structures were set in it (a *horreum*, a *macellum*?), had by now been abandoned and its temple definitely

55 Coates-Stephens 2006, 300; see A. Guidobaldi 2002 and A. Guidobaldi, Barsanti, and F. Guidobaldi 1992.

56 Moneti 1993.



Fig. 13 S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Pelagian Basilica: figural capital, and a frieze reused as entablature.

damaged, perhaps by a fire caused by lightning, as is recorded by Procopius⁵⁷, or because of a general decline of the forum complex analogous to that of the other Imperial Forums in antiquity. In any case when Constans II visited it he found the forum in good condition⁵⁸, which, moreover, had been rapidly restored after the earthquake of 408.⁵⁹ It was only between 526 and 530, that the southern hall was occupied by the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, and Procopius' story about its state of abandonment can be set shortly afterwards. It is worth noticing that such a reoccupation made possible the preservation of part of its ancient walls in *opera quadrata*, which were still seen by Ligorio and were studied on the occasion of the restoration works in the 1950s.⁶⁰

At the beginning of the seventh century the huge Pantheon in the Campus Martius was transformed into a church but what we are interested in emphasizing is that in the second half of the sixth century some of the huge, circus-like, cemeterial basilicas built around the city's periphery must have been partially abandoned. We believe that from S. Agnese came many of the architectural elements reused in the smaller basilica of the late sixth / early seventh century, which was built in the immediate vicinity and connected to the local catacombs. The same hypothesis can be put forward for S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, with all its entablature made of reused pieces (Fig. 13), as many of its cornices are from Constantine's time and could have come from the circus-like basilica⁶¹ which stood nearby (Fig. 14). In fact the circus-like Basilica of S. Lorenzo was different from the others of the same type, as it had columns and not pillars with an interaxis of 3.15 m.⁶² While Krautheimer thought that the ancient elements of that church had been reused in the later Honorian basilica,⁶³ as he assumed that the circus-like type was abandoned during the ninth century, on account of the lack of information about it thereafter, it is the very reuse of Constantinian cornices and frieze / lintels in the Pelagian church that may indicate that abandonment could have begun in an earlier period.⁶⁴

57 Prok. *BG* 4.21.

58 *Amm.* 16.10.14.

59 *Symm. epist.* 10.78.

60 Castagnoli and Cozza 1956, 130–142.

61 Gatti 1957; Matthiae 1966, 9: In 1957 in the Cemetery of Verano, south of the present church the remains of a large basilica of the 4th century were found, 98.60 m long and 35.50 m wide, of circus-



Fig. 14 S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Pelagian Basilica: Constantinian frieze/architrave and cornice reused as entablature.

But there are not only Constantinian architectural elements: in S. Lorenzo columns and capitals can be dated to the second century AD or probably to the second quarter of that century, together with many of the pillars, while other elements which were reused as trabeations can be more generally attributed to the Antonine age (Fig. 13). The shafts with their appropriate capitals and bases seem to be organized according to a principle of total homogeneity, as they were probably removed from the same monument. Only the first couple of columns towards the presbytery appear slightly different, as they use figured Corinthian capitals (Fig. 13) and cabled columns instead of fluted columns and Corinthian capitals as everywhere else in the church. Also S. Lorenzo like S. Agnese features women's galleries, whose material perfectly complies with the principles of symmetrical contraposition.⁶⁵

We have cited these two churches as examples of a possible reuse of materials from nearby buildings because in the Byzantine age the reduction of the inhabited areas and also of the size of the churches had as consequence a noticeable change in the modes of the reused spolia, contrasting with the fourth to fifth century. From the sixth through most of the eighth century the reduction of the city, often imagined as a group of villages set on ancient, by now ruined, monuments, meant that the stripping of material for the new churches of that age mainly concerned the ancient monuments upon which they

like type. The layout is analogous to that of S. Agnese on the Via Nomentana, of S. Sebastiano on the Appian Way, of SS. Pietro e Marcellino at Torpignattara and to the church of the *ad duos lauros* plot of land near the Villa Gordiani. They are all cemeterial basilicas of imperial patronage from the Constantinian age and all built outside the urban walls with naves separated by pillars and columns (see Tolotti 1982).

62 Gatti 1957, see Matthiae 1966, 45. The building of the basilica of the 4th century involved the presbiter Leopardo, who had funded works in the Basilica of S. Pudenziana after the sack of Alaric (410),

as is stated in an inscription above a fresco in the apse. Near the Saint's sepulchre, Pope Zosimus was buried (418), and also Pope Sixtus III (432–440) who according to the *Liber Pontificalis* donated the crypt of the saint *confessionem cum columnis porfireticis et ornavit platomis transcendam et altarem et confessionem de argento purissimo pens. lib. L. cancellos argenteos supra platomas porfireticas et absidam supra cancellos cum statuam beati Laurenti argenteam.*

63 Krautheimer, Frankl, and Gatti 1958; Matthiae 1966, 46.

64 Cf. Geertman 1975.

65 Ciranna 2000.

were erected, and to a lesser extent those farther away. The difficulties and the expense for transport would have not allowed supply from other parts of the city.

Increasingly, private dwellings were set into the old monuments: we may briefly cite the case of the Basilica Aemilia, where the fall of the perimeter wall had been caused by the collapse of the colonnades. Bartoli saw this as having been caused not by the fire of the early fifth century, which was restricted to the ceiling of the central hall and for which remains of ashes were found on the floor, but by the removal of the marbles of the internal space (the marble element appeared broken not because of a fall, but by mallet blows, and the column drums were all brought up to the same height).⁶⁶ But in three *tabernae* of the basilica (towards the temple of Antoninus and Faustina) remains were found of floors from the eighth to ninth century and even later wall additions which bear witness to a Christian use, while, still in the *tabernae* area and all the way up to include the socle of the basilica, the remains of an early mediaeval house seem to have been discovered. It was a rather large one with walls made of big blocks of 'greenish tufa' and with a 'primitive' staircase leading to the upper floor: as the threshold of a room a marble block had been utilized containing part of the oldest consular *fasti*, originally in the nearby Regia.⁶⁷

It should be noted that after the seventh century and still for many more centuries, the jurisdiction of the ancient monumental remains passed into the hands of the papacy, so the control and the relevant laws were weakened, since the popes themselves exploited the ruins as they deemed best.⁶⁸ In fact a substantial change had taken place in the government as the Senate, who by now had only a ceremonial role, had in 603 been substituted by a board of persons chosen from among the main families of the *Urbs* with a merely consultative role. The offices of *praefectus urbi* and *curator aquarum* are attested until the beginning of the seventh century and the *curator Palatii* is still mentioned in 687. While on the one hand the papal curia's formal obedience to the officials appointed by the Ravenna Exarch to govern the city continued, on the other hand a permanent ambassador was sent to Constantinople, not least to accelerate the endorsement of the new popes by the Emperor.

That a set of laws preventing the occupation of the ancient Roman buildings was not in force is rather proved by the fact that in the early middle ages an important moment of reuse and transformation in a Christian key can be registered in areas not yet occupied for that use, such as that near the ancient port on the Tiber. So S. Nicola in Carcere where the inscriptions of Anastasius Maiordomus engraved on a column (Fig. 15) attest that the church – at that time dedicated to SS. Maria, Simeone, Anna and Lucia – was built in the eighth century on top of the three temples of the Forum Holitorium: inside, it was

66 Bartoli 1912, 760.

68 Ward-Perkins 1984, 205.

67 De Ruggiero 1913, 402; Lanciani 1899, 186.

possible to reuse elegant cannellured columns and very fine Corinthian capitals because Anastasius Maiordomus through his administrative position at the papal court was able to obtain well preserved spolia. This is also the case with S. Maria del Portico, which occupies the site of the Horrea Aemiliana and was built in the eighth to ninth century;⁶⁹ S. Maria de Secundicerio, which is set in the Temple of Portunus; and again in the eighth century S. Angelo in Pescheria, which was built in the Porticus of Octavia (Fig. 4). But at the same time the Christian occupation of the ancient and most important monumental area of the city was carried out: the Forum. In fact in the sixth and seventh century the era of the huge transformation of the monuments in the Roman Forum began, which until the end of the fifth century had remained the privileged area of imperial restoration works and of the *praefectus urbi*. If still in 608 an honorary column had been re-dedicated by the emperor Phocas (Fig. 3), a few years afterwards, in 625–638, even the Senate House was transformed by pope Honorius I into a church, that of S. Adrian. In a period before the late eighth century the church of S. Martina had been built in the *Secretarium Senatus* and to the seventh century can be dated the diaconate of SS. Sergio e Bacco near the Arch of Septimius Severus. The diaconates – assistance centres for the needy modelled on governmental structures by now out of use – were run by lay officials of the Curia but were inspired by the principles of Christian charity, which explains the presence of the annexed oratory. Still in the seventh century there was the adaptation of the vestibule of the imperial palaces on the Palatine for the church of S. Maria Antiqua (Fig. 16) and even more significant is the fact that later, in 705–707, Pope John VII set up a papal residence right beside this church itself. This is a first presage of what will happen with the iconoclastic crisis in 726, when the definitive separation from the Byzantine Church took place. The popes, then, started to create residences and administrative centres to face the needs of autonomy. John VII's successors preferred to go back to the Lateran Palace, which was better suited for the necessary changes and exactly to those years must be dated the placing there of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, identified as Constantine to the faithful (according to the new principle of the *interpretatio* in Christian key of many of the city's antiquities). It is precisely the phenomenon of the adaptation into churches of the ancient buildings of the Forum that bears witness to the power obtained by the popes and the indifference or some such change of attitude and mentality of the Byzantine emperors towards the monument-symbols of the power of Rome. Therefore it was within this new political and economic situation that the ancient and prestigious buildings from the height of the imperial age were re-appropriated for new functions.

While on the one hand the practice of the removal of spolia from ancient buildings continued, on the other hand it is mainly in exceptional cases that it happened to

69 Acconci 1991; Campese Simone 2004, 446.



Fig. 15 S. Nicola in Carcere:
shaft of a column with an inscrip-
tion of Anastasius Maiordomus.

monuments far away from the place of use, such as the defence works or the huge apostolic basilicas which are still the destination of pilgrimages and the object of restoration work. The roof of St. Peter's was redone under the reign of Honorius I (625–638) with the bronze tiles from the *Templum Romae* (that is the Temple of Venus and Rome).⁷⁰ After the fall of Jerusalem in 640 Rome became the only holy city to be visited by Christian pilgrims and was therefore more than ever motivated to preserve its heritage. The emperor Constans II himself visited the city in 667 during his campaign against the Langobards, despite the fact that on that occasion he finished off the removal of the bronze still remaining on the Roman buildings, including that on the Pantheon. Less than a century later (731–741) St Peter's Basilica received from the Exarch Eutychius the gift of six spiral columns with grape tendrils, imported from the East and placed by Gregory III in the presbytery in front of the '*confessio*' in line with the six more ancient ones:⁷¹ it represents the last official concession of the Empire to the Church.

3.1 Ninth century

In the ninth century, as is well known, favourable political conditions were created by the alliance against the Langobards between the French monarchy and the papacy – the

70 Duchesne 1981, I, 323.

71 Duchesne 1981, I, 417.



Fig. 16 Interior of S. Maria Antiqua.

latter having achieved complete control over the city –, leading to development, also in construction, in the city. A consequence is that in the ninth century a great change took place regarding both the occupation of the ancient monuments and their spoliation, in as much as there was a return to a process of systematic removal, which no longer concerned only the areas near the buildings to be constructed or restored but also more distant areas with ruins.

First of all, although under Leo IV (847–855) the first large edifice integrally built, rather than adapted, since the classical age, namely S. Maria Nova, which occupied part of the Temple of Venus and Rome (though so much of it remained standing that it was again stripped during the following centuries), was built in the Forum, by now the principal area of the city had become the bend of the Tiber close to the bridge that led to St. Peter's, though at the same time other settlements still survived and a certain development in construction also started beyond the boundaries of the bend itself. In this century the occupation of the monumental buildings of the Campus Martius was completed, which offered the possibility to create liveable dwellings: these were the theaters (of Marcellus, of Pompey, of Balbus), Domitian's stadium, Domitian's odeion, whose corridors and vaulted rooms – the substructure of the *cavea* – became housing

areas for the population, who referred to the places they lived in as 'crypts'. It is certain that these buildings for public performances, earlier the subject of only partial stripping, were systematically plundered and despoiled of their marbles, which were to be used for church decoration (see later the case of S. Prassede with the spolia from the theater of Marcellus).

This process of occupation is naturally due to the pole of attraction of the nearby Vatican, immediately on the other side of the river: pilgrims coming from the north necessarily had to cross the Campus Martius on their way to St. Peter's.

But the northern section of the Campus Martius became at this time the object of particular attention specifically regarding the removal of ancient marble, which we can define as systematic, to such an extent that we can describe it as one of the privileged fields for plundering. This conclusion is based on the observation that in the Carolingian churches of the whole of the ninth century, two large groups of architectural elements are employed as a support in the outside cornices of the apses. The first one consists of coffers decorated with masks with acanthus, the second of brackets lined with acanthus leaves. In both cases they were cut out from the cornices of the same monument of the imperial age with the aim of achieving a very high number of decorated elements suited to conform to the semi-circular perimeter of the apses. SS. Nereo e Achilleo (Fig. 17) and S. Martino ai Monti (Fig. 18), in particular, reuse brackets coupled with ceilings decorated with acanthus masks or vegetal motifs. Probably the same is true of S. Prassede and SS. Quattro Coronati, because, though the cornices now consist only of brackets, they were originally completed by slabs decorated with large masks, as samples no longer in situ in the two churches confirms; S. Cecilia and S. Giorgio in Velabro, on the contrary, seem to have been designed from the very beginning only with brackets. We have six churches, then, built over the fifty years from Pope Leo III's reign to that of Leo IV which seem to have been designed as part of a shared project, beyond other architectural differences, and which seem to have used the same source of material.⁷² We have elsewhere noted how the comprehensive analysis of all these pieces led us to believe that they must have come from a precinct with a wall at the end, organized with niches set at different levels, which we have proposed to identify as the compound of Aurelian's Temple of the Sun. This is the period that is matched by both the style and the type of the acanthus, and its distinctive precinct with an apse surrounding the temple permits the identification of different groups of brackets and masks of acanthus leaves on the basis of their size: they fit well into a hypothetical reconstruction of a precinct with walls organized in several superimposed orders.

72 Pensabene and Panella 2005.



Fig. 17 SS. Nereo e Achilleo: interior apse cornice.



Fig. 18 S. Martino ai Monti: exterior apse cornice.

But the importance of the reuse employed for these churches is that for the first time we see spolia re-worked in a careful and systematic way in order to give greater uniformity and coherence to their positioning.

With the Carolingian age another phenomenon emerges that concerns churches especially: the reuse of architectural elements and other material from earlier phases of the churches themselves.

This is what seems to be implied by the fact that churches such as SS. Quattro Coronati and later S. Saba and S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, show homogeneous sets of Ionian capitals of the late fourth to the first decades of the fifth century⁷³ (Fig. 19), mostly the results of finishing off, in late antiquity, of pieces imported in a semi-worked state from the Thasian and Proconnesian quarries but also obtained from the re-working of reused blocks in Luni marble (see above). This aspect is particularly significant, as it will influence the rebirth of the Ionian order in the Cosmatesque workshops in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.

Capitals like these were set in place at SS. Quattro Coronati in the ninth century phase when the church reached its maximum size thanks to Leo IV (847–855), who had previously been its presbyter, and to that phase perhaps can be dated the reuse of several architectural elements, also of a Doric entablature that was moved from the Parthian

73 Pensabene 2013.



Fig. 19 S. Giovanni a Porta Latina: Ionian capital from the fourth/fifth century.



Fig. 20 SS. Quattro Coronati: remains of the first phase nave colonnade set into the later phase courtyard.

Arch in the Roman Forum.⁷⁴ They are now visible in the court in front of the church of the eleventh century (Fig. 20), reduced in size because of the damage caused by the Norman plundering of 1086. It is a fragment of a ceiling cornice of the Doric order, which corresponds to a similar piece displayed in the cloister (Fig. 21).⁷⁵

74 Steinby 1993–2000, I, s.v. Arcus Augusti, 84; Muñoz 1914, 37, 38, 128, 130.

75 It consists of square slabs, or brackets with *guttae* alternating with simple coffers with central rosettes. The *guttae* look like small discs while the rosettes consist of four acanthus leaves alternating with four smooth leaves. E. Fiechter in his study of the Doric cornices (Fiechter 1923, 132) found in the Roman Forum wrote that among the several frag-

ments there were some which had been placed in the church of SS. Quattro Coronati before 1513: according to Fletcher after that date the fragments may have been thrown away. The cornice fragments found by Muñoz, now in the cloister, must be taken into account together with those still in situ in the Carolingian wall of the first yard of the SS. Quattro Coronati compound.



Fig. 21 SS. Quattro Coronati: cloister, Doric cornices from the first phase.



Fig. 22 SS. Quattro Coronati: fifth/sixth century cornice.

But in the S. Barbara Chapel of the same basilica four jutting trabeations were used, set diagonally at the four corners,⁷⁶ and which had been supported by four columns of verde antico marble, if it is they that are the subject of a report of the transportation of four columns in this material to the Vatican from the Basilica of SS. Quattro Coronati.⁷⁷ Out of these trabeations three, plus the cornice of the fourth, can be attributed to the late fourth or early decades of the fifth century, on the basis of the form of the indented acanthus which had become fashionable in Constantinople at that time (Fig. 22), and where there is an important parallel in the *propylaea* of the Theodosian Hagia Sophia, opened in 415, whilst the fourth trabeation dates from the ninth century.⁷⁸ A date similar to that of the Ionian capitals (Fig. 19) would then emerge, and it is impossible not to view this in relation to data that permit us to reconstruct the existence of a more ancient stage of the church, which certainly already existed in the sixth century (see

76 Published by Pani Ermini 1974, 141 n. 9, table 42; Meuccio Vaccaro 1974, 204-207 n. 171-174, tables 61-62; Kramer 1994, 121.

77 Muñoz 1914, 31; Meuccio Vaccaro 1974, 204.

78 Pensabene 2013.

the participation of the presbyter of the basilica, Fortunatus, in the 595 Synod) and is perhaps to be identified with the *titulus Aemilianae*,⁷⁹ present in the list of *tituli* that took part in the 499 Synod.

A peculiar situation is offered by S. Prassede: recent cleaning has brought to light the inscriptions, which had already been seen in the fifteenth century, on the trabeation supported by the columns in the naves, which refer to important offices of the fifth century (Fig. 23). There are 28 elements of trabeations, both smooth and decorated, including also those placed in the passage from the nave to the original transept. In the left side-nave, between the sixth and the fourth pillar there is a smooth trabeation (max. height 0.50 m, width 2.37 m, thickness 0.50 m) on whose first band VRBI CVRANTIBV[...] can be read and which can be related to a *praefectus urbi*, who underwent the *damnatio memoriae*, in as much as VRBI appears to be cancelled;⁸⁰ between the third pillar and the fifth column, on the first and the second band of the architrave (max. height 0.50 m, width. 2.30 m, thickness 0.50 m) appears [...]LVSTRIS EX PRIMICERIO NOTARIORVM SACRI P[...] / [...]QVALORIBVS PORTICVM A FVNDAMEN[...]. This is an inscription already partially known, as it is reported in a mediaeval manuscript (CIL VI, 1790) which falsely placed it in the S. Zenone chapel; a date between the fourth and, perhaps better, the beginning of the fifth century is demonstrated by the citation of the office of the *primicerius notariorum sacri palatii*, the head of the Guild of Notaries and the official responsible for the imperial archives, an office known from the fourth century onwards at the imperial court.⁸¹ In the passage from the right side nave to the transept – today the Chapel of the Cross – between the central columns and the pillar on the right, on the first band of the trabeation (width 2.0 m, thickness. 0.50 m) we have [...]IVS FELIX AVG REFECERVN[...], with the possible restoration of [P]IVS FELIX, which would refer to a building reconstructed by Septimius Severus and Caracalla for whom the imperial title is pertinent. Evidently the first monument for which the lintels were sculpted was the work of the Severan emperors. This was restored and rededicated in a late period, when perhaps it became the seat of the *primicerius notariorum*. S. Prassede was possibly built within this monument, or rather, it was from there that the lintels were removed to be put in place in S. Prassede, which, we recall, has existed

79 This hypothesis has been put forward by Duchesne 1981, II, 43 n. 77.

80 Compare the similar CIL VI, 37110 dedicated to Petronius Maximus, *praefectus Urbi* at the beginning of the 5th century.

81 Among the *primiceri* (the heads of the Imperial Archives to whom the *notarii* answered and in charge of the drafting of the *notitia dignitatum*), we can mention Giuliano. He had been sent together

with Giovius (*patricius* and *praefectus* of the praetorium of Italy and first mediator between Alaric and Honorius) to the usurper Priscus Attalus, charged by Alaric to negotiate an agreement (Jones 1990); the circle of the *sacrum palatium* allows us to exclude that he is a *primicerius notariorum* at the papal court, which in the middle ages becomes a position given to the lower clergy in charge of the correspondence of the parish.



Fig. 23 S. Prassede: inscribed architrave.

at least since the end of the fifth century when a *titulus* with this name was mentioned (ICUR, VII, 19991).

These lintels, inscribed again between the fourth and the fifth centuries, can be put in relation with a Constantinopolitan Corinthian capital with denticular acanthus that can be dated to between the late fourth and the first decades of the fifth century (Fig. 24), also used in the same church, which was wholly reconstructed as is well attested by Pascal I (817–824),⁸² who may very well have also used the marble remains of the previous phase. Finally we can note that the eight columns with acanthus (Fig. 25) that currently decorate the sixteenth-century apse of S. Prassede, but which must have been part of the Carolingian phase of the church,⁸³ are matched by an acanthus base from the Augustan age found in the theater of Marcellus, which underwent, besides a Severan phase, later restoration works.

In order to better understand the changes in the relationship between Carolingian Rome and its ruins, a period characterized, as we have said, by a strong urban and construction revival, we have to point out the noticeable increase in the reuse of ancient blocks of tufa of large size that took place in the second half of the eighth and mainly in the ninth century. Because of their minor weight and ease of transport they were preferred to the heavier blocks of travertine and marble when they had to be used in structural elements reinforcing the masonry, in the levelling of foundation planes and in terracing. They were used without any other modification of the original form of the block in an irregular and poorly executed *opus quadratum* within which appears a number of interstices filled in with brick wedges, which, when used in the foundations, often stick out from the wall plane.⁸⁴ Only when they are used in the elevation are the

82 Duchesne 1981, II, 54; Finocchio 2010. He eventually noticed that in the presbytery there was an original Carolingian floor perhaps with a central porphyry disc and with a check pattern (as in S. Giorgio in Velabro) and with panels of a simple pattern at either side of the canopy, which may reuse the mar-

bles of the previous *titulus*. In the 12th century the floor may have been renewed with additions in the Cosmatesque style; several slabs are in fact funerary inscriptions turned upside down.

83 Caperna 1999, 42.

84 Barelli 2007.



Fig. 24 S. Prassede: Constantinian Corinthian capital from the late fourth/beginning fifth century.

blocks placed with more precision, but in these cases they do not necessarily entail coherence in the wall masonry as they are often joined in the eighth century by walls in which bricks and small tufa pieces are mixed, in the ninth century mostly by bricks but in both cases always from reuse and with irregularities in structure. The rather strong increase in the reuse of blocks, tufa blocks and bricks in this period is proof of the increase in population and of the building revivals that characterize Rome in the eighth and ninth century, as the recent excavation in the forum areas has demonstrated. They have turned up porticoed houses from the ninth century in the Forum of Nerva, for instance, built with peperino blocks and masonry wedges removed from the monuments of that area.⁸⁵

85 Santangeli Valenzani 1997.



Fig. 25 S. Prassede: acanthus column of the presbytery from the Theater of Marcellus.

Here we give a list of the churches where the blocks were reused, because many of them featured the reuse of the ‘acanthus masks,’ which we have already discussed above.

First of all must be cited the foundation walls in blocks, in the churches promoted or restored by Leo III (795–816) such as S. Nereo e Achilleo, S. Stefano degli Abissini, S. Susanna and S. Anastasia, where under this Pope the arches of the right nave were filled in with big blocks. The *Liber Pontificalis* attributes to this Pope also the building of S. Pellegrino in Naumachia whose foundations were made with big travertine blocks probably removed from Domitian’s stadium.⁸⁶ We can also cite S. Martino ai Monti whose foundation is most visible along its north side. This church would fit into the category of the churches which exploited nearby monuments as a collection site for spolia, if it is true, as has been proposed, that the homogeneous set of Asian Corinthian

⁸⁶ Krautheimer 1971, 176–178; Barelli 2007, 69.

capitals and very rare black marble bases in the columns between the naves come from Trajan's baths. Such a reuse of blocks would indicate how the techniques of the building yards made important progress especially in these centuries, so that it made possible the systematic spoliation of huge Roman complexes built in *opera quadrata*, evidently by means of hoists, which also made it possible to build, for instance, a long wharf along the Tiber.⁸⁷

All in all it is the eighth and mainly the ninth centuries which mark an inversion of the trend in comparison to the immediately preceding centuries, presenting extensive occupation of the city and no longer in a random fashion. The neighbourhoods tend to be spread widely and homogeneously and they reach beyond the limits of the Tiber bend in the Campus Martius next to the roads and bridges leading to St. Peter's. Outside this area we notice the growth of houses in masonry with porticoes, as is shown by the *domus* recently discovered on the strata of mediaeval fill in Nerva's forum, with porticoes in the front evidently built with blocks from the same forum. This announces the construction development that took place between the sixth and thirteenth century, which saw the city united in neighbourhoods without gaps.

3.2 Tenth century

In the tenth century the city population mostly concentrated in those nuclei that had already merged in the previous century along the Tiber: the Campus Martius and, on the other bank, Pope Leo's city and Trastevere. Trastevere had acquired importance because of the new establishment of river harbours: the Portus Maius on the bank of Pope Leo's city and – perhaps from the mid-ninth century – the Ripa Romea harbour across the river from the ancient landing of the Marmorata. The unloading of wheat that took place there had required the building of several floating mills, which in turn attest population growth. But there is another area, the Aventine, which in the tenth century acquired a certain importance, according to the sources (Saint Odilo: *prae caeteris illius urbis montibus aedes decoras habe[t]*), and was chosen by the Roman aristocratic families as their residence. First of them all was that of Alberic, born on the Aventine (and who later had his home transformed into the Monastery of S. Maria, then S. Maria del Priorato) and who moved towards the SS. Apostoli, nearer to the city centre. It is right at the end of the tenth century (998–1001) that Otto III established his home on the Aventine near the Monastery of SS. Bonifacio e Alessio – a monastery of mixed Greek-Latin rite, which was destined to play an important role in the conversion of the Slavs.⁸⁸ The tenth century was for Rome a distinctive period, at the beginning marked by a

87 Coates-Stephens 2002.

88 Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 147–149 and bibliography quoted there.

fierce fight for control over the elections of the pope between the Counts of Spoleto and groups of the Roman aristocracy, which for a long time determined the choice of the new pope. The anti-Arab league of 915, which defeated the Arabic settlement at the mouth of the Garigliano, saw the active participation of the *gloriosissimus dux* Theophylact and of the *senator Romanorum* Giovanni who backed Pope John X (914–918) in the decision to intervene. Theophylact's son in law, Aberic, for over twenty years (932–954) controlled the Roman scene, obtaining the title of *princeps* and *senator* and living in a sort of *palatium* in imitation of those of the Langobard dukes in the south. His son became pope with the name of John XII. The Roman aristocracy increased their interests also in many areas of Latium, making alliances, tying relationships with the local powers and with Farfa and Subiaco, both large monasteries in Latium, and drawing them all into the Roman orbit.⁸⁹

In the second half of the century the imperial authority was restored with the imperial coronation of Otto I, king of Saxony, by John XII: although the German emperors managed to determine the election of a few popes, the popes remained subject to the conditions created by the aristocratic group. In the last twenty years of the tenth century, the Crescentii took a position similar to that of Alberic (some of them received the title of *patricius Romanorum*) and the Counts of Tuscolum succeeded in crowning three popes between 1012 and 1044. Otto I of Saxony came down to Italy in 961–962 in order to be crowned emperor in Rome and to insist on the dependence of the papacy upon temporal authority (according to the *privilegium Othonis* the popes had to solemnly swear fealty to the emperor). He arrived surrounded by the fame of his victorious ventures in Eastern Europe and of his civilizing and missionary activity among the Slavs, which had its apex in the foundation of the new bishopric at Magdeburg. The cathedral he wanted to have built boasted columns, which had been especially ordered from Rome in imitation of what Charlemagne had done in Aachen.⁹⁰ It has been generally noted that in the Ottonian age there was a strong attention and respect for the classical world, which has been interpreted as a cultural renewal, mostly with a literary connotation, together with a special drive to reform religious institutions with the support of the monastic centre of Cluny. Otto III (983–1002), the most passionate in the attempt to promote some kind of *renovatio* of the antique in his choice of Rome as the actual capital city of the empire, was unable to leave a significant mark there in its buildings, despite his being inspired by Constantine and Charlemagne as his models and his collaboration with Gerbert d'Aurillac, the future Pope Sylvester (999–1002). In any case the tenth century is the date of the foundation of the church of S. Bartolomeo in Rome, known by this name only after 1160. It is certainly to be connected to Otto III before 1000, who was buried here, but the dedicatee of the church was initially St. Adalbert, Otto's cousin, martyred

89 Marazzi 2001, 66–67.

90 De Lachenal 1995, 142.

in 997; the existence of a previous church seems to be excluded.⁹¹ The four columns, in granite of the forum, probably belong to the original building reused as a frame for the niches in the centre of the two pillars of the baroque façade, which replaced the previous narthex.⁹² The church of S. Sebastiano is to be attributed to the practice of constructing oratories. It was also known by the name of S. Maria in Pallara, which stood at the north-eastern corner of the Palatine, built upon the will of a physician Petrus, and was covered with wall paintings around the end of the tenth century, representing the martyrdom cycle of Saints Sebastian and Zoticus.⁹³ The most ancient piece of information regarding the church is a mutilated epitaph dating to the tenth century with the praises of a person of noble origin, Marcus, who retired to live in the annexed monastery.⁹⁴

The Church was restructured after the Carolingian Renaissance when in Rome a few small oratories, with an apse and only one nave, were built, many of which were for private use, while others, as in the case of S. Sebastiano, were entrusted to a community of monks.

The practice of using Roman spolia continues, done by both the emperor and the pope to bestow prestige and confirm a political role: it suffices to think of the reinterment, at Otto III's command, of Charlemagne's body in Aachen, buried in a sarcophagus perhaps brought from Rome, depicting the rape of Proserpina, which shows the importance of the representation of myths, which were redeemed as allegorical images that overcame the original significance. Otto II had been buried in 983 in St. Peter's atrium under a lid of porphyry taken from Hadrian's mausoleum, whilst Otto III was buried in the cathedral in Aachen in a basin in red marble (ancient red? porphyry?), likewise lifted from Rome.⁹⁵ The phenomenon of reuse was beginning to become international, as the need for prestigious marbles drove the search more and more towards distant sites and not only near the areas with ruins. No wonder that in the Byzantine empire, too, there is evidence of ships sent to collect marble ornaments for reuse, as is shown by the wreck at Kizilburun near Çesme in Turkey, dated to the tenth century on the basis of the amphorae carried and whose load contained also marble spolia such as columns, screens, a capital and window jambs taken from a church.⁹⁶

The difficult political situation in Rome as well as in Italy did not allow construction of buildings of a large size such as basilicas or bishops' seats by the imperial or ecclesiastical powers. Yet in Rome building activity on private initiative is recorded, even if not of a large scale, such as the construction of the small oratory of S. Barbara dei Librai in one of the arches of Pompey's theater, or of the little church of S. Maria in Pallara in

91 Cecchelli 1951, 47.

92 The narthex is still visible in a drawing from the 17th century: Cod. Chigiano p. VII 10, Bibl. Vat., carta 123; in Serafini 1927, 163.

93 Gigli 1975; Krautheimer 1981, 212; De Lachenal 1995, 144.

94 Gigli 1975, 35.

95 De Lachenal 1995, 153.

96 Pulak 1995, 3–4; Pulak and Rogers 1994, 17–18.

998 – as we said, commissioned by the *medicus Petrus* (the present S. Sebastiano alla Polveriera), with frescoes characterized by decorative motifs inspired by the antique⁹⁷ (see above). Or the transformation into the church of S. Urbano alla Caffarella of a small funerary temple in masonry from the imperial age, where the paintings are integrated with the previous stucco decoration, again commissioned by a *medicus*. These patrons bear witness to the existence of a social class separate from the local nobility who will acquire a more and more important role throughout the course of the middle Ages.⁹⁸

But a source of patronage that became more and more important in the tenth century was that of the Benedictines, who had more means than any private person, even more than the aristocracy, and who about mid-century replaced the oriental community in the monastery of S. Saba, very probably promoting the rebuilding of the basilica. In the first half of the twelfth century under the pontificate of Lucius II (1144–1145), the monastery was entrusted to the Cluniac monks, who carried out the restoration of the church and of other edifices; yet we do not think, however, we ought to reject the arguments that attribute to the tenth century the present subdivision in the naves and the associated column shafts. The reuse of these shafts reflects an attempt to use a logical criterion in the placing of the spolia. Despite the use of different materials (out of a total of 14 columns one may observe the mixture of six shafts in granite with shafts resembling *bigio venato*, and one in *portasanta*), a not too discordant chromatic effect is achieved with a certain uniformity obtained mostly using Ionian capitals (apart from the first and the last one of the left line). However, it remains a case characterized by the variety of stones used for the shafts, differing from the layout that prevailed in the Carolingian age. Perhaps such variety may be due to the fact that spolia to be reused were sought in the vicinity of the monastery, standing within the walls, along the Via Ostiense but by now far away from the more intensively inhabited sections of the city, even though it was on the thoroughfare leading to the Basilica of S. Paolo. Around this time (tenth century) despite the still vast availability of materials from the monumental ruins of imperial Rome, the collection of homogeneous pieces must have been very expensive and there cannot have been a highly developed organisation for that purpose: therefore if the patrons could not or did not want to incur that great expense, they had to reuse ancient pieces that were easily obtainable. It appears, on the basis of the remains of architectural elements presently kept in the church vestibule, that nearby there must have been a rather important building to which must have belonged the large fragments of friezes with scrolls and lintels with ceilings decorated with meander motifs and gates with trabeations with elegantly carved cornices.

97 It is the martyrial cycle of Saints Sebastian and Zoticus: Gigli 1975; De Lachenal 1995, 144; Pace 2007, 54.

98 De Lachenal 1995, 144–145; Pace 2007, 55.

Finally, the tenth century, in which, as we have seen, the aristocratic Roman groups began to prevail, despite the attempt of the Ottonian dynasty to re-establish imperial power, is not characterized by the construction of ecclesiastical buildings, except to a scarce extent: the decline of the Carolingian dynasty during the ninth century, the disputes between local families and the threat of Muslim pirates all caused a delay in ecclesiastical building activities in the city. What was done was accomplished by private people and concerns small churches or, otherwise, by the Benedictines, who remodelled S. Saba according to the tradition of the Constantinian basilica with naves divided by columns. But it will be precisely the Benedictines with their network of cultural relationships that ran from Montecassino and S. Vincenzo al Volturno to all Italy, who will play an important role in keeping the city in contact with what was happening in the rest of Italy on ‘the threshold of Romanesque’ in the field of art and architecture.

3.3 Eleventh to thirteenth century

An essential change reflected also in the fields of architecture and of the reuse of spolia was caused by the events towards the end of the eleventh century. First came the end of the Investiture Conflict and the Norman sack of Rome in 1084, which prompted the restoration and modernization of a number of religious buildings, which expresses the new political and institutional course introduced by the papacy. One must also add a movement of artistic and intellectual rebirth, which in central-southern Italy followed the re-building of the Abbey of Montecassino (1071),⁹⁹ a factor that determined new and fruitful exchanges with the eastern world as well as the emergence of local artistic schools.¹⁰⁰

Of no minor importance at archaeological, political and also ideological levels is the prosperity of the Maritime republics and not only of the Norman kingdom in the South. Almost everywhere (Genoa, Pisa, Salerno, Amalfi) churches and basilicas were built in which spoliated elements were used, acquired for this purpose even in Rome, on account of the prestige bestowed by those materials and the ideal reference to Imperial Rome. The eminent figures of the various cities longed to be buried in ancient sarcophagi, despite the possibility of having sarcophagi sculpted *ex novo* by local craftsmen.¹⁰¹ Therefore it happens that even in the ancient capital of the empire the spoliated pieces acquired more and more value (at the economic level too) and that a hierarchy is

⁹⁹ The model of Cassino seems already to be present in Rome in the late 11th century, as has been suggested on the basis of the possible reconstruction of the lost S. Maria in Portico with the presbytery as a transept and of the renewal of S. Cecilia between 1070 and 1090, right at the time of cardinal

Desiderius, abbot of Montecassino (Claussen 2007, 61). On the possible role also in Rome of the ‘renewal’ promoted at Cassino see Pace 1997, 197–200.

¹⁰⁰ Prandi 1978; Krautheimer 1981, 223–225.

¹⁰¹ Herklotz 1985.

organized between the ancient and better preserved and qualitatively richer materials, and the simpler ones that can less easily carry a message of prestige or a certain type of symbolic meaning¹⁰² as they are single pieces. But, for this period we have another source of spolia, the Byzantine Empire and particularly Peloponnese and Ionian and Aegean islands. It is mainly the commercial harbours along the Adriatic coastline, such as Venice, Ancona, Trani and Bari that became the final arrival point of marble spolia from the East. Suffice it to mention S. Marco in Venice and S. Nicola in Bari, the latter built before the Norman Conquest: it is known that these spolia, like the Corinthian capitals, marble furniture etc. influenced ornamental styles adopted in the Romanesque period.

It is the best preserved pieces that enter a dialectical relationship with the artistic formation of the sculptors of the time, generating imitations, recoveries and the transformation of ancient art, which remained the main source of inspiration while also achieving the creation of an original and autonomous art.¹⁰³

Even in Rome the general situation was demographic and economic development, which determined the birth of new neighbourhoods around the existing ones or in scarcely inhabited areas.¹⁰⁴ The urban expansion, which characterized the city from the tenth to the twelfth century caused a new organization of the territory, as has often been remarked. A sort of parcelling out of uncultivated lands has been mentioned, carried out by the numerous monasteries surrounding the inhabited centre:¹⁰⁵ it has been ascertained that between the tenth and the eleventh century some 70 churches and monasteries were founded.¹⁰⁶ Intense private building activities of aristocratic resi-

102 Greenhalgh 1984.

103 The process of imitation is almost always at the basis of the creation of new regional styles as has been demonstrated for Byzantine Syria or Egypt ('Coptic art'), where the wish to give the churches of the more inland regions architectural elements similar to those of the capital cities gives birth to an activity of imitation and inspiration towards more cultivated models, which must be considered as the cause of the large number of types of capitals (not to be ascribed, then, to the imagination of the local workshops; see Strube 1983; Pensabene 1993). Equally for the more recent phases such as the mediaeval it is the attempt to imitate and interpret the Roman and Byzantine models that leads to the creation of new traditions and types.

104 Also to this century belongs the recovery of a large number of buildings, many also of those in the valley, which were reconstructed on ground more level and less subject to alluvial phenomena, as is

the case in the central area of the Caelian where S. Clemente stands, which was filled in by four metres and more, in order to be able to build the new basilica: F. Guidobaldi 2004, 398.

105 Hubert 2001, 165; see the role of the convent of S. Ciriaco e Nicola in Via Lata founded shortly before the mid-tenth century, whose prioress Ermengarda (ca. 1014–1043) started the parcelling out of the monastery lands in allotments rented out to *viri honesti*, who were charged with maintaining the boundaries and building houses.

106 Hubert 2001, 166, on the progressive spread of the monasteries in Rome (2 in the 5th century, 17 in the 6th, 24 in the 7th, 38 in the 8th, 57 in the 9th and 64 in the 10th century): cf. Ferrari 1957 on the grant of building sites to private individuals by the religious institutions that owned land within the walls, and on the role of some of these institutions in the process of urbanization from the 11th to 12th century.

dences have also been noticed, to the extent that in 1257 the Senator Brancaleone degli Andò ordered the demolition of about 140 towers to punish the *insolentia et superbia* of the Roman noblemen,¹⁰⁷ and only a century earlier the towers of the families of the papal party had already been destroyed during the short-lived Republican municipality, but they were evidently soon rebuilt.

It is true that from the point of view of the ecclesiastical buildings in Rome, in contrast with the new architectural trends in Lombardy and Tuscany, in the eleventh and twelfth century an intentional and perhaps voluntary obedience to the traditional early Christian forms is registered not only by the Benedictines but also by other patrons, as is shown by the monumental redesign in this period of three basilicas: SS. Quattro Coronati, S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Clemente.¹⁰⁸

SS. Quattro Coronati (1085) was the church where the city's first cloister appeared and where the pope instituted a monastic congregation, perhaps of Augustinians: this was the only church from Romanesque times in which, on the occasion of the second reconstruction (in 1116), women's galleries were added. It is also true that a large part of the ecclesiastical re-building activity concerned the churches destroyed by the Normans in 1085, to which were added the works in S. Maria in Cosmedin, converted from the Greek rite to the Latin one, and which is among the few which had pillars put in the column lines in the naves according to the Romanesque style. However, rather than commenting on a certain delay in making innovations, which would have depended on the wealth of what was already built in Rome,¹⁰⁹ and which necessitated the preservation of the existing basilicas,¹¹⁰ we should rather focus on the programmatic intention to affirm a proper continuity with early Christian Rome. We must confirm the ideological meaning of this choice, which inevitably made the constructors of the major basilicas less open to external influences. As Bertelli observed, this accounts for the fact that the reformist avant-garde preferred to consecrate small oratories (S. Maria Aventina, S. Andrea al Celio, S. Maria in Pallata, S. Angelo on the Appian way and perhaps S. Urbano alla Caffarella).¹¹¹

The end of the Investiture conflicts, then, is accompanied in Rome by some important phenomena which greatly affect the habit of reuse but which must not be considered as isolated but as part of a deep change that involved the whole of the Italian peninsula in the Romanesque age, which began much earlier than the end of the vicissitudes of the papacy against the empire. We may cite the return to basilicas of a huge size, which aim to re-propose the early Christian model, also recalled by the use of the

107 Nardella 1997, 144; Hubert 2001, 182.

108 Bertelli 1983, 124 note 1. S. Maria in Trastevere was begun by Cardinal Corleoni and S. Clemente on the initiative of the Canons Regular.

109 Bertelli 1983, 125.

110 As is shown by the works in S. Paolo where in 1070 Hildebrand, who at that moment was the abbot of the reformed monastery of S. Paolo, acquired from Amalfi the beautiful gates in damascened bronze made in Constantinople: Bertelli 1983, 125.

111 Bertelli 1983, 125.



Fig. 26 S. Maria in Trastevere: decorated base from the Baths of Caracalla.

horizontal trabeations in imitation of the Lateran Basilica and of St. Peter's: the creation of large workshops that specialized in stripping and re-working the ancient marbles, active not only in Rome but also in Italy and Europe; the inclusion of Ostia and Porto, too, among the marble quarries from which the spolia for reuse were removed, and not only Rome (it is only in S. Paolo that there is evidence of an earlier use of spolia from Ostia¹¹²). The expansion of the marble market prompted a new assault on the monuments still standing, which was made possible by the technical progress in the construction industry which had permitted the construction of the huge Romanesque basilicas (it suffices to mention the case of the cathedral in Pisa). Thus the area of the grandiose Baths of Caracalla was reached and began to be progressively despoiled precisely from the start of the eleventh century, a fact proved by the presence of eight Ionian figured capitals, decorated bases and the columns in granite reused in the Basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere (Fig. 26),¹¹³ but also by the number of capitals in the cathedral of Pisa that are recognized as coming from the Baths.¹¹⁴ The material of this cathedral provides evidence of the reuse of architectural elements from the *Thermae of Neptune* in the *Campus Martius* and the theater and other monuments at Ostia. From this port town comes also a number of pieces including sarcophagi and urns reused in Salerno and Amalfi. Roman marbles even reached Norman Sicily, such as the large drums in porphyry reworked for the royal sarcophagi, at first destined for the church at Cefalù and now in the cathedrals in Palermo and Monreale. From Rome very probably come the large columns – between naves – with figured capitals with heads of female goddesses (Venus? and Rome) used as supports between the naves of the cathedral of Monreale; the organization of the transport from the harbour of Palermo to the top of the mountain where Monreale stands is to be admired.

112 Pensabene 2007, 452.

113 The bases, probably from the Baths of Caracalla, have been published by Wegner 1966, 79, table 25;

Kinney 1986, 387; Jenewein 2008, 35, 199.

114 Tedeschi Grisanti 1999.

4 Conclusions

It is not easy to trace back the route followed by this spoliation activity, especially in times such as the Carolingian and Romanesque age, when the urge to reuse ancient pieces multiplies searches in all directions. When a special *regio* of ancient Rome is picked out, sometimes it is possible to find clues to the reuse of similar shafts of columns in granite in churches topographically close to each other, as is the case on the Caelian of SS. Giovanni e Paolo from the fifth century, but with shafts of the nave reworked in the Romanesque age; of S. Maria in Domnica of the ninth century, again with Cosmatesque works in the interior; of the SS. Quattro Coronati in its reconstruction of the twelfth century, in which the drums in the nave are certainly smaller than those of the Carolingian era. In the three churches the heights of the shafts and their lower diameters are more or less identical (the average heights of the shafts vary between 4.11 and 4.13 m and the diameter between 53 and 55 cm). The hypothesis of the presence in the area of one single monument from which the spolia were removed has been put forward and we may remember that along the present Via della Navicella stood the monumental and extensive seat of the Fifth Cohort of the Firemen, whose structures have been partially discovered underneath S. Maria in Domnica and where there were probably peristyles and colonnaded halls for the imperial cult (let us mention as an example the more unpretentious firemen's barracks at Ostia). Not far away lay the Castra Peregrina, east of S. Stefano Rotondo, again of very large dimensions and which seemed already to be in decline after the sack by Alaric.¹¹⁵

In the twelfth and thirteenth century, then, the political and economic situation in Rome¹¹⁶ allowed the expense of a vast building programme which on the one hand presents a return to churches of large dimensions, though not comparable to the Constantinian ones whose model still influences the new churches, and on the other hand to sculpting architectural material *ex novo* (Ionian capitals in S. Lorenzo etc.). At the same time in this period the reuse of ancient material for new buildings continues and assumes different aspects. One of these certainly is the recovery, by now systematic, of the ancient bricks which *grosso modo* are subdivided into two categories depending on whether they are whole (bipedal or cut in halves) or in small pieces no larger than 10–18 cm. A good example of fragmented bricks in the external masonry is offered by the Torre delle Milizie, probably from the time of Innocent III (1198–1216) and in general by the fortified structures where mortar was used heavily.¹¹⁷ Instead, in the buildings where a more careful technique with regular beds of mortar was chosen – see for instance the walls of the Albergo della Catena – or in structural parts where a greater sturdiness is

115 Astolfi 2003; Pavolini 2006, 108.

116 See in particular Claussen 1989.

117 Bernacchio and Meneghini 1994 (phase 1b dated towards the end of the 12th century).

needed such as in the arched lintels, one may note the use of top-quality bricks, which were certainly more expensive and better able to confer architectural prestige.¹¹⁸

The other aspect is again the use of fully visible architectural marble spolia: although it is still done according to criteria essentially based on the subdivision of functional spaces and therefore still linked to the canons by now established during the early Christian and the early Mediaeval periods, the importance given to the spoliated pieces as such is even greater, and attests a new awareness of the aesthetic qualities inherent in the ancient material.

The 'culture of appropriation' which had become part of the *ars aedificandi* since late antiquity¹¹⁹ thus appears here in one of its more prestigious forms, as it was now accompanied by symbolic, programmatic and other, more evident meanings borne by the recourse to the antique (see for instance the House of the Crescentii). As a consequence, reuse is implemented in different ways, for instance by changing the architectural order, as in S. Maria in Trastevere where the central nave rests on granite columns with Ionian capitals whilst the ninth pair of columns, in correspondence with now vanished liturgical fittings, bear Corinthian capitals. Another instance is a change of the elements, as in Honorius' basilica of S. Lorenzo, where the eighth pair of columns stand on high plinths not otherwise used in the church. Much more often a chromatic contrast is introduced in the marbles of the columns. This is documented – aside from the shafts of the pairs already cited for the churches of S. Lorenzo and of S. Maria in Trastevere – also by the four pairs of the final columns in S. Maria in Aracoeli (all in grey granite and with composite capitals, in contrast to the rest of the church, where light-coloured marbles are mainly used, see Fig. 27). We find the same at S. Bibiana too, where the last pair of columns is in light-coloured marble, in contrast with the others in granite; the unusual crafting of the former should be also noted, as they are twisted in the upper two thirds, while the lower third presents a kind of cabling. During these two centuries it seems that the use of columns in granite prevails whereas in the previous centuries the use of marbles seems to have been more heterogeneous.

We have to highlight too how the use of architectural spolia from ancient entablature for the church gates becomes much more systematic, as S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Giorgio in Velabro show (Fig. 28 and Fig. 29): it is a fashion adopted by Romanesque cathedrals, which spread widely in Italy from the eleventh century, as the cathedrals of Salerno, Benevento, Sessa Aurunca, etc. attest. Finally we have in this period an ever-increasing use in churches of mediaeval spolia (Fig. 30), which has to be studied with the same methods as ancient Roman spolia.

As regards the juxtaposition – common in this period – of reused marbles and marble worked *ex novo*, we believe it is useful to cite some Cosmatesque porticoes of Roman

118 De Minicis and Pani Ermini 1988, 21.

119 Cfr. Rainini 2007, 61.



Fig. 27 S. Maria in Aracoeli: column shaft in cipollino marble with a Constantinopolitan Corinthian capital (late fourth – fifth century).

churches between the twelfth century and the first decades of the thirteenth century. The most ancient among those considered is that of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, built ca. 1130 as an addition to the building of the previous century; next comes that of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina (1191), added to a church whose main layout goes back to the eighth century; then that of S. Giorgio in Velabro, dating from the last decades of the twelfth century, and finally that of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura dated to 1216.¹²⁰

The use of ancient elements fits in clearly in the architectural trends of that age. We have already quoted the programme of the revival of the early Christian origins of the Church and of the late-ancient architectural forms. The main churches built in this age are inspired by the Constantinian model of the basilicas like St. Peter's and by the later ones of S. Paolo fuori le mura (Fig. 6) and of S. Maria Maggiore, which

120 Cf. again Boito 1880, 117–182.



Fig. 28 Frieze of the second century A.D. reemployed as gate lintel in S. Maria in Trastevere.

generated archetypes such as the churches of S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Clemente and of SS. Quattro Coronati, but the updating and the adjustment of the buildings to that standard must have consisted in the addition of architectural elements suited to express equally a return to early Christian origins. The portico, in the form assumed in the twelfth century, constituted a concise reference to the ancient four-sided portico of the Constantinian basilicas and a derivation from the narthex of the fifth-century basilicas.

Finally, it is in the very late twelfth and thirteenth century that the last phases of spoliation continue in many already severely dilapidated monuments. An example is the Iseum Campense from which the municipality of Rome – the new political protagonist, albeit for a limited time – removed, perhaps in the very year 1200, the upper portion of an obelisk to be combined with other pieces in a new monumental sign erected on the piazza of the Capitol beside the steps to the convent of the Ara Coeli and which



Fig. 29 Frieze of the second century A.D. reemployed as gate lintel in S. Giorgio in Velabro.



Fig. 30 S. Maria in Aracoeli: base from the late second century with a pedestal block with a mediaeval inscription.

aimed to be an ideal counterpoise to the obelisk in St. Peter's square.¹²¹ The citizens of the new municipality had strong feelings regarding the Roman heritage and, when they could afford it, adorned their houses with street porticoes supported by columns from spolia. Very soon, though, the new ruling class of the Roman *nobiles*, emerging in the thirteenth century, would take political control of the city and introduce a system of palace-fortresses often set on top of transformed monuments (the Savelli on the theater of Marcellus, the Orsini on the Theater of Pompey, etc.), which mark the appearance of the fourteenth-century city, which was ever less characterized by spolia openly exhibited and aimed more and more at re-working the marbles for reuse in the contemporary style to express the new messages of political and social life.

121 Michaelis 1888, 254–260; Giuliano 1982, 15.

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1 Pensabene and Panella 1994, fig. 28b.
 2 Patrizio Pensabene. 3 Patrizio Pensabene.
 4 Patrizio Pensabene. 5 Patrizio Pensabene.
 6 Patrizio Pensabene. 7 Bibliotheca Hertziana
 – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom.

8 Patrizio Pensabene. 9 Patrizio Pensabene.
 10 Patrizio Pensabene. 11 Patrizio Pensabene.
 12 Fusciello 2001, fig. 3. 13–30 Patrizio Pensabene.

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Ostentation von Pracht oder Selbstbescheidung? Antike Spolien in den hochmittelalterlichen Kirchen Roms – Konjunkturen und Intentionen

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Aufsatz befasst sich mit der Wiederverwendung antiker Werkstücke, insbesondere von Kolonnaden (Basis, Schaft, Kapitell, Architrav), die im hochmittelalterlichen Rom wegen der Qualität ihrer Bearbeitung oder wegen ihres kostbaren und farbigen Materials geschätzt wurden. Neben der Funktion als Baumaterial wird der ostentative, ‚antiquarische‘ Einsatz von Spolien beleuchtet, bei dem die Aufmerksamkeit auf antike ‚Ausstellungsstücke‘ gelenkt wurde. Im letzten Teil des Beitrags geht es um die Wiederverwendung ganzer Gebäudeteile als Raumpolien im Spannungsfeld zwischen Prachtentfaltung und Ökonomie.

Keywords: Rom; Hochmittelalter; Sakralbau; S. Lorenzo fuori le mura; S. Maria in Aracoeli; S. Maria in Trastevere; Augustusvision; franziskanische Armut.

This article explores the reuse of ancient workpieces, especially colonnade elements (base, shaft, capital, architrave), that were valued in Rome in the Central Middle Ages due to their quality craftsmanship or costly, colorful materials. Alongside the lapidary aspect of building material reuse, the focus is on ostentatious, ‚antiquarian‘ use of spolia, in which attention was drawn to ancient ‚exhibition pieces‘. The last part of the article discusses the reuse of whole sections of buildings as spatial spolia in the conflict between extravagance and economy.

Keywords: Rome; Central Middle Ages; Christian Architecture; S. Lorenzo fuori le mura; S. Maria in Aracoeli; S. Maria in Trastevere; Augustus' vision; franciscan poverty.

1 Einleitung

Die Verwendung von Spolienmaterial gehört seit den Anfängen einer monumentalen christlichen Sakralarchitektur in konstantinischer Zeit zu den grundlegenden Praktiken und Charakteristika des Kirchenbaus in der Stadt Rom. Sie währte das ganze Mittelalter hindurch. Weder kann eine Geschichte des römischen Sakralbaus im Mittelalter das Thema der Wiederverwendung antiker Bausubstanz ausblenden, noch kommt eine Geschichte des Einsatzes antiker Spolien in der Baukunst des Mittelalters ohne Rom als Exemplum aus. Entsprechend gut ist die Forschungslage. Es sei hier auf die grundlegenden architektur- und kunstgeschichtlichen Arbeiten von Krautheimer, Malmstrom, Kinney, Claussen und Ciranna verwiesen und – auf der Seite der Spolien-/Reimpiego-Forschung aus archäologischer und historischer Perspektive – auf die Studien von Deichmann und Esch, die Überblickswerke von Lachenal und Greenhalgh sowie auf die Einzeluntersuchungen von Guiglia Guidobaldi für das Frühmittelalter und von Pensabene für das 12./13. Jahrhundert.¹ Im 2008 erschienenen Sammelband „Il reimpiego in architettura“ beschäftigen sich neun Beiträge mit der römischen Baukunst des Mittelalters und zeigen auch, in welche Richtung sich die neueren Fragestellungen bewegen.² Wohl unter dem Einfluss gegenwärtigen Ressourcenbewusstseins und aktueller Nachhaltigkeitsdiskussionen im Zeichen des Recyclings ist die mittelalterliche Wiederverwendung prächtiger, durch ihre überlegene Kunstfertigkeit ausgezeichneter antiker Werkstücke etwas aus dem Blickfeld gerückt zugunsten bauökonomischer Fragen wie die der lapidaren Materialverwertung und der damit verbundenen logistischen Implikationen. Nicht nur antiker Marmor war der ‚Bodenschatz‘ der mittelalterlichen Stadt, wie Claussen es in der Einleitung des ersten Bandes der „Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter“ formuliert.³ Aus antiker Bausubstanz stammen auch Backsteine, Metall und wohl in einigen Fällen sogar die in den hochmittelalterlichen Apsismosaiken eingesetzten Glastesserae oder zumindest deren Glasmaterial.⁴

Die Überlegungen in diesem Beitrag knüpfen an die Auffassung von Spolie in engem Sinn an, d. h. die Wiederverwendung antiker Werkstücke – meistens handelt es sich um die Elemente einer Kolonnade (Basis, Schaft, Kapitell, Architrav) –, die wegen der Qualität ihrer Bearbeitung oder wegen ihres kostbaren und farbigen Materials im hochmittelalterlichen Rom geschätzt wurden. In einem zweiten Schritt wird auf einen spezifisch ‚antiquarischen‘, ostentativen Umgang mit Spolien eingegangen. Es werden von

1 Krautheimer 1980; Malmstrom 1975; Kinney 1986; Kinney 2006; Kinney 2013; Claussen 1992b; Claussen 2000; Ciranna 2000; Greenhalgh 2009; Deichmann 1975; Esch 1969; Esch 2005; Lachenal 1995; A. G. Guidobaldi 2005; Pensabene und Pomponi 1991/1992; Pensabene 2001; Pensabene 2008; Pensabene 2015.

2 Beiträge von: Bernard, Pensabene, Guiglia Guidobaldi, Montelli, Bellanca, Ciancio Rossetto, Barelli, Pugliese, Damiani, in: Bernard, Bernardi und Esposito 2008.

3 Claussen 2002, 12.

4 Montelli 2008; Pugliese 2008, 331.

Marmorkünstlern oder deren Auftraggebern im Kircheninnern besonders inszenierte, antike ‚Ausstellungsstücke‘ untersucht. Zuletzt wird die Wiederverwendung ganzer Gebäudeteile als Raumpolien im Spannungsfeld zwischen Prachtentfaltung und Ökonomie mit in die Diskussion einbezogen.

2 Konjunkturen der Spolienverwendung

Die Spolienforschung der letzten Jahrzehnte hat ihre Schwerpunkte auf die ‚Konjunkturen‘ des Bauens in Rom gelegt, d. h. auf die frühchristliche und karolingische Zeit, sowie auf das ausgehende 11. bis frühe 13. Jahrhundert. Diese drei Groß-Epochen sind im Grunde genommen auch deckungsgleich mit Momenten einer erhöhten Intensität der Spolierung antiker Bauten. In Detailuntersuchungen, die einerseits die Provenienz, andererseits die Topologie des Spolieneinsatzes in den einzelnen Bauwerken in den Blick nehmen, konnten Momente der Privilegierung und ostentativen Einsetzung des antiken Werkstücks von solchen, in denen die Neuanfertigung als Ersatz oder als Überbietungsversuch ins Spiel kommt, geschieden werden. Das Modell wurde an der frühchristlichen Epoche entwickelt: Am Anfang, mit Konstantin, fließen die ‚Spolienquellen‘ für den Kirchenbau. Zwar verfügt man, im Gegensatz zur ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts, noch nicht über viele für die Spoliengewinnung zum Abbruch bzw. zum Rückbau frei gegebener Bauwerke, aber – dank kaiserlicher Begünstigung – kann man auf in Vorrat gefertigte Säulenschäfte mit standardisierten Maßen rekurren.⁵ Im Moment des Versiegens solcher Materialreserven sieht man sich im fortgeschrittenen 5. Jahrhundert genötigt, antike Werkstücke zweiter Klasse bzw. behelfsmäßige Neuanfertigungen einzusetzen. Im 6. Jahrhundert sind hingegen durch zur Spolierung freigegebene Staatsbauten wieder einheitliche Serien ‚guter Spolien‘ verfügbar, wie an der Kolonnade der von Pelagius II. (579–590) neu errichteten Basilika von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura deutlich erkennbar ist. Auch ganze Bauwerke und aufgegebene Tempel werden in diesem Zeitraum als Spolie wiederverwendet, wie beispielsweise SS. Cosma e Damiano auf dem Forum oder auf dem Marsfeld das Pantheon, das zu S. Maria ad Martyres umgewidmet wurde.

5 Pensabene betont zu Recht, dass in konstantinischer Zeit noch wenige Staatsbauten zur Spolierung verfügbar waren und daher im Gegensatz zum 5. Jahrhundert keine einheitlichen Serien spoliierter Bauteile für den Kirchenbau eingesetzt werden konnten, wodurch der Modus achsensymmetrischer Entsprechung im Spolieneinsatz an den Langhauskolonnaden ‚erfunden‘ wurde, Pensabene 2001,

105. Zu den aus kaiserlichen Magazinen bezogenen Schäften siehe den Beitrag von Patrizio Pensabene mit weiterführender Literatur in diesem Band; zu den Schäften der Kolonnade von Alt-Sankt Peter, wovon ein Teil direkt aus solchen Depots bezogen worden zu sein scheint: Bosman 2004, 38–46; zu S. Paolo fuori le mura: Brandenburg 2009.

In den beiden nachfolgenden stadtrömischen Kirchenbaukonjunkturen, jener des 8./9. Jahrhunderts, auf die hier nicht eingegangen werden kann, und jener des Hochmittelalters, wird wieder an das frühchristliche basilikale Modell angeknüpft, wofür ganze Serien antiker Kapitelle, Schäfte und Basen bereitgestellt werden mussten, wenn diese nicht vom Vorgängerbau übernommen werden konnten. Bei der Neufügung mussten die antiken Stücke gelegentlich an den neuen Zusammenhang angepasst werden. Lagen nicht ausreichend antike Spolien vor, wurden sie, um eine einheitliche Wirkung zu erreichen, durch Neuanfertigungen ergänzt, wie dies Dale Kinneys Studie zu den aus den Caracalla-Thermen stammenden acht ionischen Figuralkapitellen für den Neubau von S. Maria in Trastevere (um 1140) und den mittelalterlichen Ergänzungen nachweisen konnte.⁶

Peter Cornelius Claussen hat in seinem Periodisierungsversuch der Erneuerungsschübe römischer hochmittelalterlicher Architektur drei Phasen unterschieden, in denen die Verwendung von Spolien eines der wesentlichen Erkennungsmerkmale ist:⁷ Eine erste Phase im ausgehenden 11. und frühen 12. Jahrhundert ist charakterisiert durch die Absicht, das Bestehende zu sichern – *Renovatio* als ‚*conservatio*‘ – im Zeichen der gregorianischen Reform und der bescheidenen Instandsetzung. Spolien wurden zu diesem Zeitpunkt aus pragmatischen Gründen verwendet. An antiken, ‚spolierbaren‘ Gebäudeteilen scheint es nicht gemangelt zu haben. Als beispielsweise unter Paschalis II. (1099–1118) die drei Schiffe der romanischen Kirche von SS. Quattro Coronati innerhalb des verkürzten Mittelschiffs der unter Leo IV. (847–855) errichteten, viel größeren Vorgängerbasilika angelegt wurden, scheint es einfacher gewesen zu sein, die Schäfte und korinthischen Kapitelle von einem nahe gelegenen ruinösen antiken Bauwerk zu beziehen, als die alten Säulen des Vorgängerbaus für die neuen Mittelschiffsarkaden wiederzuverwenden; denn diese sind samt Kapitellen und Basen noch in den Umfassungswänden des romanischen Baus enthalten (Abb. 1).⁸

Ähnlich verfuhr man auch beim Neubau von S. Clemente, ebenfalls unter Paschalis II.: Hier wurden die meisten Säulen der frühchristlichen Basilika *in situ* belassen und in den Fundamenten der neuen Kirche eingemauert, während man für den Neubau ‚neue‘ antike – teils kannelierte – Schäfte und Kapitelle verschiedener Ordnungen beschaffte.⁹

6 Kinney 1986; Kinney 2013, 275–277; zu den Kapitellen mit kleinen Büsten von Isis, Serapis in der Abakusmitte bzw. Harpokrates in den Voluten siehe von Mercklin 1962, Nr. 338 a–h, 123–125.

7 Claussen 1992b; Claussen 2000, 196–217.

8 Die auf frühchristlichen Mauerresten errichtete karolingische Apsis mit ihrem viel breiteren Radius wurde hingegen in den kleineren romanischen Bau integriert. Grundlegend zur Baugeschichte von SS. Quattro Coronati Krautheimer und Corbett 1976, 27–34; Barelli 2006b, 27–29; Barelli 2008.

9 Grundlegend Barclay Lloyd 1989, 119–120; F. Guidobaldi 1992, 130–137, Abb. 119–136; auch Greenhalgh 2009, 371 hat keine Erklärung für die ‚Verschwendung‘ von 17 guten Schäften in den Fundamenten von Neu-S. Clemente. Bei den seit der Restaurierung des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts mit Stuck überzogenen Langhauskapitellen handelt es sich wohl mehrheitlich um antike ionische sowie möglicherweise um im unteren Bereich verkürzte komposite Stücke, vgl. Claussen 2002, 299–347, bes. 312.

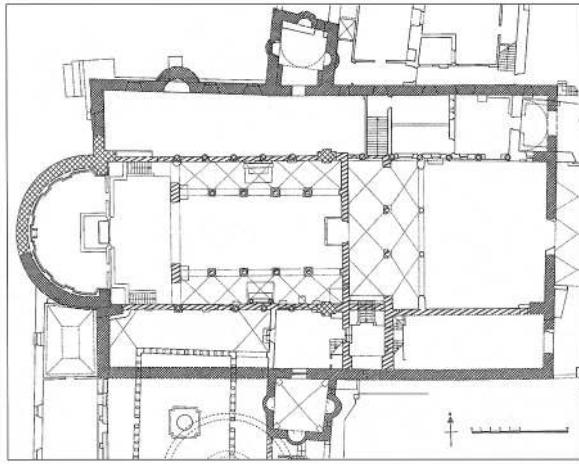


Abb. 1 Rom, SS. Quattro Coronati, Grundriss mit Bauphasen.



Abb. 2 Rom, S. Crisogono, Langhaus.

Die zweite Phase einer Renovatio in imperialen Formen als Zeichen des Triumphs lässt sich nach Claussen mit dem Neubau von S. Crisogono ab 1123 scheiden. Im ausgehenden 12. Jahrhundert mit der Errichtung des neuen Langhauses von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura setzt dann der dritte Erneuerungsschub ein, der durch mittelalterliche Antikenkopien und Spoliensatz charakterisiert ist.¹⁰

Bei der zweiten Gruppe von Neubauten, von denen S. Maria in Trastevere nach dem ‚Initialbau‘ von S. Crisogono (1123) das ausgereifteste Beispiel darstellt, manifestiert sich die imperial-triumphale Haltung nicht nur in einer neuen Monumentalität, sondern auch in antiquarisch erlesenem Spolienreichtum (Abb. 2 und 3). Beide Bauten

¹⁰ Claussen 1992b, 99.



Abb. 3 Rom, S. Maria in Trastevere, Langhaus.

weisen eine vorwiegend ionische Kolonnade mit Architrav und an deren Enden korinthische Pfeilerkapitelle auf sowie ein darüber angeordnetes markantes Konsolgesims aus antiken Gesimsfragmenten und einen auf hohen Säulen und korinthischen Kapitellen ruhenden Triumphbogen.¹¹ Als Modell scheint den Erbauern eine ‚Kreuzung‘ aus Alt-St. Peter (Kolonnade, Querhaus), S. Maria Maggiore (Kolonnade mit ionischen Langhauskapitellen) und S. Paolo f. l. m. (Triumphbogen auf eingestellten Säulen und hohes Querhaus) vor Augen geschwebt zu haben. Der historische Anlass für den neuen triumphalen Gestus in der Architektur kann im Sieg des Papsttums bei der Beilegung des Investiturstreits im Wormser Konkordat von 1122 vermutet werden, dessen Beschlüsse erst beim ersten Laterankonzil im Jahr 1123 offiziell bestätigt wurden.¹²

3 Spolienersatz, Spolienkopie und Spoliensubstitution

Wie bereits erwähnt, wurde um 1140 unter Innozenz II. (1130–1143), einem Papst mit einem ausgeprägten antiquarischem Sinn, beim Neubau von S. Maria in Trastevere eine kostbare Serie von acht ionischen Großkapitellen aus den Caracalla-Thermen durch mittelalterliche Neuanfertigungen ergänzt (Abb. 4).

Es ist offensichtlich, dass es den mittelalterlichen Marmorari bei den neu gearbeiteten Kapitellen nicht darum ging, die reichen figürlichen Prunkstücke zu kopieren, son-

11 Hiermit wurden die Maßstäbe für den römischen Kirchenbau der Folgezeit gesetzt, vgl. Poeschke 1988, 16, 21. Claussen 1992b, 99–118. Die Kapitelle von S. Crisogono wurden beim Umbau von Scipione Borghese 1623–1626 umgestaltet, der knappe

Abstand zwischen Säulenschaft und Architrav lässt für den hochmittelalterlichen Bau auf ionische Kapitellspolien schließen, Claussen 2002, 386–411, bes. 391; Cigola 1989, 17.

12 Claussen 1992b, 100; Cigola 1989, 13.



Abb. 4 Rom, S. Maria in Trastevere, ionische Langhauskapitelle aus den Caracalla-Thermen und Spoliensatz aus dem 12. Jahrhundert.



Abb. 5 Rom, S. Maria in Trastevere, Langhauskapittel N 6 mit zwei kleinen Schlangen als Voluten.

dern die ionische Ordnung einzuhalten, wobei aber ein schlichterer Typus mit ungefüllten Volutenkehlen in unterschiedlichen Variationen vorgezogen wurde.¹³ Aus der Reihe der mittelalterlichen Kapitelle in S. Maria in Trastevere tanzt jedoch an zentraler Stelle in der nördlichen Langhauskolonnade ein Stück, das als mittelalterliche Umdeutung eines ionischen Kapitells aufgefasst werden könnte: Anstelle der Voluten rollen sich gegenläufig zwei Schlangenleiber ein; aus ihren Münder strecken sie eine dreifache Zunge heraus in formaler Imitation der Zwickelpalmetten ionischer Kapitelle (Abb. 5).¹⁴ Der privilegierte Standort in der Langhausmitte führt Kinney zur reizvollen These, dass das mittelalterliche Schlangenkapitel eine apotropäische Funktion gegenüber seinen aus

13 In der Kolonnade finden sich auch der obere Teil eines kompositen antiken Kapitells sowie im Bereich der Schola Cantorum zwei Paare mit antiken korinthischen Kapitellen, hierzu Kinney 1975, 244; ohne Berücksichtigung der grundlegenden Arbeiten von Kinney und Malmstrom siehe auch Damiani 2008.

14 Es markiert die Mitte der Kolonnade und wahrscheinlich die Stelle des Eingangs des Vorchors, vgl. Damiani 2008, 354; an entsprechender Stelle in S. Lorenzo fuori le mura befindet sich das Frosch-Echsen-Kapitel, auf das weiter unten eingegangen wird.



Abb. 6 Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Langhaus begonnen um 1195.



Abb. 7 Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Nordkolonnade, Langhauskapitell L 8.

den Caracalla-Thermen hergebrachten Nachbarn mit ihrem heidnisch-dämonischen figuralen Schmuck gehabt haben könnte.¹⁵

Das um 1195 begonnene, neue Langhaus von San Lorenzo fuori le mura ist innerhalb der Gruppe triumphaler Neubauten Roms als ein spätgeborenes Beispiel zu betrachten, das zugleich grundlegende Veränderungen im Umgang mit antiker Baubsubstanz einläutet (Abb. 6).¹⁶ Für das westlich an die von Papst Pelagius II. erbaute Em-

15 Kinney 1986, 396.

16 Zur Datierung des Baubeginns des neuen Langhauses noch unter Coelestin III. (1191–1198) siehe

Mondini 2010, 343–348; Pistilli setzt den Neubau ebenfalls früh, um 1200, als Bauinitiative Innozenz' III. an, vgl. Pistilli 1991, 25–27.



Abb. 8 Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Postament und Basis der Vorhalle.

porenbasilika des späten 6. Jahrhunderts anschließende neue Langhaus wurde zwar für Schäfte, Basen und wohl auch Architrave (spät-)antikes Spolienmaterial aus zweiter bzw. dritter Hand verwendet (Abb. 13).¹⁷ Die 22 ionischen Kapitelle der Langhauskolonnade und das darüber angeordnete Konsolgesims wurden jedoch vollständig ex novo gearbeitet (Abb. 7).¹⁸ Dies gilt auch für die Postamente und die besonders reich verzierten ionischen Kapitelle der sechs Vorhallensäulen der Westfassade (Abb. 8 und 9).

17 Bereits Krautheimer vermutete, dass die kräftigen Säulenschäfte unterschiedlicher Stärke und Länge sowie die Architrave von der benachbarten Bauruine der so genannten Basilica maior – der Coemeterialbasilika, deren Fundamente südlich des Pelagiusbaus archäologisch nachgewiesen wurden – spoliert worden sein könnten, Krautheimer und Frankl 1959, 118–119, 121; Mondini 2010, 319. Einige kräftige Schäfte wurden wohl unten verkürzt und haben ihren ‚immoscapo‘ verloren. Die Tatsache, dass einige Schäfte keine fertige Ausarbeitung erhielten (L 2, R 2), deutet darauf hin, dass sie bei der Errich-

tung der frühchristlichen Coemeterialbasilika aus Bauteillagern bezogen wurden; bei den meisten, die offensichtlich antiken Bauten entnommen wurden, ist die heutige Verwendung bereits die dritte.

18 Zu den Kapitellen mit detaillierten Formanalysen Voss 1990; Mondini 2010, 378–381. Zum Konsolgesims ebenda 381–384; in einem der Interkolumnien der nördlichen Kolonnade wurde auch im Architrav ein antikes Relieffries eingesetzt, jedoch mit der ornamentierten Seite nach unten, um nicht die einheitliche Gesamtwirkung des glatten Langhausgebälks zu stören.



Abb. 9 Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Vorhallenkapitell.



Abb. 10 Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Südkolonnade, Frosch-Echsen-Kapitell R8.

Während Claussen die serienmäßige Neuanfertigung der Großkapitelle für S. Lorenzo fuori le mura mit den bereits im Laufe der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts auftretenden Schwierigkeiten erklärt, in Rom größere Serien unversehrter und gleichartiger antiker Spolienkapitelle der ionischen Ordnung aufzutreiben, sieht Poeschke einen kausalen Zusammenhang mit einer der Gotik eigenen Vereinheitlichungstendenz, die dem additiven und heterogenen Charakter der Verwendung antiker Werkstücke unterschiedlicher Provenienz zuwiderlief und zu einer ‚Trendwende‘ selbst im Rom des 13. Jahrhunderts geführt haben mag.¹⁹ Für die Marmorkünstler wird in der Tat die Substitution der Spolie, die anfänglich wohl aus der Not erfolgte, eine rationalisierte, ökonomisch attraktivere und ästhetisch überzeugendere Maßnahme dargestellt haben, konnten doch dadurch Kapitellgröße und Schaftdurchmesser aneinander angepasst werden. Dennoch – bei allem Sinn für Vereinheitlichung – ließen die römischen Marmorkünstler allerlei menschliche und tierische Lebewesen in die Voluten bzw. in die Zone des

19 Claussen 1992b, 122–123; Poeschke 1996, 231.



Abb. 11 Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Südkolonnade, Maskenkapitell R 7.



Abb. 12 Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, 5-Eier-Kapitell.

Eierstabs der Kapitelle einziehen (Abb. 10): Berühmt sind jener Frosch und jene Eidechse, die als mögliche Anspielung auf die bei Plinius erwähnten Architekten Sauras und Batrachos selbst Winckelmann auf Irrwege führten,²⁰ die als die erfolgreichste ‚Spolienfälschung‘ der Kunstgeschichte gelten können und wohl als versteckte Künstlersignatur intendiert gewesen sein mögen.²¹ Auch das ebenfalls in der Südkolonnade, gleich westlich des Frosch-Echse-Kapitells als Pendant eingebaute Stück zeigt eine Maske, aus der symmetrisch zwei Löwenleiber herauswachsen, die das menschliche Gesicht zugleich rahmen (Abb. 11). Vor den Kriegszerstörungen am Langhaus der Basilika verzeichnete Giovannoni auch am dritten Kapitell in der Nordkolonnade eine weitere Maske im mittleren Ovulus; dieses Kapitell ist wahrscheinlich in einer Zeichnung aus dem Nachlass von Séroux d’Agincourt dokumentiert.²²

20 Winckelmann 1762, Titelblatt und 29–30.

21 Plin. *nat.* 36,42; Claussen 1992a; Ciancio Rossetto 2008, 260; Mondini 2010, 380.

22 Zeichnungskonvolut aus dem Nachlass von Jean-Baptiste Séroux d’Agincourt (um 1780), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 13479, fol. 256r, re-

Wie Claussen hervorgehoben hat, scheint man nur bei den (als antike Stücke in weniger großen Mengen erhaltenen?) ionischen Kapitellen auf die Herstellung von ‚Antikenkopien‘ zurückgegriffen zu haben. Eine hochmittelalterliche Produktion von korinthischen Großkapitellen ist in Rom so gut wie nicht erfolgt.²³ Einerseits war seit dem mittleren 12. Jahrhundert offensichtlich die Ionica die bevorzugte Ordnung für Langhaus- und Vorhallenkolonnaden (aber auch für die Portiken im Profanbau):²⁴ Neben ästhetischen mögen vor allem materialökonomische Überlegungen und insbesondere die Anpassungsfähigkeit an Schäfte unterschiedlicher Breite bei gleichbleibender Höhe als Gründe für die Neuanfertigung eine Rolle gespielt haben (Abb. 12).²⁵ Andererseits scheint man ohne größere Schwierigkeiten beispielsweise für die monumentalen Säulenstellungen an den Triumphbögen von S. Crisogono oder S. Maria in Trastevere gut erhaltene große korinthische Kapitelle gefunden zu haben.²⁶ Für die Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts errichtete monumentale Säulenportikus der Lateranbasilika wurden über drei kannelierten Giallo antico-Säulen und fünf Granit-Schäfte ebenfalls antike korinthische Großkapitelle eingesetzt.²⁷

produziert in Mondini 2010, Abb. 319. Giovannoni 1908, 275.

- 23 Claussen 1992b, 123 Anm. 100. Korinthische und insbesondere komposite Kapitelle wurden von den mittelalterlichen Marmorari in den ‚Miniaturarchitekturen‘ von Kreuzgängen, Portalen und liturgischem Mobiliar gerne imitiert, nicht aber im monumentalen Sakralbau.
- 24 Vgl. hierzu die grundlegende Studie von Pensabene 2008.
- 25 Relativ kleine Marmorquader konnten für die Herstellung eines ionischen Großkapitells verwendet werden; dieses ließ sich für einen kräftigen Säulenschaft durch Vervielfältigung der Eier in die Breite dehnen, vgl. anschauliche Beispiele bei Voss 1990, Abb. 38, 41. Greenhalgh 2009, 373 denkt bei der Privilegierung der Ionica für Neuanfertigungen weniger an Materialersparnis, sondern an Arbeitsaufwandreduktion, was mir aber als ein eher modernes Argument erscheint.
- 26 Die Kapitelle wurden in beiden Fällen an ihrem unteren Blattkranz verkürzt. In S. Lorenzo fuori le

mura wurde auf das triumphale Element des von Säulen getragenen Triumphbogens verzichtet, hatte doch die Bogenbreite der pelagianischen Apsis die Mittelschiffbreite des neuen Langhauses bestimmt. Dieses ist etwa 80 cm schmaler als jenes des Pelagius-Baus, vgl. Mondini 2010, 354; zur Anpassung der Triumphbogenpfeiler und des Kämpfergesimses nach dem Abbruch der pelagianischen Apsis, der wohl kurz vor 1148 erfolgt sein müsste, siehe ebenda 384–385.

- 27 Die von Onofrio Panvinio um 1560 als korinthisch beschriebenen Vorhallenkapitelle der Lateranbasilika wurden wohl 1597/1598 bei der Entnahme der kostbaren Spolienschäfte, von denen zwei aus Giallo antico in die Orgelempore des Nordquerhauses eingebaut wurden, durch ionische Neuanfertigungen ersetzt; zur komplizierten Auswechslungsgeschichte Claussen 2008, 69–75. Einige der Portikussäulen (einschließlich ihrer Kapitelle, deren Verbleib noch ungeklärt ist) könnten vom ehemaligen konstantinischen Propylon der Basilika stammen, ebenda 73.



Abb. 13 Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Blick in das im 13. Jahrhundert zum Presbyterium umgenutzte Langhaus der von Pelagius II. (579–590) errichteten Basilika.



Abb. 14 Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Nordkolonnade, Trophäenkapitell.

4 ‚Antiquarisch‘ inszenierte Spolien

Im durch die Umorientierung von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura und die Zusammenfügung zweier Langhäuser neu geschaffenen architektonischen Ensemble des 13. Jahrhunderts wurde deutlich eine hierarchische – klassische – Stufung der Säulenordnungen eingehalten (Abb. 13): Konsequent ionisch im neuen Langhaus mit den ex novo gefertigten 22 Kapitellen aus der Werkstatt der Vassalletti – korinthisch im als Raumspolie und Spolierraum zugleich zum Presbyterium umfunktionierten Langhaus des 6. Jahrhunderts.²⁸

Zehn der zwölf kannelierten Säulenschäfte sind hier aus kostbarem Pavonazzetto; die zwei vordersten, etwas kürzeren aus weißem Marmor stehen auf Postamenten. Die mittelalterliche Anhebung des Bodens um ca. 3,5 m im zum Sanktuarium umfunktionierten pelagianischen Langhaus ermöglichte eine einmalige und neuartige Nabsicht auf die antiken korinthischen Kapitelle²⁹ – insbesondere auf die kostbaren Kapitelle mit Tropaia (Abb. 14)³⁰ beidseits des Ziboriums – sowie auf die aus verschiedenen (spät-)antiken Bauten zusammengetragenen Architravteile.³¹

Diese Präsentationsweise deutet m. E. auf eine ‚antiquarisch‘ gefärbte Wertschätzung solcher Spolienkonglomerate, die noch im mittleren 13. Jahrhundert ihrer Schönheit und ihres Alters wegen als angemessene Zier für das als Thronsaal aufgefasste Presbyterium und den Ort der Aufbewahrung des Märtyrergrabes gelesen werden konnten.

‚Antiquarisch‘ anmutende Spolienverwendung ist in der Neuausstattung der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura sowohl am prächtigen antiken

28 Grundlegend zur Spolienverwendung, -datierung und -exegese in der Basilika Pelagius' II. (579–590) Ciranna 2000, 83–100.

29 Datierung der korinthischen Kapitelle in antoninische Zeit (3. Viertel des 2. Jh.) vgl. Freyberger 1990, 89–101, Taf. 32.

30 Von Mercklin 1962, 264–266, Kat.-Nr. 629a–b mit der Datierung in die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Die Tropaia in der Kapitellmitte werden flankiert von zwei Viktorien. Auf Grund der Verhärtung der Detailformen ordnet Freyberger auch die figürlichen Kapitelle der antoninischen Zeit zu, Freyberger 1990, 90, sodass die Annahme, alle Säulen und Kapitelle des Pelagianischen Langhauses würden aus dem gleichen Baukomplex antoninischer Zeit stammen, plausibel erscheint, vgl. Ciranna 2000, 87. Tedeschi Grisanti in ihrer *Interpretatio christiana* setzte die Trophäenkapitelle, die heute zu Seiten des Märtyrergrabes stehen, in einen Bedeutungszusammenhang zum Triumph des Märtyrers Laurentius als Heros des

Glaubens, Tedeschi Grisanti 1992, 397–399; es ist jedoch nicht gesichert, ob das Laurentiusgrab bereits im 6. Jahrhundert an derselben Stelle stand, oder erst seit kurz vor 1200, zur Problematik siehe Mondini 2010, 446–451.

31 Die verschiedenen Fragmente datieren aus der Mitte des 2. bis Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts. Zusammenfassung der Datierungsdiskussion der verschiedenen Fragmente bei Ciranna 2000, 83–89. Patrizio Pensabene in diesem Band vermutet, die reich bearbeiteten Architravstücke seien bereits unter Pelagius II. aus der benachbarten Coemeterialbasilika spoliert worden; ich halte es doch für eher unwahrscheinlich, dass man im 6. Jahrhundert aus einer Kirche, die in Funktion war, Architravteile entfernte – welch eine schwierige Nachbarschaft wäre dies! Die *Basilica maior* ist als Marienkirche noch bis ins 9. Jahrhundert in den Quellen fassbar und mit päpstlichen Stiftungen bedacht, so zuletzt von Leo IV. (847–855), s. Duchesne 1955, 112–113; Krautheimer und Frankl 1959, 13.

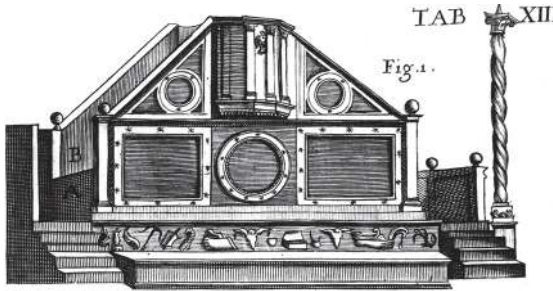


Abb. 15 Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Evangelienambo, Zustand vor 1690.

Hochzeitssarkophag des Papstnepoten und Kardinals Guglielmo Fieschi (gest. 1256)³² als auch für den Vorchor (Schola Cantorum) nachweisbar: Die Grenze der Schola Cantorum befand sich beim achten Säulenpaar und ist durch zwei schlankere auf spätantike Postamente aufgesockelte Säulen mit Schäften aus rotem Granit an der Langhauskolonnade deutlich ablesbar. Hier befindet sich auf der Südseite das erwähnte Frosch-Echsen-Kapitell (Abb. 10), das im Grunde auch als mittelalterliche und gelehrte Spolienfälschung aufgefasst werden kann. Die Fragmente des berühmten Frieses augusteischer Zeit mit Schiffstrophäen und Opfergeräten aus S. Lorenzo fuori le mura zieren heute die Wände der Stanza dei Filosofi der Kapitolinischen Museen (Palazzo Nuovo). Luca Leoncini hat die frühneuzeitliche zeichnerische Rezeption der sechs Friesstücke detailliert analysiert und eine Rekonstruktion ihrer ehemaligen Aufstellung in der mittelalterlichen Chorumfriedung der Laurentiuskirche vorgeschlagen (Abb. 15 und 16).³³

Leoncinis Rekonstruktionsvorschlag bedarf kleiner Korrekturen – der Chor war wesentlich breiter –, die aber in unserem Zusammenhang nur insofern relevant sind, als vier der sechs Fragmente am Evangelien-Ambo wohl auf der Vorder- und Rückseite eingemauert waren, während die anderen zwei Friesstücke mit Opfergerät-Darstellungen an den Frontschränken des Vorchors zu vermuten sind (ob auf der Außen- oder Innenseite wissen wir nicht).³⁴ Auch das Postament des auf zwei kauernenden Löwen aufgestellten Osterleuchters ist aus zwei übereinander getürmten antiken Altarfragmenten zusammengesetzt (Abb. 17): Den unteren Teil bildet die rechte Hälfte einer Ara, wie man aus dem Relief eines Opferkrugs an deren Ostseite schließen kann. Darüber wurde ein weiteres Fragment einer auf den Kopf gestellten Ara mit dem Relief eines von Vögeln belebten Buschwerks aufgebaut. Diese verkehrte Aufstellung ist wohl weniger als Sieg des Christentums über das Heidnische denn als pragmatische Maßnahme zu deuten,

32 Aufgestellt an der inneren Westfassade, siehe auch Mondini 2010, 501–509, Abb. 461.

33 Vgl. grundlegend Leoncini 1987a und zur Rezeption des Frieses Leoncini 1987b, 64–69 und Abb. 1.

34 In den Beschreibungen werden nur die Fragmente am Ambo erwähnt. Wahrscheinlich wurden die beiden Stücke mit dargestellten Opfergeräten bereits 1572 bei der Abtragung der Chorumfriedung aus dem Sakralraum entfernt und auf das Kapitol verbracht, hierzu ausführlich Mondini 2010, 406–407.

die es erlaubte, die Basis dieses antiken Werkstücks als oberen Abschluss des gesamten ‚Sockelturms‘ des Osterleuchters zu nutzen.³⁵

Der Einbau auserlesener antiker Reliefs im Bereich der Schola Cantorum – insbesondere am Evangelienambo oder am Osterleuchter – scheint in Rom eine bei den Marmorari-Werkstätten und deren Auftraggebern beliebte Praxis gewesen zu sein. Man könnte sich fragen, ob in den hochmittelalterlichen Kirchengestaltungen Roms der zum Laienraum hinausragende Vorchor mit seinem Abstand vom Altar nicht geradezu ein prädestinierter Ort für die Zurschaustellung von antiken, einen Hauch ihrer paganen Vergangenheit bewahrenden Spolien gewesen ist.³⁶ Dies ist zumindest der Verdacht, der angesichts der Reliefs mit antiken Opfergeräten und Trophäen eines Seesiegs am Evangelienambo von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura aufkommt.³⁷ Während diese Reliefs um 1220 ohne weitere Manipulationen in das liturgische Mobiliar integriert wurden, konnten derartige antike Schaustücke auch mittelalterlich ergänzt³⁸ bzw. der zeitgenössischen polychromen Ästhetik angepasst werden.

Ein besonders schönes Beispiel für die Aktualisierung eines spätantiken Reliefs an den Zeitgeschmack des frühen 13. Jahrhunderts ist eine quadratische Platte aus weißem Marmor mit in Flachrelief ringförmig angeordneten Szenen aus dem Leben des Achilles (Abb. 18).³⁹

35 Mondini 2010, 396. Aber trotzdem war man darauf bedacht, die heidnische Inschrift an der unteren Ara, die zur Langhausmitte gewandt und sichtbar war, säuberlich auszurädern. Beim oberen Block wurde die Inschriftseite gegen die Ambotreppe gedreht und so fast vollständig verdeckt.

36 Dem Papstthron als besonders bedeutsamen Ort für die Verwendung antiker Spolien im 12. Jahrhundert mit intendiert imperialer Aufladung hat Francesco Gandolfo mehrere Studien gewidmet, vgl. Gandolfo 1974/1975; Gandolfo 1980; Gandolfo 1981. Neben den dort behandelten Beispielen – u. a. S. Maria in Cosmedin (antike Löwen in den Armlehnen), S. Lorenzo in Lucina (augusteische Rankenreliefs mit Weinernte-Szenen an den Armlehnen) – wäre auch eine in S. Giovanni a Porta Latina durch Zeichnungen bis um 1560 bezeugte antike Sitzbank ohne Rücklehne zu nennen, die heute in der Glyptothek in München aufbewahrt wird und deren Nutzung als Thron des Abtes nicht ausgeschlossen ist (S. Giovanni a Porta Latina war ja keine Stationskirche), siehe Claussen 2010, 177–178. Beim erst im 17. Jahrhundert als ‚Thron Gregors des Großen‘ bezeugten antiken Marmorstuhl mit Greifen aus S. Gregorio al Celio ist ebenfalls nicht auszuschließen, dass dieser seinen mittelalterlichen Standort in der

Apsis hatte. Dies lässt sich jedoch nicht durch Quellen belegen, siehe Senekovic 2010, 205–206.

37 Immerhin scheinen die Relieffragmente, die heidnisches Opfergerät zeigten (Inv. 100/104), als erste (1572) das Kircheninnere von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura verlassen zu haben, Mondini 2010, 407.

38 Beispielsweise das antike Adler-Relief aus trajanischer Zeit mit mittelalterlich angestückten Flügelspitzen, das vom Florentiner Giovanni Rucellai 1450 „con una bella aquila sotto il pergamo di marmo“ gesehen wurde, Marcotti 1881, 575; siehe dazu mit Nachweisen und Zuschreibung an die Vassalletto-Werkstatt Claussen 2002, 114; Claussen 1987, 115.

39 Seitenlänge 1,03 m. Ein stilistisch und funktional vergleichbares spätantikes ringförmiges Marmorrelief mit 1,4 m Durchmesser – wohl ebenfalls ursprünglich eine Tischplatte, allerdings mit christlichen Szenen (u. a. mit der Auferweckung des Lazarus) – befindet sich im archäologischen Museum von Istanbul (Inv. 2297T, 4579T); als „bord de bassin ou de table“ bezeichnet und gründlich beschrieben durch Mendel 1912–1914, Cat. 655, 656, 430–434. Siehe auch Dresken-Weiland 1991, 346 (Kat. 5, Abb. 137–143)



Abb. 16 Rom, Kapitolinische Museen, Friesfragment.



Abb. 17 Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Osterleuchterfuß am östlichen Ende des Evangelienambo.

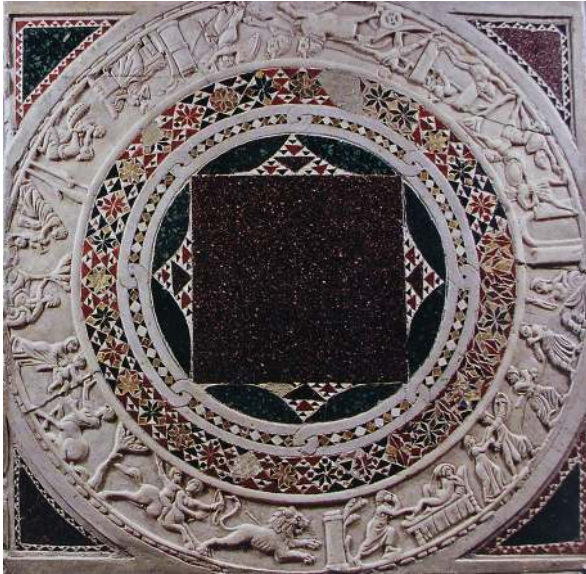


Abb. 18 Rom, Kapitolinische Museen, ehemals aus dem Ambo von S. Maria in Capitolio stammende inkrustierte Marmorplatte mit spätantiken Reliefszenen aus dem Leben des Achill.



Abb. 19 Rom, S. Maria in Ara-coeli, Blick Richtung Nordquerhaus, nördliche Hälfte des ehemaligen Evangelienambo und im Hintergrund Porphyrsarkophag des Helena-Altars.

Das Marmorrelief wurde in seiner Mitte mit einer quadratischen Porphyrlatte, die von sechs linsenförmigen Serpentscheiben umrahmt wird, inkrustiert; auch in den äußeren Zwickeln des Quadrats alternieren Dreiecke aus rotem Porphyrr und grünem Serpentin und werden von feinteiligen Mosaikbändern eingefasst. Diese inkrustierte Platte mit ihrem narrativen Reliefzyklus schmückte in der benediktinischen Klosterkirche von S. Maria in Capitolio wohl an prominenter Stelle die Mittelachse unterhalb des Kan-

zelkorbs des Evangelienambos, der die Signatur der Marmorarii Laurentius und seines Sohnes Jacobus trug (Abb. 19).⁴⁰

5 Spolieneinsatz zwischen Pracht und Selbstbescheidung

S. Maria in Capitolio war die Vorgängerin der heutigen Kirche S. Maria in Aracoeli. Sie wurde im Laufe der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts vom Franziskanerorden, dem sie 1250 übergeben worden war, vergrößert und umorientiert (Abb. 20).

Die ältere Kirche des Benediktinerklosters wurde – wenn die jüngsten Thesen von Pier Luigi Tucci zutreffen – in den Resten des im Bereich der Arx vermuteten Isaeum Capitolinum errichtet, dessen Lokalisierung etwa mit dem Querhaus der heutigen Kirche übereinstimmt.⁴¹ Der ägyptische Obelisk aus der Zeit Ramses II. (ca. 1275 v. Chr.), ein kaiserzeitliches Import- bzw. Beutestück, das wohl im frühen 13. Jahrhundert auf mittelalterliche Marmorlöwen aufgerichtet wurde und bis ins 16. Jahrhundert als Denkmal auf dem Kapitol stand, wäre demzufolge ein letztes sichtbares Relikt des antiken Kultortes der ägyptischen Göttin.⁴² Wir hätten es dann möglicherweise mit einer Übertragung des Kultes einer heidnischen weiblichen Gottheit auf Maria zu tun.

Die Baugeschichte von S. Maria in Capitolio ist mangels einer systematischen Bauuntersuchung und -aufnahme noch weitgehend ungeklärt. Die Lokalisierung des so genannten Augustus-Altars⁴³ im heutigen nördlichen Querhaus an der Stelle der Cappella di Sant' Elena, und die Lage des ehemaligen Glockenturms des 12. Jahrhunderts, der

40 Die Inschrift befindet sich auf der südlichen Kanzelhälfte. Claussen 1987, 61–62. Bis zu ihrer Überführung in die Kapitolinischen Museen im Jahr 1743 war die Platte mit den Achilles-Reliefs in der am südlichen Triumphbogenpfeiler angelehnten Kanzel montiert, Casimiro 1736, 128. Die dortige Aufstellung der Kanzel geht auf die Umbauten der frühen 1560er Jahre zurück, vgl. Casimiro 1736, 29–35. Zum Relief: Jones 1912, 45–47. Eine graphische Rekonstruktion des Ambos im Zustand des frühen 13. Jahrhunderts ist in Vorbereitung, Mondini (im Druck).

41 Tucci 2006, 64–66. Die nördliche Abschlusswand des Isaeums wird unmittelbar unterhalb des so genannten Augustusaltars vermutet. Siehe auch Arata 2010, 129–136.

42 Tucci 2006, 64. Zum mittelalterlichen Obeliskdenkmal grundlegend Noehles 1966, 18–22, mit Deutung als Siegesmonument der Stadt Rom über die

Rivalin Tivoli im Jahr 1254; ferner Gramaccini 1996, 171, auf Grund des Stils der Marmorlöwen ist Gramaccinis Datierung ins mittlere 12. Jahrhundert nicht haltbar, plausibler erscheint Malmstrom 1973, 43, der die Obelisklöwen zeitgleich wie die Portallöwen von Cività Castellana bzw. die Arbeiten am Ambo von Aracoeli kurz vor bzw. um 1200 ansetzt. Der Obelisk gelangte 1582 in den Antikenpark der Villa Mattei (Villa Celimontana, Rom), wo er sich noch befindet; zwei der mittelalterlichen Sockellöwen dienten als Sarkophagträger, seit gut zehn Jahren sind sie jedoch verschollen.

43 Genau genommen handelt es sich um eine Confessio mit Fenestella, die als Unterbau des eigentlichen Altars diente. Sie ist reich mit Cosmaten-Mosaik inkrustiert und mit der frühesten Relief-Darstellung der Augustusvision auf dem Kapitol geschmückt. Hierzu Claussen 1987, 62; detailliert beschrieben, aber als Altar bezeichnet bei Malmstrom 1973, 202.

am Südquerhausarm angelehnt ist, lassen eine Nord-Süd-Ausrichtung des benediktinischen Vorgängerbaus plausibel erscheinen.⁴⁴ Allerdings noch offen und in der Forschung kontrovers diskutiert ist die Länge des genordeten Vorgängers. Ausgehend von der Annahme, die benediktinische Kirche könne sich nicht bis zur heutigen nördlichen Querhausabschlusswand erstreckt haben und der Augustusaltar habe auf der Apsissehne gestanden, rekonstruierte Malmstrom eine dreischiffige Arkadenbasilika mit sieben Säulenpaaren und einer Langhauslänge von etwa 28 m (Abb. 21).⁴⁵

Spekulativ mutet hingegen der Rekonstruktionsversuch von Marianna Brancia di Apricena an (Abb. 22). Ihr Ausgangspunkt ist folgende – an und für sich reizvolle – Annahme: Die vier Säulen, die seit den Umbauten des späten 16. Jahrhunderts in den Apsis- und Triumphbogenpfeilern eingemauert sind, die aber ursprünglich in der Franziskanerkirche den Pfeilern vorgelagert waren und Apsis- bzw. Triumphbogen trugen, seien noch aus dem benediktinischen Vorgängerbau in situ belassen worden.⁴⁶ Von deren Abständen ausgehend, rekonstruierte Brancia di Apricena in der von ihr auf ca. 35 m Länge geschätzten, dreischiffigen Basilika ohne Querhaus elf Arkaden tragende Säulenpaare, wobei das elfte Säulenpaar direkt dem Apsisansatz vorgestellt wird (Abb. 22 und 23).⁴⁷

- 44 Hypothese erstmals bei Huelsen 1907, 9; Colasanti 1923, 7; ausführlich Malmstrom 1973, 20–40; Malmstrom 1976, 3–12; Brancia di Apricena 2000, 34–36. Die Resultate der unveröffentlichten Dissertation von Claudia Bolgia (Warwick 2004) sind mir nicht zugänglich.
- 45 Malmstrom 1973, 40; Malmstrom 1976, 4–5, Abb. 1b. In der nördlichen Querhausabschlusswand hat sich ein Stück Tuffellmauerwerk erhalten, das nach Malmstrom älter ist als das Mauerwerk der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts des franziskanischen Baus und somit den Standort einer Apsis für den benediktinischen Bau an dieser Stelle ausschließt.
- 46 Brancia di Apricena 2000, 34–36; diese These wird wieder aufgenommen von Bolgia 2009, 98.
- 47 Brancia di Apricena 2000, 34–36, 44 Abb. 16, 66 Abb. 31; die Längenmaße der rekonstruierten Kirche sind mit 35 m bzw. 42 m (ebd. 36–37, wohl am Apsisscheitel gemessen) z. T. widersprüchlich angeben und lassen sich an den Rekonstruktionszeichnungen der Autorin wegen der fehlenden Maßstabsangaben schwer überprüfen. Bei den angenommenen engen Interkolumnien-Weiten – ausgehend von einem Säulenabstand von Achse zu Achse von 3,5 m – der rekonstruierten Langhausarkaden könnte man im Prinzip auch über eine Kolonnade mit Architrav spekulieren. Aus der Argumentation wird zudem nicht klar, wo – „sul lato nordest

dell' attuale transetto“ – ein Mauerrest aus Backsteinen aus dem 9./10. Jahrhundert gesehen wurde, der im 30°-Winkel den Ansatz der Apsis aufweisen soll (ebenda 34). Die Tuffelli-Mauer mit der Spur eines älteren Giebelabschlusses wird von der Autorin als zur ersten Phase des Franziskanischen Umbaus gehörig interpretiert (ebd. 66–67, Abb. 2), während sie Malmstrom einleuchtender einem bereits bestehenden benachbarten Gebäude des frühen 13. Jahrhunderts zuordnete, Malmstrom 1976, 4. Brancia di Apricena datiert die Klosterkirche ins 9.–10. Jahrhundert. Für das 10. Jahrhundert ist ein Neubau von solchen Dimensionen außergewöhnlich groß und müsste im Zusammenhang mit der Belebung der Bautätigkeit beim Forum und Palatin erklärt werden. Als Beispiel sei die Neugründung des Benediktinerklosters S. Maria in Pallara auf dem Palatin angeführt, dessen Kirche wohl ein bescheidener Saalbau mit Apsis war, dessen Ausmaße etwa jenen des barocken Nachfolgers entsprachen (22 m x 7 m), hierzu Coates-Stephens 1997, 206; Marchiori 2007. Ich danke Giorgia Pollio, Rom, für die Einsicht in einige noch unbekannte Beschreibungen des Vorgängerbaus aus ihrer sich in Arbeit befindenden Dissertation. Meines Erachtens ist für S. Maria in Capitolio jedoch ein Neu-/Umbau im zweiten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts anzusetzen, der wohl

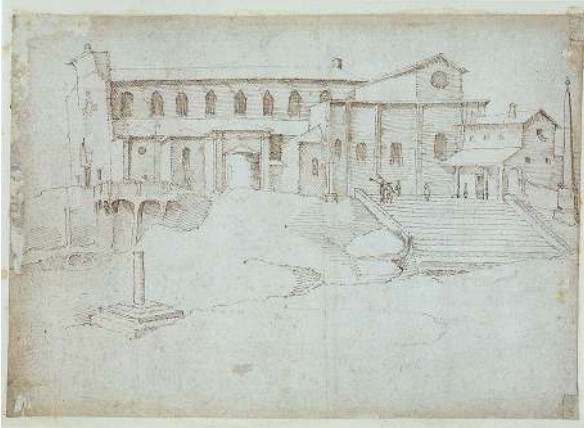


Abb. 20 Maarten van Heemskerck, S. Maria in Aracoeli vom Kapitolsplatz aus gesehen, Zustand um 1535.

Anlässlich des franziskanischen Umbaus im Laufe des fortgeschrittenen 13. Jahrhunderts wurde dann die Kirche um 90 Grad gedreht und nach Osten ausgerichtet. Das ehemalige Langhaus wurde zum Querhaus mit Kapellen umfunktioniert. Im Gegensatz zum Umbau von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura verzichtete man aber hier darauf, das was vom Vorgängerbau übrig blieb, als Bauspolie unterscheidbar zu belassen.

Nach der These von Brancia di Apricena wurden alle 22 Schäfte vom Vorgänger in der neuen franziskanischen Basilika wieder eingesetzt, wobei die beiden Säulenpaare, welche die neue Apsis und den Triumphbogen flankierten, nicht verschoben werden mussten (Abb. 22 und 24). Demnach hätten nur für die beiden westlichsten Säulenpaare neue Schäfte aufgetrieben werden müssen, deren vollständig erhaltene Länge (6,86–7,12 m) und Stärke (\varnothing 0,86 m) die übrigen Säulen der Langhausarkaden überragt (siehe Tabelle 1 im Anhang).⁴⁸ Um die Schäfte nicht beschneiden zu müssen, wurden sie ohne Basis aufgestellt und mit ionischen Kapitellen – mit einer antiken (R 1, ab jetzt für rechts vom Eingang aus gezählt), einer spätantiken (L 1, 5. Jh.) und zwei hochmittelalterlichen Spolien des 12. Jahrhunderts (L 2, R 2) – bekrönt.⁴⁹ Damit konnte der

1138/1140 mit der Translation einiger Reliquien der Kaiserin Helena durch Papst Innozenz II. zum Abschluss kam, s. Acta Sanctorum Augusti 1787, Bd. Aug. 3., S. 606 (18. August). Dies wird durch die wenigen Mauerwerkreste (Ziegelmauerwerk mit ‚falsa cortina‘ und ‚stilatura‘) des Vorgängerbau bestätigt, die Malmstrom in der an den Glockenturm anschließenden Südwest-Ecke des heutigen Querhauses entdeckte, vgl. Malmstrom 1973, 33–34 (mit Modulangaben von 30–35 cm); Malmstrom 1976, 10 Abb. 1b, 13.

48 Maße: unmittelbar nach dem Westeingang das erste Paar aus rotem Granit: Schaft: L 1: 6,86 m, \varnothing 0,86 m; R 1: 6,93 m, \varnothing 0,88 m; das zweite Paar aus weißem, thasischem Marmor mit Kannelur: Schaft: L 2: 6,90 m, \varnothing 0,86 m; R 2: 7,12 m, \varnothing 0,86 m. Ich danke Patrizio Pensabene für seine wertvolle Hilfe bei der Ausmessung aller Säulen der Kirche.

49 Malmstrom 1973, 147; die beiden das zweite, kanellierte Säulenpaar bekrönenden ionischen Kapitelle stammen aus dem 12./frühen 13. Jahrhundert und wurden nicht für die heutige Aufstellung auf den beiden kanellierten Schäften angefertigt, da sie

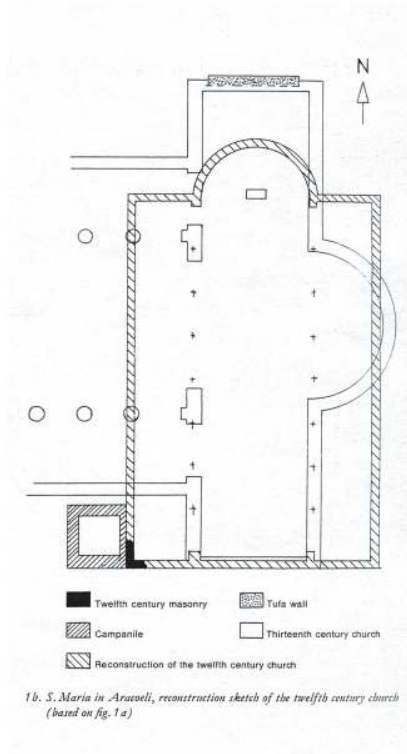


Abb. 21 Rom, S. Maria in Araucoli, Grundriss-Rekonstruktion von Malmstrom des Vorgängerbau S. Maria in Capitolio.

Niveau-Unterschied des zur Westfassade hin abfallenden Kirchenbodens ausgeglichen werden.⁵⁰ Betrachtet man aber die Schäfte der Langhauskolonnade genauer, so fällt auf, dass auch das vierte Paar, dessen untere Hälfte samt Basen jeweils in einem neuzeitlichen Langhausaltar steckt und folglich nicht sichtbar ist, sehr kräftige Schäfte aufweist. Als Kapitell der nördlichen Säule dient eine umgedrehte antike Basis, während ihr südliches Pendant von einem außergewöhnlichen „wie eine Basis wirkenden“ Blattkapitell – eine Neuanfertigung der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts – bekrönt wird.⁵¹ Die anderen

für deren größeres Durchmesser angepasst werden mussten.

- 50 Auf eine Langhauslänge von 51,25 m senkt sich der Boden nach Westen um 0,90 m, vgl. Malmstrom 1973, 135. Der Boden steigt zudem Richtung Norden an, daher sind die Säulen der südlichen Langhausarkaden höher.
- 51 L 4 antike Basis als Kapitell genutzt (Höhe 34 cm); R 4 Blattkapitell des 13. Jahrhunderts (Höhe ca.

43 cm). Die Verwendung ‚niedriger‘ Kapitelle und die Dicke der Schäfte lassen vermuten, dass auch hier die Schäfte in ihrer vollständigen Länge möglicherweise sogar ohne Basen aufgestellt wurden und folglich ihre Länge auf ca. 6,80 m geschätzt werden kann. Zu den ‚basis-artigen‘ Blattkapitellen mit Vergleichsbeispielen aus der Kathedrale von Teramo, Brancia di Apricina 2000, 68–70.

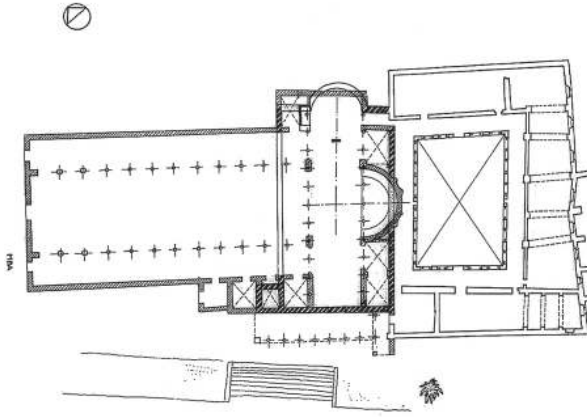


Abb. 22 Rom, S. Maria in Aracoeli, Grundriss-Rekonstruktion von Brancia di Apricena des Vorgängerbaus S. Maria in Capitolio.

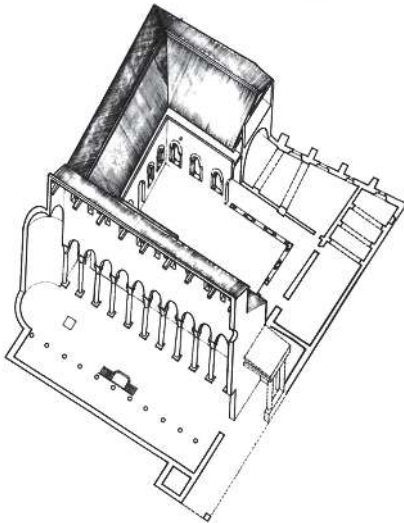


Abb. 23 Rom, S. Maria in Aracoeli, axonometrische Rekonstruktion von Brancia di Apricena des Vorgängerbaus S. Maria in Capitolio.



Abb. 24 Rom, S. Maria in Aracoeli, Blick in das Langhaus von S. Maria in Aracoeli.

Säulen der Langhauskolonnade tragen hingegen alle korinthische oder komposite Spolienkapitelle und stehen auf (gelegentlich hoch aufgesockelten) antiken Basen, wodurch deren Schaftlänge über 1 m kürzer ist und zwischen 5,98 m und 5,26 m variiert (siehe Tabelle 1 im Anhang). Es liegt nahe, zunächst nur für die östlichen fünf Säulenpaare (7 bis 11), deren Schäfte vorwiegend aus ‚Granito del Foro‘ bzw. ‚Granito d’ Elba‘ bestehen, samt den dazu gehörenden meist kompositen Kapitellen eine Wiederverwendung aus dem Vorgängerbau zu vermuten; hinzu wären noch die beiden in den Pfeilern des Apsis- und Triumphbogens eingemauerten Schaftpaare zu rechnen, die ebenfalls aus den genannten Granitsorten bestehen und möglicherweise noch in situ sind.⁵² Es kann aber m. E. nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass zumindest auch das Säulenpaar 6 (Granitschäfte, Kompositkapitelle) und vielleicht auch jene an Position 3 und (oder) an Position 5 bereits im Vorgängerbau eingesetzt waren und somit für den Neubau nicht neu beschafft werden mussten.⁵³

52 Wohl auf diese Weise kommt Malmstrom, ohne explizit darauf einzugehen, in seiner Rekonstruktion des Vorgängerbaus auf sieben Säulenpaare, Malmstrom 1976, 5 Abb. 1b; siehe auch Bolgia 2009, 98. Die kleinen archäologischen Fenster an den Ostseiten der Triumphbogenpfeiler ermöglichen zwar ei-

ne Bestimmung des Materials, nicht aber der Maße der Schäfte.

53 Zu Maßen, Material und Zusammensetzung der Bauglieder siehe Tabelle 1 im Anhang. Siehe auch Pensabene 2015, 658–667.



Abb. 25 Rom, S. Maria in Ara-coeli, Langhauskapitell mit An-stückungen R 6.



Abb. 26 Rom, S. Maria in Ara-coeli, Langhauskapitell mit An-stückungen R 10.

Bei genauerer Betrachtung fällt auf, dass einige der Kompositkapitelle im östlichen Langhausbereich (L 5, L 6, R 6, L 8, L 10 und R 10) eine Restaurierung erfahren haben, die wohl neuzeitlich ist: Während beim Kompositkapitell L 8 die weggebrochenen Voluten neu angestückt wurden (eine davon ist abgefallen und die Metallverankerung ist deutlich sichtbar), wurden bei den anderen drei Beispielen R 6, L 10 und R 10 antike korinthische Kapitelle durch die Anstückung von großen Marmor- (oder Stuck-)voluten an die benachbarten antiken Kompositkapitelle angeglichen, also zu Pseudo-Kompositkapitellen (ohne Ovuli) umgewandelt (Abb. 25 und 26).⁵⁴ Die Absicht war wohl, aus dem alternierenden Wechsel von kompositen und korinthischen Kapitellen im vorderen Langhausbereich die Wirkung einer einheitlichen kompositen Ordnung zu erreichen.⁵⁵

Die Datierung der benediktinischen Basilika des 12. Jahrhunderts ist in der Forschung nicht geklärt. Wie erwähnt, geht Brancia di Apricena davon aus, dass der Bau des 9./10. Jahrhunderts im 12. Jahrhundert nur eine neue liturgische Ausstattung erhielt.⁵⁶ Malmstrom, der erstmals Mauerwerkreste des 12. Jahrhunderts korrekt geortet hat, legte sich, was die Eingrenzung des Erbauungszeitpunktes der benediktinischen Kirche betrifft, nicht fest. Der um 1130 von Anaklet II. ausgestellten Bulle, die dem Kloster die Besitztümer über den „ganzen“ Kapitolinischen Hügel bestätigt, begegnet Malmstrom mit Skepsis.⁵⁷ Sie könnte aber nicht nur mit einer Aufwertung des Klosters im Zusammenhang stehen, sondern auch mit der Sicherung der Finanzierungsgrundlagen für einen Neubau der Klosterkirche. Dies würde gut mit einer spätmittelalterlichen Überlieferung einhergehen, die die Weihe des ‚Augustus-Altars‘ dem vierten Papst nach Petrus, Anaklet I., zuschreibt. Es mag sich bei dieser Inschrift um eine Korrektur des möglicherweise inschriftlich am Altar überlieferten Namens des als Gegenpapst in Ungnade gefallenen Anaklet II. (1130–1138) gehandelt haben.⁵⁸ Der Neubau wäre demnach in

- 54 Ich danke Patrizio Pensabene, der mich auf diese ‚Restaurierungen‘ aufmerksam gemacht hat. Keine der angefügten Voluten weist die für mittelalterliche Neuanfertigungen typischen Blüten- oder Sternmotive in den Volutenaugen auf. Malmstrom 1973, 148, hat diese neuzeitlichen Anstückungen übersehen.
- 55 Diese Korrektur des mittelalterlichen Konzeptes ist wohl einer frühneuzeitlichen ‚vitruvianisch‘ gefärbten Antikenrezeption zuzuordnen; die Anordnung der Kapitelle in der franziskanischen Bauphase, die wahrscheinlich jene des Vorgängerbaus des 12. Jahrhunderts aufnahm, strebte hingegen die einfache symmetrische Korrespondenz der Säulenpaare des Mittelschiffs an. Ich vermute, dass diese Maßnahme zur optischen Vereinheitlichung der Kapitelle im Zusammenhang mit der Einwölbung der

Seitenschiffe in den späten 1460er Jahren erfolgte, hierzu vgl. Malmstrom 1973, 107–109.

- 56 Siehe oben Anm. 47.
- 57 Malmstrom 1973, 15–16. Auf Grund der Quellenlage schließt Malmstrom, dass das Benediktinerkloster S. Maria in Capitolio zwischen dem späten 10. und 12. Jahrhundert seine Blütezeit gehabt habe, ebenda 19. Abschrift der Bulle Anaklets II. in Wadding 1732, III, 255–256; Casimiro 1736, 431–442.
- 58 Eine Versinschrift am Augustus-Altar aus dem späten 14. Jahrhundert erwähnte den Namen Anaklets ‚tandem Anacletus consecravat ipse papa‘; Miedema 2001, 609 (Memoriale de mirabilibus et indulgentiis quae in Urbe Romana existunt [3. Drittel 14. Jh.], in: Valentini und Zucchetti 1953, 83; Panciroli 1625, 69; Casimiro 1736, 162. ‚Consecrassse hanc Aram Anacletum Papam, quartum a B. Petro Pontificem,

den 30er Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts errichtet worden, wobei die Arbeiten möglicherweise erst unter Innozenz II. (1130–1143) nach 1138 bzw. um 1140 zu einem Abschluss kamen, denn dieser Papst ließ Reliquien der Heiligen Helena von der Via Labicana in den Hauptaltar – wohl den noch heute erhaltenen Porphyrsarkophag – von S. Maria in Capitolio überführen.⁵⁹ Hiermit wäre der Vorgängerbau etwa zeitgleich mit S. Maria in Trastevere fertig gestellt worden und von einer ähnlichen ‚Antikophilie‘ geprägt gewesen.⁶⁰ So wie sich in Trastevere im vorderen Langhausbereich korinthische mit ionischen Spolienkapitellen abwechselten, so alternierten im Bereich der Schola Cantorum von S. Maria in Capitolio korinthische mit kompositen antiken Kapitellen.

Poeschke konstatierte ab den 1230er Jahren mit der zunehmenden Übernahme gotischer Formensprache in der italienischen Architektur den gänzlichen Verzicht auf die Verwendung antiker Spolien (beispielsweise in S. Francesco in Assisi) beziehungsweise die Tendenz zur vereinheitlichenden Adaption des Spolienmaterials (Bsp. Castel del Monte).⁶¹ In seiner Argumentation musste Poeschke das in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts erbaute und wohl erst um 1300 beendete Langhaus von S. Maria in Aracoeli⁶² mit dem offenkundigen, fast rohen Charakter des eingesetzten Spolienmaterials als Ausnahme anführen und dieses mit der ‚Kraft‘ der römischen Tradition erklären.⁶³ Man könnte hier aber in zwei Richtungen weiterdenken, die sich zunächst zu widersprechen scheinen.

Die Gründungstradition der seit dem 8. Jahrhundert nachweisbaren Klosterkirche auf dem Kapitol basiert auf zwei Elementen: auf der Altarstiftung des Augustus und auf der Behauptung, hier sei der Ort der kaiserlichen Vision der Ankunft Christi gewesen. Nach dem älteren Traditionsstrang soll Kaiser Augustus sich an die Pythia von Delphi gewandt haben mit der Frage, wer nach ihm herrschen werde. Als er erfuhr, dass es ein jüdischer Knabe sein sollte, ließ er dem ‚Erstgeborenen Gottes‘ einen Altar errichten. Diese Überlieferung lässt sich in der Chronographie des oströmischen Historikers Johannes Malalas aus Syrien bis ins späte 6. Jahrhundert zurückverfolgen.⁶⁴ Die Verbin-

habet e regione appensa tabella‘, Wadding 1732, 255. Hierzu ausführlich Stroll 1991, 157–161 und Claussen 2016, 286.

59 Acta Sanctorum Augusti 1787, August III, 18. August, 605–606.

60 Sich selbst ließ Innozenz II. im monumentalen Porphyrsarkophag Kaiser Hadrians bestatten, der aus der Engelsburg in die Laterankirche transferiert wurde, vgl. Claussen 2008, 217 (mit Nachweisen).

61 Poeschke 1996, 232–235.

62 Zum franziskanischen Umbau siehe die grundlegenden Aufsätze Bolgia 1999; Bolgia 2009.

63 Poeschke 1996, 232–235. Zur späten Spolienkonjunktur im Neapel des ausgehenden 13. Jahrhunderts unter Karl II. von Anjou als Ausdruck eines Wiederanknüpfens an italienische Bautraditionen siehe Berger-Dittscheid 1990, 57; Bruzelius 1999, 193; J. Krüger 1986, 98–99 deutet hingegen die Wiederverwendung der Schäfte und Kapitelle aus dem frühchristlichen Vorgängerbau im Langhaus der gotischen Franziskaner-Kirche von S. Lorenzo in Neapel als bauökonomische Maßnahme.

64 Ioh. Mal. 97,30.

dung zum Kapitol als Standort des von Augustus gestifteten Altars wird erstmals im *Chronicon Palatinum* aus dem 8. Jahrhundert hergestellt.⁶⁵

In den vor 1143 verfassten *Mirabilien* wird die Legende in ihrer jüngeren Version referiert: Die Sibylle wird mit der Tiburtinischen Sibylla identifiziert, dem Kaiser selbst erscheint Maria mit dem Jesuknaben, während eine Stimme verkündigt „*Haec Ara filii Dei est*“. Als Ort der Vision wird neu die „*camera Octaviani imperatoris*“ genannt.⁶⁶ Über die *Mirabilien* findet die Legende Verbreitung und wird mit leichten Veränderungen auch in der *Legenda Aurea* rezipiert.⁶⁷

In S. Maria in Aracoeli trägt der Schaft der dritten Säule aus rotem Aswan-Granit in der Nordkolonnade (L 3) des Langhauses des 13. Jahrhunderts eine Inschrift in großen Capitalis-Lettern mit den Worten (Abb. 27):

A CVBICVLO
AVGUSTORVM

Bei dieser ‚sprechenden Säule‘ sind viele Fragen noch offen: Der Schaft ist antik und fertig ausgeführt, er ist aber kleiner als die weiteren drei im Langhaus eingebauten Säulen aus rotem Aswan-Granit und wurde wohl nicht aus dem gleichen antiken Gebäude spoliert.⁶⁸ Bei der Frage nach der Datierung und Funktion der Inschrift gehen die Forschungsmeinungen auseinander. Eine Entstehung der Inschrift als ‚Pseudospolie‘ in der franziskanischen Baukampagne nach 1252 ist aus epigraphischen Gründen eher unwahrscheinlich.⁶⁹ „*A cubiculo*“ ist ein bis Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts gut dokumentierter antiker Titel am kaiserlichen Hof und in Grabinschriften überliefert: Es war meist ein Freigelassener, der als Chef den *cubicularii*, den Kammerdienern des Kaisers, vorstand.⁷⁰ Es handelt sich also um eine Person hohen Ranges, eng vertraut mit den kaiserlichen

65 Diese Legendenversion referiert auch den Wortlaut der Inschrift, die Augustus am Altar angebracht haben soll: *HAEC ARA FILII DEI EST*. Christian Hülsen spekulierte scharfsinnig, dass diese Inschrift aus einer mittelalterlichen Umdeutung der an antiken Altären verbreiteten Formel *FIDEI AVG(VSTAE) SACR(VM)* zu *Fi(lia) Dei Augustus* abzuleiten sei; ein solcher Altar könnte möglicherweise von den Mönchen in Aracoeli als Augustusaltar betrachtet worden sein. Huelsen 1907, 5–8 (mit hypothetischer Rekonstruktion).

66 „*Haec visio fuit in camera Octaviani imperatoris, ubi nunc est ecclesia Sanctae Mariae in Capitolio*.“ Valentini und Zucchetti 1946, hier 28–29.

67 Graf 1882 I, 308–331; Huelsen 1907, 4–9; besonders Verdier 1982, 94–100.

68 Maße L 3 (*a cubiculo*): Schaftlänge 5,98 m, ø 0,77 m; Maße L 1: 6,86 m, ø 0,86 m; Maße R 1: 6,93 m, ø

0,88 m; Maße R 4 nicht bekannt (neuzeitlicher Altar), aber deutlich kräftiger als L 3.

69 Vereinzelt ist jedoch nach Thielemann bis ins 13. Jahrhundert die Verwendung der klassischen Capitalis nachweisbar, gerade wenn eine pseudoantike Inschrift hätte angefertigt werden sollen, Thielemann 1993, 91; vgl. hochmittelalterliche Beispiele in Morison 1972, Abb. 107, 108, 110, 111, 126–130, 143 (als spätestes Beispiel einer reinen Capitalis quadrata führt Morison die Bulle von Gregor IX. von 1229 aus S. Sabina an, die erst 1238 in Marmor gemeißelt wurde; nach Morison könnte die päpstliche Beanspruchung der ‚kaiserlichen‘ Capitalis möglicherweise in direktem Zusammenhang mit dem zu diesem Zeitpunkt äußerst gespannten Verhältnis zu Kaiser Friedrich II. stehen, ebd. 243–244).

70 Demougín 2003; Rostowzew 1901.



Abb. 27 Rom, S. Maria in Aracoeli, Langhaussäule L 3 mit folgender Inschrift auf dem Schaft A.CVBICVLO AVGVSTORUM.

Geschäften, daher wurde von Christian Hülsen und Dale Kinney (letztere unter Berufung auf den Archäologen Russell Scott) eine kaiserzeitliche Entstehung der Inschrift, also zeitgleich mit der Herstellung des Schaftes, angenommen: Der Schaft mit der Inschrift hätte von einem auf dem Palatin stehenden Bau der Kaiserzeit stammen können, und die Inschrift sollte möglicherweise die Stiftung eines solchen hochgestellten Hofbeamten aus severischer Zeit markieren.⁷¹

71 Hülsen 1907, 5; Kinney 1996, 85–86. Zweifel an der Existenz eines solchen monumentalen Baus auf dem Palatin äußerte bereits Buchowiecki 1970, 481. Demougin 2003, 400 zitiert zwar die Inschrift direkt aus CIL VI, 8765 und fasst sie als „unvollständig“ auf, ohne jedoch den Standort, den epigraphischen Charakter und die Funktion zu reflektieren bzw. zu problematisieren. Wie Demougin selbst bemerkt, ist

unsere Formel A CVBICVLO AVGVSTORVM die einzige so überlieferte; kanonisch war die Wendung A CVBICVLO oder A CVBICVLO AVGVSTI NOSTRI („on évoquera ici un seul petit texte acéphale de Rome, qui a juste conservé la formule *a cubiculo augustorum*...“ ebd., inwiefern ein Anfang des Textes fehlen soll, bleibt die Autorin schuldig). Wenn die Formel A CVBICVLO AVGVSTORVM aus Aracoeli

Wahrscheinlicher erscheint mir jedoch, dass erst in spätantiker oder gar hochmittelalterlicher Zeit die Inschrift als Provenienzangabe und zur Aufwertung der spolierten Granitsäule mit einer antiquarischen Absicht angebracht wurde,⁷² in Schriftcharakter und Funktion vergleichbar mit den Inschriften OPVS FIDIAE bzw. OPVS PRAXITELIS, die an den Sockeln der Rossbändiger zu sehen waren (Abb. 28). Als Zeitraum für die Anbringung der Künstlernamen an der Dioskurengruppe wird das ausgehende 4. bis 6. Jahrhundert angenommen; erstmals überliefert sind die beiden Inschriften im 11. Jahrhundert.⁷³

Sicher ist, dass die Säule mit der Auszeichnung A CVBICVLO AVGVSTORVM im Kontext der Augustus-Legende in der Marienkirche auf dem Kapitol als Zeugnis für die Authentizität des Ortes aufgefasst werden konnte: Sie konnte als der materielle Beweis der Kontinuität gelten, dass da, wo die Kirche steht, sich einst das kaiserliche Gemach der Augusti befand, in welchem Octavian seine Vision gehabt haben soll.

Wenn die Annahme von Brancia di Apricena zutrifft, dass wenn auch nicht alle, so doch eine Mehrzahl der Schäfte des franziskanischen Langhauses aus dem Vorgängerbau spoliert und wiederverwendet wurden,⁷⁴ dann könnten wir vielleicht für die A CVBICVLO-Säule eine ursprüngliche Aufstellung in der Nähe des Augustus-Altars, also des damaligen Hauptaltars, in dem seit 1138/1140 auch die Reliquien einer christlichen Kaiserin – der Mutter Konstantins, Helena⁷⁵ – in einem Porphysarkophag ruhten, vermuten. Die früheste Version des Mirabilientextes (vor 1143) benutzt zwar nicht den Terminus *cubiculum* sondern *camera*, bezeugt aber, dass sich zu diesem Zeitpunkt in der Legendenbildung das Schlafgemach des Augustus als Ort der Vision etabliert hatte.⁷⁶ Spann sich die Legende um die – vielleicht kaiserzeitliche oder spätantike bzw. vielleicht sogar erst aus dem 11. oder frühen 12. Jahrhundert stammende – Inschrift am eleganten Schaft aus rotem Granit auf dem Kapitol? Oder sollte umgekehrt die Säule nachträglich die Legende bezeugen, im Fall, dass sie erst im Franziskanerneubau ihre

ein Hapax legomenon ist, dann verstärkt dies das Argument, es handle sich um eine spät- oder nachantike Inschrift.

- 72 Arnold Esch beschränkt sich auf die pauschale Annahme einer mittelalterlichen Provenienzangabe ohne nähere zeitliche Eingrenzungen, vgl. Esch 1969, 19.
- 73 In den 1080er Jahren verzeichnet Benzo von Alba einen „locus qui dicitur opus Praxitelis“; Benzo von Seyffert 1996, II.18, S. 258; Thielemann 1993, 92.
- 74 Brancia di Apricena 2000, 34–36; Kinney hält hingegen die Säulen des franziskanischen Langhauses für zu groß für eine Aufstellung im etwa 10 bis 15 m kürzeren Mittelschiff des Vorgängerbau, Kinney 1996, 85. Die A CVBICVLO-Säule würde dann mit ihren 5,98 m die größte sein (die Schäfte von 8 L

und 8 R mit ihren 5,80 m wären jedoch nur 18 cm kürzer, was sich bereits mit einer kleinen Plinthe bzw. durch Plinthenverzicht ausgleichen ließe).

- 75 Siehe oben Anm. 47.
- 76 Mirabilia s. oben Anm. 66; sowie die italienische Version „Le miracole de Roma“, die auf das Pontifikat Innozenz III. (1198–1216) zurückgeht, Valentini und Zucchetti 1946, 130. Es fällt auf, dass der an der Säule verwendete Terminus ‚cubiculum‘ nicht in die Legendentexte Eingang fand, auch nicht in die Legenda aurea des Jacobus de Voragine (vor 1298), die etwa zeitgleich mit dem neuen Langhaus der Franziskanerkirche kompiliert wurde; auch hier wird die „camera imperatoris“ mit S. Maria in Ara Coeli gleichgesetzt. Graesse 1890, Cap. VI., 44.

Aufstellung fand?⁷⁷ Diese Fragen können nicht endgültig geklärt werden, auch wenn der Mirabilientext ihre Existenz in S. Maria in Capitolio im frühen 12. Jahrhundert zu suggerieren scheint. Aus medialer Perspektive ist aber der Einsatz einer Spolie mit vielleicht fingierter Provenienzzangabe als Authentizitätsgarantin für den Wahrheitsgehalt der Legende eine besondere Pointe.

Kehren wir zurück zur Verwendung von antiken Spolien im franziskanischen Neubau von S. Maria in Aracoeli: Trotz basilikaler Anlage stellt er mit seinen Maßwerkwerkstern und dem außen polygonalen Chorabschluss keine Absage an die ‚moderne‘ gotische Architektur der Franziskaner dar.⁷⁸ Es ist aber umso erstaunlicher, dass die Kirche des Aracoeli-Konvents kaum Eingang in die einschlägigen kunst- und architekturhistorischen Abhandlungen zur Bettelordensarchitektur gefunden hat,⁷⁹ obwohl gerade die Verbindung von gotischen Elementen mit der basilikalischen Gesamterscheinung möglicherweise programmatische Züge trägt. Aus den frühesten erhaltenen franziskanischen Bauvorschriften in den Statuten des Narbonner Konzils von 1260, verfasst zu einer Zeit, in der große Bauprojekte des Ordens – darunter auch der Neubau der Aracoeli-Kirche – in vollem Gange waren, erschließt man den Versuch, retrospektiv an das Armutsideal des Ordensgründers anzuknüpfen, um das franziskanische Baufieber einzudämmen.⁸⁰ Unter der dritten Rubrik über die Einhaltung des Armutsgebots heißt es ausdrücklich, die „curiositas et superfluitas“ der Bauten durch Malereien, Reliefs, Fenster, Säulen sowie übermäßige Gebäudedimensionen seien zu meiden.⁸¹ Säulen – und hiermit könnten neben den seit Bernhard von Clairvaux getadelten Monstern in den Kapitellen auch antike Spolien mit ihren kostbaren Materialien gemeint sein – gehörten somit zu den zu

77 Die Inschrift scheint – soweit ich bis jetzt die Quellenlage überblicke – von den frühneuzeitlichen Antiquaren selten gesehen worden zu sein. Weder bei Alfonso Ciacconio um 1580 (Ciacconio um 1570/80, 361r–378v), noch in Pompeo Ugonio Aufzeichnungen über S. Maria in Aracoeli (Ugonio Barb. lat. 1994, p. 404–407) (nach 1593) wird die A CUBICULO-Inschrift erwähnt. Die früheste mir bekannte Abschrift findet sich im Itinerar von Mariano da Firenze aus dem Jahr 1518, s. *Bulletti* 1931, 43.

78 Bolgia 1999; Bolgia 2003.

79 Beispielsweise bei Bonelli 1982 oder Schenkluhn 2000.

80 Guter Überblick bei Villetti 1982, 23; Schenkluhn 2000, 33–36 streicht heraus, wie sich die Baupraxis über die Regulierungsversuche hinwegsetzte.

81 „Cum autem curiositas et superfluitas directe obvi-ent paupertati, ordinamus quod aedificiorum cu-

riositas in picturis, caelaturis, fenestris, columnis et huiusmodi aut superfluitas in longitudine, latitudine et altitudine, secundum loci conditionem, arctius evitetur.“ *Constitutiones generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum apud Narbonam a.D. 1260*, III.15, Bihl 1941, 48. Die Übersetzung von ‚curiositas‘ lässt einigen Interpretationsspielraum offen, ob einfach ‚Eleganz, Extravaganz‘ (Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert, München, II [1968], Sp. 2136–2137) bzw. ‚Schmuck‘ (Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, London, I [1975], 539) oder nicht doch in diesem moralisierenden Kontext ‚der Reiz des Neuen/Schönen/Kostbaren‘; also die seit Augustin negativ gefasste Augenlust („concupiscentia oculorum“) gemeint wird. Für die Diskussion danke ich Darko Senekovic und Bärbel Braune-Krickau, Fachstelle Latein Universität Zürich. Weiterführend K. Krüger 2002.

vermeidenden Elementen eines franziskanischen Neubaus. Tatsächlich sind antike Spolienkapitelle und -schäfte in der Franziskanerarchitektur selten anzutreffen und wenn, dann könnte die Wiederverwendung aus dem Vorgängerbau als eine mit dem Armutsideal konforme, kostensparende Maßnahme gegolten haben.⁸² Möglicherweise spielte in Aracoeli die Ortstradition, die Heilsgeschichte und Antike miteinander verbindet, noch eine zusätzliche Rolle: Sollte das in der Kirche auf dem Kapitol ostendierte antike Material der verschiedenfarbigen Säulenschäfte sowie der ionischen, korinthischen und kompositen Spolienkapitelle, die man größtenteils aus dem Vorgängerbau gewonnen hatte, auch direkt auf den kaiserlichen Palast Octavians anspielen, also konkret ‚Antike‘ meinen und somit durch die Tradition des Ortes legitimiert sein? Die Aufstellung der A CVBICVLO-Säule nahe beim Haupteingang, im Laienraum der großen römischen Franziskanerkirche, könnte diese These stützen. Betrachtet man zugleich beispielsweise das Kapitell derselben Säule (Abb. 27) – es handelt sich um den unteren Rest eines Kompositkapitells mit bestoßenem doppeltem Blattkranz, dem auf der Höhe des Perlstabs die Ovuli und Voluten gekappt wurden –, fällt in Aracoeli die auch qualitative Heterogenität der in die Kolonnade eingebauten Spolien ins Auge. Einige Kapitelle sind zwar sehr groß, aber stark beschädigt, als wären sie beim Transport unsachgemäß behandelt worden. Ebenso disparat ist das Bild, das die Basen und ihre Postamente abgeben (Abb. 29).

Die Tatsache, dass sich die aus Spolien zusammengefügte Antike des Kaiserpalasts im neuen franziskanischen Langhaus von Aracoeli so bestoßen und zusammengestückt präsentiert, könnte zugleich intendiert sein: als kompensatorisches Signum franziskanischer Armut und Selbstbescheidung.

6 Die Langhaussäulen von S. Maria in Aracoeli (Rom)

Die Tabelle auf den Seiten 268 bis 273 enthält eine Übersicht über Maße, Material und Spolierungsspuren der Langhaussäulen von S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rom, wobei die Daten der nördlichen und südlichen Säulenreihe einander gegenübergestellt sind. Die Erhebung der Maße und die Klassierung der Spolien in den Langhausarkaden von Aracoeli wurde gemeinsam mit Prof. Patrizio Pensabene im Januar 2011 vorgenommen.

82 Zur Wiederverwendung der Säulen des frühchristlichen Vorgängers in S. Lorenzo in Neapel siehe oben Anm. 63.

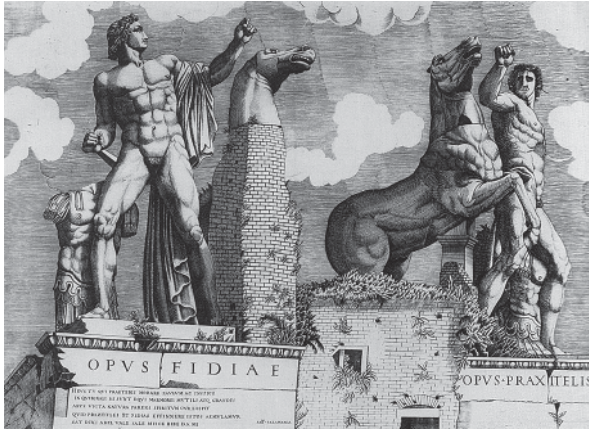


Abb. 28 Rom, Die Rossebändiger vom Quirinal (Vorderansicht), Druckgrafik, unbekannter Stecher, Antonio Lafreri, 1546.



Abb. 29 Rom, S. Maria in Aracoeli, Basis und Postament R 6.

Nord	Schaft	Kapitell	Basis
L 1	6.86 m, ø 0.86 m roter Granit (aus Assuan)	H: 0.49 m (Kapitell u. Kämpfer zusammen) ionisch, spätantik Kämpfer 2. H. 13. Jh.	keine Basis
L 2	6.90 m (mit Bruch), 1.67 unteres Stück, ø 0.86 weißer Marmor (prokon- nesisch), kanneliert mit Immoscapo-Resten	H: 0.30 m (Kapitell u. Kämpfer zusammen) weißer Marmor ionisch 12. /Anf. 13. Jh.	H: 0.15 m weißer Marmor einfache Rundscheibe
L 3	5.98 m, ø 0.77 m roter Granit (aus Assuan) Inchrift A CVBICVLO/ AVGVSTORVM	H: 0.65 m weißer Marmor unterer Teil eines Komposit- kapitells (ohne Voluten)	H: 0.33 m weißer Marmor antike komposite Basis; darun- ter polygonale Plinthe H: 0.30 2. H. 13. Jh.
L 4	6.86 m circa (Schaft inkl. Basis, wenn eine solche vorhanden ist) Granit ohne Sommoscapo wegen vorgebautem Altar kein Durchmesser	H: 0.34 m weißer Marmor antike ornamentierte Basis verkehrt als Kapitell verwendet	verdeckt vom Langhausaltar
L 5	5.68 m (zusammengesetzt), 4.20 m unteres Stück, ø 0.79 m, Marmor (Pavonazzetto); oberes Stück weißer Marmor (Carrara)	H: 0.99 m weißer Marmor komposit, Teile in Bosse belas- sen; severianisch	H: 0.44 m Marmor (Carrara) komposite Basis mit kreisförmig abgearbeiteter Plinthe 2. H. 13. Jh.
L 6	5.91 m, ø 0.79 m Granit („granito del foro“)	H: 0.84 m weißer Marmor komposit severianisch	H: 0.31 m spätantik mit reduzierender Überarbeitung des oberen Torus

Tab. 1 Maße, Material und Spolierungsspuren der Langhaussäulen von S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rom.

Süd	Schaft	Kapitell	Basis
R 1	6.93 m, ø 0.88 m roter Granit (aus Assuan) Immoscapo fehlt (abgeschnitten?)	H: 0.55 m (Kapitell u. Kämpfer zusammen) ionisch antik Travertin	keine
R 2	7.12 m, ø 0.86 m weißer Marmor (prokonnesisch), kanneliert mit Immoscapo	H: 0.26 cm (Kapitell u. Kämpfer zusammen) weißer Marmor ionisch 12. Jh.	keine
R 3	5.405 m, ø 0.88 m Granit („granito d’Elba“)	H: 1.02 m weißer Marmor (Carrara) korinthisch, ca. 130 n. Chr.	H: 0.52 m Travertin antike komposite Basis mit abgerundeter Plinthe; darunter oktagonale Plinthe H: 0.32 m 2. H. 13. Jh.
R 4	6.86 circa (Schaft inkl. Basis) roter Granit (aus Assuan) wegen vorgebautem Altar kein Durchmesser	H: 0.43 m weißer Marmor Blattkapitell mit Abakusblüte 2. H. 13. Jh.	verdeckt vom Langhausaltar
R 5	5.91 m, ø 0.73 m Marmor (Cipollino) Sommoscapo fehlt	H: 0.65 m weißer Marmor korinthisch (nur doppelter Blattkranz) theodosianisch	H: 0.49 m weißer Marmor (Carrara) attische Basis; abgearbeitetes Postament als Plinthe
R 6	5.54 m, ø 0.71 m Granit Sommoscapo roh belassen	H: 0.82 m weißer Marmor korinthisch (flavisch) mit angestückten mittelalterlichen Voluten mit glattem Blatt. Die Ecken des Abakus sind neuzeitlich ergänzt	H: 0.29 m weißer Marmor (Carrara) attische Basis 1. H. 2. Jh.; Zylinder aus rotem Granit als ‚Unterbasis‘ H: 0.28 m ø 1.10 m

Nord	Schaft	Kapitell	Basis
L 7	grauer Marmor geadert, nicht zugänglich, weil von Kanzel ummantelt	H: unbekannt weißer Marmor figürliches Kapitell mit Clipei in den Ecken, weibl.? Büsten. Pendant zu R7. Das Kapitell wurde ‚gedreht‘ versetzt, so dass die Clipei in den Ecken und die abgebrochenen Voluten die Kapitellmitte markieren. Wahrscheinlich mittelalterliche Überarbeitung eines teilweise in Bosse gebliebenen antiken Figuralkapitells? Unbearbeitete Abakusplatte	H: 27 m weißer Marmor Basis mit Plinthe oktagonale ‚Unterbasis‘ H: 11 cm
L 8	5.80 m, ø 0.71 Granit (Elba) ‚scapi‘ halbfertig gearbeitet.	H: 0.71 m weißer Marmor komposit, 50–70 n. Chr. zwei hinzurestaurierte Voluten	H: 0.30 m weißer Marmor (Carrara) attische Basis, spätantik, mit reduziertem oberen Torus. Plinthe aus Travertin H: 0.08 m
L 9	5.26 m, ø 0.63 Granit (Elba)	H: 0.75 m weißer Marmor komposit, flavisch-julisch unterer Blattkranz fehlt	H: 0.35 m weißer Marmor attische Basis 1. Jh., mit polygonal abgearbei- teter Plinthe ‚Unterbasis‘ H: 0.45 m zusammengesetzt aus einem Block Pavonazzetto (wohl auf dem Kopf gestelltes antikes Postament) und mittelalterliche Anstückung in Carrara-Marmor
L 10	5.29 m, ø 65 m Granit (Elba) unten Schaft verkeinert, als wäre er in etwas eingefügt gewesen (zweite Wiederverwendung)	H: 0.68 m weißer Marmor korinthisches Kapitell 1. H. 2. Jh. mit angestückten Voluten wie 10 R ‚pseudo- komposit‘	H: 0.33 m weißer Marmor komposite Basis; ‚Unterbasis‘ aus drei Blöcken. Plinthe oktagon abgearbeitet H: 0.10
L 11	5.74 m, ø 76 Granit (Elba) ‚scapi‘ halbfertig gearbeitet	H: 0.77 m weißer Marmor Kompositkapitell, severianisch; unterer Blattkranz abgeschnit- ten	H: 0.33 m weißer Marmor komposite Basis; die Plinthe wurde rund abgearbeitet

Süd	Schaft	Kapitell	Basis
R 7	5.71 m, ø 0.74 m Granit, graurosa (Sardinien?) Sommoscapo zweiteilig, unfertig bearbeitet.	H: 0.59 m weißer Marmor figürliches korinthisierendes Kapitell mit vier Clipei (Artemis-Büsten) augusteisch	H: 0.28 m weißer Marmor (Carrara) attische Basis antoninisch? aus Blöcken und Platten zusammengesetzte Unterbasis, H: 0.25 m Travertin
R 8	5.79 m, ø 0.72 m Granit, leicht graurosa ,scapi' unfertig bearbeitet	H: 0.63 m weißer Marmor kompositen Kapitell unten beschnitten	0.21 m weißer Marmor attische Basis, oberer Torus überarbeitet zu einem Zylinder. Plinthe fehlt. ,Unterbasis' H: 0.25 m aus 3 Travertin-Blöcken
R 9	5.38 m, ø 0.62 m Granit (Elba) Schaft vollständig ausgearbeitet mit Immo- und Sommoscapo	H: 0.56 m weißer Marmor Kompositkapitell, julisch-claudisch beschnitten	H: 0.24 m weißer Marmor (Carrara) attische Basis, mit abgearbeitetem oberem Torus ,Unterbasis' H: 0.65 m unterer Teil Travertinblöcke; Oberteil Platten aus weißem Marmor
R 10	H: 5.30 m Granit, graurosa Immo- und Sommoscapo ausgearbeitet	H: 0.59 m weißer Marmor korinthisches Kapitell, flavisch, mit angestückten Voluten, wie L 10 ,pseudo-komposit'	H: 0.33 m (Basis inkl. Plinthe gemessen) weißer Marmor komposite Basis 1. H. 2. Jh. Unterbasis H: 0.51 m aus Travertin-Blöcken, unterster Block breiter als das Postament
R 11	5.72 m, ø 0.74 m Granit ,scapi' halbfertig gearbeitet	H: 0.74 m weißer Marmor kompositen Kapitell, flavisch	H: 0.18 m weißer Marmor (Carrara) komposite Basis in den Boden eingetieft, augusteisch (?)

Nord	Schaft	Kapitell	Basis
L 12	Granitsäule im 16. Jh. vom neuen Triumphbogenpfeiler ummantelt		
L 13	Granitsäule im 16. Jh. im Apsispfeiler vermauert		
L 14	H: 4.75 m, \varnothing 0.60 Granitsäule im nördlichen Querhaus	H: 0.22 m als Kapitell verwendete mittelalterliche Basis mit Blättern als Ecksporen, 2. H. 13. Jh.	0.29 m komposite Basis 1./Anfang 2. Jh. mit antikem Buchstaben A

Süd	Schaft	Kapitell	Basis
R 12	Granitsäule im 16. Jh. vom neuen Triumphbogenpfeiler ummantelt		
R 13	Granitsäule im 16. Jh. im Apsispfeiler vermauert		

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Abbildungsnachweis

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Le Strade di Roma nel Medioevo

Riassunto

All'inizio del medioevo a Roma (V–VI sec.) si assiste a un forte spopolamento che riduce almeno del 90% il numero degli abitanti ma anche, a partire dalla metà dell'VIII sec., alla presa di possesso della città da parte del papato che eredita, assieme al patrimonio monumentale, anche il capillare sistema stradale dell'età imperiale. Questo era ancora largamente in buono stato e i suoi tratti principali vengono descritti nei dieci percorsi dell'Itinerario di Einsiedeln. Nel basso medioevo il sistema viario romano si riorganizza in funzione delle processioni papali e delle grandi cerimonie pubbliche e viene integrato con nuovi tratti o con rialzamenti di livello realizzati secondo tecniche differenziate che vanno dai semplici battuti di terra agli acciottolati, sino ai più impegnativi selciati in pietra lavica recuperati dagli antichi basolati.

Keywords: Roma; sistema stradale; Itinerario di Einsiedeln; medioevo; papato.

Der Beginn des Mittelalters (5.–6. Jahrhundert) ging in Rom mit einer starken Entvölkerung einher, in deren Zuge die Einwohnerzahl um mindestens neunzig Prozent zurückging. Darüber hinaus übernahm ab Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts das Papsttum die Stadt und das zusammen mit den Baudenkmalern der Kaiserzeit geerbte, flächendeckende Straßensystem. Letzteres war noch lange Zeit in einem guten Zustand und Schilderungen seiner wichtigsten Straßenverläufe finden sich in zehn Routenbeschreibungen des *Itinerarium Einsidlense*. Im Spätmittelalter wurde das römische Straßensystem entsprechend den Bedürfnissen päpstlicher Prozessionen und großer öffentlicher Zeremonien reorganisiert und mit neuen Verläufen sowie durch Anhebung des Straßenniveaus in das neue Straßensystem integriert. Die dabei verwendeten Techniken reichten von einfachen Erdaufschüttungen über Kopfsteinbelag bis hin zu aufwendigeren Pflasterungen aus Lavastein, das man aus antiken Straßenpflasterungen zurückgewonnen hatte.

Keywords: Rom; Straßensystem; Itinerarium Einsidlense; Mittelalter; Papsttum.

The beginning of the Middle Ages (5th – 6th century) was accompanied in Rome by severe depopulation, resulting in at least a ninety percent drop in the number of inhabitants. Furthermore, from the middle of the 8th century onward the papacy assumed control of the city and the extensive road network, which it had inherited along with historic buildings from the imperial era. This network remained in good condition for a long time afterward, and portrayals of its most important routes are found in ten route descriptions in the *Itinerarium Einsiedlense*. In the late Middle Ages, the Roman road network was reorganized to accommodate papal processions and large public ceremonies and was integrated into the new road network by adding new routes and raising the road level. The techniques used in this process ranged from simple earth embankments and cobblestone pavements to more elaborate surfaces of volcanic rock that had been reclaimed from ancient paved roads.

Keywords: Rome; road network; Itinerarium Einsiedlense; Middle Ages; papacy.

I Introduzione

Nel corso degli ultimi decenni, grazie alla nascita di una vera e propria disciplina di Archeologia Medievale e grazie anche a una maggiore attenzione nel recupero e nell'analisi dei dati provenienti dagli scavi è stato possibile formarsi un'idea sempre più precisa della trasformazione della città di Roma nel passaggio dall'antichità al medioevo.

Per molti questa idea si è concretizzata a lungo in un'immagine di rovina e di abbandono incontrollati con un pugno di abitanti che si aggiravano quasi abbruttiti tra i resti fatiscenti della città imperiale.¹

Oggi sappiamo che le cose non andarono probabilmente in modo tanto catastrofico ma che la sorte della città fu commisurata al rapido spopolamento verificatosi principalmente nel corso della seconda metà del V – inizio del VI secolo quando i romani, già ridotti di numero intorno ai 500 000, passarono per diversi motivi a circa 50 000 con un vertiginoso calo del 90%.²

Questo brusco svuotamento dell'urbe, che gli scrittori e gli intellettuali di allora non mancarono di rilevare,³ creò un forte *surplus* di disponibilità abitativa e, in generale, edilizia oltre a favorire la trasformazione dell'abitato che, come ha dimostrato lo studio del fenomeno delle 'sepulture urbane' del VI–VII secolo, iniziò a distribuirsi per nuclei

1 L'attenzione per le vicende della città altomedievale si è in un primo momento focalizzata sui centri dell'Italia Settentrionale dalla cui analisi sono nate le posizioni contrapposte degli studiosi che B. Ward Perkins ha definito dei 'continuisti' e dei 'catastro-

fisti'; vedi Ward Perkins 1997. L'intera questione è riassunta in Meneghini e Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 9–10.

2 Meneghini e Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 21–27.

3 Cassiod., *Var.* XI, 39.

sparsi a ‘macchia di leopardo’ con una forte concentrazione solo in corrispondenza del quartiere commerciale del Velabro.⁴

In tal modo la città dovette assumere un aspetto che in certe zone doveva essere di vera e propria rovina mentre in altre i monumenti pubblici, ancora di proprietà imperiale, continuavano a rimanere integri e in taluni casi erano persino oggetto di manutenzione.

Questo stato di cose proseguì sino alla seconda metà dell’VIII secolo quando il cambiamento di alleanze del nascente stato pontificio, che abbandonò Bisanzio a favore dei Carolingi, non trasformò il papato nel nuovo proprietario della dotazione edilizia di Roma.⁵

Da quel momento in poi si assiste a una vera e propria programmazione nella gestione di tale dotazione che vede la riconversione di alcuni complessi monumentali in edifici assistenziali (diaconie e xenodochi) e di culto (chiese e monasteri) e l’utilizzazione di altri come vere e proprie cave per il recupero di materiale da costruzione destinato all’attività edilizia.⁶

Appare evidente come Roma non fosse affatto una città abbandonata o in preda al caos ma, sia pure in proporzione con il diminuito numero di abitanti, un centro attivo e vitale dove si producevano anche generi di lusso⁷ e capace di uno sforzo costruttivo tale da realizzare in pochi anni, tra l’848 e l’852, una cerchia muraria di tre km attorno alla *Civitas Leoniana* che costituisce quasi una replica in scala minore delle mura Aureliane.

La vita e le attività della città dunque si ridussero, ma non vennero mai meno ed è quindi logico pensare alla sopravvivenza, sia pur con modifiche di quota e di struttura, di una larga parte dell’imponente rete stradale urbana ereditata dall’età classica.

I tracciati dei clivi, dei vici e delle ampie vie rivestite di poligoni di selce tipici dell’età classica⁸ continuarono a sopravvivere in grande numero e a collegare tra loro le diverse parti della città per gli scopi più diversi tra i quali rientravano anche il trasporto e la movimentazione dei materiali ricavati dalle demolizioni degli antichi monumenti che venivano convogliati nei cantieri costruttivi della Roma medievale.

Per un’analisi delle trasformazioni e delle vicende del sistema stradale romano nel medioevo disponiamo, come vedremo di seguito, di numerosi dati storici e archeologici che consistono principalmente nelle indicazioni contenute negli itinerari dell’epoca e nei risultati di alcuni scavi recenti.

4 Meneghini e Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 200.

5 Meneghini e Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 53-101.

6 In questo periodo ‘rinasce’ la tecnica costruttiva dell’opera quadrata forse proprio grazie al gran numero di blocchi di tufo e di travertino immessi nel circuito edilizio grazie alle demolizioni dei complessi monumentali di età classica utilizzati come ca-

ve. Da questa ‘nuova’ tecnica deriva anche l’origine dell’abitazione aristocratica altomedievale romana: la *domus solarata*. Meneghini e Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 31-51 e 133-142.

7 Arena, Delogu e Paroli 2001, 79-87 e 331-432.

8 Per una descrizione tecnica della selce utilizzata nelle pavimentazioni stradali vedi Penta et al. 1952.

2 La viabilità nell'altomedioevo – L'Itinerario di Einsiedeln

Alla fine dell' VIII – inizi del IX secolo d.C. risale la fonte forse più importante per la nostra conoscenza della città di Roma nell'altomedioevo: l'Itinerario di Einsiedeln.⁹

L'opera, composta oltre che dall'Itinerario vero e proprio anche da una silloge epigrafica, da una descrizione delle mura di Roma, da una Liturgia della Settimana Santa e da un'antologia di carmi latini, è costituita dalla descrizione di dieci percorsi di visita della città lungo i quali sono citati i monumenti antichi ancora visibili e le chiese che si trovavano alla destra e alla sinistra dei percorsi stessi.

Al di là della interpretazione del documento esso appare di notevole valore rispetto all'argomento qui trattato poiché i percorsi riconoscibili ricalcano nella quasi totalità dei casi i tracciati stradali di età classica dandoci una chiara idea di persistenza e di continuità della viabilità antica in pieno alto medioevo.

Lungo il primo Itinerario, infatti, si riconoscono i tracciati dell'antica *via Recta*,¹⁰ del *vicus Pallacinae*,¹¹ del *clivus Argentarius*,¹² dell'*Argiletum*,¹³ del *vicus Longus*¹⁴ e del *vicus Patricius*.¹⁵

Nel secondo Itinerario ricompare la *via Recta* mentre nel terzo si percorre l'*alta Semita*,¹⁶ il *vicus Laci Fundani*¹⁷ e infine di nuovo l'*Argiletum*.

Il quarto Itinerario testimonia la transitabilità della *via Lata*,¹⁸ il tratto urbano della *via Flaminia*; nel quinto il percorso ricalca il tratto urbano della *via Tiburtina* e ancora il *vicus Patricius*; nel settimo si percorre il tratto urbano della *via Aurelia*, il *vicus Tuscus*,¹⁹ di nuovo l'*Argiletum*, il *clivus Suburanus*²⁰ e il tratto urbano della *via Labicana*; l'ottavo Itinerario si svolge anch'esso, come il primo, lungo la *via Recta*, il *vicus Pallacinae* e il *clivus*

9 De Rossi 1879; Lanciani 1891; Huelsen 1907; Bauer 1997; Santangeli Valenzani 1999a; Santangeli Valenzani 2001; Esch 2008.

10 Corrispondente all'attuale asse: via dei Coronari – via delle Coppelle – piazza Colonna.

11 Compreso più o meno tra l'odierna via delle Botteghe Oscure e il lato orientale della moderna piazza Venezia.

12 Il Clivo Argentario costituiva il proseguimento della *via Lata* e univa l'area dell'attuale piazza Venezia con il Foro Romano costeggiando la base nord-orientale del Campidoglio.

13 La via, che doveva prendere il nome dall'antichissimo quartiere dell'*Argiletum*, si snodava a partire dal Foro Romano, attraverso il Foro di Nerva fino alla confluenza del *vicus Patricius* all'altezza dell'attuale via Urbana.

14 Il *vicus Longus* si snodava all'incirca lungo il percorso della odierna via Nazionale.

15 Il *vicus Patricius*, che univa la *Subura* con la *porta Viminalis* delle mura Serviane, corrispondeva alla moderna via Cavour nel tratto compreso fra largo Visconti Venosta e piazza dei Cinquecento.

16 Il cui tracciato è ricalcato dall'attuale via XX Settembre.

17 Era il proseguimento dell'*alta Semita* verso i Fori Imperiali e corrispondeva all'attuale tracciato: via XXIV Maggio-Salita del Grillo.

18 Il moderno corso Umberto.

19 Il *vicus Tusus* seguiva il percorso dell'odierna via di S. Teodoro.

20 Il Clivo Suburano, che congiungeva la *Subura* con la *porta Esquilina* delle mura Serviane, corrispondeva nel suo tratto più elevato alle attuali via di S. Martino ai Monti-via di S. Vito.

Argentarius mentre, dal Foro Romano in poi esso percorre la *media* e la *summa Sacra Via* e il tratto urbano della *via Tuscolana*.²¹

Il nono e il decimo Itinerario documentano infine la percorribilità del *clivus Scauri*,²² del *vicus Capitis Africae*,²³ del *vicus Drusianus*²⁴ e del tratto urbano della *via Appia*.

Dall'elenco appena esaminato molte delle strade antiche più importanti risultano ancora percorribili e in funzione (anche se esse, come vedremo, erano ormai perlopiù sopraelevate di livello e avevano perduto i loro selciati a favore di semplici acciottolati o battuti di terra) mentre ben quattro dei dieci percorsi dell'*Itinerarium Einsiedlensis* rimanevano incentrati sul Foro Romano, l'antico centro cittadino sempre funzionante, affollato e pulsante di vita.²⁵

3 La viabilità nel basso medioevo attraverso lo studio delle fonti scritte

La grande quantità di fonti scritte disponibile per il basso medioevo (soprattutto protocolli notarili, atti pubblici e itinerari ufficiali) ha permesso l'analisi dello spazio urbano con un approfondito riguardo anche alla viabilità.²⁶

Nel periodo compreso tra il X e il XIII secolo, sono ancora citate con il loro nome antico tutte le vie che conducono alle porte della cinta aureliana come la *via Flaminia*, la *via Pinciana*, la *via Salaria* o la *via Appia* mentre sono rare le strade urbane che lo hanno mantenuto.²⁷

Iniziano anche a modificarsi le denominazioni dei diversi tipi di strade, come il *vicus* che diviene *via* e compaiono nuovi termini come la *strata* o *strada*, a partire dal XIII secolo.

Ancora, per le strade in salita si continua a usare l'appellativo di *clivus* che viene progressivamente sostituito, durante il XII secolo, da *ascensus* o *descensus*.

Esclusi pochi casi (come la *via Sacra* o *Pontificalis*, la *via Recta*, la *via de Minerva* e la *via Arenulae*) le strade romane vengono tutte genericamente dette *viae publicae* e vengono talvolta contraddistinte dal nome della chiesa o del monumento antico ai quali conducono.

21 Attuale via dei SS. Quattro Coronati.

22 La strada mantiene ancora oggi il suo nome italianizzato in Clivo di Scauro.

23 Il *vicus Capitis Africae* collegava l'area del *Ludus Magnus* con la *porta Querquetulana* delle mura Serviane e la chiesa di S. Maria in Domnica.

24 Odierna via Druso, tra piazzale Numa Pompilio e piazza di Porta Metronia.

25 Meneghini e Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 167.

26 Ci si riferisce, in particolare, alla magistrale analisi di E. Hubert (Hubert 1990, 104-124, per la viabilità urbana) dalla quale derivano i dati di seguito citati e brevemente riassunti dal fondamentale lavoro dello studioso francese.

27 Per la viabilità del suburbio e le vicende delle vie consolari nel medioevo vedi Esch 2001 ed Esch 2003.

Le *viae publicae* erano generalmente carrabili tanto da essere dette *carrariae*, un termine che rende bene l'idea del traffico pesante che vi si doveva svolgere, mentre gli angiporti e le vie più piccole dovevano essere perlopiù impraticabili al traffico veicolare tanto da essere dette *pedestris*.

Nel basso medioevo rimanevano inoltre in piedi quattro dei nove ponti antichi (*Aelius, Cestius, Fabricius, S.te Mariae*) che permettevano la comunicazione tra le due sponde tiberine e, in modo particolare, tra il Campio Marzio e il Vaticano e tra il Velabro e il Trastevere.

L'intera circolazione stradale romana di quest'epoca si organizza in funzione dell'asse trasversale SE-NO che congiunge i due poli religiosi del Vaticano e del Laterano durante le grandi cerimonie e le processioni papali: la *via Sacra* o *via Pontificalis*, composta da una successione di strade allineate in maniera assai approssimativa.

Il tragitto, con le sue varianti, viene descritto negli itinerari delle processioni compilati alla metà del XII secolo da Benedetto Canonico e nel 1192 da Cencio Camerario.²⁸

La processione del lunedì di Pasqua vedeva il papa, a cavallo e con il suo folto e variopinto seguito, lasciare il Laterano e percorrere la *via Maior* fino al Colosseo per transitare fino al Foro Romano, probabilmente attraverso la *via Sacra* antica il cui tracciato rimaneva percorribile anche se, proprio nell'XI-XII secolo, il livello dell'intera area compresa fra la *media Sacra via*, il Foro Romano stesso e il settore occidentale dei Fori Imperiali era in rapida crescita²⁹

Presso S. Adriano, il pontefice svoltava nel Foro di Nerva per uscirne presso la chiesa dei SS. Quirico e Giulitta, lungo il tracciato dell'antico Argiletto e ascendeva alle *Militiae Tiberianae* (l'area della Torre delle Milizie e dei Mercati di Traiano) probabilmente utilizzando un percorso corrispondente all'attuale Salita del Grillo.

Da lì il corteo discendeva sino alla chiesa dei SS. Apostoli, forse mediante la via antica ricalcata oggi da via della Pilotta, poi raggiungeva la *via Lata* all'altezza di S. Maria e imboccava la *via Quirinalis* fino a S. Maria in Aquiro e a S. Trifone per attraversare il ponte Elio-S. Petri fino a S. Pietro dove il papa celebrava la messa.

Al ritorno il percorso variava leggermente poiché la processione si svolgeva lungo il fianco meridionale del *campus Agonis* (ex stadio di Domiziano e odierna Piazza Navona) per passare, attraverso la contrada del Calcarario, a S. Marco mediante il tracciato dell'antico *vicus Pallacinae*, oggi via delle Botteghe Oscure.

Da S. Marco il pontefice e il suo seguito percorrevano il *clivus Argentarius*, che proprio da quegli anni si cominciava a chiamare *descensus Leonis Prothi*,³⁰ e sboccava nel Foro Romano passando sotto l'arco di Settimio Severo.

28 Valentini e Zucchetti 1946, 197-318.

29 La crescita di livello in tutta quest'area si assestò nel XIII secolo dopo un aumento medio di almeno 3

mt, vedi Meneghini e Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 174-175.

30 Hubert 1990, 106.

Percorreva il tracciato della *media* e *summa Sacra Via* e passando sotto l'Arco di Tito giungeva al Colosseo e, infine, di nuovo al Laterano.

Come si vede si tratta di un percorso composto, in effetti, da tratti stradali assai più antichi già in parte descritti secoli prima nell'Itinerario di Einsiedeln come quello che nel primo e nell'ottavo itinerario raccorda il *vicus Pallacinae* con il Clivo Argentario e il Foro Romano o come quello che, ancora nell'ottavo, collegava la *media* e *summa Sacra Via* con il tratto urbano della *via Tuscolana* verso il Laterano.

Per quanto riguarda lo stato generale delle strade bisogna attendere il 1227 per avere la prima notizia dell'esistenza dei *Magistri Aedificiorum Urbis* la cui attività istituzionale comporta la verifica che i privati non invadano le sedi viarie e la pulizia e la sistemazione di queste ultime.³¹

Solo nel 1425 Martino V (1417-1431) ricostituisce con un editto la magistratura delle strade con funzioni amministrative e di sorveglianza ribadite in uno statuto del 1452 nel quale i cittadini vengono investiti della responsabilità del buono stato dei tratti stradali posti davanti alle loro case e della rimozione settimanale dei rifiuti dalle strade stesse, almeno in estate.³²

Infine Sisto IV (1471-1484), in una bolla del 1480, dispose l'abbattimento di portici, meniani e di tutte le strutture che nei secoli si erano andate sovrapponendo alle sedi stradali e le avevano parzialmente invase restringendone spesso l'ampiezza.³³

4 La viabilità nota dalle indagini archeologiche

4.1 I Fori Imperiali e i Mercati di Traiano.

Nel 1995-1996 e poi nel 1998-2000 la Sovrintendenza ai BBCC del Comune di Roma ha realizzato estese indagini archeologiche che hanno portato allo scoprimento di nuovi, ampi settori dei Fori Imperiali.³⁴

Uno dei complessi scavati che ha fornito dati di notevole valore archeologico, soprattutto per il periodo medievale, è stato il Foro di Nerva del quale è stata riportata in luce la parte occidentale, confinante con la Basilica Emilia.³⁵

La sopravvivenza del lastricato marmoreo tardo antico della piazza ha permesso la conservazione delle stratigrafie soprastanti che mostrano la nascita, lungo una fascia

31 Hubert 1990, 119-126; Verdi 1997, 10, n. 3, per una bibliografia dell'attività dei *magistri* nel periodo medievale.

32 Cherubini, Modigliani e Sinisi 1984; Maetzke 1988, 404.

33 Tomassetti 1860, 273-278.

34 Meneghini 2009; Meneghini e Santangeli Valenzani 2007.

35 Il settore orientale della piazza con i resti del Tempio di Minerva e le Colonnacce era stato scoperto durante gli scavi del Governatorato di Roma tra il 1931 e il 1942 mentre la parte centrale del Foro giace ancora sepolta sotto Via dei Fori Imperiali.



Fig. 1 Foro di Nerva.
(A-B) = Abitazioni aristocratiche del IX secolo. (C) = Tracciato stradale di VIII-IX secolo. Sul fondo, a destra, la *Curia Senatus*, dal 625-638 chiesa di S. Adriano.

estremamente usurata del pavimento, di un percorso stradale di collegamento fra il Foro Romano e la *Subura* attraverso il Foro di Nerva già a partire dall'VIII secolo³⁶ (Fig. 1).

Il tracciato si svolgeva direttamente sul lastricato tardo antico risarcito nei tratti lacunosi e consumati da un acciottolato compatto formato principalmente da frammenti marmorei.

Le ruote dei carri che transitavano sulla strada hanno lasciato profonde tracce lungo questo percorso, principalmente in corrispondenza degli estradossi in blocchi di tufo di copertura della sottostante *Cloaca Maxima* (Fig. 2).

Nella prima metà del IX secolo il livello di tutta la piazza viene rialzato di circa mezzo metro scaricandovi uno strato omogeneo di terra grassa e anche la strada risul-

36 Santangeli Valenzani 1997. Si tratta certamente della riproposizione del percorso dell'antico *Argiletum*

che in questo tratto era stato monumentalizzato e trasformato nella piazza del Foro di Nerva.



Fig. 2 Foro di Nerva. Impronte delle ruote dei carri che transitavano lungo il tracciato stradale di VIII-IX secolo all'interno del Foro, fra il Tempio di Minerva e le Colonnacce, in corrispondenza dell'estradosso in blocchi di tufo della copertura della Cloaca Massima.

ta sopraelevata con uno strato di terra sabbiosa rivestito da un nuovo acciottolato più compatto e regolare del precedente.

Contemporaneamente vengono costruite, lungo i lati della strada, alcune abitazioni aristocratiche (*domus solarate*) in opera quadrata di blocchi tufacei di recupero e munite di un piano superiore in laterizio, di un portico (in un caso) e di orti, frutteti e spazi per gli animali domestici³⁷ (Fig. 3).

La vita di queste ricche abitazioni proseguì fino al X secolo mentre, a partire dall'XI e fino a tutto il XII, esse furono abbandonate e il livello dell'area crebbe progressivamente di circa due metri.

La strada fu sopraelevata da una serie di battuti sovrapposti ma il suo tracciato rimase invariato e dalle fonti d'archivio sappiamo che nel basso medioevo era detta *Fundicus Macellorum de Archanoè* dalle botteghe di macellai che vi si affacciavano³⁸ (Fig. 4).

37 Santangeli Valenzani 1997; Santangeli Valenzani 1999; Santangeli Valenzani 1999b; Santangeli Valenzani 2000.

38 Lanciani 1901.



Fig. 3 Veduta ricostruttiva del Foro di Nerva nel IX secolo.

Essa continuò ad esistere e divenne via della Croce Bianca nella ristrutturazione urbanistica dell'area che, alla fine del XVI secolo, generò il quartiere Alessandrino e finì per scomparire nella demolizione del quartiere stesso, nel 1932, ad opera del Governatorato di Roma.

Un altro dei complessi sul quale gli scavi recenti hanno gettato nuova luce è il Foro di Traiano del quale è stato scoperto nel 1998–2000 il settore centrale della piazza e quello meridionale a contatto con l'adiacente Foro di Augusto.

Il ritrovamento di ampi brani di stratigrafie altomedievali ha permesso di comprendere le dinamiche di abbandono e di rioccupazione della piazza che mostra tracce di restauri delle ampie lacune della pavimentazione marmorea (sotto forma di acciottolati composti da schegge marmoree e frammenti di laterizi e ceramica) ancora alla metà del IX secolo³⁹ (Fig. 5).

Pochi anni dopo, all'inizio della seconda metà dello stesso secolo, la pavimentazione marmorea superstita venne completamente asportata probabilmente per farne calce e sopra il piano spoliato della piazza si accumularono strati fangosi di abbandono per un centinaio di anni circa rialzandone il livello mediamente di mezzo metro (Fig. 6).

Tale situazione fu completamente obliterata e bonificata da una poderosa gettata di 3000 mc di terra battuta mista a cocci sminuzzati disposta uniformemente su tutta

39 Meneghini e Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 182–183.

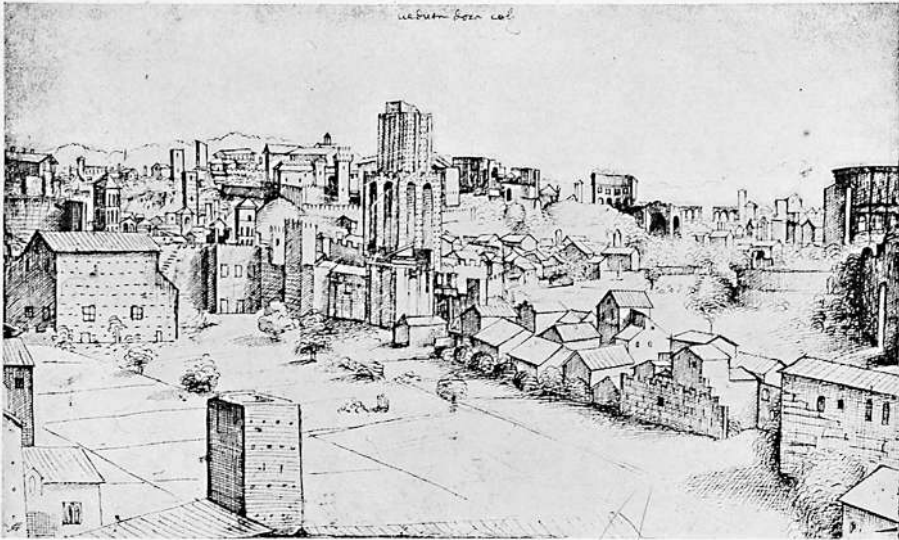


Fig. 4 Veduta del *Fundicus Macellorum de Archanoè*, nell'area dell'antico Foro di Nerva, nel XV secolo (dal Codex Escorialensis).

l'area della piazza, intorno alla metà del X secolo allo scopo di avviarne la rioccupazione (Fig. 6).

Questa fu realizzata costruendo su questa sorta di 'piattaforma' così ottenuta un quartiere abitativo composto, a quanto sembra, da abitazioni di grandi dimensioni, delle quali si sono ritrovati solo pochi resti dei muri perimetrali e delle fondazioni, forse analoghe alle aristocratiche *domus solarate* del IX secolo del Foro di Nerva⁴⁰ (Fig. 7).

Assieme alle case furono costruite le strade (composte da spessi acciottolati di marmi, laterizi e detriti vari, direttamente poggiati sullo strato di bonifica), secondo una disposizione topografica che rimase praticamente inalterata sino alla demolizione del quartiere Alessandrino compiuta nel 1932 dal Governatorato di Roma per l'apertura di via dell'Impero, ora via dei Fori Imperiali (Fig. 8).

Le vie, nate alla metà del X secolo assieme al quartiere, erano talvolta bordate da marciapiedi realizzati con blocchi di risulta nei quali erano ricavati fori (c.d.: 'attaccaglie') per legare cavalli e bestie da soma (Fig. 9).

Il livello di queste strade cresce progressivamente per più di sei secoli e si presenta, all'interno delle sequenze stratigrafiche, sotto forma di una serie di numerosi battuti sovrapposti finché, alla fine del Cinquecento, con la ristrutturazione urbanistica dell'intera zona promossa dal cardinale Michele Bonelli, detto l' 'Alessandrino' (che dà il nome al

40 Meneghini e Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 183-188.



Fig. 5 Foro di Traiano. Restauri del IX secolo in acciottolato del pavimento marmoreo della piazza del Foro.

nuovo quartiere), le vie vengono almeno in parte rivestite con basoli antichi di medie e piccole dimensioni precludendo quasi al moderno rivestimento a ‘sampietrini’ delle vie di Roma⁴¹ (Fig. 10).

Recenti indagini condotte dalla Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma hanno portato alla scoperta di un tratto del *clivus ad Carinas* che si svolgeva lungo il lato meridionale del *Templum Pacis* e nel quale la sovrapposizione ininterrotta dei tracciati, sino all’età moderna, fornisce un esempio assai significativo della persistenza di molti assi stradali antichi durante il medioevo.⁴²

41 Gli scavi hanno documentato tracce di questo rivestimento pavimentale per alcuni tratti di via Alessandrina e di via dei Carbonari. Nel passato erano già stati effettuati ritrovamenti di settori muniti di selciati cinquecenteschi come un lungo tratto della

via Alessandrina tardo rinascimentale ritrovato nel 1934 di fronte a palazzo Roccagiovine, vedi Archivio Centrale dello Stato di Roma, Archivio Gatti, fasc. 9, f. 3314.

42 Rea 2010.

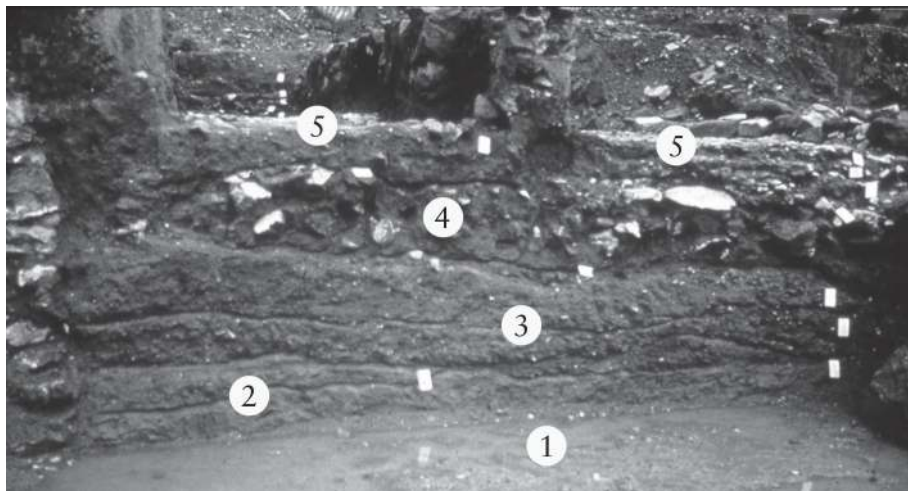


Fig. 6 Foro di Traiano. Sequenza stratigrafica rinvenuta nella piazza del Foro durante gli scavi del 1998–2000: (1) Piano di posa delle lastre marmoree di pavimentazione della piazza. (2) Strato di abbandono del IX–X secolo. (3) Bonifica della metà del X secolo. (4) Massicciata stradale della metà del X secolo. (5) Piano stradale in acciottolato della metà del X secolo. In età moderna questo percorso diventerà via di S. Lorenzo ai Monti e, successivamente, parte di piazza Colonna Traiana.

L'impianto originario del *clivus* è risultato di età flavia mentre nei primi anni del IV secolo, a seguito della costruzione della *Basilica Nova*, Massenzio ne rialzò il livello di quasi 1,5 mt e ne lasciò il piano di calpestio rivestito da un semplice battuto che tra la fine del V e gli inizi del VI secolo fu sostituito da un selciato formato da basoli di riutilizzo.

La quota della via rimase praticamente invariata per tutto l'altomedioevo e iniziò a crescere lentamente solo a partire dai secoli centrali del medioevo sino a raggiungere il livello rinascimentale del quartiere Alessandrino dove la strada continuò a esistere con il nome di via del Tempio della Pace per essere distrutta nel 1932 assieme al quartiere.

Tra il 1926 e il 1934 il Governatorato di Roma intervenne sui Mercati di Traiano con scavi e restauri per isolarli dalle strutture del cinquecentesco convento di S. Caterina da Siena a Magnanapoli.⁴³

Presso l'antico ingresso ai Mercati, corrispondente a quello attuale su Via IV Novembre, furono scoperti i resti di una strada pavimentata con basoli di medie e piccole dimensioni, disposti in modo disconnesso e lacunoso (Fig. 11).

Un tratto del selciato fu rimosso nel 1992 per scavare e analizzare il riempimento sul quale esso poggiava che fu datato alla seconda metà del X secolo.⁴⁴

43 Ungaro 1995.

44 Meneghini 1995; Meneghini 2003.

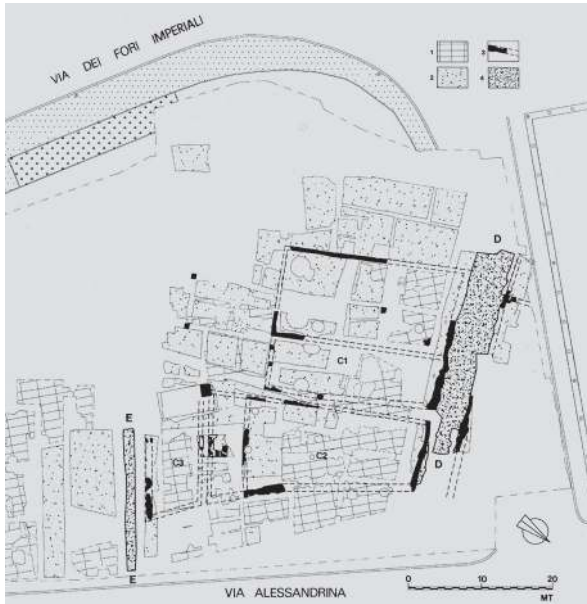


Fig. 7 Foro di Traiano. Pianta della fase altomedievale relativa alle indagini archeologiche della Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali del 1998–2000: (1) Impronte del lastricato della piazza del Foro. (2) Battuto di bonifica della metà del X secolo. (3) Resti di muratura del X secolo con integrazioni a linee tratteggiate. (4) Acciottolati stradali del X secolo. (C1–C2) Perimetri di due possibili abitazioni aristocratiche (*domus solarate*). (C3) Lotto edificato non id. (D–D) Tratto stradale, poi via di S. Lorenzo ai Monti e, successivamente, parte di Piazza Colonna Traiana. (E–E) Tratto stradale, poi via dei Carbonari. Da notare la presenza di angiporti fra i lotti C1–C2 e C2–C3.

Il saggio di scavo dimostrò altresì che la strada non aveva fasi precedenti e che fu impiantata *ex novo* sopra parte dei resti demoliti dell'edificio che fronteggiava i Mercati lungo un angiporto antico di poco più di due metri di larghezza.

4.2 Il Foro Romano e il *Vicus Iugarius*.

La piazza del Foro Romano fu completamente sterrata nella seconda metà del XIX secolo con la perdita assoluta dei dati relativi alle vicende postclassiche dell'area.

Ciò nonostante sembra possibile ricostruire, sulla base della scarsa documentazione fotografica e sulle poche descrizioni rimaste degli interri della piazza rimossi dagli sterzatori ottocenteschi, una frequentazione ininterrotta del Foro sino almeno al X secolo ancora sul piano di calpestio corrispondente al lastricato antico e un successivo abbandono dell'area con interro e consistente aumento di livello (3 mt circa) nel corso dei secoli XI e XII.⁴⁵

Fortunatamente, a partire dal 1981, una campagna di scavi protrattasi per più di venti anni a seguito della rimozione di via della Consolazione ha permesso il recupero di dati stratigrafici di notevole importanza relativi al margine occidentale del Foro Romano e al *Vico Iugario* che vi si immetteva e il cui tracciato è sopravvissuto sino all'età moderna trasformandosi nella 'strada della Consolazione'.⁴⁶

45 Vedi *supra*, p. 286 e n. 28.

46 Maetzke 1988; Maetzke 1991; Coccia 2001.



Fig. 8 Foro di Traiano. Indagini archeologiche della Soprintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali del 1998–2000. Tratto stradale del X secolo in acciottolato che in età moderna diverrà via di S. Lorenzo ai Monti e, successivamente, parte di piazza Colonna Traiana (v.s. Fig. 6, D–D).

L'ininterrotta sequenza stratigrafica dei livelli di frequentazione dell'asse stradale ha mostrato che l'obliterazione del selciato romano avvenne a partire dai secoli VII–VIII con la formazione di battuti di terra che sovrapponendosi progressivamente rialzarono il livello di calpestio di 0,4–0,7 mt con una netta modifica della pendenza in direzione del Foro verso il quale veniva così convogliata l'acqua piovana che ruscellava per la via priva di fogne.

Agli inizi del X secolo, nell'interro che ormai aveva raggiunto 1,2–1,5 mt al di sopra della quota antica, fu fondato un grande edificio costruito nella tipica opera quadrata dell'epoca che si addossava ai resti della retrostante Basilica Giulia.⁴⁷

47 Coccia 2001.



Fig. 9 Foro di Traiano. Scavi della Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali del 1998–2000: (1) Piano di posa delle lastre marmoree di pavimentazione della piazza del Foro. (2) Restauro moderno. (3) Battuti di bonifica della metà del X secolo. La linea rossa indica il livello del piano stradale del X secolo. (4) Marciapiede in blocchi di tufo. Il blocco centrale reca il foro di una 'attaccaglia' per legare cavalli e bestie da soma. (5) Resti della parete orientale del lotto C2 (v. s. Fig. 7).

L'edificio, forse una *domus solarata* analoga a quelle rinvenute nel Foro di Nerva, fu messo fuori uso dal consistente e progressivo aumento di livello che investì l'area tra l'XI e il XII secolo.

In corrispondenza della sede stradale, proprio a partire dal XII secolo, inizia una fitta sequenza di acciottolati che si susseguono a distanza di 5–10 cm e sono separati solo dagli strati di preparazione.⁴⁸

Nel tratto di sequenza stratigrafica corrispondente ai secoli XII–XIII si sono individuati ben dodici di questi acciottolati sovrapposti mentre in quello relativo ai secoli XIV e XV se ne sono contati tredici.

48 Maetzke 1988, 403–404.

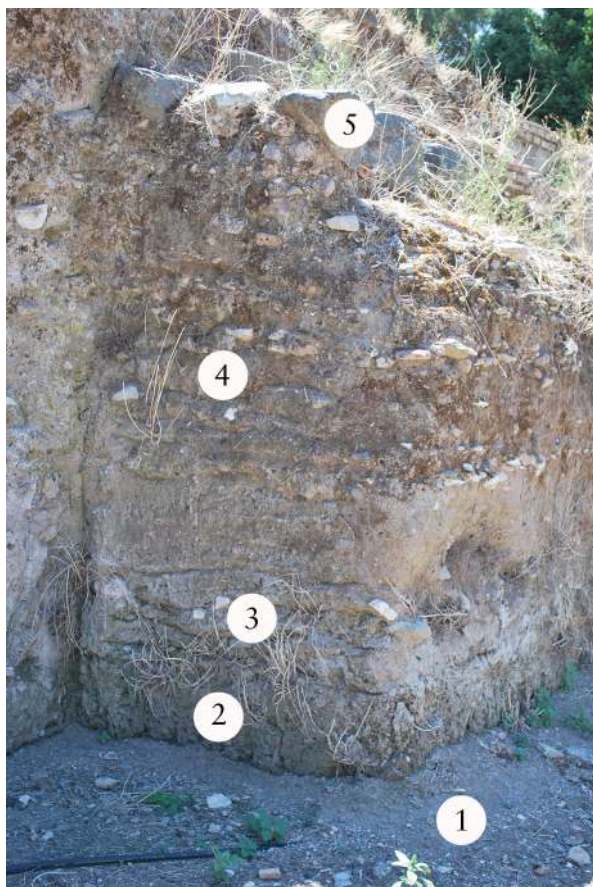


Fig. 10 Foro di Traiano. Sequenza stratigrafica del tratto stradale E-E (v. s. Fig. 6), poi via dei Carbonari, rinvenuta negli scavi 1998-2000 della Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali: (1) Piano di posa delle lastre marmoree di pavimentazione della piazza del Foro. (2) Strato di abbandono del IX-X secolo. (3) Battuti di bonifica della metà del X secolo. (4) Sequenza di battuti e acciottolati stradali. (5) Basolato della fine del XVI secolo relativo alla sistemazione urbanistica del cardinal Michele Bonelli.

4.3 Il *Vicus Capitis Africae*

Le recenti indagini archeologiche condotte in diversi settori del Celio hanno permesso di accertare che nel corso del medioevo l'unico elemento di continuità con l'epoca romana era costituito dalla viabilità principale nell'ambito della quale persisteva ininterrottamente il *Vicus Capitis Africae* destinato a divenire in età moderna la 'Via della Navicella'.

Alcuni resti del basolato dell'antico tratto stradale sono stati rinvenuti negli scavi condotti da Carlo Pavolini negli anni Ottanta e Novanta dello scorso secolo presso piazza Celimontana e risultano databili all'età tardo antica, più precisamente al IV secolo, quando parte delle strutture abitative circostanti era forse già stata abbandonata.⁴⁹

49 Pavolini 1993, 160-161.

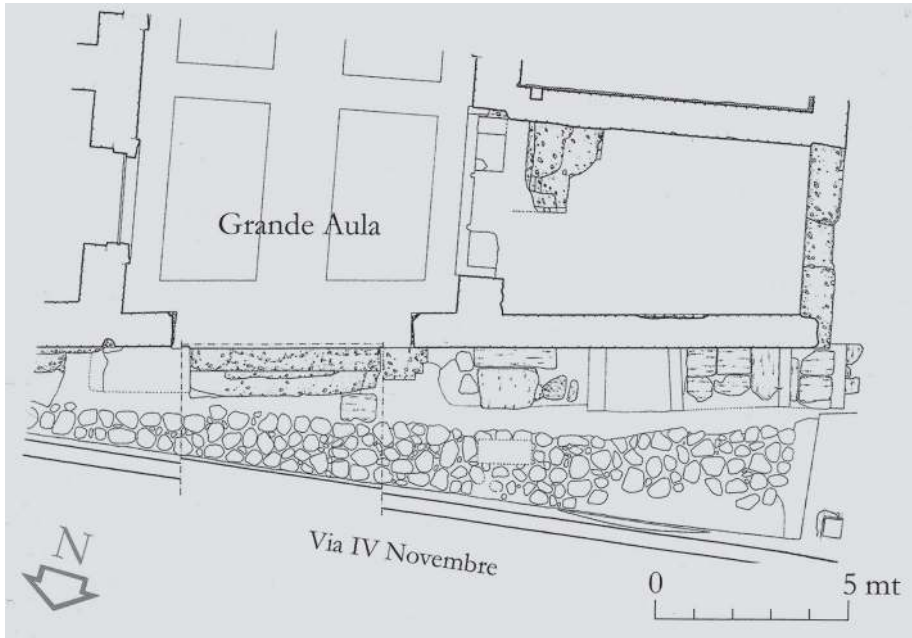


Fig. 11 Mercati di Traiano. Planimetria dei resti di una strada basolata risalente al X secolo in corrispondenza dell'attuale ingresso al monumento, presso via IV Novembre.

Il selciato costituisce un rifacimento del percorso ed è caratterizzato da un generale stato di scarsa accuratezza nella realizzazione, con basoli dal profilo fortemente irregolare e di dimensioni inferiori rispetto a quelli più antichi che generano ampie lacune riempite con schegge di selce, di travertino e di marmo.

Il limite occidentale della strada presenta resti di un marciapiede costituito anche qui da spezzoni di basoli e da lastre di spoglio in marmo e travertino.

Come è evidente il *Vicus Capitis Africae* tardo antico si presenta ancora con i tratti tipici di una pavimentazione stradale di età classica (lastricato in poligoni di leucitite delimitato da marciapiedi leggermente rialzati), anche se si iniziano a cogliere i sintomi di una certa trascuratezza nell'uso dei materiali e nella loro messa in opera.

L'area fu completamente abbandonata nel corso del V sec. d. C. e il tratto stradale continuò ad essere utilizzato fino al tardo VIII-IX quando il basolato fu intenzionalmente rimosso e sostituito con una massiciata in terra battuta.⁵⁰

50 L'intenzionalità dell'intervento sembra confermata dal fatto che i selci non asportati furono raccolti

in due mucchi disposti ai lati della strada, Pavolini 1993, 166.

Nel X–XI sec. a questa prima massciata se ne sovrappose una seconda realizzata con un profilo “a schiena d’asino”, cioè rialzato al centro, per il displuvio delle acque meteoriche verso i lati della strada.

La seconda massciata venne anche restaurata con dei veri e propri ‘rattoppi’ durante interventi succedutisi nell’arco dei secc. XIII–XIV.⁵¹

In seguito, tra il XV e il XVI sec., il livello del percorso viene rialzato mentre vengono recuperati i basoli del *vicus* romano per realizzare una superficie stradale dove essi sono inseriti, spezzati e ridotti ulteriormente di dimensioni.

Non è chiaro se questo rinnovato selciato avesse un aspetto continuo o se i poligoni di leucitite vi fossero distribuiti in maniera ineguale poiché la pavimentazione è stata in seguito quasi completamente spoliata.⁵²

Infine, al termine del sec. XVI, su di un riempimento costituito da un gran numero di spezzoni marmorei, viene steso un nuovo piano stradale in terra battuta di grande solidità e compattezza.

4.4 La *Porticus Minucia* e la *Crypta Balbi*

Anche in questo caso le indagini archeologiche realizzate a partire dal 1983 dalla Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma in collaborazione con un gruppo di lavoro e di studio guidato da Daniele Manacorda hanno fruttato importantissimi dati per le vicende del monumento e della vicina *Crypta Balbi* nel medioevo.⁵³

Tra i dati ve ne sono molti riguardanti la viabilità intorno e dentro ai due complessi come nel caso di una strada che nel 420–430 fu stabilita lungo il portico meridionale della *Porticus Minucia* che era ormai raso al suolo e ne ricalcò il tracciato mettendo in comunicazione l’area del teatro di Pompeo e del *monasterium Boetianum* (presso l’attuale Largo di Torre Argentina) con il *vicus Pallacinae* verso S.Marco e la zona dei Fori Imperiali (Fig. 12).

La via si presentava come una successione di cinque battuti sovrapposti corrispondenti alle diverse fasi di accrescimento che giungevano sino alla metà del VII – metà dell’VIII secolo (Fig. 13).

Nella quarta fase (600–650 d.C.) il battuto stradale fu realizzato mediante uno scarico di detriti e cocciame sul quale le ruote dei carri lasciarono profondi solchi.

Nel IX secolo, in età carolingia, il tracciato si consolida e costituisce parte di due degli itinerari dell’Anonimo di Einsiedeln (il primo e l’ottavo) nel tratto di collegamento fra l’area dell’antico teatro di Pompeo, nota ora con il toponimo *Cypressus*, e il monastero

51 Pavolini 1993, 168 e n. 557.

52 In questa fase della strada viene anche messa in opera una sorta di marciapiede realizzato con spezzoni di basoli collocati di taglio; Pavolini 1993, 169.

53 Le scoperte sono sintetizzate in Manacorda 2001 ove, alle 139–141, è raccolta anche la vasta bibliografia sugli scavi.

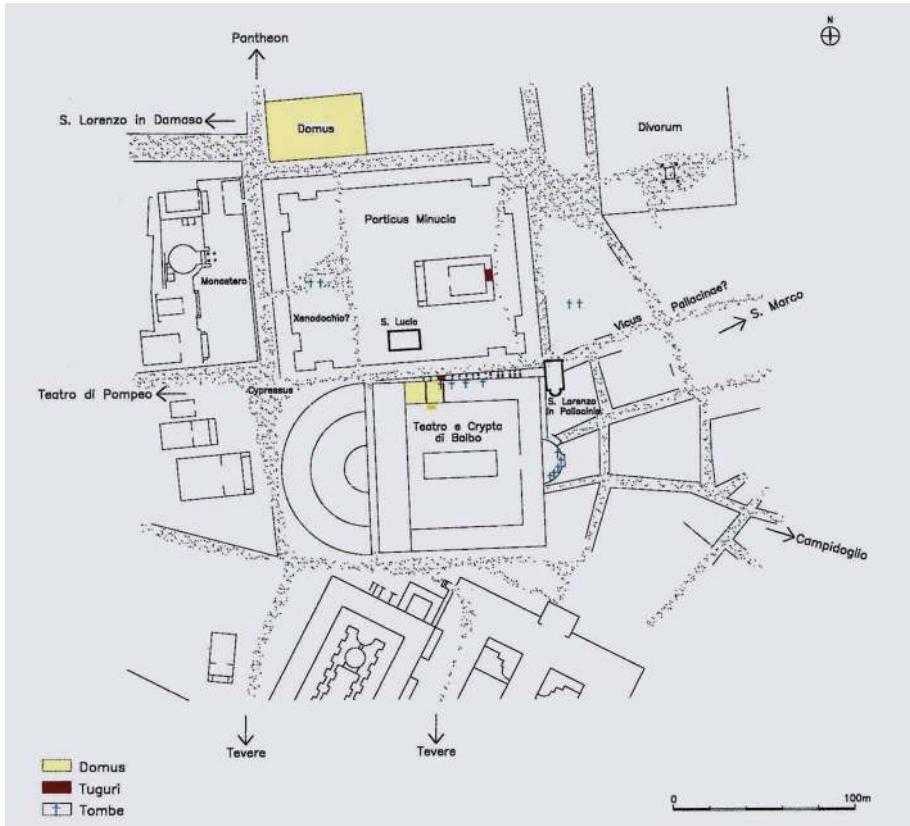


Fig. 12 *Porticus Minucia e Crypta Balbi*. Planimetria ricostruttiva dei due monumenti e dell'area circostante nel V-VI sec. d. C.

di S. Lorenzo in Pallacina, nato presso l'angolo nord-orientale del portico della Cripta di Balbo.

Nel X-XI secolo l'area vede proliferare gli impianti di produzione della calce attraverso la distruzione dei marmi classici, le calcare, tanto da assumere il nome di *Calcarario* e la via nata nel V secolo, cresciuta di livello per alcuni metri, costituisce ora il percorso preferenziale per i carri che smistano il prodotto in città oltre che il confine tra i settori urbani destinati a divenire i futuri rioni di S. Eustachio, Pigna, Sant'Angelo e Campitelli.

A partire dall'alto medioevo e ancora nel XII secolo questa via fa parte inoltre delle grandi processioni papali, come registra Cencio Camerario nel *Liber Censuum* del 1192.⁵⁴

54 Fabre 1905-1952, I, 299; Manacorda 2001, 72 e doc. 41 a p. 132.

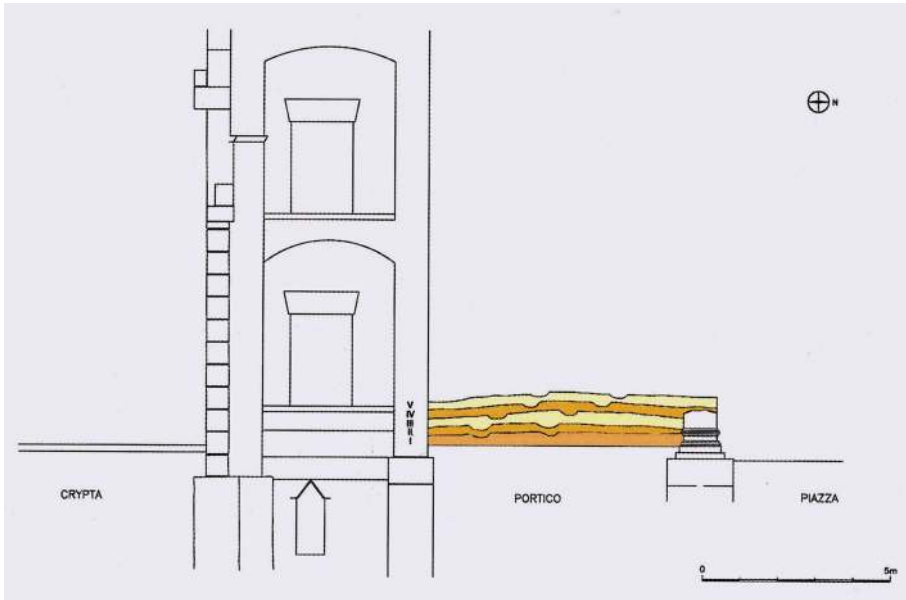


Fig. 13 Stratigrafia di formazione di una strada altomedievale in corrispondenza del portico meridionale della *Porticus Minucia*. (I) 425-475 d. C. (II) 475-550. (III) 550-600. (IV) 600-650. (V) 650-750.

Nel basso medioevo la strada si trova al centro di un quartiere commerciale con presenza di botteghe e abitazioni di mercanti svolgendo il ruolo di una vera e propria arteria, larga ben sei metri, per il traffico connesso al vicino mercato del Campidoglio; dalle botteghe essa prese allora il nome di *contrada de apothecis* che si trasformò nell'odierna Via delle Botteghe Oscure mantenendo sostanzialmente inalterato il suo tracciato originario (Fig. 14).

5 Conclusioni

In conclusione della rassegna dei dati disponibili sulle vie di Roma nel medioevo è possibile stabilire che la città rimase dotata per tutto il periodo di una rete stradale che in buona parte ricalcava quella dell'età antica e che rispondeva largamente alle necessità del nuovo assetto urbano.

Da un punto di vista più strettamente tecnico si nota un profondo mutamento nelle modalità di realizzazione delle strade medievali rispetto a quelle di epoca imperiale.

I selciati antichi, formati da basoli di grandi dimensioni connessi con cura, vennero infatti via via sostituiti (talvolta volutamente) da battuti di terra che spesso recavano inclusi materiali di risulta come schegge di marmo e laterizio.

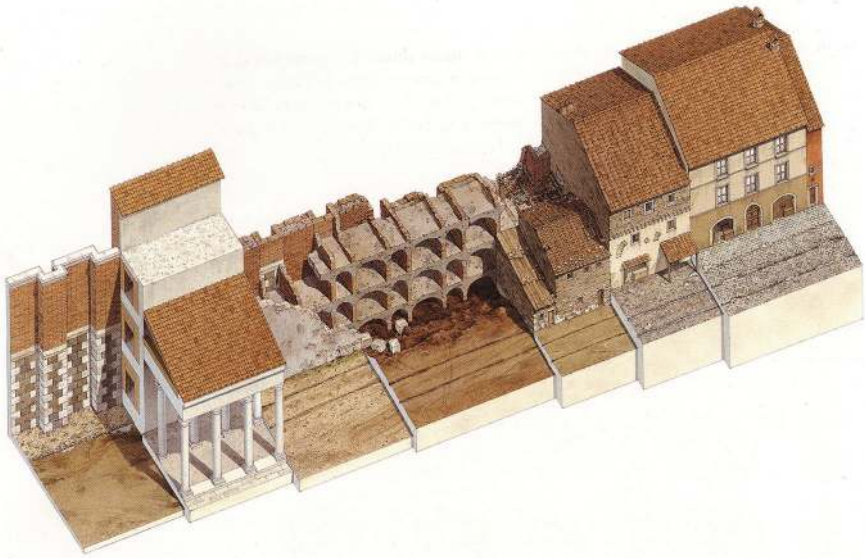


Fig. 14 Ricostruzione del tracciato stradale formatosi in corrispondenza del portico meridionale della *Porticus Minucia* e delle sue trasformazioni sino alla *contrada de apothecis*, odierna Via delle Botteghe Oscure. Da sinistra a destra: età augustea; età domiziana; V secolo; XI secolo; XII secolo; XIV secolo; XVI secolo.

Le ragioni di questa trasformazione risiedono probabilmente in una oggettiva maggior facilità di realizzazione dell'opera oltre che nell'obsolescenza dei basolati⁵⁵ ma anche nelle diverse esigenze di fruizione legate alla presenza e al transito delle numerose greggi e degli animali afferenti alle *curtes* urbane i cui zoccoli trovavano una presa migliore sui battuti che non sui selciati.⁵⁶

Le vie selciate però, stando ai dati esaminati, continuano ad essere sporadicamente realizzate durante tutto il medioevo fino al periodo rinascimentale quando se ne ricomincia a diffondere l'uso che diviene sistematico alla fine del secolo XVI quando, ad esempio, Sisto V (1585-1590) nel solo primo semestre del 1587 lastrica ben 121 strade in selci e in mattoni.⁵⁷

55 Si deve considerare che il selciato della strada romana, dotato di una precisa inclinazione o di un profilo a 'schiena d'asino', faceva parte di un sistema nel quale convogliava le acque piovane e i liquami all'interno della rete fognante che, già a partire dai primi secoli del medioevo, era ormai in larga parte inutilizzabile a causa del progressivo intorbidimento dei con-

dotti rendendo in tal modo superflua la presenza del piano di scorrimento costituito dal selciato stesso.

56 Meneghini e Santangeli Valenzani 2001, 20-21.

57 La necessità di una pavimentazione più durevole sulle vie maggiori di traffico era già stata sentita a partire al Quattrocento quando Niccolò V (1447-1455) fece lastricare le principali strade di collegamento tra il Vaticano e il resto della città, vedi Esposito 2001, 18-20.

Lo stato del sistema viario urbano in rapporto al tema che ci interessa, quello cioè della spoliazione degli antichi monumenti e del riutilizzo dei loro materiali nell'edilizia della città medievale, appare assai favorevole a una circolazione veloce e piuttosto capillare dei materiali stessi e si inquadra in quella vera e propria prassi del riuso che per quasi tutto il periodo ha governato le vicende edilizie di Roma.⁵⁸

Sembra opportuna in tal senso la citazione di un'ultima serie di documenti risalenti alla prima metà del XVI secolo, per l'esattezza al pontificato di Paolo III (1534-1549), e pubblicati da Giuseppe Cascioli nel 1921.⁵⁹

Si tratta dei libri di pagamento per i fornitori dei materiali per la costruzione della nuova basilica di S. Pietro, sotto la direzione di Michelangelo Buonarroti, conservati nell'Archivio della Rev. Fabbrica di S. Pietro.

Tali documenti, datati ormai alla piena età rinascimentale, testimoniano il movimento lungo le strade della città di carovane di muli e di cavalli carichi di pietre e pozzolana oltre a centinaia di carri di ogni tipo e dimensione colmi di marmi e travertini provenienti dalle demolizioni dei maggiori monumenti antichi: il mausoleo di Augusto, il Colosseo, il Teatro di Marcello, i Fori Imperiali, le Terme di Caracalla, il Pantheon e altri.

Da tutti questi luoghi, mediante le principali arterie cittadine, i mezzi e gli animali da soma convergevano verso il ponte S. Angelo e da lì si recavano a consegnare i loro carichi presso il cantiere della nuova basilica.

Dall'inizio del Cinquecento il traffico venne inoltre facilitato dall'apertura sempre più frequente di nuove ampie strade di collegamento che presero nome dai pontefici che le realizzarono come: la via Alessandrina in Borgo, voluta da Alessandro VI (1492-1503) nel 1500; la via Giulia, aperta da Giulio II (1503-1513), che metteva in comunicazione i rioni Ponte, Arenula e Sant'Angelo con il Vaticano; la via Leonina, detta in seguito via Ripetta, che collegava il porto omonimo con la porta del Popolo e che fu tracciata appunto da papa Leone X (1513-1521) e completata da Clemente VII (1523-1534) assieme al cosiddetto 'tridente' di piazza del Popolo.⁶⁰

Paolo III (1534-1549) sistemò le piazze Farnese, San Marco e SS. Apostoli e aprì via Paola, via di Panico e la breve strada di collegamento fra piazza Navona e S. Apollinare; Pio IV (1559-1565) livellò la piazza del Laterano, allargò il Borgo attorno a S. Pietro con un ampliamento che da lui fu detto Borgo Pio e aprì la grande arteria che univa il Quirinale con porta Nomentana;⁶¹ Gregorio XIII (1572-1585), per il giubileo del 1575, tracciò la strada fra il Laterano e Santa Maria Maggiore che nel tratto iniziale prese il nome di via Gregoriana e che divenne poi l'odierna via Merulana.

58 Meneghini e Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 54.

59 Cascioli 1921.

60 Il 'tridente' era composto dalle tre strade che si dipartivano a raggiera dalla piazza e cioè le attuali vie di Ripetta, del Corso e del Babuino.

61 Oggi via XX Settembre.

Non si deve infine dimenticare la realizzazione di un nuovo ponte sul Tevere da parte di Sisto IV, anche in questo caso per un giubileo (quello del 1475), che metteva in comunicazione il Campo Marzio con il Trastevere e con il traffico proveniente dalla via Aurelia e dal Vaticano, rispettivamente attraverso porta S. Pancrazio e porta Settimiana.

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Antike Spolien als Baumaterial im Rom der Frühen Neuzeit: Bautechnik, Baulogistik und der Architektorentwurf mit Spolien nach Serlio

Zusammenfassung

Der vorliegende Aufsatz stellt die technischen und logistischen Aspekte der Spolienverwendung im frühneuzeitlichen Rom in den Mittelpunkt. Ganz unabhängig von den künstlerischen, konzeptionellen und politischen Intentionen, die mit dem Einsatz von Spolien verfolgt wurden, stellen sich praktische Fragen, etwa danach, wie ein Säulenschaft transportiert und aufgerichtet wird, wo man Handwerker findet, die Marmor bearbeiten können, oder welche Kosten zu erwarten sind. Zudem beleuchtet der Aufsatz die Expertise, die sich nach und nach im Umgang mit Spolien ausbildete. Hierzu wird ein wenig beachteter Teil aus Sebastiano Serlios siebtem Buch beleuchtet, in dem es ganz praktisch um das Entwerfen und Planen mit Spolienmaterial geht.

Keywords: Spolien; Säulentransport; Aufrichtung von Säulen; Baukosten; Rom; Sebastiano Serlio.

This essay focuses on technical and logistical aspects of the use of spolia in early modern Rome. Quite independently of the artistic, conceptual and political intentions underlying the use of spolia, practical questions also arose, e.g. how a column was to be transported and erected, where craftsmen capable of working with marble were to be found, and what costs were to be expected. Furthermore, this article sheds light on the expertise that gradually developed in dealing with spolia. To this end, an oft-overlooked section of Sebastiano Serlio's seventh book featuring a highly practical treatment of designing and planning with spolia material is analyzed.

Keywords: Spolia; transport of a column; erection of a column; construction costs; Rome; Sebastiano Serlio.

I Einleitung

Der Einsatz antiker Bauteile in neuen architektonischen Kontexten im Rom der Frühen Neuzeit ist gut erforscht. Dabei stand vor allem der programmatische und gestaltgebende Gehalt der Wiederverwendung architektonischer Elemente im Mittelpunkt. Es ging um Fragen, was mit dem Einsatz von Spolien ausgedrückt werden sollte (Übertreffen der Antike, materielle Kontinuität, *renovatio*), welches repräsentative Interesse dahinterstand, inwieweit die Spolien inszeniert wurden, wie sich epochenübergreifender Anspruch christlicher Ideen mit Spolien ausdrücken ließ und in welches Verhältnis die Entstehungsepoche des Bauteils und die Epoche der Wiederverwendung gestellt wurden.¹ Wird die Spolie perfekt in den Bau integriert oder soll der Bruch zwischen der fremden Spolie und dem neuen Bau inszeniert oder zumindest die Differenz deutlich gemacht werden?²

Auch zum römischen Spolienmarkt der Frühen Neuzeit gibt es eine Reihe von Studien.³ Während die *Santa Sede* sich im Recht sah, über die antiken Monumente zu verfügen, sie unter ihren Schutz stellte, aber bisweilen (und bis ins 17. Jahrhundert) auch ihre Demolierung zugunsten neuer Bauten anordnete, war das Ergraben antiker Säulenschäfte und Bauteile nicht beschränkt, so dass sich seit dem 15. Jahrhundert ein rasch expandierender Marmormarkt ausbildete, der durch die ganze Frühe Neuzeit eine große Bedeutung beibehielt und auf dem sich auch Privatleute Marmor besorgen konnten. Für den Hof des seit den 1480er Jahren im Bau befindlichen Palazzo della Cancelleria waren in den Jahren 1497–1502 Spoliensäulenschäfte unterschiedlicher Herkunft umgearbeitet und einander angepasst worden. Dabei kamen in Florenz gekaufte Marmorbearbeitungswerkzeuge zum Einsatz.⁴ Spätestens ab diesem Moment konnte man Spolien auch als reines Baumaterial verwenden und die gegebene Form verändern oder verwerfen. In Rom bestand eine große Nachfrage nach Marmor, zumal es ab der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts üblich wurde, Familienkapellen mit Marmor auszustatten. Diese Entwicklung fand mit der Cappella Gregoriana (Gregor XIII.) in St. Peter und den Zwillingskapellen Sistina und Paolina an Santa Maria Maggiore (Sixtus V. bzw. Paul V.) ihren Höhepunkt. Bis ins 18. Jahrhundert entstanden unzählige Kapellen.⁵

Eher am Rande hat die bestehende Literatur die praktischen (technischen und logistischen) Aspekte der Spolienverwendung angesprochen. Diese sollen im vorliegenden Aufsatz in den Mittelpunkt gestellt werden. Dabei sollen gerade jüngere Ergebnisse bautechnikgeschichtlicher Forschung Beachtung finden, zumal sie vielfach auch für

1 Zur Spolienverwendung im 15. Jh. in Rom vgl. Satzinger 1996; zu Spolien in St. Peter vgl. Dittscheid 1996; Bosman 2004; für die frühe Neuzeit in Rom insgesamt vgl. Bentivoglio 1987; Moore 1996.

2 Meier 2007, 5; zwischen diesen beiden Polen sieht Meier die Forschung der letzten Zeit orientiert.

3 Vgl. u. a. Gnoli 1971 und Gnoli 1988; Di Castro, Peccolo und Gazzaniga 1994; Cerutti Fusco 2008; Vaquero Piñeiro 2008.

4 Bentivoglio 1987; vgl. Satzinger 1996.

5 Vgl. u. a. Tuena 1989; Ostrow 1990; Kummer 1996.

das Thema Spolien von Bedeutung sind. Ganz unabhängig von den Intentionen, die mit dem Einsatz von Spolien verfolgt wurden, stellen sich praktische Fragen: Wie wird ein Säulenschaft transportiert und aufgerichtet? Wo findet man Handwerker, die Marmor bearbeiten können? Welche Kosten sind zu erwarten? Wie lassen sich Spolien in einen Architekturentwurf integrieren?

Der vorliegende Text will Transport- und Versatztechniken anhand der Wiederverwendung von Säulenschäften beleuchten und versuchen, einen Beitrag zum Spoliengebrauch im frühneuzeitlichen Rom zu leisten. Mit den Kosten für Transport, Bearbeitung und Versatz soll ein Aspekt der Spolienverwendung thematisiert werden, der bislang kaum Aufmerksamkeit erfahren hat. Darüber hinaus stellt sich die Frage, welche Expertise sich im Umgang mit Spolien herausbildete. Hierzu soll ein wenig beachteter Teil aus Sebastiano Serlios siebtem Buch beleuchtet werden, in dem es ganz praktisch um das Entwerfen und Planen mit Spolienmaterial geht.

2 Transport von Spolien mit Wagen

Wichtigstes Transportmittel für Spolienmaterial innerhalb Roms war der Wagen. Die Spoliensäulenschäfte für den Palazzo della Cancelleria wurden u. a. vom Forum, von den Diokletiansthermen und von der Piazza San Marco zur Cancelleria transportiert. Es gibt ein Rechnungsbuch zum Palast, das Bentivoglio publiziert hat und aus dem hervorgeht, dass ein besonders großer Wagen eigens für diese Transporte gebaut wurde, der mehrfach repariert werden musste.⁶ Für den Transport von – in diesem Fall neu gebrochenen – Natursteinblöcken für die Laterne der Florentiner Domkuppel vom Florentiner Flusshafen bis zur Dombaustelle hatte Antonio Manetti im Jahre 1443 ebenfalls einen Karren gebaut. Dieser Wagen war mit einem Aufbau zum Verladen der Blöcke versehen worden. Vermutlich handelte es sich hierbei um eine Winde.⁷ Auch die neu gebrochenen Säulenschäfte für die Reparatur des Mantuaner Doms (ab 1545) wurden mit einem eigens gebauten und recht teuren Wagen antransportiert.⁸

Es lohnt sich, einen Blick auf das 1743 erschienene Traktat *Castelli e Ponti* von Nicola Zabaglia zu werfen, der die römisch-frühneuzeitliche Erfahrung im Transportwesen zusammenfasst (Abb. 1): Zabaglia berichtet, dass in Rom und Umgebung etwa 2000 Wagen gezählt wurden, die sich auf ca. 40 unterschiedliche Typologien verteilten. Die Karren wurden bis zur Stadtgrenze von Büffel- oder Ochsen-Paaren gezogen. Innerhalb der Stadtmauern wurden sie durch Pferde ersetzt, welche sich bereitwilliger lenken ließen und die komplexen Straßenverhältnisse besser meisterten. Aufgrund der engen Stra-

6 Bentivoglio 1982.

7 Belli 2008, 96.

8 Piva 1988, 148: „Libre quaranta otto et soldi docceci per un carro matto di ligname per condur le colonne date a magistro Simon marangon.“



Abb. 1 Nicola Zabaglia, Verladung von Steinblöcken auf einen Wagen.

ßen wurden die Pferde auch einzeln hintereinander gespannt. Zum Auf- und Abladen großer Travertinblöcke wurden die einachsigen Wagen (*bastarde*) geneigt und der Travertinblock über die Deichsel mit einer hinten am Wagen angebrachten Seilwinde hinaufgezogen bzw. herabgelassen. Eine solche Winde hatte vermutlich bereits Manetti auf seinem Wagen. Es wird deutlich – und Zabaglia sagt es ausdrücklich in den Legenden zu den Abbildungen –, dass die Transportleute (*carrettieri*) ein praktisches Wissen um Mechanik haben mussten, um die Ladevorgänge zu bewältigen.⁹ Es gehörte zum Wissen und zur Erfahrung der Bauleute, die Lasten richtig einzuschätzen und den besten Transportmodus zu wählen. Die Wagen konnten nicht für beliebige Lasten ausgelegt werden. Als Wagenlast (*carrettata*) galten zunächst 3000 *libbre*, also etwas mehr als eine Tonne. Dies bezeichnete aber eher eine Durchschnittsladung und war durchaus nicht die maximal auf einem Wagen transportierbare Last. Allein die von Zabaglia (Abb. 1) im

⁹ Zabaglia 1743, 7; Marconi 2004, 133–136; zu Wagentypologien vgl. Lamberini 1998/1999, 283.

Mittelgrund dargestellten Travertinblöcke, die gerade auf eine *bastarda* geladen werden, dürften etwa fünf Tonnen gewogen haben.¹⁰

3 Transport von Spolien mit Schlitten

Befand sich der Steinbruch an einem Steilhang, so wurden die frisch gebrochenen Säulenschäfte auf hölzernen Schlitten den Hang hinuntergelassen, um dann verladen zu werden. Die Schlitten wurden mit um Pflöcke geführten Seilen stabilisiert. Diese Technik (*lizzatura*) war in der Antike wie in der Frühen Neuzeit gleichermaßen üblich und wurde auch für den Transport in der Ebene verwendet.¹¹

In den Jahren 1451 bis 1452 ließ Nikolaus V. den Transport von zwei antiken Säulen (Durchmesser 2 m, Höhe 13,50 m) von den Thermen des Agrippa bei Santa Maria sopra Minerva nach St. Peter von einem Bologneser Spezialisten durchführen.¹² In Rom war das technische Wissen dafür offenbar nicht vorhanden. Satzinger überzeugt mit seiner Vermutung, dass die Säulen als Triumphbogen das Langhaus in den neuen Nikolauschor überleiten sollten. Hiermit wurde sowohl ein im 5. Jahrhundert in San Paolo fuori le mura erstmals verwendetes Motiv aufgegriffen als auch eine der Antike gleichkommende Ingenieurleistung erbracht. Paul II. sagte, Nikolaus V. habe mit seinen Aktionen mit den antiken Imperatoren wetteifern wollen.¹³ Damit meinte Paul II. den technischen und logistischen Aufwand, der für den Transport großer antiker Säulenschäfte betrieben wurde und der ebenso wie das Wiederaufgreifen der antiken Formsprache als Neubelebung des Antiken Bauwesens galt und daher mit viel Prestige für den in der Regel Auftrag gebenden Papst verbunden war. Einen ganz ähnlichen Bogen errichteten Innozenz VIII. und Alexander VI. in San Giovanni in Laterano. Zwei 9 m hohe Granitsäulen bilden das Hauptstück der ab 1491 durchgeführten Konsolidierungsmaßnahmen. Transport und Aufrichtung der beiden wohl aus den Diokletiansthermen stammenden Säulen hatten auch hier antike Dimension.¹⁴ Die Transporttechnologie ist jedoch in beiden Fällen nicht überliefert.

Beim vatikanischen Obelisken, den Domenico Fontana in den Jahren 1585–1586 von der Südseite von St. Peter auf den Petersplatz versetzte, ist die Transporttechnologie im Einzelnen überliefert. Der Obelisk besteht aus rotem Granit, ist ca. 25 m hoch und wiegt 350 Tonnen. Der Transport erfolgte auf einem Schlitten, für das Neigen und

10 Gemessen an den Personen auf dem Blatt ist der Travertinblock ca. 1,5 x 1,1 x 1,2 m, also ca. 2 m³ groß. Bei einem spezifischen Gewicht von Travertin von ca. 2600–2720 kg/m³ ergibt sich ein Gewicht von etwa 5,3 Tonnen.

11 Vgl. Belli 2008, 94–96; der Obelisk am Foro Italico in Rom (1928–1932) wurde ebenfalls mit dieser Technik transportiert: D'Amelio 2009.

12 Dazu gibt es eine Beschreibung des Nürnberger Ratsherrn Muffel: Muffel 1876, 48.

13 Satzinger 1996, 251–253; vgl. Belli 2008, 106.

14 Satzinger 1996, 251–254.

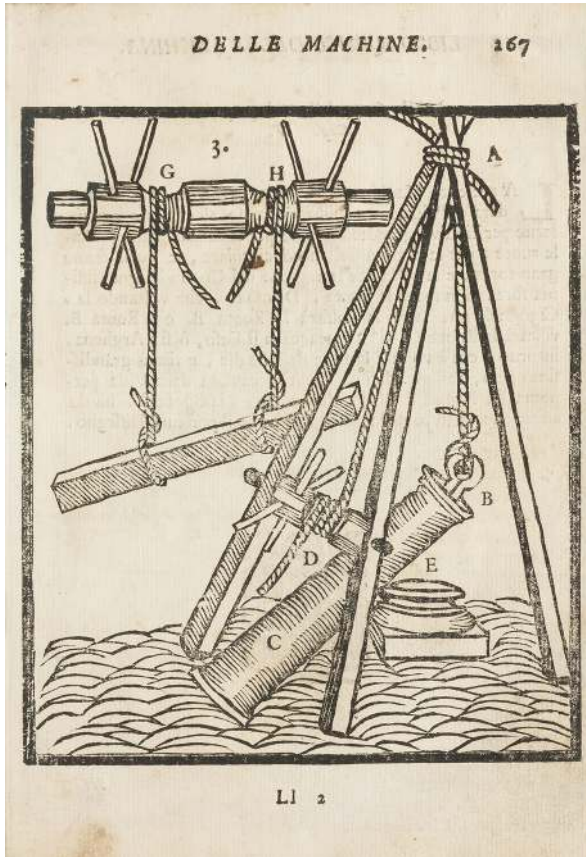


Abb. 2 Alessandro Capra, Aufrichten eines Säulenschafts.

das anschließende Wiederaufrichten wurden sogenannte *castelli*, also hölzerne Turmkonstruktionen eingesetzt, die das aufzurichtende Objekt weit überragten.¹⁵

4 Aufrichte- und Versatztechniken für Säulenschäfte

In der Frühen Neuzeit wurden monolithische Säulenschäfte üblicherweise mit Hilfe eines massiven Holzgerüsts oder unter Einsatz eines aus drei oder vier pyramidal zusammengestellten Holzbalken bestehenden Kranes aufgerichtet. Am Gerüst bzw. Kran wurde eine Umlenkrolle oder ein Flaschenzug aufgehängt. Darüber wurde ein Seil geführt, an das der an seiner Oberseite mit einem Loch versehene Säulenschaft mit Hilfe eines Wolfes angehängt wurde.

¹⁵ Fontana 1590.

Die Säulenschäfte aus Pietra Serena für San Lorenzo in Florenz (Filippo Brunelleschi) waren in den Jahren 1447–1448 mit „castelli“ e appositi strumenti approntati nel 1447“ aufgerichtet worden: „carrucole, carrucoloni“, ulivelle, „taglie“ di bronzo.¹⁶ Belli hat entsprechende Quellen auch für die Aufrichtung der Säulen für Brunelleschis Findelhaus in Florenz gefunden.¹⁷ Als nach einem Brand Säulenschäfte im Dom von Mantua ausgetauscht werden mussten, verwandte Giulio Romano ab 1545 zum Aufrichten der Säulen ebenfalls *ponti* oder *pontelli*, also Gerüste, die aus fünf 30 Ellen langen Holzbalken bestanden. Dort wurden Umlenkrollen angebracht und die Säulenschäfte mit Seilen aufgerichtet.¹⁸ Dabei wurde dafür gesorgt, dass der Fuß des Säulenschaftes nicht den Boden berührte. Dazu wurde wohl ein quadratisches Holzbrett unter dem Säulenfuß angebracht.¹⁹ Auch Alessandro Capra zeigt die Aufrichtung einer Säule nach diesem Prinzip (Abb. 2).²⁰ Es scheint, so Gianluca Belli, als seien diese Techniken bis in die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts immer wieder in den Handbüchern beschrieben worden.²¹ Zum Beweis bringt Belli ein Foto von Restaurierungsarbeiten, die um 1900 am Portikus der Pazzi-Kapelle durchgeführt wurden. Dabei waren die Säulenschäfte aus Pietra Serena nach demselben technischen Prinzip ausgetauscht worden.²²

Andere Maschinen zum Aufrichten von Säulen, die nicht mit Seilen, sondern mit hölzernen Gewindestangen arbeiteten und die u. a. von Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Leonardo da Vinci, Giuliano da Sangallo, Philipp Mönch, Mariano di Jacopo (Taccola), Antonio da Sangallo dem Jüngeren, Roberto Valturio und Daniele Barbaro in Zeichnungen und Traktaten vorgeschlagen wurden,²³ scheinen jedoch auf den Baustellen keine große Bedeutung gehabt zu haben.²⁴ Man verfolgt, so vermutet Belli, mit diesen Maschinenentwürfen den Wunsch, eine überlegene antik-römische Maschinenteknologie bzw. zumindest die Vorstellung, dass es eine solche gegeben habe, wiederzubeleben.²⁵

16 Gargiani 2003, 35; vgl. Belli 2008, 98.

17 Belli 2008, 98.

18 Piva 1988, 151: „Libre doe per pertigoni numero 50 per far ponti in chiesa per metter le colonne in opera dal canto dove era el battistero“; Piva 1988, 152: „Libre tre per assoni doi di noce di braccia 15, tutti doi per far biette [Keile] per metter sotto li pontelli per metter le colonne di marmo in opera“; Piva 1988, 154: „Libre quaranta sei, soldi diece per travi cinque di braccia trenta l'uno per attaccar le taglie [Umlenkrollen für Seile] per tirar su le colonne“; Piva 1988, 152: „Libre sei et soldi dodeci per libbre 44 di corda più forte ... per metter le colonne in opera“; vgl. Gargiani 2008, 136 der auf diese Quellen hinweist.

19 Piva 1988, 154: „Libre tre per pezzi doi di travello [quadratische dicke Holzbretter] di bracci 15 l'uno ... per metter in pié per tirar la colonna in ope-

ra, che non tocca el primo pezzo da basso per non romperla“; weitere, unklare Quellen aus dem Rechnungsbuch: Piva 1988, 154: „Libra una et soldi diece per doe antenne per far una scala forte per le colonne“; Piva 1988, 151: „Soldi otto per storoli quattro per metter sotto le colonne lavorate condotte in San Pietro“; Piva 1988, 152: „... soldi otto per tre scudelle et una sponga che s'usano quando le colonne si mettono in opera“.

20 Capra 1678, 266–267.

21 Belli 2008, 99; Belli zitiert Musso und Copperi 1885.

22 Belli 2008, 99 Abb. 5.

23 Vgl. Belli 1991; Gargiani 2003, 35; Belli 2008, 101–113; vgl. auch die *Database Machine Drawings*: <http://dmd.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/home> (besucht am 10.05.2011).

24 Belli 2008, 102 und 112.

25 Belli 2008, 105–106 und 113.

Im 16. Jahrhundert wurden diese Konzepte immer seltener weiter verfolgt; technologische Entwicklung und die oben beschriebene Baupraxis kamen einander wieder näher. Tatsächlich wurden selbst die riesigen Obelisken von Domenico Fontana nicht mit Gewindemechanismen, sondern ebenfalls mit Holzkastellen, Flaschenzügen und Seilen gehoben und versetzt.

Für das Versetzen monolithischer Säulenschäfte hat man in der Frühen Neuzeit offenbar dieselbe Technik verwendet wie im antiken Rom. In dem in Capua gefundenen römisch-antiken Relief ist ein dreibeiniger Kran zu erkennen, an dem eine Umlenkrolle (bzw. ein Flaschenzug) befestigt ist.²⁶ Über ein von einer Tretmühle bewegtes Seil wird ein Säulenschaft gehoben. Auch Vitruv beschreibt im 10. Buch diesen dreibeinigen Kran sowie alternativ die in der Frühen Neuzeit ebenfalls verwendete *antenna*, einen einzelnen, mit Seilen oder Latten abgespannten vertikalen Holzbalken.²⁷ *Antenna* sowie dreibeiniger Kran wurden von den Vitruv-Kommentatoren Cesare Cesariano (1521),²⁸ Daniele Barbaro (1567)²⁹ und Antonio Rusconi (1590)³⁰ abgebildet. Der Vitruv-Traktat und die auf den Baustellen der Frühen Neuzeit verwendete Bautechnik weisen im 16. Jahrhundert eine zunehmende Übereinstimmung auf.³¹ Die Frage bleibt aber, ob diese Techniken in der Frühen Neuzeit neu gelernt werden mussten, oder ob sie nicht vielmehr seit der Antike nie in Vergessenheit geraten waren.

5 Kosten

Für den Transport und die Aufrichtung aller vier von Sixtus V. versetzten Obelisken wurden insgesamt 74 953 scudi ausgegeben (allein für den Vatikanischen Obelisken 37 000 scudi).³² Das ist sehr viel Geld, wenn man bedenkt, dass der Bau der Kuppel von St. Peter (1588–1590) 140 000 scudi gekostet hat.³³ Für den Bau der Biblioteca Vaticana hatte Sixtus V. 37 712,11 scudi ausgegeben,³⁴ für die gesamte Errichtung der Kirche San Girolamo degli Illirici, eine ca. 38 m lange und 22 m breite Kirche mit Travertinfassade, 22 000 scudi.³⁵ Auch Paul V. realisierte ähnlich teure Vorhaben: Die von ihm aufgerichtete Mariensäule bei Santa Maria Maggiore in Rom, die aus der Maxentiusbasilika stammte, ist 16 m hoch, misst 2,7 m im Durchmesser³⁶ und ist etwa 233 Tonnen

26 Adam 1988, 47–48; Di Pasquale 2008, 37.

27 Belli 2008, 100.

28 Cesariano 1521 [1969], CLXV bzw. CLXVI.

29 Barbaro 1556, 446 und 459.

30 Rusconi 1590, 129–134 bzw. 135.

31 Belli 2008, 114.

32 „Libri dei conti“ von Domenico Fontana, publiziert in Guidoni, Marino und Lanconelli 1987, 52.

33 Marconi 2004, 39; zu St. Peter zitiert Marconi die „Nota d'alcune Fabriche di Chiese et Luoghi Pij, et di altre cose pubbliche fatte da Sua Santità per accrescimento del Culto Divino et aggiunto de' Poveri di Roma“, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Capponi, 57, föll. 15–19, hier fol. 15r.

34 „Libri dei conti“ von Domenico Fontana, publiziert in Guidoni, Marino und Lanconelli 1987, 52.

35 Marconi 2004, 66.

36 Marconi 2004, 235 bzw. 244.

schwer.³⁷ Der Transport über eine Entfernung von ca. einem Kilometer den Esquilin hinauf und die Aufrichtung wurden zwischen August 1613 und Juni 1614 von Maurern unter der Leitung von Carlo Maderno durchgeführt und kostete 11 427 scudi. Zudem erhielten die Auftragnehmer Vergünstigungen für die Beschaffung des erforderlichen Geräts.³⁸

	Datierung	Kosten (scudi)
Vatikanischer Obelisk (Transport und Aufrichtung)	1585–1586	37 000
Alle vier von Sixtus V. errichteten Obelisken	1585–1590	74 953
Peterskuppel	1589–1590	140 000
Biblioteca Vaticana	(1585–1590)	37 712
San Girolamo degli Illirici (gesamte Kirche)	(1585–1590)	22 000
Cappella Sistina, Santa Maria Maggiore	1585–1586	90 000
Mariensäule, Santa Maria Maggiore (Transport/Aufrichtung)	1613–1614	11 427
Cappella Paolina, Santa Maria Maggiore	1605–1615	> 150 000
Sant'Andrea della Valle (Hälfte des Schiffes, Querhaus, Chor, Kuppel)	1608–1623	80 000–90 000
Ausstattung einer Seitenkapelle in Sant'Andrea della Valle	1. Hälfte d. 16. Jhs.	15 000–20 000
Ausstattung der Cerri-Kapelle in Il Gesù	1646–1650	6 980

Tab. 1 Kosten für Bauten, Transporte und Marmordekorationen im Vergleich.

Es ist aufschlussreich, diese Ausgaben im Zusammenhang mit den päpstlichen Finanzen zu sehen. Petrocchi beschreibt, dass sich die Schulden des Kirchenstaates am Anfang des Pontifikats von Clemens VIII. im Jahre 1592 auf 12 Millionen scudi beliefen. Von den jährlichen Einnahmen von ca. 500 000 scudi musste ein Großteil für die Zinszahlungen aufgewendet werden. Die Einnahmen sanken bis zum Ende des Pontifikats auf 343 473 scudi (106 653 scudi Haushaltsdefizit). Paul V. machte viele weitere Schulden (allein zwischen 1608 und 1618 zwei Millionen scudi). Im Jahre 1619 beliefen sich die Schulden auf insgesamt 18 Millionen scudi. Urban VIII. erhöhte die Steuern. In den ersten 16

37 Bei einem spezifischen Gewicht von Marmor von ca. 2400–2700 kg/m³ und einem Volumen von ca. 91,5 m³ ergibt sich ein Gewicht von etwa 233 Tonnen.

38 Marconi 2004, 243–245; Marconi zitiert für den Auftrag Orbaan 1920, 210–211, findet aber neue Quellen für die effektive Bezahlung im Höhe von 11 427 scudi, Marconi 2004, 245; ASR, Camerale I, Fabbri- che, b. 1537, cc. 250r–309r.

Jahren seines Pontifikats machte er 13 Millionen scudi Schulden. Im Jahre 1635 waren 600 000 scudi jährlich auf der Einnahmeseite. Bei dann 35 Millionen scudi Staatsschulden musste der Löwenanteil für Zinsen aufgebracht werden.³⁹ Wenn man bedenkt, dass das Versetzen des Vatikanischen Obelisken 37 000 scudi kostete und einen hohen Anteil des Staatshaushaltes ausmachte, also vermutlich über weitere Schulden bestritten wurde, musste man sich sicher gewesen sein, mit diesen Maßnahmen eine ungeheure Wirkung zu erreichen.

	Jahr	Summe (scudi)
Clemens VIII, Gesamtschulden des Heiligen Stuhls	1592	12 Millionen
Clemens VIII, Steuereinnahmen des Heiligen Stuhls	1592	500 000
Clemens VIII, Steuereinnahmen des Heiligen Stuhls	1605	343 473
Paul V., Gesamtschulden des Heiligen Stuhls	1619	18 Millionen
Urban VIII., Steuereinnahmen des Heiligen Stuhls	1635	600 000
Urban VIII., Gesamtschulden des Heiligen Stuhls	1635	35 Millionen

Tab. 2 Steuereinnahmen und Schulden des Heiligen Stuhls.

Angesichts der damit verbundenen Kosten verwundert es andersherum nicht, wenn große antike Säulenschäfte nicht gehoben und als solche wiederverwendet wurden: Flaminio Vacca berichtet, bei den Fundamentierungsarbeiten von Sant'Andrea della Valle habe man „un pezzo di colonna di granito d'Elba lungo palmi quaranta di grossezza circa sei palmi“ gefunden: „Della colonna si fecero pezzi; ed uno di essi l'hanno posto per soglia della porta grande di detta chiesa.“⁴⁰ Hier wird also ein 8 m hoher, möglicherweise intakter Säulenschaft (die Proportionen von ca. 1 : 6 2/3 wären gedrunen, aber denkbar) nicht gehoben, sondern zerschlagen und in kleineren Teilen erneut verwendet. Gab es möglicherweise viele Säulenschäfte, die nicht wiederverwendet wurden, weil es einfach zu teuer war?

Umso beeindruckender ist, dass Sixtus V. die exorbitante Summe von 88 500,95 scudi für die Cappella Sistina an Santa Maria Maggiore ausgab (errichtet 1585–1586).⁴¹ Paul V. bezahlte sogar weit mehr als 150 000 scudi für die von 1605 bis 1615 errichtete Cappella Paolina (Zwillingskapelle der Cappella Sistina) an Santa Maria Maggiore

39 Petrocchi 1970, 76–84 insbesondere 76–77.

40 Gnoli 1988, 71.

41 „Libri dei conti“ von Domenico Fontana, publiziert in Guidoni, Marino und Lanconelli 1987, 54.



Abb. 3 Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rom.

(Abb. 3).⁴² Die Rohbaukosten der zugegebenermaßen sehr großen Kapellen werden in beiden Fällen ca. 20 000–30 000 scudi nicht überstiegen haben.⁴³ Zum Vergleich: Für die von Kardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto zur Verfügung gestellten 80 000–90 000 scudi gelang es, im Zeitraum von 1608 bis 1623 das halbe Langhaus sowie das Querhaus, den Chor und die 16,67 m im Durchmesser große Kuppel der Kirche Sant’Andrea della Valle zu errichten.⁴⁴ Die Theatinerkirche ist im Innenraum bis in die Kuppellaterne 65,70 m hoch. Allein das Langhaus ist mit 29,30 m beinahe so hoch wie die bis in die Kuppellaterne ca. 34,50 m messenden Kapellen in Santa Maria Maggiore.

Ein Großteil der Kosten für die Cappelle Sistina und Paolina ist der Ausstattung geschuldet, welche in beiden Fällen bis zum Hauptgebälk komplett aus Marmor besteht. Neben der Cappella Gregoriana in St. Peter waren diese beiden Kapellen der Höhepunkt der mit Marmor ausgestatteten Kapellen in Rom.⁴⁵ Sowohl Sixtus V. als auch

42 Marconi 2004, 68.

43 Architekt Domenico Fontana bekommt im November 1587 eine Zahlung von 23 000 scudi. Es ist aber nicht klar, ob diese Zahlung mit den Rohbaukosten

identifiziert werden kann, s. Guidoni, Marino und Lanconelli 1987, 54.

44 Döring-Williams und Schlimme 2011.

45 Vgl. Tuena 1989.

Paul V. erlaubten den Abbruch antiker Monumente für ihre Bauprojekte.⁴⁶ Für die Kapellen wurde jedoch auch Marmor wiederverwendet, der am Markt gekauft worden war.⁴⁷ Zudem wurde frisch gebrochener Marmor aus ganz Italien, Korsika⁴⁸ und dem katalanischen Tortosa bezogen. Dort waren die Steinbrüche in der Frühen Neuzeit wieder aktiviert worden. Hauptabnehmer war offenbar Rom, wo im 17. Jahrhundert große Mengen verarbeitet wurden.⁴⁹ Die Päpste konnten zwar über die antiken Bauten Roms verfügen, aber auf dieser Grundlage keine Marmorausstattung für eine Kapelle zusammenbringen. Obwohl ein Teil des Marmors nicht gekauft werden musste, so war doch der Ausbau des antiken Materials aufwendig und teuer und die so erzielte Kostenersparnis wahrscheinlich überschaubar.

Dass die benannten Kosten für eine Marmorausstattung durchaus plausibel sind, zeigen kleine, privat finanzierte Kapellen mit Buntmarmorausstattung. Für die Ausstattung einer Kapelle in Sant'Andrea della Valle wurde mit Kosten in Höhe von 15 000–20 000 scudi gerechnet.⁵⁰ Geringer fielen die Kosten für die Ausstattung der Kapellen in der Kirche Il Gesù aus, die im Grundriss kleiner und deutlich niedriger sind. Die um die Jahre 1646–1650 ausgeführte Marmorausstattung (inkl. Skulpturen) der Cappella Cerri in Il Gesù kostete insgesamt, d. h. inklusive der Bezahlung von Bearbeitung des Marmors und der Metallarbeiten, 6 980,77 scudi. Hiervon waren mindestens 3 939,10 scudi allein in die Beschaffung des Marmormaterials investiert worden. Eine Säule aus *verde antico* kostete allein 180 scudi, eine weitere aus *bianco e nero antico* 125 scudi. Die in Sizilien neu gebrochenen Diasprosäulen kosteten hingegen inklusive Transport zusammen lediglich 125 scudi. Der *bianco e rosso di Francia* kostete 375 scudi. Das ist vergleichsweise wenig, wenn man die große Menge bedenkt. Der Kauf von Spolienmaterial erweist sich als teurer als der Kauf und Transport neu gebrochenen Marmors aus Sizilien.⁵¹

Überschlägt man die mit Marmor auszustattende Oberfläche der Cappella Cerri (mit Fußboden und drei Wänden), so erhält man eine Fläche von etwa 180 m², während in den Cappelle Sistina und Paolina jeweils etwa 1000 m², d. h. etwa sechsmal so viel Fläche zu bedecken war. Die Marmorausstattung würde in den Kapellen in Santa Maria Maggiore also hochgerechnet 42 000 scudi kosten (wobei die schwer zu beziffernden Geldwertveränderungen hier unberücksichtigt bleiben müssen). Aus der Kostenaufstellung in den „Libri di conti“ von Domencio Fontana lassen sich 20 351,40 scudi (inkl.

46 Sixtus V. ließ das Septizonium abbrechen; zu Paul V. vgl. Marconi 2004, 73–75.

47 In den „Libri dei conti“ von Domenico Fontana (Guidoni, Marino und Lanconelli 1987, 54) lassen sich einige der Zahlungen, die im Rahmen der Errichtung der Cappella Sistina geleistet wurden, als Zahlungen an Privatleute für Marmor, der offenbar auf deren Grundstücken ergraben worden war, identifizieren; vgl. zum Markt für ergrabenen Mar-

mor Vaquero Piñeiro 2008; für die Cappella Paolina trägt Marconi 2004, 75 Anm. 194 und 195 Quellen zusammen, die von der Beschaffung des Marmors für die Kapelle berichten; vgl. auch Gnoli 1988, 217–218.

48 Marconi 2004, 73–75.

49 Gnoli 1988, 200–211.

50 Schütze 2007, 324.

51 Dobler 2009, 106–107.

Skulpturen 33 833,56) den Aufwendungen zuordnen, die rund um die Verwendung des Marmors im Kapelleninneren entstanden sind. Mit Metall- und Vergoldungsarbeiten kommt man auf insgesamt 39 371,06 scudi⁵² (d. h. man kommt der hochgerechneten Summe von 42 000 scudi relativ nah). Für die Cappella Paolina wurde hingegen deutlich mehr Geld in den kostbaren Marmor investiert. Insgesamt scheint die Verwendung von Spolienmaterial, welches in Rom zur Verfügung stand, das Bauen nicht kostengünstiger gemacht zu haben. Finanzielle Anreize waren scheinbar nicht ausschlaggebend für die Verwendung von Spolienmaterial. Das Gegenteil scheint der Fall zu sein: Antiker Marmor war eine Investition, er kostete – zumindest beim Bau der Cappella Cerri – mehr als von weit her geholter, neu gebrochener Marmor. Ob sich diese Aussage verallgemeinern lässt, müssen weitere Untersuchungen zeigen.

6 Planen mit Spolienmaterial: Sebastiano Serlios siebtes Buch

Sebastiano Serlio (1475–1554) konzipierte sein siebtes Buch vermutlich ab 1537 und erstellte eine erste Fassung in Frankreich, wohin er im Jahre 1541 übergesiedelt war. Im Jahre 1550 verkaufte Serlio neben viel weiterem Material auch das Manuskript des siebten Buches, mitsamt Zeichnungen aller geplanten Abbildungen an Jacopo Strada. Bei dem in der Nationalbibliothek in Wien aufbewahrten Manuskript⁵³ handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um den 1550 an Strada veräußerten Text. Wahrscheinlich bereitete Serlio nach dem Treffen mit Strada ein weiteres, überarbeitetes und ergänztes Manuskript vor, welches dann der Druckausgabe⁵⁴ zugrunde lag. Das siebte Buch enthält zahllose praktische Entwurfsbeispiele, v. a. für Landhäuser,⁵⁵ für Stadthäuser auf unregelmäßigen Grundstücken, für Häuser an Berghängen, für Fenster und Kamine und für die Restaurierung alter Bauten.⁵⁶ Serlio beschreibt zudem nicht weniger als neun Fallbeispiele für die Wiederverwendung von Säulenschäften und anderen Bauteilen.⁵⁷ Diese Entwürfe wurden bislang kaum beachtet⁵⁸ und sollen hier im Zusammenhang mit dem Thema Spolien untersucht werden.

52 Guidoni, Marino und Lanconelli 1987.

53 Nationalbibliothek Wien, Cod. Ser. Nov. 1649; publ. von Carunchio 1994 bzw. Fiore 1994; zu Serlios siebtem Buch vgl. auch Carunchio 1989; Jansen 2004c; Jansen 2004b; Jansen 2004d; Jansen 2004a; Carunchio 2004b; Carunchio 2004a; Guillaume 2004; Scotti 2004.

54 Die erste Ausgabe von Serlios siebtem Buch erschien 1575 in Frankfurt am Main.

55 Vgl. hierzu Carunchio 1976.

56 Serlio 1575, 156–159 und 168–171; vgl. hierzu Frommel 2006.

57 Serlio 1575, 98–119.

58 Carunchio hat sie zusammen mit der Restaurierung alter Häuser der ‚Stadterneuerung‘ zugeordnet: Carunchio 1994, 270; wenngleich Serlio auf den betreffenden Seiten einen solchen Zusammenhang nicht explizit macht; zu einer stilistischen Betrachtung dieser Entwürfe vgl. Frommel 1998, 358–359 besprochen weiter unten im vorliegenden Aufsatz.

Serlio spricht in seinem Buch von Säulenschäften und Bauteilen, die bereits zu anderer Zeit verbaut gewesen waren („state per altro tempo in opera“⁵⁹). Für diese Elemente hatte sich seit dem 16. Jahrhundert das Wort ‚Spolie‘ eingebürgert,⁶⁰ welches Serlio wie zur Bestätigung auch selbst an einer Stelle im Text verwendet.⁶¹ Säulenschäfte zur Verfügung zu haben, versteht Serlio als besondere Situation, der man sich in der Praxis aber durchaus gegenüber sieht. Serlio lässt jedoch in allen Beispielen offen, ob es sich um antike Bauteile handelt oder nicht, spricht in der Inhaltsangabe des siebten Buches sogar explizit von „colonne, altra volta state in opera, ò antiche ò moderne“.⁶²

Serlio respektiert die Säulenschäfte wie sie sind und integriert sie in neue Säulenordnungen.⁶³ Er schätzt Säulenschäfte als Material und sieht sie als „piu bello ornamento“⁶⁴ für Bauten. Der Einsatz der (Spolien-)Säulen soll den Bauten zu architektonischer Qualität verhelfen. Über diese allgemein gestalterische und auch nicht für Spoliensäulen spezifische Aussage hinaus geht es Serlio jedoch nicht um programmatische Fragen der Spolienverwendung. Vielmehr geht es bei den einzelnen Fallbeispielen pragmatisch darum, mit Säulen einer bestimmten Größe auf einem gegebenen Grundstück ein Gebäude mit einer bestimmten Funktionalität und Geschosshöhe zu errichten. Dabei macht es Serlio offenbar Vergnügen, kontrastierende Umstände zu kombinieren, um die entwerferische Problematik auf die Spitze zu treiben: Für einen adeligen Landsitz stehen viele besonders kleine Säulen zur Verfügung (Abb. 6) – für ein einfaches Wohnhaus gilt es, riesige Säulenschäfte zu verwenden. Bei einer Kirchenfassade hat Serlio hingegen vier Schäfte einer stattlichen Größe (25 ½ piedi) und vier weitere 19 piedi hohe Säulen zur Verfügung (Abb. 5). Das sind Idealvoraussetzungen für den Entwurf einer zweigeschossigen Kirchenfassade, da übereinandergestellte Säulenordnungen etwa im Verhältnis 1 : ¾ stehen sollen.⁶⁵ Beim fünften Vorschlag verfügt der Architekt neben Säulen und Statuen auch über „gran quantità d’incrostazioni di pietre fine, e di diverse misture: & anchora di gran pezzi di marmi, e framente[n]ti assai“.⁶⁶ Die Fragmente werden in Form flacher Rechteck-, Kreis- und Ovalfelder wiederverwendet. Im Gegensatz zu den Säulenschäften werden sie also nicht als architektonische Elemente

59 Serlio 1575, 98.

60 Meier 2007 vollzieht das Aufkommen des Wortes ‚Spolie‘ in seiner heutigen Bedeutung als in neuem Kontext wiederverwendetes Bauteil nach. Erstmals wurde es bei Albertino 1510 in diesem Sinn verwendet. Dann im Raffaelbrief (der aber erst 1733 ediert wurde) sowie in Vasaris Viten. Vasari, der wohl Albertini und den Raffaelbrief gekannt haben dürfte, verwendet die Worte *spolie*, *spoliare* und *spoliato* ganz selbstverständlich Meier 2007, 2.

61 Und zwar beim dritten Fallbeispiel: Serlio 1575, 102.

62 Serlio 1575, 1 verso; auch im Wiener Manuskript spricht Serlio bereits von antiken oder modernen Säulenschäften; Carunchio 1994, 279.

63 Vgl. Carunchio 1994, 270.

64 Serlio 1575, 98.

65 Seit Vitruv ist das die Regel, die von Serlio in seinen Büchern wiederholt aufgegriffen wird, vgl. Serlio 1537, 53v, 54v und 55v; vgl. zum Entwurf der Kirchenfassade mit Spoliensäulen Schlimme 1999, 102–104; Carunchio 1994, 263 sieht dieses Beispiel als Vorwand, die 1 : ¾-Proportionierung übereinandergestellter Säulenordnungen zu präsentieren.

66 Serlio 1575, 106.

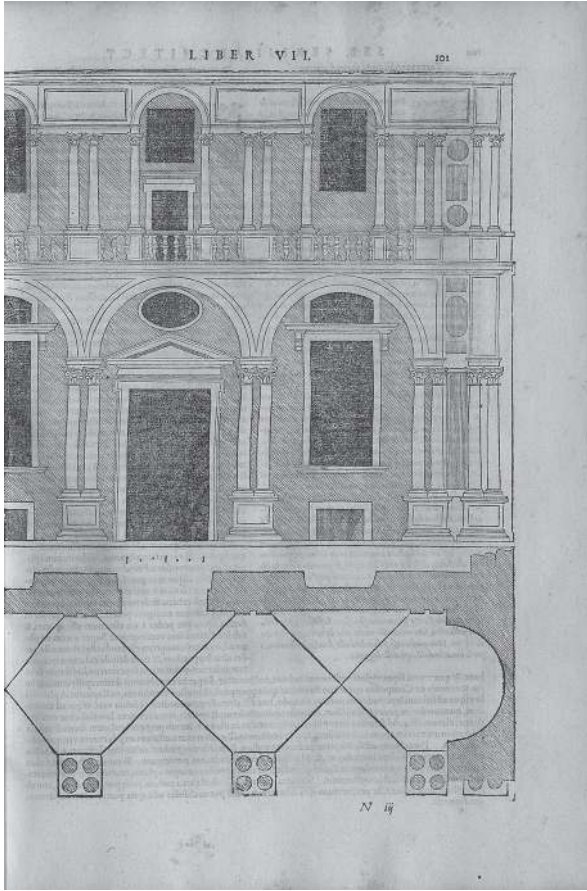


Abb. 4 Sebastiano Serlio,
Entwurf einer Fassade mit
Loggien unter Verwendung von
Spoliensäulen.

genutzt, sondern auf den reinen Materialwert reduziert. Bei anderen Vorschlägen wird nicht gesagt, wie die als vorhanden angenommenen weiteren Marmorteile verwendet werden sollen.⁶⁷ Beim ersten Fallbeispiel spricht Serlio auch statische Probleme an und empfiehlt angesichts der geringen Größe der zur Verfügung stehenden Säulen, diese in Vierergruppen zusammenzustellen.⁶⁸

Dass die Entwürfe aber doch spezifisch auf Spoliensäulen eingehen und diese in Szene setzen, zeigen die gestalterischen Entscheidungen Serlios. Sabine Frommel hat unter Bezugnahme auf vier Zeichnungen aus dem Wiener Manuskript eine stilistische Untersuchung der Entwürfe Serlios aus dem siebten Buch vorgenommen. Es handelt sich um die *Facciata dorica* (Tafel 37) sowie um drei von Serlios Entwürfen mit Spolien, nämlich

67 Vorschläge 6, 7 [Kirchenfassade], 9.

68 Serlio 1575, 98 und Abb. auf S. 101.

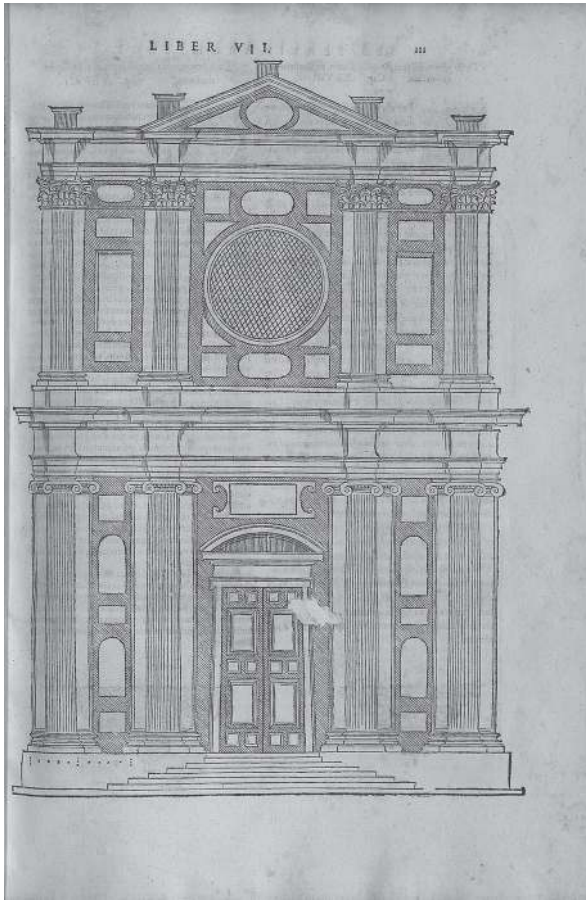


Abb. 5 Sebastiano Serlio, Entwurf einer Kirchenfassade unter Verwendung von Spoliensäulen.

um die Tafeln 41, 42 und 54 aus dem Wiener Manuskript, die bis auf wenige Fensterdetails mit den Stichen auf den Seiten 101 (Abb. 4), 99 und 107 (Abb. 6) im siebten Buch übereinstimmen. Frommel sagt mit Bezug auf diese Entwürfe, Serlio zeige mit dem siebten Buch und auch im *Libro Straordinario* im Gegensatz zu früheren Schaffensphasen eine Neigung zu *capricci* und zu einer dekorativeren Gesamtgestaltung. Schmuckfelder (*specchiature*) wiesen die unterschiedlichsten Formen auf. Auf befremdliche Weise strebe Serlio Originalität um jeden Preis an. So ergäben sich unklare Beziehungen zwischen den Geschossen. Insgesamt sei eine Auflösung der Wand festzustellen, eine Vorliebe für komplexe Säulenordnungen mit Bündelungen aus Säulen, Pilastern und ausgeprägtem Relief.⁶⁹ Diese gestalterische Komplexität ist Serlios Spätstil geschuldet. Hinzu kommt – zumindest bei den entsprechenden Beispielen – auch die Verwendung von (in den

⁶⁹ Frommel 1998, 358–359.

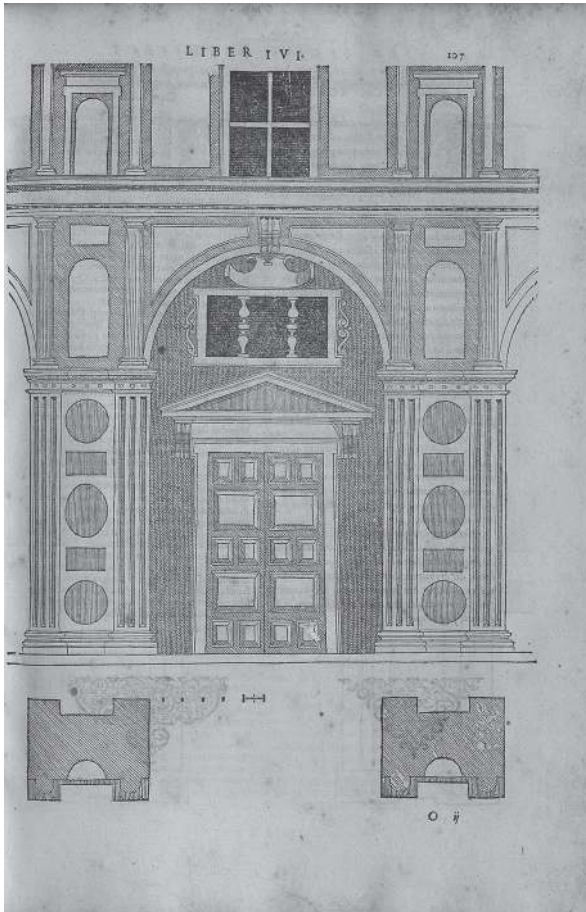


Abb. 6 Sebastiano Serlio, Entwurf einer *loggia signorile* unter Verwendung von Spolien und Spoliensäulen; vgl. Abb. 7, die einen Alternativentwurf unter den gleichen Voraussetzungen zeigt.

zitierten Fällen) recht kleinen Spoliensäulen und von weiterem Marmor material, das es in Form von *specchiature* zu integrieren und zu präsentieren galt – ein Vorwand, um komplex zu entwerfen. Es wirkt als habe Serlio die Spolienverwendung als entwerferische Herausforderung verstanden und stilistisch unübersehbar auf diese freilich von ihm selbst gestellte Vorbedingung reagiert. Serlios ausführliche Beschäftigung mit der Spolienverwendung zeigt zweierlei: Zum einen ist viel entwerferisches Wissen und Erfahrung erforderlich, zum anderen ist die Wiederverwendung von Säulenschäften offenbar eine häufige, wenn nicht alltägliche Praxis, für die sich eine gewisse Expertise ausgebildet hatte. In Serlios Ausführungen sind Spolien Baumaterial, beeinflussen aber in Form von hoch geschätzten Säulenschäften nicht unwesentlich die architektonische Gestaltung.

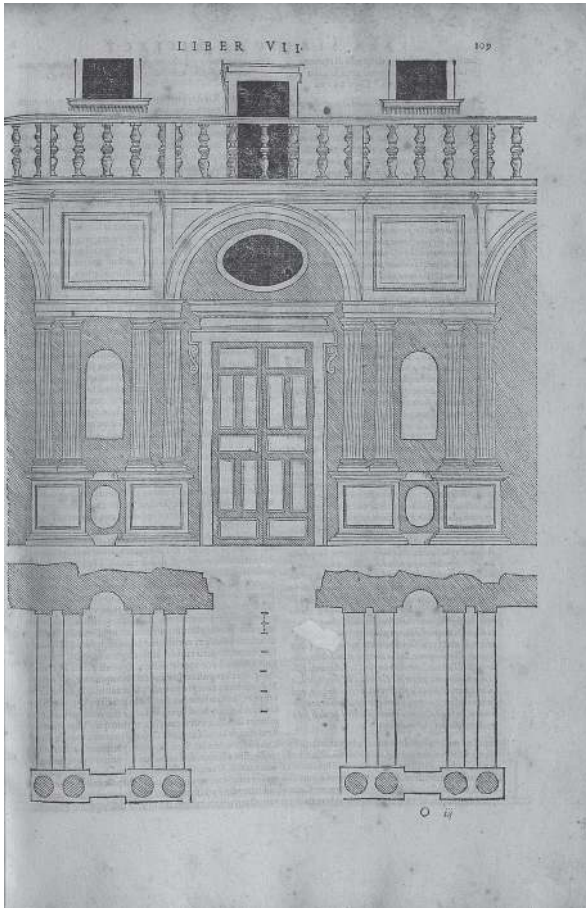


Abb. 7 Sebastiano Serlio, Entwurf einer *loggia signorile* unter Verwendung von Spolien und Spoliensäulen; vgl. Abb. 6, die einen Alternativentwurf unter den gleichen Voraussetzungen zeigt.

7 Zusammenfassung

Die Ausführungen haben gezeigt, dass der Transport von Spolienmaterial und Säulenschäften mit den üblichen Wagen erfolgte, wobei einige größere, eigens gebaute Wagen sehr teuer und teilweise reparaturanfällig waren. Für größere Spolien griff man auf den Transport mit Schlitten zurück. Das Aufrichten der Säulen erfolgte mit einfachen, aus drei bis vier Balken gebildeten Kränen oder Kranböcken, Umlenkrolle und Seil – eine Technik, die auch nachweislich in der Antike angewendet wurde und seither möglicherweise nie vergessen worden war. Auch für die größten Obelisken, wie den Vatikanischen Obelisken, wurde die Technik aus Holzgerüst (*castello*) und Seilwinden verwendet. Ohne Seile arbeitende Gewindestangen-Mechanismen für die Aufrichtung von Säulen, die in vielen Traktaten und Manuskripten dargestellt sind, spielten in der Baupraxis hinge-

gen keine Rolle. Für die Ausstattung von Familienkapellen vor allem im späten 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert wurde sowohl Spolienmarmor wie auch neu gebrochener Marmor verwendet. Ersterer war zumeist deutlich teurer als frisch gebrochener und von weit her transportierter Marmor, stellte eine Investition dar und brachte dem Bauherrn ein hohes Maß an Prestige ein. Dass man Spoliensäulen und Spolienmaterial aus Pragmatismus oder Kostengründen verwendete, kann für das Rom des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts weitgehend ausgeschlossen werden. Teilweise waren die Marmorausstattungen so teuer, dass sie einen Großteil des päpstlichen Haushalts verschlangen. Sebastiano Serlio bezeugt die erhebliche Expertise im Umgang mit Spolien um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts, die eine komplexere, die Spolien bzw. Spoliensäulen hervorhebende Architektursprache zeitigte.

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The Ancient Monuments of Rome and Their Use as Suppliers of Remnants for the Construction of New St. Peter's Basilica: Building Activity in Rome during the Renaissance

Summary

The start of the building of the new St. Peter's Basilica in Rome represented a huge event in Roman building activities, which were promoted by the popes after their return from exile in Avignon. This enormous construction site required building material, which in the Renaissance often entailed destroying the ancient city and reusing ancient material as spolia. But a closer look at the spolia used for the new St. Peter's reveals that almost no intact ancient structure had to suffer; it was mostly remnants that were transported to the Vatican, and thus new residential space was opened in the center of Rome for what was once again a growing population.

Keywords: St. Peter; Rome; Renaissance; spolia; deconstruction.

Der Beginn der Arbeiten am Neubau von St. Peter in Rom stellt ein bedeutendes Ereignis innerhalb der allgemeinen Bauaktivitäten dar, welche die Päpste nach ihrer Rückkehr aus dem Exil in Avignon förderten. Für die enorme Größe des Bauwerkes wurde eine große Menge an Baumaterial benötigt, was oftmals einen Eingriff in die antike Bausubstanz Roms zur Folge hatte, um dieses Material als Spolien zu nutzen. Ein genauerer Blick auf die für Neu-St. Peter genutzten Spolien zeigt jedoch, dass noch intakte antike Baustrukturen dabei nicht in Mitleidenschaft gezogen wurden; vielmehr wurden die Überreste aus bereits zerstörten Monumente entnommen und zum Vatikan transportiert. Dies schuf gleichzeitig neuen Freiraum im Zentrum von Rom, welches von der inzwischen wieder stetig wachsenden Bevölkerung neu aufgebaut wurde.

Keywords: St. Peter; Rom; Renaissance; Spolien; Dekonstruktion.

I Introduction

The construction of New St. Peter's Basilica in Rome involved the largest construction site of its time in the city. This ambitious project required an enormous amount of material, which affected the ancient monuments of the city of Rome, as they had to serve in part as a quarry. In the traditional view this could be considered 'use of spolia,' which resulted in severe damage to ancient monuments.¹ But to what extent is there a correlation between the deconstruction of ancient monuments and the building activity in the Renaissance in the case of St. Peter's? What was the exact provenance of the material and the condition of the ancient monuments during the construction of the Basilica, which took place mainly in the 16th century? And can one speak of the destruction of the ancient city of Rome because of the use of spolia in the Renaissance, as is argued in many publications to this day?

After the popes returned from exile in Avignon in 1377, a number of projects were initiated to embellish the cityscape and rebuild the reputation of Rome.² This "instauratio Romae"³ included the erection of new buildings as well as infrastructural improvements, such as new streets, new water supplies and other facilities. Along with the reconstruction of St. Peter's (1506–1626), various other building projects were initiated during this time period, including the rearrangement of Capitoline Hill and the construction of Palazzo Farnese.⁴ The creation of the Tridente took place gradually in the 16th century,⁵ as did the maintenance of parts of the Roman aqueducts,⁶ and, a bit later, the realignment of the obelisks of Rome.⁷ In the course of these new construction activities ancient monuments or rather their ruins were omnipresent as landscape elements.

It is common knowledge that the shape of the magnificent ancient city changed during the Middle Ages. At the beginning of the Renaissance, one side of the Coliseum had collapsed, the Forum Romanum was being used as Campo Vaccino, the Forum of Caesar was being used for agriculture, and the Forum of Trajan was filled with small wooden cottages.⁸ Most parts of the huge public baths – like the Baths of Agrippa and the Baths of Nero/Severus Alexander in Campo Marzio – had been destroyed or converted into apartments or workshops. Sometimes new streets were built running right through ancient building structures.⁹

The reasons for the decline of Rome have often been discussed and don't need to be debated further here, but it seems clear that outside influences like earthquakes, flooding

1 This period was also called the "second destruction of Rome" by Syndram 1988, 11.

2 Frommel 1983, 111–112.

3 Laureys 2006, 217.

4 Hubert 2007, 165–167.

5 Zanchettin 2005, 211.

6 Hubert 2007, 158–159.

7 Hess 2008, 143–145; Batta 1986.

8 Meneghini and Santangeli Valenziani 2004, 45, 127–132, 185.

9 Yegül 1992, 135; Ghini 1988, 128–130.

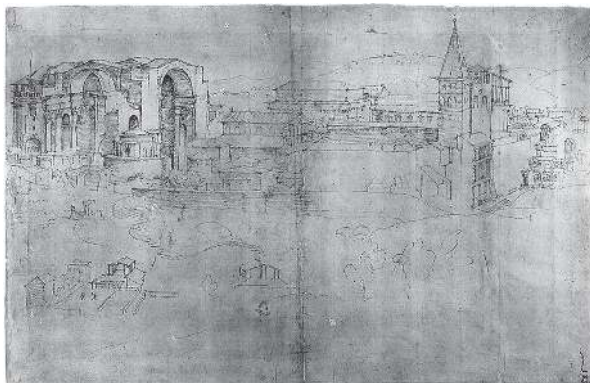


Fig. 1 Maarten van Heemskerck, ca. 1532–1537, Old and New St. Peter's (Marten van Heemskerck, Album II, fol. 51 r).

and looting also inflicted damage upon ancient monuments¹⁰ which wasn't repaired in the Middle Ages, because no one was willing or able to do so. Even if the city of Rome remained a vital city at all times, almost no ancient monument survived intact. Although the popes generally disapproved of spoliation it occurred regularly. Most spoliation took place after Paul III issued a bull in 1540, which withdrew all former excavation licenses and empowered the *Fabbrica di San Pietro* alone to control excavations and manage ancient monuments and their ruins.¹¹ The construction of New St. Peter's generated a huge demand for material because of the sheer enormity of the church. The material, which was used, was partly new – extracted, for example, from the travertine quarries near Tivoli or from Fiano Romano¹² – and partly old. Hence, it seems plausible that material from Old St. Peter's, which was destroyed during construction, was also taken.

2 The provenance of ancient material

The task of linking material in New St. Peter's to the ancient monuments of Rome is greatly assisted by the *Archivo della Reverendissima Fabbrica di San Pietro*, which has been collecting documents regarding the Basilica ever since its founding in 1506.¹³ This includes, for example court decisions, construction plans and documents attesting the financing of the building project. The archive contains a significant number of

10 There are credible accounts of earthquakes in the year 801 and 1349, see Amanti 1995, 345–348; Krautheimer 2004, 263. Looting occurred under Robert of Guiscard in the year 1084, see Bünemann 1997, 144–149.

11 Wolf 2003, 38; for the complete text see Pollack 1915, 46–47.

12 Zanchettin 2008, 165.

13 Jones 2000, 399.

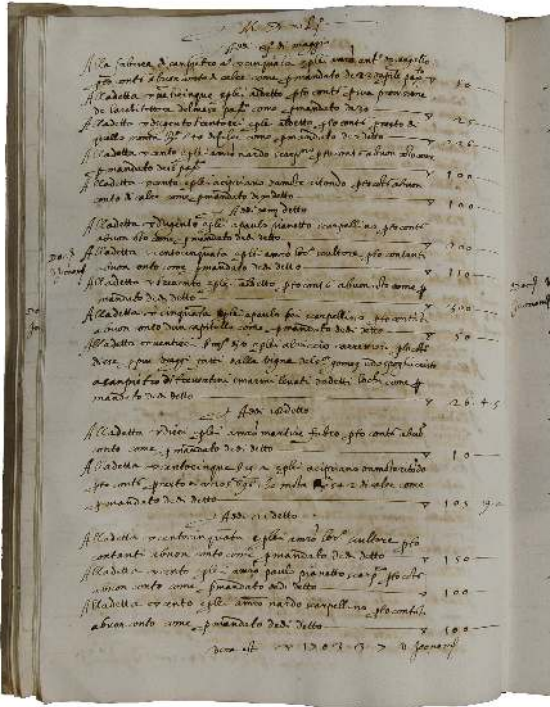


Fig. 2 Repro from the Archivio della Reverendissima Fabbrica di San Pietro, Arm. III, tom. 10, p. 53v. Accounts of material acquired for the construction of St. Peter's Basilica stating the price and in some cases its provenance.

short notices and receipts of every kind for building material that was brought to the construction site.

One also finds references here to at least around 40 ancient monuments as sources for material used in St. Peter's.¹⁴ Apart from a few exceptions,¹⁵ these monuments are all located in Campo Marzio and around the Imperial Fora – areas, which at the time were either populated or very close to populated areas.¹⁶

There is certain heterogeneity to this list of spoliated monuments. The record contains a number of pagan buildings as well as sacral monuments, and there is no obvious pattern underlying why the architects of the Basilica took spolia from one building or another, other than the material desired.¹⁷

14 These documents are published by Frey 1909, Frey 1911, Frey 1913, Pollack 1915, Frey 1916, Orbaan 1918, Cascioli 1921. Unfortunately we do not know how many more of these files are somewhere in the Archivio della Reverendissima Fabbrica di San Pietro.

15 Mainly the Baths of Caracalla and material, that came from the repositories from Ostia and Porto.

16 This is very apparent, for example, on the maps of Rome by Ugo Pinard (1555) or Stefano Dupercac (1577).

17 In the files, about half of the buildings mentioned are pagan and the other half used to be sacral in antiquity. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to refer to specific monuments, since only the name of a square is given, e.g. ["alla Rotonda"].



Fig. 3 Map of Rome by Ugo Pinard, *Urbis Romae descriptio*, 1555.

Furthermore, we have receipts showing that the Fabbrica had to pay private individuals and other congregations for the material. We find the names of Signora Giovannella de Conti, Virgilio Crescenzi and Giacomelli Cosmo, just to mention a few, as well as the Abbots of Santa Maria Nova (Temple of Venus and Rome) and Sant'Adriano (Curia Julia) in the files. Again, the decision about where to buy seems to have been based entirely on the size and color of the material that was offered.

One can certainly suggest a different motivation for taking ancient material out of Rome to faraway places like Ravenna or London, compared to carrying marble blocks that were lying around the center of Rome to the nearby Vatican.¹⁸ Short transportation distances saved time, effort and money. Hence, within the city there arose something that could be called an industry consisting of lime burners, carriers and excavators paid by the Vatican.

Rodolfo Lanciani's view – that the Fabbrica di San Pietro destroyed hundreds of ancient buildings to take the material to St. Peter's – continues to prevail.¹⁹ It is true

18 Lanciani 1901, 183–188 mentions the columns from the Domus Pinciana which were brought to Ravenna by Theodoric the Great (474–526) and marble which was brought to Westminster Abbey by Abbot Richard of Ware (1259).

19 See, for example Lanciani 1990, 203, where he writes about the Forum Romanum: “Se la cam-

pagna decennale di sterminio, ordinate da Paolo III, non avesse avuto luogo, non è difficile immaginare in quale condizione il conte di Tournon, iniziatore degli scavi napoleonici, e noi stessi, avremmo trovato il foro. Avremmo trovato la gradinata e lo stilobate del tempio di Antonino perfetti in ogni loro parte, con cornicioni, e di statue frammentati:

that the bull of Pope Paul III represents a decisive event even in the files of the *Fabbrica*. But when one takes a closer look at certain monuments, it becomes apparent that actually there was not much left for the *Deputati* to destroy. Almost every building serving as a source of material for St. Peter's had suffered massive damage or almost complete destruction before the year 1506. The reasons why the ancient structures were in such poor condition vary. They include both natural disasters and manmade damage, whereas spoliation was very seldom the initiating factor for the destruction of the monuments.

The monument, which lost the most material to the Vatican, was probably the Baths of Caracalla (see Appendix, no. 1). We know for certain about at least 400 loads of material, which were carried to St. Peter's. But when the large-scale excavations started in the Baths there was not much left of the original structure. The area had belonged to the church of SS Nero e Achileo since the Middle Ages and was used as a cemetery and garden; some parts were sold as *Vigna*.²⁰ Numerous drawings from the Renaissance show only the remains of brick walls, hardly any marble or columns.²¹ It is therefore difficult to find spolia from the Baths of Caracalla that can actually be identified as such in St. Peter's, even though a lot of material had been taken for the Basilica pursuant to the documents in the *Fabbrica*.

Quite a lot of material was also brought to the Vatican from the Temple of Venus and Rome (see Appendix, no. 2). The decline of this temple apparently started with the ban of pagan cults in the *Codex Theodoricus* in the middle of the fourth century.²² But the earthquake of 847 also seems to have inflicted very serious damage on the Temple.²³ The church of Santa Maria Nova was built into the western part of the temple shortly afterwards. Thus, at the time when New St. Peter's Basilica was being built, the podium of what had once been the greatest temple in Rome was probably covered by a garden belonging to the church of Santa Maria Nova. Assembling the building material used for St. Peter's involved excavating a ruin, rather than destroying an ancient monument.

le vestigia del fornice di Fabio a piedi del clivo della Sacra via, con le storiche dediazioni: il tempio di Cesare perfetto sino al piano della cella, sulla quale posavano le fondamenta della torre dell'Insera, troncata nel trentasei: la Regia, coi fasti ancora nel proprio luogo: l'Arco di Augusto con le sue epigrafi monumentali: il tempio di Vesta con il suo peristilio, caduto bensì a terra, ma di poco mancante: l'atrio coi piedistalli delle Vestali massime ancora in piedi sotto il quadriportico: il tempio dei Catori, perfetto nella parte bassa, e sepolto sotto una montagna di Colonne, basi, capitelli e cornicioni che bastarono ad alimentare le fornaci farnesiane sino al 1550 [...]."

20 Steinby 1999b, 43.

21 For reconstruction and measurements of the columns, see DeLaine 1997, Appendix 3, or Jenewein 2008, mainly the catalogue, 203–217; for the drawings, see the CENSUS-Database (Census of Ancient Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance, <http://www.census.de>).

22 Lorenzatti 1990, 122; Pensabene 2006, 563 (*Cod. Theod.* 14, 10, 10).

23 Molino and Guidoboni 1989, 202 make just a brief mention about this event. There does not seem to be clear evidence of an earthquake in 847, whereas the earthquake of 801 is much better documented. Amanti 1995 does not mention an earthquake in 847 at all (but does refer to one in 801).

Not only did nature erode the monuments, but people also added to the devastation by foraging for building material. There are reports of material being taken from the Coliseum as early as late antiquity.²⁴ It is known that in later times material was taken for the Palazzo Venezia or for repairing the city walls – but there is almost no precise evidence of people starting to quarry out the stones from the intact structure. The earthquake of 1349 caused damage as well; it is likely that the collapse of the outer southern ring can be linked to this event.²⁵ The Coliseum is often cited as a quarry for stones for many different building projects. Eugene IV (1431–1447) even issued a special decree to protect the Coliseum.²⁶ Despite numerous reports of material being taken from the Coliseum,²⁷ it seems that the Coliseum must nevertheless have been preserved. We know of some efforts to make use of the amphitheatre for different activities. For example, there were three little churches built within its walls, and processions and markets were held there.²⁸ The north side would probably have been kept intact because it adorned the street connecting the center with San Giovanni in Laterano.²⁹ Overturned columns, stones and other material that was no longer used in the original structure were taken away (see Appendix, no. 3). All in all, it seems more logical that only material that had fallen down, for example due to the earthquake of 1349 and even before, would have been taken. This is also supported by a document from 1606 which specifically allows only material that had fallen from the upper floors of the arena to be taken.³⁰ This is a regulation that actually has precedents in late ancient laws: ... *quod reparari nullo modo viderimus posse in alterius operis nihilominus publici transferri iubeamus ornatum*.³¹

The nearby Forum of Trajan probably suffered massive damage during the earthquake of 1349 as well,³² and at this time already bordered the populated center of Rome (see Fig. 4), which could also have contributed to the Forum's slow decay. Its marble pavement was removed in the ninth century and small cottages were constructed.³³ On the adjoining Forum of Caesar, feeders were found, indicating that the Forum was used

- 24 Rea 2001, 182; see also Bauer 1996, 90–94 describing the extensive damage and restorations in late antiquity.
 25 Magnusson 2004, 127.
 26 Lanciani 1989, 59–59, taken from “Liber brevium Martini V., Eugenii IV, et aliorum”, Archivio vaticano, armadio XXXIX, tomo VII.a c. 341, n. 319.
 27 See Gabucci 2001, 203; Luciani 2000, 197 and also Cascioli 1921, 375, note 3.
 28 Rea 2001, 192–202.
 29 Gabucci 2001, 203.
 30 Gabucci 2001, 202.
 31 Cod. Theodo. Nov. Mariorian, IV (458 Jul. 11) Aemiliano P. U. (Romae); Deichmann 1940, 115; see also Rea 1993, 71; citing Cassiodor: “[...] Only take care to use only those stones which have really fallen

from public buildings, as we do not wish to appropriate private property, even for the glorification of the City?” (Variae II, 7: *Sine usu iacere non decet, quod potest ad decorem crescere civitatis, quia non est sapientiae profutura contemnere. et ideo illustris sublimitas tua marmorum quadratos, qui passim diruti negliguntur, quibus hoc opus videtur iniunctum in fabricam murorum faciat deputari, ut redeat in decorem publicum prisca constructio et ornet aliquid saxa iacentia post ruinas: ita tamen, ut metalla ipsa de locis publicis corruisse apud te manifesta ratione doceatur, quia sicut nolumus ornatum urbis cuiusquam praesumptione temerari, ita privatis compendiis calurnniam detestamur inferri*).

32 Bauer 1996, 100.

33 Meneghini and Santangeli Valenziani 2004, 72.

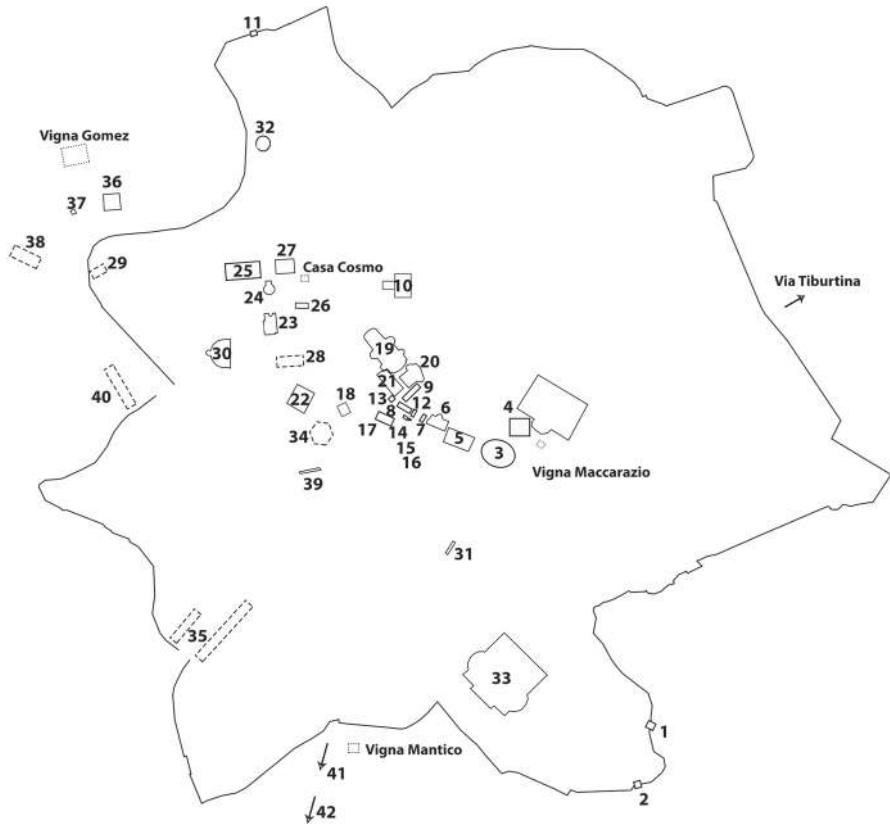


Fig. 4 Map of monuments mentioned in the Archivio della Reverendissima Fabbrica di San Pietro. 1 Porta Latina, 2 Porta San Sebastiano, 3 Colosseum, 4 Baths of Trajan, 5 Temple of Venus and Roma, 6 Basilica of Maxentius, 7 Temple of Romulus / SS. Cosma e Damiano, 8 Basilica Aemilia, 9 Forum of Nerva, 10 Temple of Serapis / Temple of Heracles and Dionysus, 11 Porta Flaminia, 12 Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, 13 Curia Julia, 14 Temple of Divus Iulius, 15 Regia, 16 Arch of Augustus, 17 Basilica Julia, 18 Capitoline Hill – Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, 19 Forum of Trajan, 20 Forum of Augustus, 21 Forum of Caesar, 22 Porticus Octaviae, 23 Baths of Agrippa, 24 Alla Rotonda, 25 Baths of Alexander (formerly Baths of Nero), 26 Isis-Temple of Isis – Arco di Camigliano, 27 Temple of Matidia, 28 Botteghe Oscure, 29 Tarentum – San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, 30 Campo de Fiori – Theatre of Pompey, 31 Septizodium, 32 Mausoleum of Augustus, 33 Baths of Caracalla, 34 Piazza Montanara, 35 Emporium – Tiber, 36 Mausoleum of Hadrian – P. Aelii Hadriani Sepulcrum, 37 'Vatican' Pyramid, 38 Horti Agrippinae, 39 Ponte Rotto – Pons Aemilius, 40 Porta Settimiana, 41 Sacred grove of the Frates Arvaes, 42 Ostia – Porto.

for agricultural purposes.³⁴ There was not much left of the magnificent monuments of antiquity in this area at the time of the construction of New St. Peter's (see Appendix, no. 4).

More material arrived at the construction site of St. Peter's from Campo Marzio (see Appendix, no. 5–6). Here, for example, were the huge ancient monuments of the Baths of Agrippa and the Baths of Nero/Severus Alexander. The Baths of Agrippa had supposedly been preserved to a great extent before finally giving way to several houses and Palazzi built in the high Renaissance in the course of the enhancement of the cityscape.³⁵ This zone had been called the *Calcarium* since the Middle Ages because of the number of lime burners and other craftsmen who settled here – and it is hard to believe that they did not touch the marble décor that lay right on their doorstep. In any case, there was not much high-quality material left from the baths in 1506 when the building of New St. Peter's commenced.

Slightly to the north, the Baths of Nero/Severus Alexander went through a comparable development. In the Middle Ages there was apparently more need for churches and living space than for a huge bath right in the center of a populated area. Since the tenth century, the monastery of Farfa, the churches of S. Eustachio, S. Maria (later S. Luigi dei Francesi), S. Benedetto, S. Salvatore and the Palazzo Madama had come into existence, bit by bit, in the vicinity of the baths.³⁶ Even if there were imposing remains,³⁷ like high brick walls, there was not much ancient material of good quality left for the *Fabbrica* of San Pietro, only single blocks and stones that were not used in the new building structure and hence were taken away (see Appendix, no. 6).

Returning southwards to the Forum Romanum, not much is known about the post-ancient life of the Temple of the Deified Caesar and the Regia on the southeast side of the Forum Romanum.³⁸ But we do have the opinion of Rodolfo Lanciani, who cites Pirro Ligorio in claiming that both the Temple of Caesar and the Regia were still standing in the time of Pope Paul III (1534–1549) and were then destroyed by the *Deputati* of the *Fabbrica* di San Pietro within 30 days.³⁹ This would be the only known example of the *Fabbrica* destroying a more or less complete monument and using its material to build the Basilica of St. Peter. Unfortunately, Pirro Ligorio seems to be the only witness: thus far, no reference to these two buildings has been found in the *Fabbrica* or in any other report concerning St. Peter's. Moreover, we don't have any drawings of the two

34 Meneghini and Santangeli Valenziani 2004, 127–132.

35 See Frommel 1973, illustration in the bookcase.

36 Ghini 1988, 135; Steinby 1999b, 61–62.

37 Ghini 1988, 129.

38 For the ancient structures, see Steinby 1999a, 192 (Regia) and Steinby 1996, 116–119 (Temple of Caesar).

39 Lanciani 1990, 221–222, Lanciani 1906, 130.



Fig. 5 Maarten van Heemskerck, View of the Forum Romanum to the northwest (Marten van Heemskerck, Album I, fol. 06r).



Fig. 6 Maarten van Heemskerck, View of the Forum Romanum to the northeast (Marten van Heemskerck, Album I, fol. 09 r).

monuments or their ruins from the Renaissance, although there are drawings of every surrounding building on this end of the Forum Romanum.⁴⁰

Hence, it seems reasonable to assume that primarily an earthquake also damaged these two buildings. A further indication of this can be found in the compact ground plan, which implies that the temple had a somewhat unstable architecture, as well as in the documented damage to most of the surrounding buildings.⁴¹ Lanciani's view that "the Deputati of the Fabbrica converted one of the best preserved and most dignified buildings of the Forum into a bulky mass" is hard to support.⁴²

40 This can easily be checked by counting the hits for documents for the surrounding buildings in the CENSUS-Database (Census of Ancient Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance, <http://www.census.de>).

41 This would be the Temple of Venus and Rome, the Basilica of Maxentius, the Basilica Aemilia and the

Forum of Trajan in the ninth century, as well as the Coliseum in 1349. Sande 1992, 9–10 also assumes, that the Temple of Castor and Pollux experienced static instability due to the marshy terrain and thus was abandoned.

42 Lanciani 1990, 221–222.



Fig. 7 The papal altar in the Basilica of St. Peter.

3 Economic rationality or elaborate selection

The dimensions of St. Peter's, plus the number of chapels, altars and special sacred places in the Basilica, make it difficult to find reasons for intentionally using spolia in the traditional sense.⁴³ A lot of the ancient marble seems to have been cut into pieces for incrustation, or to fill holes, and a lot of ancient material was burned to lime. In these cases the provenance of the material does not appear very important.

Moreover, the intact columns and marble blocks which were taken from ancient buildings and used in the Basilica are not presented in a special way and seem more likely to have been integrated normally into the overall building plan. Besides, we do not have any contemporary reports or notes stating that this material was used intentionally in the Basilica or any statement that the Vatican was looking for material for ideological reasons.⁴⁴

In fact, the information we have about the marble block, which serves as the main altar today, and which was taken from the Forum of Nerva is quite mundane. As Lanciani describes it: "Giacomo Grimaldi says that while walking one day through the Lungara with Giacomo della Porta, they saw a great block of Parian marble being removed from this temple to St. Peter's. The block, belonging to the architrave, measured 11.55 cubic meters or about 346 cubic feet. Clement VIII made use of it for the high altar of St. Peter's."⁴⁵

43 One exception, of course, is the twisted columns now on the balconies in the crossing, see Tuzi 2002.

44 As mentioned above, certain elements from Old St. Peter's, like the tortured columns, constitute a special case. Bosman 2004 tries to create such cases, see for example page 138: the connection between two Africano columns at the main entrance and the Jachin and Boaz columns in Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem.

45 Lanciani 1897, 310 refers probably to: Giacomo Grimaldi, *Codex Barberini latino 2733, Descrizione della Basilica antica di San Pietro in Vaticano*, fol. 166r–166v (Grimaldi 1972, 205): *Maxima igitur ara e pario marmore Corinthio nobilissimo a foro Nervaimperatoris avulso absoluta, quod forum erat non longe ab ecclesia Sanctorum Quirici et Iulitae, iuxta turrim Comitum, in angulo quadriivii ad templum Pacis, dicatmque turrim tenndentis, ubi eiusdem fori reliquiae hactenus*

Thus, while the altar of St. Peter's can be considered spolia, the decision to take this block seems to have been based on color and measurements.

To summarize, we can say that the use of spolia in the construction of New St. Peter's is more a question of material quality than ideological quality or the material's original location.

We know that the construction of St. Peter's was occasionally interrupted because of financial problems, so an opportunity to obtain good material from nearby could not be passed up on. Furthermore, people who sold, for example, a broken column in their backyard were able to make money while simultaneously conforming to papal directives to clean up the city.⁴⁶

It seems that after the return of the popes the ambition to enhance the cityscape outweighed the desire to protect ancient monuments. This is, corroborated by, for example, legislation passed by the Papal States that supported the building of new palaces by rich, private citizens.⁴⁷ Even though the administration for the protection of antiquities was municipal and autonomous, it was nevertheless dependent of the Apostolic Chamber, which controlled almost the entire infrastructure of Rome.⁴⁸

Even if one argues that there was a clear intention to keep the ruins in place or to reconstruct them as postulated in some of the papal disposals, the question still remains why the architects of the Basilica of St. Peter did not look for material of good quality in other places which were sometimes easier to access? It is striking that all the notices of the Fabbrica refer to places, which were in more or less populated parts of Rome. Why didn't they search in abandoned regions, like parts of the Esquilin or the Quirinal? Without a doubt the most prominent buildings of ancient Rome were located in the center and around the Capitoline Hill, but there must have been some decent columns or ornaments in the ancient villas of the Esquilin or Quirinal (given the number of columns which were kept in storage in Ostia and Porto and the Emporium).⁴⁹ Excavating there

cernuntur; araque praefata ex maximo et admirabilis portentosa eaque Romanae potentiae magnitudine supra, ut lapicidae vocant, XXXV carrettatas architrabis ingentium columnarum striatarum albarum eiusdem fori fabrefacta fuit, quod maximum marmor per Septimianam viam supra curules ligneos deductum summam omnibus admirationem inciebat; praesertim quomodo super altissimis columnis imposita tanti lapidis moles fuisset, miratus est mecum et ipse architectus basilicae Iacobus a Porta. Praedictae deinceps striatae columnae //166v: ingente set frontispicium ex ruinis immani bus dicti fori penitus amotae fuerunt elapsis annis et ibi novae constructae domus. Absoluta, inquam ara maxima beati Petri, summus pontifex Clemens die dominico XXVI iunii se consecrationem celebraturum indixit.

46 Frommel 1973, 11: the papal decrees were apparently oriented at the standard of Tuscan cities in order to avoid dark places or barriers on the streets, see Braunfels 1953, 89.

47 Frommel 1973, 11–16.

48 Frommel 1973, 12; Claridge 2004, 35 defines the role of the Maestri delle Strade and the Antiquarians: “[...] inspect and evaluate new finds according to the terms of these licenses and chase up accidental discoveries, ...” meaning the search for building material.

49 Brandenburg 2007–2008, 170; for the discussion of whether private people could actually use the imperial storages, see Mattern 2000, 179 with further literature, and Pensabene 2006, 564–565.

would occasionally have been easier, considering that, as we know from the files, the Fabbrica sometimes had to pay for repairs that had become necessary once material had been removed:

1547 addi 20 detto di marzo: A messer Giorgio apreso al pozo delle Cornacchie 5 3 bol. 20 per il danno, fatto al suo amattonato in conducere una colonna grande, caua in casa messer Batista Carosio.⁵⁰

1547.12.VIII.: ... per paghare certe opere et calcia et puzolana per aconciar le mura, che si son rotte per caulare le colonne nel munistero dello Spirito Santo.⁵¹

On the other hand, why didn't they avail themselves of the large number of columns which lay and apparently still lie in or around Ostia and Porto and which were known to the Popes at the time?⁵² In some cases, shipping would surely have been easier than carrying a column through the center of a city whose streets were probably not always in good condition.

One explanation could be that these columns lying in abandoned areas did not disturb anyone or obstruct any new projects.

Obviously the infrastructure of the city of Rome changed a lot during the Renaissance. A couple of new and important streets appeared, but as noted above, for example in the case of the Baths of Agrippa or the Quartiere Alessandrine,⁵³ these new roads were built disregarding the old structures.

In connection with the Baths of Agrippa, we do indeed have a testified transfer of valuable building material in the 15th century from an ancient monument to St. Peter's in the last years of the old church.

Reporting on his visit to Rome, Nikolaus Muffel describes the transport of four huge and very impressive columns from the baths to the Vatican in the year 1452, the costs of which are detailed in a bill that has been preserved.⁵⁴ Unfortunately not much is known about the placing of these columns in the old St. Peter's, and the trail is completely lost with the construction of New St. Peter's. So even if Pope Nicholas

50 Frey 1913, 58, Nr. 328.115; for more payments of compensation see Cascioli 1921, 380–381, note 46.

51 Frey 1913, 59, Nr. 328. 122, Cascioli 1921, 377, note 17.

52 Maischberger 1997, 39–42; marble in the Fossa Traiana was known since the times of Pius II or Flavio Biondo, as were remnants on the mainland; see maps by Etienne Du Perac, as well as finds in the Emporium since the 16th century, Maischberger 1997, 67.

53 The Quartiere Alessandrine was developed at the times of Pius V (1556–1572) around the column of Trajan, see LaRocca, Ungaro, and Meneghini 1995, 30–32.

54 23.12.1451: „A m o Aristotele da Bologna [...] duc. 14 sonno per suo salario di 2 mexi al trare de la cholonna” – 27.4.1452: “Mo Aristotile di Fioravante da Bologna de dare duc. 125 d.c. cont. Al lui [...]na adi 17 d[...] Aprile per tanti n[...] Jebi da N.S. [...] sone per parte di denari debe avere per condure la cholonna de la Minerva a palazzo” – 17.6.1452: “Duc. 16, b. 48 d c. [...] per resto di 2 colonne condusse” – Furthermore: “Per sua fadigha di 2 cholonne grosse condusse de la Minerva a tutte sue spexe”; Urban 1963, 169, note 69; Müntz 1978, 108.

V wanted to symbolize the papal ability to move huge stones as the antique emperors did,⁵⁵ it looks like the valuation of these columns was not as high as one could expect for such remarkable ancient columns. Hence the ideological impact of these spolia apparently did not last long. On the contrary the zone containing the Baths of Agrippa increased significantly in value due to papal arrangements to restore the city to its former glory. The new road from the Capitoline Hill to the Vatican, today the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, led to the construction of a number of palazzi in this region. It also resulted in a new street, the Via di Ciambella, which was built right through the middle of the baths, because the modern infrastructure required it. What was left of the Baths had to yield. But all things considered, the disappearance of the Baths of Agrippa was probably quite a long process which started in the Middle Ages, when people in Rome needed space to live in the secure center of the city and contemporaries were able to secure their livelihoods by burning lime or selling marble in that zone, then called Calcario. In the last stage, the ruins were apparently not impressive enough to keep up with the new development of the city and the two columns mentioned before were probably the last significant pieces left.

Another often cited example is the entry of Charles V in 1536. At that moment it was more important for the Romans that the city look good than that the ruins be saved, a point which is also documented in the archives of the Fabbrica: “.. nel cortile della pigna di S.to Pietro tutti li marmi della fabrica,che sonno da quella banda, per sgombrar detto cortile per la uenuta dello imperatore a Roma ...”⁵⁶

There are in fact examples in the Renaissance of ancient monuments in better shape than today being systematically spoliated, such as the Basilica Giulia by Cardinal Giacomo Isolani, who gained permission to destroy the Basilica for private purposes in the year 1426.⁵⁷ However, at the time of the construction of New St. Peter's the papal bulls seem to have been at least a starting point for increasing how carefully ancient buildings were handled.

As John Philip Lomax has pointed out, trading in spolia in the Renaissance was also a quite legal business. Almost every property that contained ancient monuments was jointly owned by private people or churches, which were sometimes closely related. This made selling the spolia legal, because everything that belonged to a piece of private property could be sold. Apparently, the laws in the Middle Ages were slowly stretched to define stones as fruits of the property, which were legal to sell. Over time, popes, emperors and the city of Rome influenced this behavior and restricted certain laws regarding private property. Hence, trading in ancient material from private land was not

55 Satzinger 1996, 251–253; see also the article by Hermann Schlimme in this volume.

56 Frey 1913, 11, Nr. 291.

57 Lanciani 1906, 246.

forbidden and actually helped the Roman citizens to survive in the Middle Ages, since this was probably their best resource for earning money.

There may be some debate about the laws that the popes initiated following their return to Rome, especially about laws and rules for the protection of antiquities in public spaces. But the administrative office of the *magistri delle strade* began to provide at least some kind of official protection beginning in 1462.⁵⁸ Of course many exceptions were made. Licenses were sold as a source for income and, as has already been said, private property was still private – but only as long as the private land did not interfere with infrastructural arrangements. There was definitely a tendency in law to put public welfare above public interests. From about 1480 everything that was an obstacle to new streets had to disappear. And those with the most formidable construction plans were the first to obtain authorization. The objective was to beautify the city, which eventually led to the erection of new palazzi in the center of Rome. It seems that the remains of ancient monuments would therefore not have had a chance to survive in the new Rome. However, we do not really know if what was left of the ruins still represented the glory of the ancient city. If it wasn't, recycling these ruins was a logical step, more a matter of destroying ruins than of destroying the ancient city.

Even if, for example, Rodolfo Lanciani blames Renaissance Romans for destroying ancient monuments, a more appropriate allegation would be that rather than rebuild the ancient monuments they developed a more modern infrastructure.

To clarify what actions were taken in connection with construction sites in the Renaissance it would perhaps be helpful to specify what material was moved. The fact that *spolia* were collected as looted objects and were deeply connected with the idea of power and victory led to the use of the term 'spolia' to refer to architectural and decorative elements in the Renaissance by Vasari and others. These *spolia* bear only a general resemblance to another epoch and to everything connected with that period, for example antiquity.⁵⁹ This kind of *spolia* also leads to the transformation of space, and we have countless examples of that from the Middle Ages. With increasing building activity in modern times starting in the Renaissance it is no longer tenable to claim that ancient material was always reused for these ideological reasons. In a lot of cases, including the construction of New St. Peter's in Rome, the material was obtained legally and nonviolently, i.e. without obvious damaging being done to a building; in some cases the material was excavated, in others it laid within an unused structure. These objects did not necessarily transport ideas or certain images connected with their provenance, although they could do so. In any case, they also exerted a strong influence on the transformation of space, so they constitute more than just re-use.

58 Frommel 1973, 12; Claridge 2004, 35.

59 Liverani 2013, 352.

Presumably in the Renaissance people were better equipped to move material and realize infrastructural plans than they were in the Middle Ages. However, in many cases the remains of ancient buildings could not be utilized because they were already too decrepit and it made more sense to erect something new than to conserve the old. This also explains why there are not many spolia in the classical sense to be found in St. Peter's, because in the Renaissance the visible ruins just could not keep up with the new Rome.

4 Appendix

Selected notifications from the Archivio della Reverendissima Fabbrica di San Pietro (AFSP)

1. Baths of Caracalla:

14.VIII.5: Scudi 5.25 per portatura di carrettate 35 di scaglia dal Antoniana alla calcara dreto a S.to Pietro ...

AFSP, Cod. 23. fol., 51a; 27, fol. 41 a; 21. fol. 58b; Frey 1913, 53, Nr. 328.67

1546, Addi 23 di Luglio: A maestro Bastiano Perugino carraro 5 diciotto per il prezo di viuersi uiaggi, che lha fatto in condurre colonne et altre prete di marmo co suoj bufalj dalla Antoniana alla fabrica.

AFSP; Cod. 31/2, fol.13a; Cod. XXI, 82 b; Cod.XXVII, fol. 169a; Frey 1913, 57, Nr. 328.108

(An. 1546) A ms Savo frasca di venti a bon conto del condurre le colonne dalantoniana alla fabrica 20.

AFSP; Cod. 32, f. 63 Arm. III, tom. 26; Cascioli 1921, 378–379, note 33

2. Temple of Venus and Roma:

20.XI.(1544): ... et 52 pro portatura unius capitelli ad eandem ab ecclesia Beare Marie Noue a die 7 per totam 15 am presentis portati ... Datum die 2 Nouembris 1544.

AFSP; Cod. 22. fol. 89a; Frey 1913, 52, Nr. 328.59

1545. Alla detta addi 18 di Maggio: 5 dieci di moneta, pagati per mandato de detti di detto di a fra Eliseo da (di) Santa Maria nuoua per vna colonna di marmo, uenduta alla fabrica.

AFSP; Cod. 21, fol. 52 A; Frey 1913, 52, Nr. 328.62

1545. Da dj 17 dAprile per tuto dj 14 dj Maggio: cunto delj viagj, che a fatto Rizo (Riccio) caretere: Per sesanta seij viagj de marmj, portate de S. M.a Noua a S. Piero, a bol. 30 per ciaschuno viagio ...

AFSP; Cod. 25, fol. 220b; Frey 1913, 56, Nr. 328.99

3. Colosseum:

1546 (26) Addi 13 Agosto: A maestro Bastiano carraro tre per conduttura di una carozza carica dal Culiseo alla fabrica et per auere adiutato tirare una colnna groÿa con una uetta alle carrozze di messer Jcopo oltre alle 3 uette sua.

AFSP; Cod. 31/2. fol. 17b; XXI. XXVII. sub 14. VIII; Frey 1913, 57, Nr. 328.109;
Cascioli 1921, 375, note 3

1556. D_adi 10. Genaro sino a di 16. detto: da Paulo del Longho e compagni, carteri, la portatura de carete 42 palmi 23 de trauertini, portati del arco del Coliseo in San pietro con caualli 54, a giuli 28 per cauallo, e piu ...

AFSP; Cod. 54; Frey 1916, 56, Nr. 567.12

4. Forum of Trajan:

(An. 1541) Addi XIII detto (maggio). Alla detta ventisei b. IIII d. V e plei al riccio carrettiere pto conto disse p. piu viaggi fatti dalla vigna del sor gomez ed a spogliachristo a san pietro di travertini e marmi levati da detti lochi ...

AFSP; Cod. 4, 53v Arm. III, tom. 10, 53v; Cascioli 1921, 380, note 41

1547.25.VIII.: Soluatis abbatisse et monialibus monasterij Spiritus Sanctj et pro eis reuerendo domino Bartolomeo de Capranico, canonico dicte basilice, 5 37 et bol. 50 pretij et valoris vnus colonne lapidis graniti cum septem octuis ad rationem 20 pro qualibet collonna, per eas nobis pro vsu dicte fabricae die 24 presentis vendite.

AFSP; Cod. 31/32, fol. 77b, Frey 1913, 59, Nr. 328.124. Cascioli 1921, 377, note 16

5. Baths of Agrippa:

1544: ... e piu ne a portati cinqui pezi de marmi dalla Ciamella, che sonno stati caualli sei.

AFSP; Cod. 13, fol. 46a; Frey 1913, 51, Nr. 328.56, Cascioli 1921, 375, note 1

6. Baths of Nero/Severus Alexander:

(112) 1543: ... portare li marmi da Roma in S.to Pietro ... et quatro uiagi na fati (da) S.to Aluisci (da San Luigi).

AFSP; Cod. 13, fol. 46a; Frey 1913, 51, Nr. 328.54

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The Dismantling of the Septizonium – a Rational, Utilitarian and Economic Process?

Summary

The article examines the processes involved in dismantling the Septizonium and transporting its building materials, peperino stones, to one of several sites – in this case the *lavatore del Termine*. References to other materials and sites such as the *casa dei mendicanti* are only made to support the main thesis that this was a case of rational, economical and utilitarian re-use. The main sources used were the *conto misura et stima* of Domenico Fontana and the transportation libretto of Giovan Pietro. The article focuses on the dismantling process itself, the time and materials it required, the working process, economic effort and interim storage. Transportation aspects are examined in terms of volumetric masses for transportation, mobility and destination routes in the incipient Sistine street system.

Keywords: Septizonium; re-use; building materials; transportation; Sistine street system; Domenico Fontana; Sixtus V.

Thema des Artikels sind die Arbeits-, Transport- und Lagerungsprozesse, die sich bei der Niederlegung des antiken römischen Septizoniums ereigneten. Die Beispiele der Verbringung der Baumaterialien Peperin, Travertin und Marmor vom Septizonium zu verschiedenen Bauplätzen wie etwa der *lavatore del Termine* unterstützen die Hauptthese des Artikels. Diese lautet, dass die Wiederverwendung und der Wiederverbau der freigewordenen Baumaterialien des Septizoniums auf rationalen, ökonomischen und utilitaristischen Gründen beruhen. Hauptquellen sind das *conto misura et stima* Domenico Fontanas und das *Transportlibretto* des Giovan Pietro. Der Artikel behandelt den Prozess der Niederlegung, die Arbeitsprozesse, die Arbeitsökonomie und die Zwischenlagerung. Die Frage des Transports der Baumaterialien wird anhand volumetrischer Angaben und der Bewegung durch das neu angelegte Sixtinische Straßensystem analysiert.

Keywords: Septizonium; Wiederverwendung; Baumaterialien; Transport; Sixtinisches Straßensystem; Domenico Fontana; Sixtus V.

I Introduction

The dismantling of the Severan Septizonium at the southwestern foot of the Palatine Hill began – as Enrico Stevenson has shown – in March 1588. The *Vita di Sisto V* reports that “nel Settizonio di Severo per 14 mesi ha fatto continuamente cauar marmi”. Thus, the monument was destroyed completely in April 1589.¹

The first step was to dismantle the monument as documented in the *conto* of Domenico Fontana of 1589 in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*.² Next, the pieces of the Septizonium that had been stored in the interim were transported from the site to their final destinations, where they were reused as spolia. Part of this transport is documented in the *libretto* of Gio(vanne) Pietro, *carrettiere di marmi*, carter of marbles, of 1589 in the *Archivio di Stato di Roma*.³

The following seeks to cast light on two aspects: the first point is the process by which the ancient Septizonium was dismantled in Rome. The Vatican documents of Domenico Fontana will be consulted regarding working processes, dismantled material, time, working effort and interim storage of the material.

The second aspect concerns the transport of the spolia to their final destination sites. Not all sites where material from the Septizonium was reused are mentioned, due to the limited scope of this essay. I will restrict my observations exclusively to those sites which are named in the *libretto* of the marble carter Gio(vanne) Pietro.

Before going into detail about the dismantling process itself, I will first consider what was left of the ancient monument to dismantle. The Septizonium, or as labeled in the *Forma Urbis Romae*, the Septizodium⁴ of Septimius Severus, was dedicated in 203. All that remained of it in the 16th century was its former east wing. So it is depicted, e.g. in a drawing by Giovannantonio Dosio in the second half of the sixteenth century (Fig. 1).

As indicated in the Severan marble plan of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (Fig. 2) the monument's ground plan originally consisted of three main *exedrae* and two side wings (*versurae*), decorated with marble, granite and porphyry columns on the front facade.⁵ An archaeological reconstruction by Christian Hülsen (Fig. 3) reveals that the structure

1 Stevenson 1888, 275, n. 2.

2 *Archivio Segreto Vaticano* (ASV), *Conti di Sisto V*, Capsa 10.108, fasc. II, fol. 9–11; transcribed by Bertolotti 1886, 87 (cf. Lanciani 1961, 185; Jordan 1907, 103); Stevenson 1888, 272–274; Petersen 1910, 58–59 (sections 4–10); Dombart 1922, 131–132.

3 *Archivio di Stato di Roma* (ASR), Camerale I, Giustificazione di Tesoreria, busta 17, fascicolo 8, fol. 1 r.

4 Gorrie 2001, 653: the two terms are interchangeable, since there were found both inscriptions of Septizonium and Septizodium, cf. Carettoni et al. 1960, 67.

5 Fragments 7a and 7b: Stanford Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* Project 2002–2016, rec. no. 26; Carettoni et al. 1960, 66–67, pl. 17; Rodríguez Almeida 1981, 74–75 pl. 5.



Fig. 1 Giovannantonio Dosio, Septizonium, perspective view from the west, mid 16th century (post 1547 – ante 1570), pen on paper, ink, lavished, 418 x 280 mm, inv. 1774 A r, Uffizi, Firenze.

had three stories of decreasing height, in accordance with the rules of Roman architecture depicted by Vitruvius.⁶ The central section of the monument collapsed as early as the 8th century according to the *Codex Einsidlensis*.⁷ Its western wing was torn down in the Middle Ages.⁸

6 Hülsen 1866, pl. IV: a) perspective view (reconstruction) by Hülsen/Halmhuber; b) ground plan (reconstruction) by Hülsen/Graef (cf. Vitruvius, *De architectura libri decem*).

7 Lusnia 2004, 518; referring to Walser 1987, 88–89 and Iacopi and Tedone 1993, 2; Bartoli 1909, 254.

8 Bartoli 1909, 256; Lusnia 2004, 518; cf. Krautheimer 2000, 149, 322.



Fig. 2 Forma Urbis Romae, Septizonium, ground plan, 3rd century, fragments 7 a, b, c, d, analyzed by the Stanford Project 2002 (ongoing), rec. no. 26.



Fig. 3 Christian Hülsen, reconstruction of the Septizonium, perspective view from the south-west, ground plan, drawing: G. Halmhuber / P. Graef 1886.

2 The status of the Septizonium before its dismantling

Pope Sixtus V commissioned the task of dismantling the Septizonium in 1588 and assigned to his architect Domenico Fontana, who also executed additional projects for Sixtus, such as the water pipeline of Monte Cavallo, the Acqua Felice,⁹ and the erection of the Obelisk of the Circus of Nero in front of New St. Peter's.¹⁰

Our main source of information on the dismantling process is the *Conto di Sisto V* of Capsa 10, today in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*.¹¹ It comprises 3 folios and was written by Domenico Fontana, audited by the treasurer Prospero Rocchi and approved by Sixtus V himself. It is dated May 15, 1589 and signed March 22, 1590.

Comparing the written document by Fontana to drawings by Marten van Heemskerck of the Septizonium as it appeared in the 16th century (Fig. 4) clearly reveals that the architect Fontana and the draftsman perceived the monument differently. Marten van Heemskerck depicts the material situation more or less precisely, although the second story wall structures are not too precisely drawn because of the stark lighting – he must have drawn at high noon. Basically he shows the columns as plain and fluted and depicts the rear wall structure of the travertine blocks with holes for the superimposed marble plates, which are now missing. In drawing the second story, which was originally built in the same way, he depicts the medieval brick wall structure with a little side apse tower, a door and windows. He is one of very few to portray the unique round

⁹ Schiffmann 1985, 37–38.

¹⁰ Fontana 1590.

¹¹ *Archivio Segreto Vaticano* (ASV), *Conto di Sisto V*, Capsa 10.108, fasc. II, fol. 9–11; transcribed by Bertolotti

1886 I, 87 (cf. Lanciani 1961, 185; Jordan 1907, 103); Stevenson 1888, 272–274; Petersen 1910, 58–59 (sections 4–10); Dombart 1922, 131–132.



Fig. 4 Marten van Heemskerck, perspective view of the front and the east flank of the Septizonium, inv. FN 491 / inv. FN. 3381 r, post 1532 – ante 1535, pen on paper, brown ink, 293 x 170 mm, on the frieze: Martin Hemske / RCK DEH, Roma, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica.

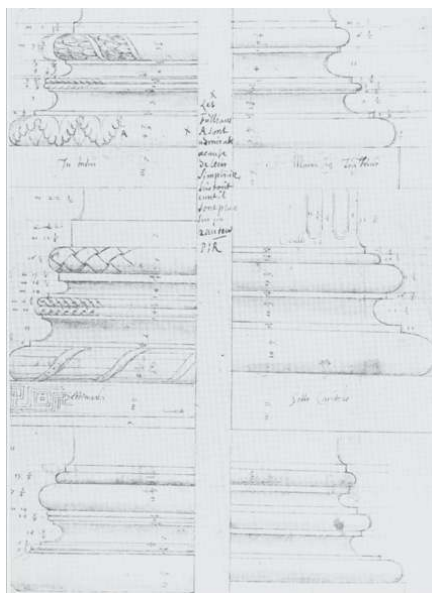


Fig. 5 Anonymus (Netherlands, first half of the 16th century), Septizonium: base, post 1530 – ante 1540, pen on paper, ink, 400 x 270 mm, Codex Kassel, Fol. A 45, fol. 18 (40) v, C.

structure of the frieze on the second story,¹² which can also be seen, for example in drawings by De Holanda or Dosio.

Interestingly, this special frieze, along with other architectural decoration such as the richly carved bases of the monument depicted in the Codex Kassel (Fig. 5)¹³, is

12 Cf. De Holanda, Francisco, Antigualhas, inv. 28-1-20, fol. 23 r (post 1538 – ante 1571), URL: <http://census.bbaw.de/easydb/censusID=43956> (visited on 19/07/2014); Dosio, Giovannantonio, inv. Uff. 2525 A r (post 1547 – ante 1570), URL: <http://census.bbaw.de/easydb/censusID=43933> (visited on 19/07/2014).

13 Anonymus (Dutch), Codex Kassel, Fol. A 45, fol. 18 (40) v, C (fig. 5): plinth: torus inferior, fil-

let, trochilus/scotia, fillet, astragal, astragal, fillet, trochilus/scotia, fillet, torus superior, fillet; written: “settemsala” on plinth. “Settemsala” is most similar to Aristotileda Sangallo, Uff. Inv. 1749 r: “setten-suola”; cf. Guenther 1988, 371, 18 v, C. Probably the Dutch Anonymus was in the first half of the 16th century near or in the circle of the Sangallo-draftsmen.

mentioned nowhere in Fontana's report of the dismantling. It may be that the architect in a sense neglected the architectonic impact of the pieces he had dismantled. In his document he concentrates solely on the material of the building and its volume, that is, the quantity of building material. His concentration on volume and material must first and foremost be seen in the context of the payment method: payment was based on the amount of building material dismantled and the amount of the material in the earth that was uncovered and dug up.¹⁴ It should not be forgotten that the *conto* of Fontana is a bill scheduling all stages of the project and not a study documenting every dismantled architectural element. The *conto* only contains separate entries for certain special or characteristic large pieces of marble,¹⁵ layers of peperine and travertine,¹⁶ 18 columns¹⁷ and material that was hard to excavate.¹⁸ Building material such as the medieval brickwork on the second story of the Septizonium is not mentioned because it could not be reused and is therefore worthless in this context.

Two or three decades after Heemskerck completed his drawing, the architect Vincenzo Scamozzi depicted the Septizonium in a drawing dating to the third quarter of the 16th century.¹⁹ He provided full measurements for the monument's elevation (Fig. 6) and for the ground plans of all three stories (Fig. 7). It must be taken into consideration that time had made the Septizonium even more dilapidated, so that documenting the ancient building was especially interesting and important.²⁰

In the drawing inv. Ms. it. cl. IV, 149, fol. 9 v, C (Fig. 7) we can observe in the cassettes of the ceiling on the first story that there is a clear focus on the structures themselves, not on visual effects like depicting light and shadow to generate depth, for example. The architectonic structure of the building elements is important; the goal is exact documentation. All required measurements are given. In the same way the drawing of the elevation, inv. Ms. it. cl. IV, 149, fol. 9 r (Fig. 6) provides measurements of all building elements from the podium to the third story, which Serlio describes as

14 ASV, Capsa 10.108, fasc. II, fol. 10 r/v (1-10): sections 1-10 list the amount of scudi either for the amount of carts of dismantled material or for special classified dismantled material (cornice, fili di peperino, trevertini).

15 Ibid. fol. 10 (2): "tutte le tre cornice di marmo;" ibid. fol. 10 v. (7): "un altro pezzo al paro del detto che faceva la platea simile e faceva resalto verso l'orto?"

16 Ibid. fol. 10 (4): "cavato di sotto terra n(umero) 6 fili di peperini;" ibid., fol. 10 v (9): "l'ultimo filo de trevertini?"

17 Ibid. fol. 10 (3): "la calatura di n(umero) 18 colonne?"

18 Ibid. fol. 10 v (8).

19 Scamozzi, Libro di disegni, Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, inv. Ms. it. cl. IV, 149, fol. 9 r (elevation), fol. 9 v, A, B, C (ground plans).

20 Campbell 2004, 25-26: Documenting and measuring ancient Roman monuments could have been a special program of the 'Accademia della Virtù' (cf. Kulawik 2002, I, 30-31, 119-126), the drawings of Scamozzi could perhaps be seen as a contribution to this task. Another possibility is that it was an independent project which involved documenting and measuring ancient Roman monuments in cooperation with mostly French artists, architects and draftsmen.

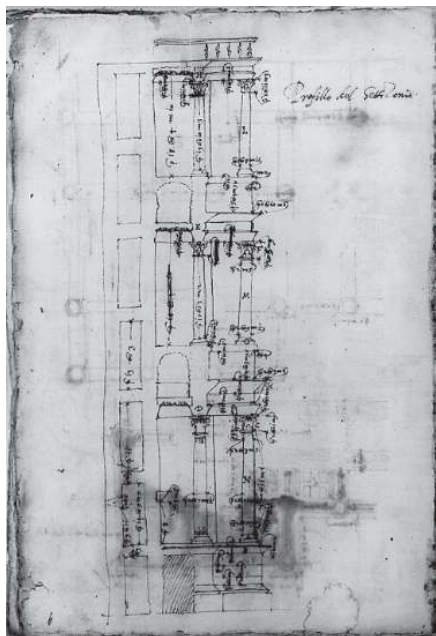


Fig. 6 Vincenzo Scamozzi, Septizonium, elevation, Libro di disegni, Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, inv. Ms. it. cl. IV, 149, fol. 9 r, second half of the 16th century (post 1559 – ante 1589), pen on paper, ink, accompanying text: “Profillo del SettiZonio”.

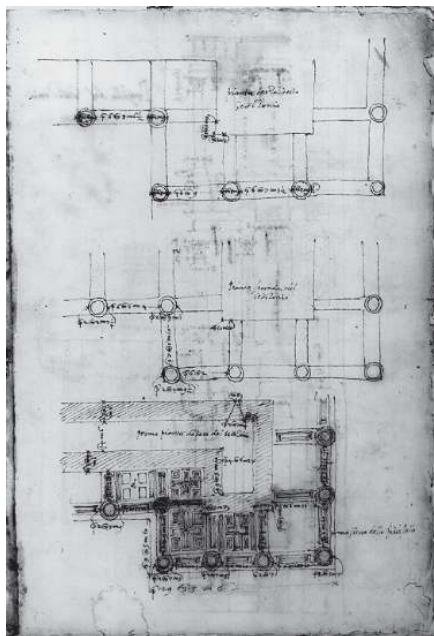


Fig. 7 Vincenzo Scamozzi, Septizonium, ground plan, Libro di disegni, Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, inv. Ms. it. cl. IV, 149, fol. 9 v, second half 16th century (post 1559 – ante 1589), pen on paper, ink, with inscribed measurements.

being very difficult to reach because there was no intact staircase.²¹ Therefore, the elevation and ground plans by Vincenzo Scamozzi constitute the most complete documentation of the Septizonium from the third quarter of the sixteenth century. But earlier measurements of individual elements of the building also exist, for example the measurements of the bases by Giuliano da Sangallo, Aristotile (Bastiano) da Sangallo or Fra Giocondo.²² Consequently, there is no reason to conclude that as architects’ interests and engineering skills increased with time, their rational and technical understanding of ancient monuments and the structures they contained also increased. It makes more sense to speak of a dichotomy between an artistic approach, which aimed to reconstruct the monument, and a technical approach, which sought to measure and document the status of the Septizonium.

21 Serlio 1540, 82, A: “(...) ne anche vestigio di scale per salire ad alto”.

22 Hülsen 1866, 17; 18 fig. 5; Giuliano da Sangallo, Codice Barberiniano Latino, Libro dei Disegni, fol. 71 r, F (end of 15th / beginning of 16th century),

URL: <http://census.bbaw.de/easydb/censusID=60255> (visited on 19/07/2014), (F: 48247); Bastiano da Sangallo, detto Aristotile, inv. Uff. 1749 r, D (post 1530 – ante 1551), Uff.neg. no. 19/22; Pseudo-

When comparing the elevation and ground plans by Vincenzo Scamozzi to the *conto* of Fontana we observe, that both documents create the same impression. But the *conto* of Fontana is first and foremost a bill written for the dismantling of parts of the Septizonium, so it doesn't seek to be as exact and detailed as the scale drawings by Scamozzi in documenting the monument in its present condition.

3 Dismantling the Septizonium: the destruction process

The *conto* of Fontana shows that the building was torn down in two main steps: first, from the upper cornice to the main platform of the first story, and second, from the platform to 29 palmi, or around 6 m, into the ground.²³ These steps were not only constrained by spatial aspects such as volumetric height, but they also involved differing working techniques.

The text starts with the first step, “prima haver calato parte e parte buttato a basso tutti li peperini.”²⁴ “Calato” means to lower pieces of stones and architectural elements like columns from their former place in the building to the ground by mechanical means. The tool used to do this is described in section 2 of the document, “calato a basso con l'argano,”²⁵ or “lowered using a winch”. But simpler techniques were also used in the dismantling process, for example, a large number of peperine stones, the material mainly used in the rear wall, were thrown to the ground as is indicated by the word “buttato”.

The second step is described as “quali pezzi [...] che erano in terra bisogni avatirarli da bandatutti con l'argano”. The pieces of stone in the ground were therefore extracted in small sections using a winch. Since antiquity, winches have served as an important building tool for optimizing, distributing and steering forces. They were often surrounded by wooden scaffolding and supported with ropes.²⁶

By grasping the stone material in the basement with steel hooks – “per dar ganzo acciò si potessero buttare a basso glialtri”²⁷ – the underlying pieces could be cut out in the pit, loosened and pulled up using the winch. This shows that the architect Domenico Fontana used a relatively simple technique, which he optimized by dividing the Septizonium into different sections and following the same logistical pattern in each.

Fra Giocondo, inv. Uff. 1540 A v, D (post 1514 – ante 1521), URL: <http://census.bbaw.de/easydb/censusID=62981> (visited on 19/07/2014) (D: 48249).

23 ASV, Capsa 10.108, fasc. II, fol. 10 (1); 1 palmo romano = 0,223 m.

24 Ibid. fol. 10 (1).

25 Ibid. fol. 10 (2).

26 Giuliano da Sangallo, Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codice Barberiniano Latino, Libro dei Disegni, fol. 71 r (upper part of folio).

27 ASV, Capsa 10.108, fasc. II, fol. 10 (1).

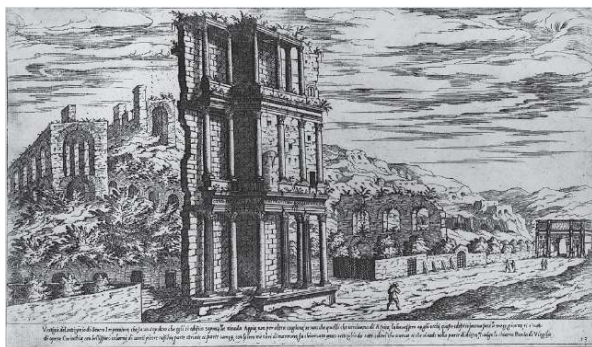


Fig. 8 Étienne Du Pérac, Septizonium, perspective view from the south. Engraving taken from *I vestigi dell'antichità di Roma raccolti e ritratti in prospettiva*, Roma, 1575, fol. 13 r.

Whereas this method was applied for the general dismantling and described by Fontana at the very beginning of the document, the following sections differ in that Fontana specifies the architectural type, material and location at the building site. Thus, in section 3 he mentions “la calatura di n(umero) 18 colonne”, a passage which is especially important for reconstructing the status of the building between 1575 and in 1588/1589.²⁸

In his drawing Marten van Heemskerck carefully depicts the fragile condition of the broken frieze in the eastern flank of the third story (Fig. 4). This upper section of the building is a neuralgic point with regard to the number of columns, because there exist many different versions by different draftsmen of what was left at slightly different times. In the first half of the sixteenth century Heemskerck basically depicts the third story as featuring three front columns and one flanking column as well as a medieval brick structure. So he provides basically the same parameters as those represented in the engraving by Étienne Du Pérac from 1575 (Fig. 8).²⁹

Of particular interest in this third passage of the *conto* of Fontana is that he mentions the number of columns, but not their material. One could ask why this was not considered important here, whereas an anonymous author in the *Codex Veronensis* gives

28 Stevenson 1888, 282: “In un disegno del Dosio da S. Geminiano (sec. XVI), in altro di un anonimo contemporaneo, e nella incisione del Dupérac (1575) troviamo costantemente nel piano inferiore sette colonne, in quello di mezzo sei, e nell’ultimo altrettante.” A comparison of pictorial documents of the Septizonium from this period reveals that the number of columns shifts between 18 and 22. The actual number is still a subject of debate. Perhaps this question could be illuminated and settled by the passage by Fontana in section 3 where he writes “erano parte rotte e brugiate del tempo et per quello essere andati in diversi pezzi”, so that the definition

of a column could be expanded to include *a part of a column*.

29 Du Pérac 1575, fol. 13 r, URL: <http://census.bbaw.de/easydb/censusID=43953> (visited on 19/07/2014), is the last known view of the Septizonium. In the upper part Du Pérac shows basically the same situation as in the drawing by Marten van Heemskerck, so we count 22 columns in 1575. Fontana speaks of 18 columns, but it is unclear if he did also count the partially broken pieces of columns, cf. Capsa 10.108, fasc. II, fol. 10 (3). Stevenson 1888, 282 suggests that the four missing columns vanished, were destroyed or broke down after 1575, cf. Lanciani 1992, 151.

the most exact observation as “di varie sorte di pietra cioè di porfido rosso e bianco, di granite rosso e bigio, di marmo pavonazzo e di bigio e di bianco”.³⁰ Furthermore, Vincenzo Scamozzi describes in his “Discorsi sopra l’antichità di Roma”, published in 1582, the Corinthian order of the columns as well as their surface and material.³¹ One answer could be that Fontana wasn’t thinking primarily of the material here but rather of the architectural type and how it could be reused. An argument supplied by the document itself consists in the fact that in later sections he classifies damaged pieces of the columns as unusable at certain building sites and some as completely unusable.³² This shows that those pieces of material were handled in a very rational, logistical and economical way. The pieces were viewed primarily from a utilitarian perspective. Again, it should be born in mind that the *conto* of Fontana has the character of a scheduled bill; detailed descriptions of individual architectural pieces are not to be found there.

Sections 4 to 9 of Fontana’s *conto* refer to subterranean work, from the basement to the layer of pebbles. His description can be classified as stratigraphic and volumetric, in that he describes the layers of peperine and travertine and their metric dimensions in the order in which they are extracted. He reduces the material entirely to its volume, except when there are extraordinarily large pieces of stone, which could be reused for special purposes.³³

These sections also exhibit another very interesting aspect: they emphasize the difficulties involved in the excavation work. While Fontana neglects to describe the material aspects of the extracted pieces, his *conto* includes aspects of the work itself. He writes of “un filo di trevertino [...] qual girava intorno alla platea fatta da selci durissimi et cativi da cavare”.³⁴ This refers to the enhanced work force that had to be organized to cope with the difficult situation underground. It focuses on time constraints, which can be shown as follows: The excavation of an average layer of travertine of “lon(ghezza) p(almi) 51 lar(ghezza) p(almi) 51 alt(ezza) p(almi) 3 ½” costs 45 scudi for 303 cartloads (carrette).³⁵ But the price rises for a long and narrow layer of travertine that is very hard to excavate: “lon(ghezza) intorno p(almi) 116 lar(ghezza) p(almi) 5 ¼ al(tezza) p(almi) 3 1/3.” 67 cartloads cost 27 scudi.³⁶ Thus, a fourth of the volume costs approximately twice as much as the same quantity from an average layer. Fontana clearly recognizes

30 Anonymus, Cod. Veron 441, 1610, cited by Hülsen 1866, 5, n. 1; 15, n. 13. Gamucci 1565, fol. 82 r, writes of “colonne di diverse pietre, di granito e di porfido, striate e senza strie”, cited by Hülsen 1866, 12.

31 Scamozzi 1582, 24.1: “tutte [...] sono di bellissimi graniti, et marmi, parte bianchi, et parte misti, di queste sono le superiori di maravigliosa bellezza”, cf. Scamozzi 1582, cited by Hülsen 1866, 13 and Iacopi and Tedone 1993, 155, n. 12.

32 ASV, Capsa 10.108, fasc. II, fol. 10 (3): “quali se ne sono serviti in diversi luoghi per le fabbriche e parte ve ne sono che serviranno”.

33 Ibid. fol. 10 v (7): “levato et cavato di sotto terra un altro pezzo al paro del detto che faceva la platea simile” (e.g.).

34 Ibid. fol. 10 v (8).

35 Ibid. fol. 10 v (6): “fa caret(ate) 303 [...] sc(udi) 45,51”.

36 Ibid. fol. 10 v (8): “fa caret(ate) 67 [...] monta sc(udi) 27,06”.

that more time, working material and manpower are required here, so he no longer refers to the quality of the work in general, but to the specific aspect linking work with time. It is not the pure volume of the travertine layers that is important, but rather the effort involved in excavating these layers, as is indicated in the sequence “*piatea fatta da selci durissimi et cativi da cavare*”³⁷

4 Interim storage of the dismantled material

Dismantling the Septizonium caused a new problem: the interim storage of the material. Interim storage meant designating a certain volumetric space to store the dismantled material over a certain period of time. Fontana describes this as follows: “*tirato for a di sotto terra un altro filo di peperini et trevertini [...] et tirata da la banda lontana per la detta strada con l’argano per poter accomodare li altri*”³⁸ The peperine and travertine stones were extracted with a winch and arranged along the street. The last part of the sentence is important, because it indicates the need to plan for the future. While work is in progress, space has to be left open for interim storage. This space has to be connected to the dismantling site itself as well as to the logistical system of the transport roads, and it has a definite end: to begin transporting the pieces to their final destination. The storage space is indicated as “*lontana per la detta strada*”, which means the dismantled pieces have been placed along the roadside.

To shed light on this from a topographical perspective we have to look at the surroundings of the monument in 1588–1589. As can be seen in the engraved map of Rome ca. 1577 by Étienne Du Pérac (Fig. 9) the east wing of the Septizonium was isolated at that time and stood in a system of crossing streets. Four main directions can be discerned: First, the *strada di S. Gregorio*, named after the monastery at its southern end and leading to the former Forum Romanum and the Colosseum. Second, the direction leading to the former Forum Boarium – at that time an important harboring site for shipping materials on the Tiber and on their way to New St. Peter’s. From the west runs the *Via Ostiense*, which was not as important then as in antiquity because of the decline of the harbor of Ostia. And finally, from the South runs the *Via Appia*, which was still very important because of its connection to the Campana, Capua and Naples. So the Septizonium stood at an important hub, the southwestern main entrance to the city of Rome. This means that the Septizonium had to be dismantled to conform to urban traffic and transportation requirements. The interim storing of the dismantled material was therefore not only a problem of space, it was also linked to the necessity of maintaining a functioning logistical system.

37 Ibid. fol. 10 v (8).

38 Ibid. fol. 10 v (6).

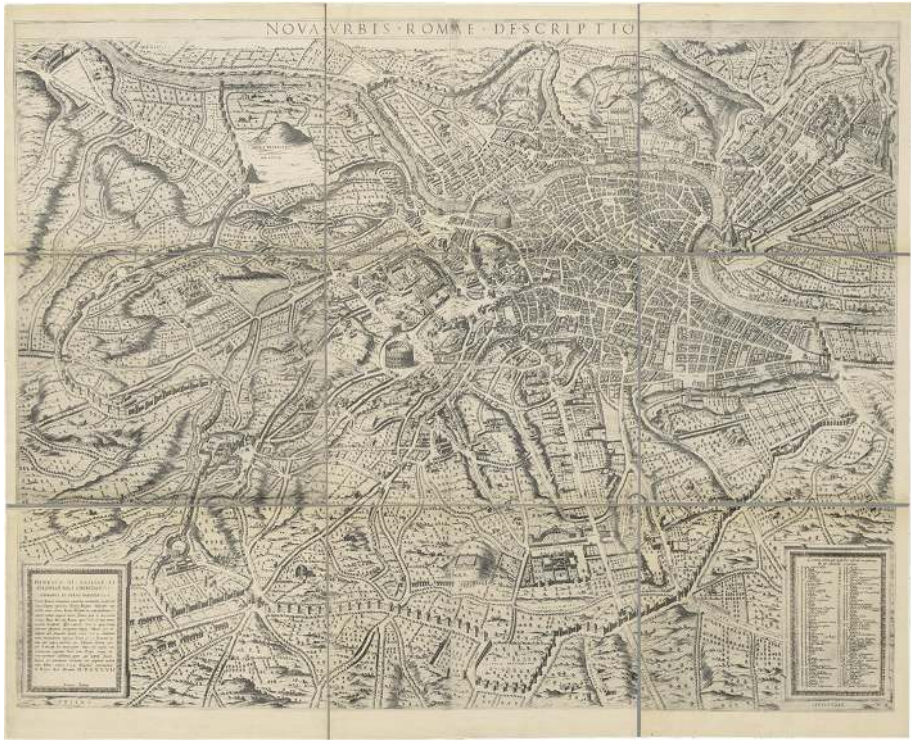


Fig. 9 Étienne Du Pérac, Antoine Lafréry, *Nova urbis romae descriptio*, Septizonium: right half, middle, 1577, engraving.

If the dismantled material was collected around the site of the Septizonium it could have been organized along the Via di S. Gregorio according to Fontana. There are still other ways the dismantled material could have been arranged. First, it could have been temporarily stored on the south end of the street in the garden of the monastery of S. Gregorio,³⁹ which may have been used as a vineyard at this time. Second, Du Pérac's engraving depicts a piece of land east of the Septizonium surrounded by a wall and containing a building with two flanks. It, too, seems to be a garden or vineyard. And third, along the foot of the Palatine hill, northeast of the Septizonium, there may also have been a place for interim storage. Before the triumphal entry of Charles V in 1536

39 Lanciani 1992, 150: “[...] Stevenson crede che I blocchi di peperino, di travertino e marmo sieno rimasti ad ingombrare la piazza di San Gregorio per parecchio tempo ancora, non essendo vi dubbio che nell’ultimo anno del pontefice vi si andava

tuttora a cercare materiale.” This lack of the sources can be partially resolved by the *libretto* of Giovanpietro *carrettiere di marmi*, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Camerale I, Giustificazione di Tesoreria, busta 17, fascicolo 8.

the Septizonium itself stood partly in the vineyard of Girolamo Maffei.⁴⁰ The vineyard was sold on February 4, 1536 to Latino Giovenale de Manettis and logistical changes had to be made to direct traffic; this meant that the street along which Charles V made his entry traversed the vineyard of the Septizonium.⁴¹ Fontana's *conto* mentions a vineyard near the Septizonium just once, in specifying the position of a travertine plate that had been dug up, and which "sprang back in its position in the direction of the garden"—"un altro pezzo [...] faceva resalto verso l'orto".⁴² Consequently, the piece must have extended either to the south towards the garden of the monastery of S. Gregorio or to the west, where a garden is indicated on the map by Du Pérac. It can therefore be concluded that Fontana may have temporarily stored the dismantled pieces not only along the street of S. Gregorio⁴³ but also in one of these gardens or vineyards.

Another interesting entry referring to a "vigna" (vineyard) in the context of the spolia of the Septizonium can be found at the very end of a document from the *Archivio di Stato di Roma*. The little booklet (*libretto*) is titled "Portature di Gio: Pietro Carattiere di Marmi, / statue, et altro nel Pontificato di Sisto V".⁴⁴ It is issued as a *conto*, a bill, to the Treasure Chamber of the Vatican and is dated July 29, 1589.⁴⁵ As already mentioned, Stevenson, the Vatican librarian, cited the *conto* of Domenico Fontana to show that the dismantling of the Septizonium took place between March 1588 and April 1589. This means that the pieces of stone were temporarily stored for at least a few months.⁴⁶ Even greater precision is possible here, because the stone carter Giovanni Pietro began measuring the pieces on April 6, 1588 until the *conto* ended in July 1589.⁴⁷ Each piece was first measured (he writes "mesurati p[er] me"⁴⁸) and its cubic volume calculated before it was transported. These measurements must have been made several times, not necessarily within the same time period, but in the course of the processes at the dismantling site itself. The pieces were therefore measured for the first time right after Fontana started

40 Bartoli 1909, 258; cf. Lanciani 1902, 200.

41 *Ibid.*; cf. Orbaan 1911, 237: "(... the emperor should) reach San Sebastiano by the still existing Via delle Sette Chiese [...]. Then, at the first sharp turn of the Via Appia, inside the wall, where the wide road passed straight through vineyards, he could see on the one hand the 'Settesolie' [...]"

42 ASV, Capsa 10.108, fasc. II, fol. 10 v (7).

43 ASR, Provv.ti del camer(leng)lo, tomo 1587–1588, c. 155: from February 4, 1588 on Francisco de Tosetti obtained a licence to dig along the Via di S. Gregorio ("[...] in via publica qua itur ad S(an)ctum Gregorium ab arcu Constantini incipiendo subterranea loca per quirire ac quoscunque lapides marmoreos porfiriticos Tiburtinos figuratos [...] excavari"). So these excavations could have disturbed the interim

storage of the dismantled material of the Septizonium along the Via di S. Gregorio in an eastern direction towards the Arch of Constantine.

44 ASR, Camerale I, Giustificazione di Tesoreria, busta 17, fascicolo 8, fol. 1 r.

45 *Ibid.* fol. 1 r.

46 Cf. n. 39: Stevenson believed the pieces to have remained after their dismantling for a very long time around S. Gregorio.

47 ASR, Camerale I, Giustificazione di Tesoreria, busta 17, fascicolo 8, fol. 1 r: "[...] comenzando (?) sot/li 6 di Ap[ri]le 1588. sino al presente giorno sopra d.to come qui sotto si uede destintamen/ te mesurati p[er] me sotto scritto E p.a."

48 *Ibid.* fol. 1 r.

dismantling them and for the last time shortly after he finished, so that this can be classified as a related process. It accompanied the destructive work and extended beyond it to deal with the material effects of the main dismantlement process.

In the very last folio of the *libretto* a “vigna” for 85 *scudi* (Fig. 10) is listed under total costs.⁴⁹ To this is added 419 *scudi* for “diversi lavori”, yielding a sum of 504 *scudi* due. From this sum, 200 *scudi* are subtracted as already paid, leaving a remainder of “resta 304 *scudi*.”⁵⁰ This sum has to be paid to Gio(vanne) Pietro. It is an interesting problem how one should interpret the sum of 85 *scudi* paid to the carter for the “vigna”. Comparing the *libretto* of Gio(vanne) Pietro to the *libri dei conti* of Domenico Fontana, there is an entry which could correspond to the *libretto*, especially the sum for the *vigna* and the “diversi lavori”. The *libro dei conti* lists the “Vigna di Nostro Signore”,⁵¹ which means the garden of the villa of cardinal Felice Peretti, pope Sixtus V.⁵² There is an entry on page 16 of the *libro dei conti* 1585–1589 concerning 85 *scudi* paid to Gio(vanne) Pietro for carting different stones from various sites to this *vigna*, apparently before August 1589.⁵³ This would mean that various stones were collected or temporarily stored in the *vigna* of Pope Sixtus V. The entry in the *libro dei conti* of Domenico Fontana concerning the *vigna* of Pope Sixtus V occurs around the same time as the entry about the *vigna* in the *libretto* of Gio(vanne) Pietro, whose work in measuring and transporting ended, according to the document, at the end of July 1589. The presence of this entry in the *libretto* of Gio(vanne) Pietro can be explained within the larger context of all costs and calculations. It does not necessarily mean that stones from the Septizonium were temporarily stored in the *vigna* of Pope Sixtus V, especially since this would require them to be transported twice: first to the *vigna* and then to their final destination. There is no further evidence of this. It must be concluded that the entry concerning the *vigna* in the *libretto* refers to general transportation work by Gio(vanne) Pietro. It could be that some pieces of the Septizonium reached that *vigna* but were not measured and listed in the *libretto*. Furthermore, the *libro dei conti* reports that those stones came from various directions, “più luoghi.”⁵⁴

The sum of 85 *scudi* amounts to almost a quarter of the sum for all other transportation work listed in the *libretto*: 441 *s(cudi)* 28 *baiocchi* (reduced to 419 *s(cudi)* by the treasure chamber).⁵⁵ So the quantity of stones transported to the *vigna* should not be underestimated. We can try to evaluate this in terms of the average costs: one cart of 30

49 Ibid. fol. 11 r.

50 Ibid. fol. 11 r (bottom right on folio).

51 Guidoni, Marino, and Lanconelli 1986, 54 (transcription): p. 15 “Vigna di Nostro Signore”.

52 The garden of the Pope and palazzo Peretti were situated northeast of S. Maria Maggiore, cf. Schiffmann 1985, 31–32, with reference to Massimo 1836.

53 Guidoni, Marino, and Lanconelli 1986, 55 (transcription): p. 16 [...] “Gio(vanne) Pietro carettere per diverse pietre portate da più luoghi alla vigna, come in un conto saldato a di 19 d’agosto 1589, ch’è apresso meser Hermes s.(cudi) 85”.

54 Cf. n. 53.

55 ASR, Camerale I, Giustificazione di Tesoreria, busta 17, fascicolo 8, fol. 10 r.

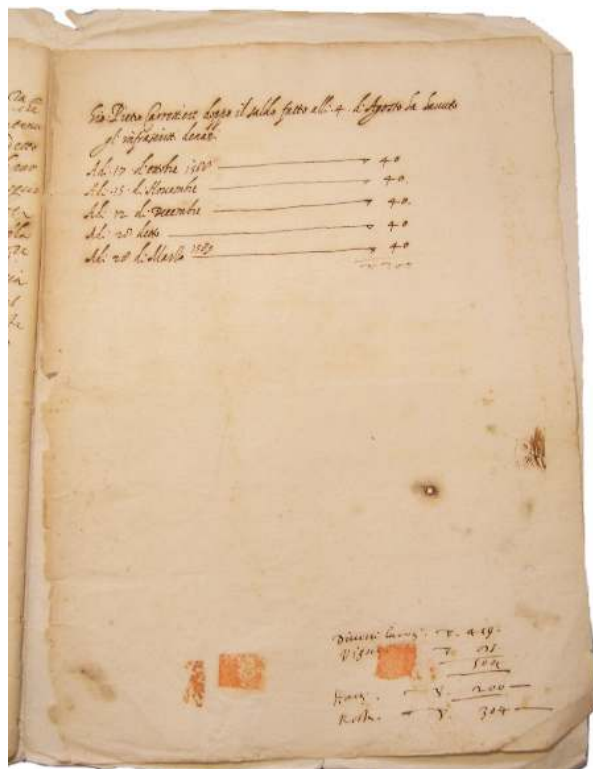


Fig. 10 Archivio di Stato di Roma, Camerale I, Giustificazione di Tesoreria, busta 17, fascicolo 8, fol.11 r, Roma.

palmi cubici equals 0.5 *scudi*,⁵⁶ so 85 *scudi* equals 170 cartloads of 30 *palmi cubici*. The total volume of the stones transported to the *vigna* equals 5100 *palmi cubici*. For example, the volume of all the travertine stones transported from the Septizonium to the Obelisk of the Piazza del Popolo equals 3875 *palmi cubici* and 119 carts, approximately one third less than the stones brought to the *vigna* of Pope Sixtus V. When considering why such a quantity of stones would have been collected in the *vigna*, it should be born in mind that in that time marble storage and stocks were proliferating.⁵⁷ This may also have been the case here. However, this possibility is ruled out by passages referring to the *vigna* in the *libro dei conti* of Domenico Fontana. There the architect is paid for work in the *vigna*, such as erecting walls and pilasters that was executed before July 1589.⁵⁸ It therefore

56 Ibid. fol. 9 v: “Li peperini portati dal settizonio al d.to lautore sono 6064, che sonno ca(arreta)te 202 p 04. al 48. p ca(retta)ta montasc(udi) 97 (baiocchi) 20” (basis for determining the approximate average cost of 0,5 *scudi* for one caretta).

57 See Hermann Schlimme in this volume.

58 Guidoni, Marino, and Lanconelli 1986, 54 (transcription): p. 15 “Vigna di Nostro Signore [...] il medesimo (Domenico Fontana) per altri muri intorno la vigna, come in un altro conto saldato a di 20 di luglio 1589 [...] Il medesimo (Domenico Fontana) per pilastri e muri et altri diversi lavori

seems that the stones were reused in the *vigna* itself. Nevertheless, it is interesting that apparently not all dismantled pieces of the Septizonium have been registered. The entry concerning the *vigna* in the *libretto* of Gio(vanne) Pietro hints that a larger amount of material, perhaps also from the Septizonium, was used for the private garden of the Pope himself.

To return to the question of the interim storage of pieces of the Septizonium, the main answer is given by the architect himself in his *conto*. Fontana had to invent a flexible system to arrange the pieces based on the absolute volume of the underground portion of the basement of the Septizonium without disrupting public transport or the dismantling process. Thus, he had to consider space for storage and for smooth working processes. What system did he develop to arrange the pieces? In his own words: “lontana per la detta strada.” He combined existing logistical structures with the material instead of mounting the pieces at one site. This ensured a high level of flexibility, which classified the pieces, both in terms of their original provenience *and* how they would be transported. This flexible duality enabled a number of additional processes to take place. For example, the pieces could be cut at the interim storage level and rearranged to optimize their size for transportation, or their construction value could be estimated. The interim storage level could be defined in this context as a hybrid moment. The pieces had been dismantled and were awaiting reuse. They had no specific place yet, but were referred to as building material to in the interim storage system; they became “neuralgic hubs” in a flexible and changing interim storage structure. The heavier and more monumental they are, the less likely they are to be moved away. So these pieces themselves define the structure of the interim storage space.

What does the way the Septizonium was dismantled reveal about the use and reuse of its building material? We have cast light so far on the dismantling and interim storage processes. The following brief conclusions can be drawn at this point:

First, the dismantling can be seen as a logistical and rational process based on building techniques. The symbolic value of the pieces is not considered here. Second, the pieces are primarily dismantled for their material and volume, so the focus is on their reusability. Third, several pieces are dismantled to be sent to a specific destination based on the type of material, for example marble or precious stone. This is true of several marble plates and the column shafts. Only these pieces can be assumed to have had aesthetic value, but it is still very problematic to assume that they had symbolic value. To sum up, everything points to an economic, rational and utilitarian process.

dentro la vigna, come in un'altro conto saldato a di
20 di luglio 1589 [...].”

5 Transportation of the dismantled pieces to their final destination

The administrative duties of the architect Fontana also included commissioning the interim stored pieces of the Septizonium to be transported by a carter of stones. The carter was responsible for documenting the pieces and transporting them to their final destinations. Fontana had to delegate this task to a professional equipped with specific transportation facilities. In the case of the Septizonium he commissioned a carter of marble and stones named Gio(vanne) Pietro to transport the pieces. Pietro documented this in his booklet (*libretto*) titled “Portature di Gio: Pietro Carattiere di Marmi,/ statue, et altro nel Pontificato di Sisto V”; dated July 29, 1589 and given to the Treasure Chamber of the Vatican.⁵⁹

The length, width and height of each dismantled piece was measured by Gio(vanne) Pietro himself and documented in the *libretto*.⁶⁰ The booklet is organized as follows: each section begins with the provenience, material and destination of a piece. For example, the first entry on fol. 1 r reads: “peperini portati da Monte Cauallo al lauatore di Termine.”⁶¹ The transportation services are summarized in a larger volume, “summario delle riporto scritte portature.” Fol. 9 v/ 10 r shows that most of the transports were from the site of the Septizonium to various destinations.⁶² Some of the transports started in Monte Cavallo or the Capitoline Hill and smaller transports can be found that comprise single entries in the *libretto*, for example material from the Septizonium for the Casa dei Mendicanti at the Ponte Sisto.⁶³

In his second entry in the *libretto* the stone carter Giovanni Pietro lists 98 pieces of “Peperini portati del sette Zonij al d.to lauatore.”⁶⁴ Sixtus V started building a lavatory for the wool industry at the Baths of Diokletian at Termini⁶⁵, apparently using 6064 *palmi cubici* of peperine stones from the Septizonium for that purpose.

First of all, it is interesting that so many pieces were transported. They were designated based on their volume in *palmi cubici* and divided into several amounts with reference to a specific number of pieces. So the first section comprises 10 peperines with a cubic volume of 908 *palmi cubici*, the second section consists of 35 pieces of 2390

59 ASR, Camerale I, Giustificazione di Tesoreria, busta 17, fascicolo 8, fol. 1 r.

60 Ibid. fol. 1 r: “[...] mesurati p(er) me [...]”

61 Ibid. fol. 1 r.

62 Ibid. fol. 9 v: “[...] da Monte Cavallo all’lauatore di Termine [...]”; “[...] dal settizonio al d.to lauatore [...]”; “[...] dal settizonio [...] al Saluatore di S. Gio: [...]”; “[...] dal settizonio [...] alla Colonna Antonina [...]”; “[...] dal settizonio a d.ta Colonna [...]”; “[...] da monte Cauallo a d.ta Colonna Antonina [...]”; “[...] dal settizonio alla Guglia del Popolo”; “[...] da

Campidoglio p(er) [...] la guglia del popolo [...]”; “[...] dal settizonio [...] a S.ta Ma.a Mag.re [...]”; “[...] dal settizonio al Saluatore di S. Gio: laterano [...]”; fol. 10 r: “al settizonio [...] alla colonna [...]”

63 Ibid. fol. 3 r: “Per haver fatto cinq(ue) uiaggi de scaloni abozzati fatti fare p(er) la Casa de Mendicanti a Ponte Sisto tolti dal settizonio e portati in d.to loco [...]”

64 Ibid. fol. 1 r–3 r.

65 Schiffmann 1985, 33.

palmi cubici, the third section of 22 pieces of 1062 *palmi cubici*, the fourth section of 21 pieces of 1197 *palmi cubici* and the fifth and final section of 8 pieces of 508 *palmi cubici*.⁶⁶ In the *conto* of Fontana, one cart comprises on average 30 *palmi cubici*.⁶⁷ Translating the number of pieces into the number of transportation cartloads, the first section of the document reveals 30 cartloads the second ca. 80 carts, the third 35 carts, the fourth 40 carts and the last 17 carts, for a total of 202 carts, as indicated in the summary of the transports in the *libretto*.⁶⁸ This means approximately 200 cartloads were driven from the Septizonium to the lavatory of Termini.

The second interesting point concerns the distance between the two. Basically there are two main routes the carter could have taken. On the one hand, he could have steered towards the Colosseum and the column of Trajan turned from there towards S. Maria Maggiore on a street that was built starting in 1585⁶⁹ and is labeled today as Via Panisperna. So the carter reached the “lavatore” from the northwest. This assumes that this was a main traffic route that was also highly affected by the ongoing construction work pope Sixtus V had commissioned. On the other hand, Gio(vanne) Pietro could have crossed mons Caelius keeping east of the Colosseum and the Colle Oppio and reaching eastern S. Maria Maggiore partially along the Via Merulana, a street which was still being built under Sixtus V.⁷⁰ From Santa Maria Maggiore he would have chosen approximately the same route, the Via Panisperna, to the lavatory at Termini. The total distance, depending on the route, is about 3 and a half to 4 km. Compared to the other destinations to which the dismantled and spoliated pieces of the Septizonium were sent, this is an average distance. For example, the route from the Septizonium to the Antonine Column would also have been 2 and a half to 3 km, while the route to S. Giovanni in Laterano would have measured approximately 3 km. We have to consider that first of all the volume of one cart determines the number of available transportation routes. This is an oscillating variable, because the distances differ only slightly. If more spolia from the Septizonium were reused at one site, the number of carts and the transportation costs were correspondingly higher.

The third point involves shifting attention from the transportation distances to the quality and efficiency of transportation. How could this be measured? Is it linked to financial aspects?

In fol. 3 r of the *libretto* by Giovanni Pietro the carter allots 1 *scudo* for the transportation of each of the “lastroni di marmo”, marble plates, in a cart pulled by four horses.⁷¹

66 ASR, Camerale I, Giustificazione di Tesoreria, busta 17, fascicolo 8: first section: fol. 1 r, second: fol. 1 v, third: fol. 2 r, fourth: fol. 2 v, fifth: fol. 3 r.

67 ASV, Capsa 10.108, fasc. II, fol. 9–11 (determined by comparing and calculating).

68 ASR, Camerale I, Giustificazione di Tesoreria, busta 17, fascicolo 8, fol. 9 v: “Li peperini portati dal setti-

zonio al lauatore sonno 6064. che son/no ca'te 202 p 04. al 48. P ca'ta monta sc. 97.20”

69 BV Vat. Lat. 12142 fol. 290 v, published in Schiffmann 1985, 31; cf. 29; cf. Fulvio 1588, fol. 197 v.

70 Schiffmann 1985, 43; cf. Fontana 1590, fol. 5 r, fol. 88 r (earth works and walls along the Via Merulana).

71 ASR, Camerale I, Giustificazione di Tesoreria, busta 17, fascicolo 8, fol. 3 r: “Per la portatura di u° las-

Therefore, the price of this transportation service differs from the average cost of half a *scudo* per cart as was determined in the case of the peperine transport from the Septizonium to the lavatory of Termini.⁷² It is also interesting that a more precious marble than peperine in the shape of plates is recorded differently in the *libretto*. Unlike the entries for large amounts, for example 98 pieces of peperine for the lavatory at Termini, these single entries are highly precise. They specify how many pieces of which shape and material were transported to which destination by how many horses.⁷³ This is primarily due to the fact that those materials, for example marble plates or pre-fabricated stairs, were destined to fulfill a highly distinctive function, for example as an inscription panel, as a coat of arms of Sixtus V or as staircase steps in the Casa dei Mendicanti near the Tiber at Ponte Sisto.⁷⁴

At this point it becomes clear that the material qualities of the pieces mattered when they perfectly suited a highly specific purpose. A parallel to Fontana's *conto* can be observed: quality is mentioned as important when it affects the immediate process; as the "selci durissimi e cattivi a cavare"⁷⁵ influenced the dismantling process, so the "lastroni di marmo" in the *libretto* of Giovanni Pietro influenced the amount of care to be taken and the specific conditions to be observed during the transportation process. Being more related to the question of spolia and the reuse of building material, this points also – on a different qualitative level – to the utility of the material. It can be categorized in general as a utilitarian focus.

In general – as we can see from the aforementioned fol. 11 r (Fig. 10) – the carter Gio(vanne) Pietro was paid a total of 419 *scudi* for transportation services.⁷⁶ He was paid 40 *scudi* per month beginning on August 4, 1588, continuing through October, November, December and ending at the end of March 1589, which totals 200 *scudi*.⁷⁷ It is interesting to observe that between January and March no regular payment was made. This could be due to delays in excavation work, as suggested in Fontana's *conto*: the pieces first had to be cut in the pit and then hauled out using winches.⁷⁸ Further causes for the lack of transportation services and hence the lack of payments could also be found in a period of "maltempo," heavy rains hindering excavation works, in new tasks assigned to the carter Gio(vanne) Pietro by other commissioners or merely in the

troni di marmo p[er] far le scritione/ sopra la porta di d.to lauatore tolto dal settezonij u' 4./caualli et cond.to al d.to lauatore monta. sc. I"

72 Cf. note 56.

73 Cf. ASR, Camerale I, Giustificazione di Tesoreria, busta 17, fascicolo 8, fol. 3 r: "Per haver fatto cinq(ue) uiaggi de scaloni abozzati fatti fare p(er) la Casa di Mendicanti a Ponte Sisto tolti da settizonio e portati in d.to loco p(er) far le scale delle stantie delli dormitorij u' Quattro Cavalli p(er) uiaggio chetutti cinq(ue) insieme montano sc. 4"

74 Ibid. fol. 3 r.

75 ASV Capsa 10.108, fasc. II, fol. 10 (8).

76 Ibid. fol. 10 r: "[...]alla so'ma di scudi quattrocento quarant'uno (baiocchi) 28 di m.ta Reduciamo il soprade.o Conto a scudi quattrocento diecinoue cosi in tanto lo saldiamo p(er) la detta so'ma di (scudi) 419 [...]"

77 Ibid. fol. 11 r (bottom right on the folio).

78 ASV, Capsa 10.108, fasc. II, fol. 10 (4–10): sections 4–10 refer to excavation works "di sotto terra".

fact that the pieces were temporarily stored for long periods. But transportation of the dismantled Septizonium material was a cost factor that must have been calculated. It constituted a relatively large percentage of the total balance of the *conto* of Domenico Fontana for the dismantling of the Septizonium, which amounted to almost 1000 (994) *scudi*. Transporting the spolia cost a total of 419 *scudi*, almost half of the price of the dismantling work. From this we can further conclude that the focus in transportation was not on the distances but on the value of the material, the dismantled pieces.

The transportation of building material from the Septizonium in Rome can in general be said to have been almost completely bound and linked to the building activities of Sixtus V and his architect. Very few pieces were given to private individuals or artists.⁷⁹ Concerning the distances that were seen as necessary to get the materials to their destination site, the only important factors were the value of the material and the building site where the spolia were reused. And those sites are illustrative: basements of obelisks, ancient monuments, Renaissance palazzi, Papal churches and chapels.⁸⁰

Finally, these observations should be connected with the general development of specialization in the technical organization of constructive and destructive processes in building during the Renaissance. As can be shown by comparing payroll lists for workers on medieval cathedral building sites, it became less common to pay an average wage based on sheer manpower and more common to offer more pay for specific, skilled work.⁸¹ This diverging process can also be observed in the dismantling of the Septizonium: the architect gradually comes to assume the role of a technical and organizational supervisor delegating specific, skilled tasks to specialized workers.

In conclusion, it can be said that in the case of the dismantling of the Septizonium this development also affects the process of spoliation. This process should not be seen as a unified whole, but as a multi-step system implemented by specialists. It can be compared to an early industrial process, one connected to the urban system mainly through the logistical network supported by the spatial organization of the city of Rome. It was organized, highly rational and economic, primarily due to the logistical, organizational, engineering and technical skills of the architect Domenico Fontana. In his book about the erection of the Vatican Obelisk this can be observed clearly, despite all the self-promotion.⁸² The dismantling of the Septizonium by Sixtus V and Domenico Fontana was in the specific cases examined here, a rational, economical and utilitarian process.

79 ASR, Camerale I, Giustificazione di Tesoreria, busta 17, fascicolo 8, fol. 7 r: "Per la portature de 2. pezzi de marmi molti al settizonio e portata alla bottega di m.re Mutio a segare p(er) far li termini et festoni che sonno messi ad.to hornamento della

statua, quali poi sonno stati portati da li a S.ta Maria Mag.re dove son stati poi feniti d.ti pezzi [...]"

80 Cf. n. 62.

81 Binding 1993, 168 (comparison of payment: differing for specific, skilled tasks).

82 Fontana 1590.

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William Stenhouse

From Spolia to Collections in the Roman Renaissance

Summary

This paper considers the emergence of antiquity collections in renaissance Rome against the backdrop of medieval traditions of spoliation. It analyses in particular the contributions of Salvatore Settis and Kathleen Wren Christian to our understanding of the political and social functions of collections, and their relations to earlier forms of display. The paper also examines the connections between renaissance collections and wider concerns about the preservation of the ancient city, the display of Christian antiquities, and other collections elsewhere on the Italian peninsula.

Keywords: Renaissance; museum; collection; preservation; courtyard; garden; Christian antiquities.

Dieser Aufsatz behandelt die Entstehung von Antikensammlungen im Rom der Renaissancezeit vor dem Hintergrund der mittelalterlichen Tradition der Spolierung. Insbesondere wird untersucht, was Salvatore Settis und Kathleen Wren Christian zu unserem Verständnis der politischen und sozialen Funktion von Sammlungen und ihrer Beziehung zu früheren Präsentationsformen beigetragen haben. Der Aufsatz verbindet die Untersuchung der Renaissance-Sammlungen mit umfangreicheren Betrachtungen über die Bewahrung der Altstadt, die Präsentation christlicher Altertümer und anderer Sammlungen der italienischen Halbinsel.

Keywords: Renaissance; Museum; Sammlungen; Bewahrung; (Innen)hof; Garten; christliche Altertümer.

I Introduction

The century following Nicholas V's 1447 election to the papacy and the subsequent consolidation of papal power witnessed vast changes in attitudes to the material remains of antiquity. As a range of figures in Rome – from popes and sculptors to antiquities dealers and construction workers – tried to get hold of pagan relics, practices of excavation, protection, and representation shifted and evolved. The widespread emergence of antiquity collections is one of the best-documented of these phenomena. Various men took ancient objects – coins, inscriptions on stone and bronze, and sculptures of various types – and displayed them in their houses, palaces, and suburban villas. By the later sixteenth century, these collections had become a celebrated feature of the Roman landscape, recommended alongside Christian sites and ancient structures to tourists from the north.

How should we explain the emergence of these collections? For the most part, scholars have been more interested in the collections' status as forerunners of the modern museum than in the genesis of the collections themselves. Insofar as they have addressed the question, they have seen collections as a natural consequence of the renaissance veneration for classical antiquity, as a result of high renaissance artists' need to have classical models to imitate (this on the model of Lorenzo de' Medici's Florentine 'accademia' recounted by Vasari), or as a response to papal authority and initiative (in such a narrative the Capitoline antiquities that Pope Sixtus IV bestowed on the city of Rome in 1471, and the papal collection of the Belvedere installed by Julius II in the first decade of the sixteenth century figure prominently as models for others to follow).¹ These assumptions about collections tended to divorce them from practices of spoliare construction and medieval traditions of display at Rome.² In the last two decades or so, however, the gap separating scholarship on spolia and scholarship on collections has dissolved, thanks to the work of two scholars in particular, Salvatore Settis and Kathleen Wren Christian. In what follows I take their exemplary research and presentation of a wide body of material as the basis for my discussion, focusing on stone antiquities' display

1 For the first, see e.g. Weiss 1988. Vasari 1979, ii.858 comments as follows: "This [Lorenzo's] garden was in such wise filled with the best ancient statuary... And all these works, in addition to the magnificence and adornment that they conferred on that garden, were as a school or academy for the young painters and sculptors, as well as for all others who were studying the arts of design..." On the garden, see Elam 1992 and Pommier 2001. As well as not being necessarily applicable to what was happening in Rome, Vasari's picture of the garden is likely to have been shaped by his own later experience as an

artist and student of ancient sculpture. On the Capitoline donation, see Buddensieg 1983 and Christian 2010, 103–113, with previous bibliography; and for the Belvedere, Brummer 1970.

2 Most scholarship on spolia at Rome focuses on late antiquity and the medieval period; exceptions that look at the sixteenth century tend to focus on ecclesiastical architecture: see especially Satzinger 1996; Bosman 2004, and the contributions of Bernhard Fritsch, Hermann Schlimme, and Christine Pappe in this volume.

as a means to understand the ways in which renaissance collections relate to previous spoliation practices.³ I will look at the emergence of collections in Rome and changes in their appearance, focusing particularly on the collections of private citizens (this will offer some context for the Capitoline and papal collections and give a better sense of the extent of the collecting phenomenon – Sara Magister has identified at least 165 separate Roman antiquity collectors between 1471 and 1503).⁴ I will then consider how we might build on the pictures on the relation of spolia to collections that Settis and Christian present, by looking at other aspects of the emergence of collections in Rome, including the relation of collecting to wider concerns about the preservation of the ancient city, the collection and display of antiquities in Christian contexts, and practices of collecting and display elsewhere on the Italian peninsula.

2 Collections as reuse

In a programmatic article of 1993, *Des ruines au musée: La destinée de la sculpture classique*, Salvatore Settis proclaimed that the “collection est une nouvelle forme de réemploi.”⁵ Traditionally, scholars had been most interested in sixteenth-century collections as repositories for individual archaeological finds, and they focused on the fate of those pieces rather than examining the position of individual pieces in relation to the whole.⁶ Settis, though, showed that the collection should be connected to spoliate construction; it is a new type of reuse only because it places antiquities in specially-designed display spaces that demonstrate the distance between the present and the classical past, whereas previously the display of antiquities within new structures had laid claim to a link with the authority of antiquity.⁷ The shift from one mode to another was not simple, however. As Settis went on to argue in a subsequent essay,

... the process by which ancient sculptures changed their status in the transition from ruins to collections ... was both much slower than we usually think and much more dramatic, prompted less by aesthetic admiration than by political expediency. The artistic value of ancient sculpture became an important factor

3 In addition to Settis and Christian, see the very useful overviews of Franzoni 1984 and Franzoni 2001 on changes in the spaces used to show antiquities. The three-volume collection *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte Italiana*, edited by Settis 1984–1986, inaugurated much of the current work reconsidering the places and display of antiquities.

4 See Magister 1998 and Magister 2001 for an invaluable catalog. Cavallaro 2007 includes a number of important studies.

5 Settis 1993, 1369; see also Settis 2001, 32–33.

6 E.g. Hülsen 1917. The mass of material in Lanciani's *Storia degli scavi* (Lanciani 1989–2002) can be interpreted in various contexts, though Lanciani's primary concern was the history of excavation in Rome.

7 Settis 2001, building on the model of Settis 1986.

only after connotations of prestige were added to it through its purposeful reuse in a number of contexts whose significance was usually determined by power rather than by taste.⁸

The process of displacement therefore served initially to enhance the political status and standing of the new owner; collections should be seen in their political and cultural roles. Building on Settis, we can see that the sense of distance from the past did not emerge in a straightforward way; in order to enhance their status, renaissance figures often used spoliative construction to stress their links with, rather than their removal from, the classical past.⁹

In a number of precise studies of individual Roman collections, and now in a book, Kathleen Wren Christian has confirmed Settis's basic picture, while adding important detail and nuance to it. Christian directly identifies the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as the "transitional period" in the "shift in the status of antique images ... from building materials to collectable art objects."¹⁰ Very broadly speaking, she shows how collectors in this period expanded the range of objects that they collected, from coins to inscriptions to figural sculpture. Their backgrounds changed, too: ecclesiastical dignitaries gradually replaced indigenous Romans. Like Settis, Christian emphasizes the contingency and variety of this process. Collectors used antiquities to enhance their prestige in a variety of ways: as a means to demonstrate their magnificence, their liberality, and eventually their appreciation of beauty; but also to show their commitment to the development of the city; to emphasize their connections with antiquity, and therefore their established presence in Rome; and more specifically, as a means of connecting themselves with a pre-imperial (and so pre-papal) republican past, reminding viewers of their potential political power. Thus for Christian, a collection could be "an active agent of cultural change," and more concretely a means for ambitious figures in Rome to promote themselves and establish roots.¹¹ Both Settis and Christian show that late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century collectors explored a variety of sites for the "purposeful reuse" of their "art objects"; including the street façades of their residences, but also the semi-public courtyards of their palaces, private studies and libraries, and, eventually, purpose-built sites, including pleasure gardens whose major function was to highlight antiquities. As we shall see, in comparison with the medieval period, we are well-informed about the political and social purpose and reception of these new sites.

8 Settis 2008, 14.

9 See Koortbojian 2011, 163, who argues from three fifteenth- and sixteenth-century case studies precisely that "the use of *spolia* was intertwined with a conspicuous and deliberate attempt to negate the great gulf of time that lay between now and then."

10 Christian 2010, 2.

11 Christian 2010, 4; she cites the work of Paula Findlen as a particularly important influence on this argument.

3 Antiquities from façade to courtyard

By 1450 antiquities had long been used in the façades of buildings to advertise their owners' distinction. The most famous example was that of the twelfth-century Casa dei Crescenzi, where an inscription, visible today, even attested to the civic commitment of its owner, asserting his desire to "renew the ancient splendor of Rome."¹² By the time Manuel Chrysoloras visited Rome at the beginning of the fifteenth century, he could comment that "Here the streets are full of ... statues, images of the ancient heroes cover ... the walls of houses ... walking through the city, one's eyes are drawn from one work to another"¹³, and even if he overstated his case, it seems clear that he was referring to a common phenomenon. Private citizens of the second half of the century continued the trend. Lorenzo Manlio, for example, a successful apothecary, built ancient inscriptions and bas-reliefs, including one with the portrait of a freedman (Manlio could have recognized in an ancient freedman a figure of equivalent status to his own), into the façade of his new house (Fig. 1).¹⁴ A huge, classicizing inscription began with the assertion that 'Rome is being reborn in her former guise' ('Urbe Roma in pristinam forma[m] [r]enascente'). Like the Crescenzi, therefore, Manlio placed his decision to display antiquities on the outside of his new house within a wider civic project of the renewal of classical Rome. The rest of the inscription complicated that position, however. It was dated from the founding of the city (2229 'ab urbe condita' rather than AD 1476), and connected Manlio with 'the Manlius name.' Manlius could refer either to an ancient Roman general who defended Rome in 390 BCE, or to a rather less prominent Manlius Homullus celebrated in one of the inscriptions immured in the façade.¹⁵ With these details, then, the newly-prominent Manlio presented himself as having deep roots in the city and asserted a continuity between his own time and classical antiquity; if this was a renaissance, it did not follow a clean break with the past.¹⁶

Manlio's house, with its inscription, helps us understand other, less explicit façades. Like Manlio, some families included inscriptions referring to Roman individuals bearing similar names to their own. The De' Rossi, for example, showed an inscription featuring a Roscius.¹⁷ Others created more pointed displays. In 1457 Andrea Santacroce included a fragment of the consular Fasti (an inscribed list of Roman magistracies) featuring P. Valerius Publicola on the façade of his house. To this he probably added a

12 Gramaccini 1996, 79–80; for the inscription, Lansford 2009, 164–165: "Rome veterem renovare decorem."

13 Translation of Smith 1992, 202, from Manuel Chrysoloras, *Comparison of Old and New Rome*.

14 Tucci 2001; Christian 2010, 74–76, and 78 on freedmen.

15 The inscription was *CIL* VI.11142; Tucci 2001, 203–204.

16 Koortbojian 2011, 154–156.

17 *CIL* VI.25478, first recorded by Sabinus in the 1490s; Mazzocchi 1521, fol.142v–143r records it 'in domo' as opposed to two other inscriptions, not mentioning Roscius, which were 'ante domum' and 'supra portam.'



Fig. 1 Spolia in the wall of Lorenzo Manlio's house, with the extensive new inscription above.

togate statue which he entitled VALER PUBL CC (Valerius Publicola, consul more than once), and a fragment of a relief showing the fasces.¹⁸ Santacroce was a prominent civic dignitary at Rome, holding the positions of *maestro delle strade* in 1449–1450 and conservator in 1466; on a basic level, these images and textual references to Roman magistracy seem to have been designed to convey his authority (in the façade of one of the residences of the della Valle family, great political rivals to the Santacroce, was an ancient relief described as showing ‘a shrouded man holding a book, with two cocks on each side,’ which seems similarly designed to convey power).¹⁹ More specifically, Andrea seems to have decided that Valerius Publicola, one of the four Roman consuls legendarily responsible for overthrowing the monarchy, was an ancestor of the Santacroce family. Like Manlio, therefore, Santacroce identified his family with a known Roman Republican hero.

18 For the Santacroce, see Christian 2003 and Christian 2010, 372–374. Andrea put together a manuscript collection of inscriptions, together with a guide to the interpretation of abbreviations in inscriptions and legal texts, showing his expertise with this sort of material. For the fasces see *CIL* VI.70*, Mazzocchi 1521, fol. 121r.

19 Paoluzzi 2007, 153 and 171, on *CIL* VI.22219. Giocondo recorded this ‘Sub porticu domus Philippi

de la Vallè; Sabinus ‘in vestibulo d. Andreae Vallensis’ Sabinus described a ‘homo sedens supra sedem, sub qua erat theca inter sedem et scabellum, velatus veste a capite usque ad pedes, tenens librum utraque manu in modum voluminis, circa quem advolant duo galli cristati’ (later the figure was taken to the rear of the palace: for illustration, see Boissard 1597–1602, iv.54). The figure is now interpreted as an augur.

In the courtyard of his palazzo, Francesco Porcari displayed various ancient reliefs showing pigs (*porci*), related to the pig that appeared in the Porcari family coat of arms.²⁰ These spolia suggest a somewhat playful association with Roman antiquity. Giulio Porcari, Francesco's son, however, went further, and added a political edge to the family's displays. In the courtyard, above a doorway at the head of a flight of stairs, he installed an antique cornice, and added a new inscription above, which proclaimed "I am he, Cato Porcius, author of our progeny who, with arms and diplomacy, brought his noble name to the lips [of all]."²¹ The Cato Porcius could be either the elder or the younger Cato: both were distinguished for their upright service to the Roman republic, and the younger in particular for his resistance to the tyranny of Caesar. Giulio Porcari's grandfather, Stefano Porcari, had been executed in 1453 for mounting a conspiracy against Pope Nicholas V that appealed to republican ideals.²² As Christian argues, therefore, when Giulio Porcari, like Manlio and Santacroce, chose to highlight a famous republican servant of Rome, all three were demonstrating a commitment to independence from papal government even as they accommodated themselves to individual popes.²³ In the second half of the fifteenth century, then, medieval traditions of spoliating construction were given a contemporary political resonance, by engaging contemporary humanists' knowledge of Roman history, Roman visual culture, and Roman inscriptions.

Considering these carefully-chosen displays, Settis asks "if we think, say, of the patchwork of sculptures on the walls of Lorenzo Manlio's house, can we call it a collection or not?" and answers that "I leave the question open, maintaining that it is more important to recognize in it ... a *transition* from reuse to collection."²⁴ We should not, though, see the façades in isolation; by the later fifteenth-century they advertised the treasures that their owners kept behind the walls. These collections could include inscriptions, sarcophagi and reliefs, like the Porcari pigs, but increasingly, towards the end of the century, free-standing figural statues as well. Even the relatively humble Manlio owned statues, according to Francesco Albertini, writing in 1510,²⁵ and more prominent civic and ecclesiastical figures developed significant collections. Andrea Santacroce's nephew, Prospero, also a conservator (in 1495), added various figural statues to the family collection, including a torso of Venus. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere displayed various inscriptions in front of the complex around the Basilica dei Santi Apostoli, which he began to restore in the late 1470s; inside his palace he included a garden courtyard, which featured two immured inscriptions, and a series of free-standing stat-

20 Modigliani 1994, 310–311, 330–331; Christian 2010, 354–358.

21 Minasi 2007; Christian 2010, 71–72 and 355. Modigliani 1994, 311 and figs. 9–10.

22 Modigliani 1994, 445–477.

23 Christian 2010, 76–77. On the place of antiquity in the resistance of the Roman nobility to papal control more generally, see e.g. Miglio 2003.

24 Settis 2008, 24.

25 Albertini 1510, Q2v.

ues with a giant porphyry vase in the middle.²⁶ Della Rovere, in fact, probably created his courtyard in response to the earlier example of Prospero Colonna, who had created an enclosed space to display ancient statues as a backdrop for elite gatherings very close to where della Rovere was building.²⁷ By the end of the century this model was increasingly common. When della Rovere was elected pope, as Julius II in 1503, it is not surprising that he soon turned his attention to creating a purpose-built statue court, the Belvedere, for his new Vatican palace.²⁸

Ostensibly, these spaces lacked the political thrust of pointed façade-displays. When Cardinal Cesarini placed an inscription at the entrance to his collection, he announced that it was to provide “*honesta voluptas*” for his contemporaries, and one observer called the Belvedere a *viridarium*, the term used by Roman writers for a garden for relaxation.²⁹ The collections were withdrawn from the business of the public street, except on special occasions.³⁰ A visitor to Rome from Milan in 1490, Giovanni da Tolentino, reported that he was accosted outside the della Valle residences by “a certain Roman citizen”, who asked “What if you were to come across works in a private house probably not inferior to those you have seen in public?” before presenting the courtyard and statuary that it contained.³¹ The house was not entirely private, but the contemplation of the works that it contained – and hence the pleasure that they could provide – was at the behest of their owner. The 1471 donation of Sixtus IV to create the Capitoline antiquity collection is sometimes assumed to have paved the way for more public collections, but the evidence suggests the opposite is true; in the two generations following Sixtus, antiquities were increasingly moved out of public thoroughfares into private dwellings. A direct connection with figures from antiquity, such as Manlio boasted, remained a central mark of status for Roman dwellers (there are several sixteenth-century examples of families highlighting inscriptions to demonstrate a connection with classical Roman families),³² but the simple ownership of beautiful remains became an increasingly important sign of status, too.

These courtyards did not necessarily break with earlier traditions of spoliative construction. For the most part they continued to include antiquities in their new walls.

26 Magister 2002, Christian 2010, 368–372.

27 Magister 2002, esp 390–421 for the relationship between della Rovere and the Colonna; and for Colonna, see Christian 2010, 37–61.

28 Della Rovere moved some statues from his collection to the new space, which would have made the link clear to his contemporaries: for the Apollo Belvedere, see Brown 1986.

29 Christian 2010, 296; Stinger 1998, 272.

30 For Leo X’s possesso of 1513, della Valle erected a temporary triumphal arch as a sort of display-

scaffold (and so prefiguring Raphael’s ability to distinguish statues from structure in the Arch of Constantine): see Paoluzzi 2007, 163–167, and Christian 2008, 40 and 48 with previous references, and for the context of the contested Via Papalis, Cafà 2010.

31 Schofield 1980, 254–255, translated in Christian 2008, 37–38.

32 These include the Porcari (*CIL* VI.1852, first recorded in the 1540s), the Massimi (*CIL* VI.1407, again first recorded in the 1540s), and the Cenci (*CIL* VI.9978, first recorded in the 1560s).

Andrea della Valle experimented with two types of private display for his collection. In the walls of a new courtyard for an existing palace, the Palazzo di Mezzo, the inner cortile included ancient friezes in the architraves, sarcophagi appeared at ground level, and symmetrical niches held sculptures.³³ Then for a new palace, designed from scratch in the 1520s, he commissioned Lorenzetto (Lorenzo Lotto) to create a sculpture garden above the stables.³⁴ Whereas the courtyard of the Palazzo di Mezzo could still be a place for business, decorated with antiquities, the garden offered an opportunity for inspired retreat, apparently on the model of the Belvedere. New inscriptions included the manifesto that the garden was “For the enjoyment of life, as a retreat of grace and elegance,”³⁵ and suggested that it was “as a *viridarium* of ancient things and as an aid to poets and painters.” Lorenzetto included four ancient columns at each corner, and, on either side, two layers of symmetrical niches to hold statues, with reliefs below and attic masks above immured between them. Whereas before ancient fragments featured on the façades of houses, now they appeared within. Roman nobles increasingly commissioned painters – Polidoro da Caravaggio is the best known – to produce completed all’antica relief scenes for the façades. As antiquities were admired qua antiquities inside their palaces, nobles wanted complete frescoes for the classical, coherent façades that they presented to the general public.³⁶ Della Valle included one ancient relief on the street wall of his hidden hanging sculpture garden, an advertisement of what lay within for the select few.³⁷ It was also probably a knowing nod to the form of display that his garden was replacing; similarly, when Francesco Gualdi included antiquities facing the street in the façade of his museum in the early seventeenth century, his seems to be a consciously anachronistic gesture.³⁸

33 Christian 2008, 38–41.

34 Christian 2008, 41–53.

35 Christian 2008, 50 for texts and translation: “Ad delictum vitae elegantiarum gratiarumque secessum.” and “Antiquarum rerum viridario [for vivario] pictorum poetarumque subsidio.”

36 Note, though, that the della Valle still presented actual statues on their façade, which was in place by 1550: see Christian 2008, 45. For the contrast between the classicizing façade of the Palazzo Mattei di Giove and the knowing display of spolia in the courtyard, see Koortbojian 2011, 151–153.

37 Christian 2008, 42 with figs. 15 and 18.

38 For the Gualdi museum, see Federici 2002, esp. 277 and Settis 2008, 27, and, more generally, Franzoni 1991 and Franzoni and Tempesta 1992. I would argue that the effect of mounting many antiquities in the walls of later garden villas, like the Villa Medici and Villa Borghese, was somewhat different because they were sites for contemplation, not business; see Federici 2002, and on the Villa Borghese, Fiore et al. 2007.

4 Courtyard collections and the discourse of preservation

Wholly private hoarding of antiquities, however, served the interest neither of the owners – whose magnificence and generosity would not then be apparent – nor that of participants in a developing debate about the ownership and preservation of Rome’s classical treasures. Della Valle’s and Cesarini’s inscriptions made it clear that their collections were not for family alone, but rather for guests and visitors, or more specifically poets and painters, as above (Maarten van Heemskerck’s drawing of the courtyard was adapted as a popular print).³⁹ In addition the renaissance collections emerged at a time when both papal and civic authorities were attempting to regulate the excavation and export of antiquities. In this climate, owners were able to present their collections as contributing to the preservation of ancient Rome, and hence to the glory of the contemporary city.

As David Karmon has recently shown, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanists’ frequent complaints about the degeneration of the ancient city’s built environment have obscured the fact that several deliberate attempts to preserve classical Roman structures succeeded in this period.⁴⁰ Both the papacy and civic authorities increasingly used their powers to protect existing structures, and directed builders looking for construction material to excavate for it, rather than to take it from visible buildings. In the course of the 1520s, Karmon argues, we can see “that papal legislation [became] considerably more specific in its efforts to preserve ancient remains,” and identify “a new interest in locating the source of value [for the city] precisely in the age and antiquity of Rome’s historic artifacts.”⁴¹ For collectors of antiquities, this environment had various consequences. Excavations, of course, regularly turned up displayable antiquities as well as broken stone, and collectors could justifiably claim that by taking these remains to their homes, they were saving them from the kiln.⁴² More generally, the careful display and celebration of objects would maintain them. In his famous letter to Leo X on the Arch of Constantine of around 1519, Raphael had begged him to “ensure that ... what little remains of this ancient mother of the glory and renown of Italy is not to be completely destroyed and ruined by the wicked and the ignorant.”⁴³ By this point, collectors who

39 On questions of representation and access, see Cof fin 1982; Falguières 1988 and Stenhouse 2005. A copy of the print of van Heemskerck’s drawing is available at http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00109/AN00109095_001_1.jpg (consulted 7 September 2016).

40 Karmon 2011; see also e.g. Franceschini 1986.

41 Karmon 2011, 97.

42 As Fancelli notes (Fancelli 2005, 57): “Spolia vuol dire, appunto, riutilizzo, re-impiego, di certo spoliazione, sottrazione, talora scavo mirato allo scopo. Ma altro era il raccogliere, quasi naturaliter, dei brani sparsi a terra, altro la caccia al materiale nel sottosuolo, altro ancora era, oltretutto con i pericoli derivanti, perseguire il fine previa manomissione di un monumento ancora in piedi.”

43 Hart and Hicks 2006, 181; see Di Teodoro 1994.

saved fragmentary remains could legitimately present themselves as already protecting Rome's glory.

Andrea della Valle went one step further. In a 1530 letter – whose main purpose, interestingly, seems to have been to ask Cardinal della Valle to make sure that he distinguished the public road from his private property – the papal Camerlengo Agostino Spinola referred to della Valle's project as follows: “restoring [statues and other stones] to their former appearance, imitating buildings collapsed through time, and refreshing them for the new use and enjoyment of us and our descendents.”⁴⁴ Della Valle certainly restored some of the antiquities that he displayed – one of his new inscriptions stated that the garden was “for the restoration of collapsing statues” – but the link between imitation (*imitando*) and refreshment or restoration (*reparando*) requires more explanation. Spinola seems to allude to the source of some of della Valle's pieces. Della Valle worked hard to gather material for his new creation, and unusually for the period paid for deliberate excavations.⁴⁵ He also looked around for material from buildings that were still standing, including the Arcus novus on the Via Lata. This had suffered significant damage when Innocent VIII restored the church next door (Santa Maria), but its remains were still visible in the early sixteenth century.⁴⁶ Della Valle got hold of a number of reliefs from this structure, and had them placed in structures influenced by triumphal arches. Thus della Valle was not simply preserving them from further deprecation, but also recreating their ancient structure, both imitating and restoring. Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood's recent explorations of notions of replacement and substitution in fifteenth-century artistic production are relevant here.⁴⁷ If renaissance

44 The version of this letter in the Vatican archives seems to be a draft, and resists a straightforward translation. For the full text of the first section (taken from Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Divers camer., armadio 29 vol. 79, fol.76v) see Frommel 1973, ii.337: “... Laudabile tue ... propositum quod in exornanda amplificandaque urbe roma unde oriunda est plurimum usatur marmoreas porphires easque longenj temporis subterraneas statuas et alios lapides dignorum artificum manibus elaboratos historijs memoratu digna sculptos clara maiorum gesta vivificantes ad lucem restituendo priscam ediftia vetustate colapsa imitando eaque in novum et modernum posteriumque nostrorum usum et delectamentum reparando non solum commendatione et approbatione sed etiam omnj favore gratia admonimento [?] dignum esse existit monumentum [?] ... cum nuper accepimus eandem tuam Reverendissimam dominationem pulcherrimum quoddam edificium pro suo posteriumque suorum

usu et commoditate urbisque decoreo novis et veteris lapidibus exornatum in regione sancti Eustachij construere inceperit [?] eademque et[?] pro ea quandam plateolam que Cardinalis ipsius edificat et existit.” I have taken “resituendo” with “statuas et alios lapides”; cf. Christian 2002, Appendix IX.9.

45 Vacca 1704, 22; Christian 2008; Campbell 2004 for rescue archaeology.

46 Lanciani 1989–2002, i.273–274. On the arch see the useful summary of *LTUR* i.101–102.

47 E.g. Nagel and Wood 2010, 31: “This book argues that the apprehension of historical artifacts in the late medieval and early modern period, as well as the production of new images and buildings, was built on the following paradox: the possibility that a material sample of the past could be both an especially powerful testimony to a distant world and at the same time an ersatz for another, now absent artifact.”

scavenger-archaeologists removed the most distinctive elements from a particular structure and installed them elsewhere, they could argue that that structure was preserved. Perhaps della Valle thought that through his work, the *Arcus novus* lived on.⁴⁸ Certainly when fifty or so years earlier Lorenzo Manlio proclaimed that Rome was being reborn in her former guise, we should take the sentiment seriously; by building anew, but with antiquities, fifteenth-century patrons could argue they were recreating the old. With these arguments, humanist patrons could defend taking material from existing structures, and, like Manlio, could use ancient material to suggest a continuity with the past.

More generally, we can see late fifteenth-century collectors trying to match their new displays to the original function of their objects.⁴⁹ The display of funerary epitaphs by Pomponio Leto in Rome and his student Giovanni Pontano in Naples offer interesting examples. Leto collected mainly funerary inscriptions, from which he made a “little atrium built out of erudite epitaphs,” according to a later account.⁵⁰ Here he met his pupils and friends to discuss antiquity, and to recreate some of its rituals. Christian suggests that he began to conceive of this garden “as a sort of tomb,” or large burial chamber, from the original function of the objects there included.⁵¹ The point here is strengthened by Leto’s first-hand knowledge of ancient burial sites.⁵² In Naples, Pontano pondered the question of the function of collections, wrote about tombs and inscriptions, and included some classical, pagan inscriptions (along with a bone of Livy) on his Christian, classicizing tempietto that he built in 1491 to house his wife’s tomb.⁵³ Even more than Leto, Pontano tried to find an appropriate structure to house his collection, one that he used for meetings of his *accademia* when he was still alive.⁵⁴ By assembling funerary relics in a building containing a modern tomb, he is, perhaps, conceiving of them less as admirable objects from antiquity, and more as remains with an authority he should honour.

A related issue is the renaissance use of ancient structures to display objects. The Savelli family housed their collection in the remains of the Theater of Marcellus.

48 See also David Karmon’s comments (Karmon 2011, 134) on the reuse of material from the *coscia Colisei* ruins in the Benediction loggia of the Vatican and parts of the Palazzo Venezia complex: “Perhaps structures of this sort, built with material from the *coscia Colisei*, could also be conceived of as a kind of Renaissance preservation measure, as they helped to perpetuate and preserve the Colosseum in a way that transcended the physical properties of the actual building itself.”

49 Bardati 2010, 426–430 and Riccomini 1995.

50 Christian 2010, 131.

51 Christian 2010, 147.

52 As well as Leto’s visits to the catacombs, he had copied several funerary inscriptions from a columbarium probably found near his property: see Stenhouse 2011.

53 For Pontano’s work on magnificence and collecting, see Welch 2002; on the chapel, Pane 1975–1977 ii.199–205 and Michalsky 2005, 82–84 with previous bibliography.

54 Divitiis 2010.

Fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century observers do not seem to have seen the connection as especially important or appropriate, nor does the family seem to have exploited the potential of the building to display their pieces. In 1510 Francesco Albertini mentioned the theater without mentioning its owner in his section on ancient Rome, and then, in the section on cardinals residences in ‘New Rome,’ noted that Cardinal Savelli owned two marble sarcophagi, and the labours of Hercules, and then simply that under the house was “the Theater of Marcellus, most beautifully constructed in the Ionic and Doric orders, as its remains reveal.”⁵⁵ Baldassarre Peruzzi’s work on the building and its foundations after 1525 does not seem to have changed that situation.⁵⁶ By the middle of the century, however, as prominent figures at Rome began to exploit the possibilities of display in the suburban villas and gardens, they used classical ruins as the backdrop, or even the housing, for their stone sculpture. When Francesco Soderini bought the Mausoleum of Augustus, he excavated for statues, and displayed them in the structure. Flaminia Bardati suggests that Jean du Bellay used the south exedra of the Baths of Diocletian, which he had acquired in 1554, to show off his collection.⁵⁷ In these later collections, therefore, the creation of gardens for leisure and contemplation maintained buildings and objects, as well as preserving, in the case of the Baths, the buildings’ one-time function as a place of relaxed retreat.

5 Collections and Christianity

The examples of Leto and Pontano, above, raise the related question of the connection between these collections and Christianity. As Settis argues, there is a general move in this period to the desacralization of newly-displayed antiquities: when the popes exhibited a statue of Apollo in the Vatican, they were not encouraging pagan worship. Yet the process of desacralization was not completely straightforward, either. On the one hand, suspicion persisted in the sixteenth century about the potentially dangerous idols in the collections of ecclesiastical grandees; on the other, pagan material remains continued to be adapted for use in churches. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, for example, happily added an ancient carved eagle to the entrance of Santi Apostoli (Fig. 2), with a new inscription announcing that he had it was “saved from so many ruins.”⁵⁸ He also seems to have adapted a pagan altar for the church.⁵⁹ The classical altar, decorated with rams’

55 Albertini 1510, Gr and [Y iv].

56 For Peruzzi, see Tessari 1995, 123–136.

57 Bardati 2010, 426–430; Dickenson 1960, 102. For the site, see Günther 1994.

58 Magister 2002, 428; Bober and Rubinstein 2010, 237–238; Christian 2010, 368. The inscription reads

“TOT RVINIS SERVATAM IVL CAR SIXTI IIII
PONT NEPOS HIC STATVIT”.

59 The altar is now in the Palazzo Altemps. The inscription reads “EVCHARISTIAE/ IVL. CAR.
SAX/VM EX VRBI/CA RVINA RE/LICTVM OB
E/LEGANTIAM/ EREXIT”; see Christian 2010, 175–
176 and 295, who attributes it to Cesarini.

heads, eagles, and a Medusa, includes a renaissance inscription which reads as follows: ‘To the Eucharist. Cardinal Giuliano put this stone up, which was left from the city’s ruins, for its beauty.’ The Giuliano of the inscription is not specified, and following Lanciani, it is usually assumed to be Cesarini; Francesco Caglioti argues convincingly, however, that Lanciani misread a record of the inscription’s site, which should be Santi Apostoli.⁶⁰ The language of the inscriptions added to both pagan pieces is certainly similar (and mirrors the dedicatory inscription for the restored church as a whole: Giuliano “restored this church, which had almost collapsed”); perhaps the paired eagles appealed to the cardinal.⁶¹ Whatever its site, the altar’s decoration is not particularly appropriate for a Christian context, and so we should take the inscription at face value: the *elegantia* of the object seems to have made it an appropriate dedication for a church, in Rome. Another earlier example of the ostensible Christianization of pagan remains is the famous interpretation given by the Santacroce to their classical funerary relief, showing three freedmen, displayed outside their palazzo.⁶² Andrea Santacroce seems to have added the inscriptions: beside the man, there is “HONOR”, beside his wife, “VERITAS”, over their son, “AMOR”, and then above all three the title “FIDEI SIMVLACRVM”. Phyllis Williams argued that this was a trinitarian interpretation of the relief, as representation of Faith connected to the restoration of S Maria in Publicolis.⁶³ A further inscription, though, makes clear the link between the ‘renovata templa’ and the family’s ‘lares’, the household spirits of pagan Rome, and it seems that this reinterpreted and adapted relief provides a sort of bridge between pagan antiquity and the classical present. Christian suggests that it was placed between the family’s house and the church,⁶⁴ though originally it may have been in the house of Andrea, and by the time of Giacomo Santacroce, in the sixteenth century, it was certainly inside the house.⁶⁵

There is also some evidence that collectors of pagan antiquities were interested in early Christian objects. Although a recognizable field of early Christian antiquarian investigation does not really emerge until the seventeenth century, some humanists were certainly interested in the realia of the early Church at Rome. Maffeo Vegio’s *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus Basilicae Sancti Petri Romae*, written between 1455 and 1457, is a good example of the application of the interests of Biondo to Christian remains,

60 Caglioti 2000, i.147–48 n.189.

61 For the restoration, see Frank 1996, 117–120 and Magister 2002, 428. The inscription read “SEDATE SIXTO IIII PONT. MAX./ IUL. CAR. S. PET. AD. VINC. NEPOS HANC/BASILICAM PENE COLLABENTEM RESTI/TUIT”.

62 Christian 2003, 258–259.

63 Williams 1940–1941, 52–58; see Wirth 1987, 831–833. The inscription, with details of early records, is edited as *CIL* VI.4*b.

64 Fifteenth-century epigraphic collectors stated that it was “in domo domini Andreae de Sancta Cruce”, though for the Mazzocchi 1521, 122v, it was supposedly in the same place as another inscription, “Ante fores Sanctae Mariae in Publicolis statim a sinistris in quodam pariete”.

65 Vicarelli 2007, 79–80.



Fig. 2 The porch of Santi Apostoli, Rome.

and there is good reason to believe that the expeditions of Leto and friends to the catacombs were inspired by pious curiosity.⁶⁶ Leto's grotto of inscriptions included Christian examples, though there is no reason to believe that they were highlighted in any way. More striking is the collection of a number of Christian inscriptions assembled by the Millini (or Mellini).⁶⁷ In 1470 Pietro Millini finished the restoration of the oratory of S. Croce a Monte Mario, and placed various early Christian inscriptions in the pavement outside the church.⁶⁸ The oratory was near their suburban villa, where they displayed some classical inscriptions; it seems that during construction, they discovered a pre-Constantinian cemetery, and so removed the inscriptions to redisplay them. They clearly felt that Christian antiquities should be kept distinct from pagan examples. But if we imagine the experience of visitors to the site (the Millini sponsored scholarly symposia), it would have been fairly clear who had collected and displayed both sets of material, and who, therefore, could bask in the prestige that both sets of antiquities brought. Even as pagan and Christian material was kept distinct, therefore, there are

66 For Vegio see Foffano 2002, with previous bibliography, and the summary in Stinger 1998, 179–183. On Leto, Oryshkevich 2003, esp. 302.

67 Santolini 2007; for the family, Corbo 1995.

68 Santolini 2007, esp 43. Armellini 1942, 1036–1038 records twenty-four inscriptions; there may originally have been more, and some of those that survive may have been added later. See De Rossi 1894.

benefits to thinking of the collection of antiquities in toto, as there are to considering spoliation practices in churches and secular buildings together.

6 The singularity of Rome

Finally, how unusual was the city of Rome in the emergence of collections as a means of reusing and appropriating antiquities? Because of the wealth of ancient remains under the city, no other city had anything like the number of collectors. The city's increasing wealth and political importance in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century also means that it is reasonable to assume that cultural patterns in Rome could have considerable influence elsewhere. On the other hand, many Italian cities had well-established traditions of the collection and display of antiquities by the fifteenth century, and so it would be unwise to search uniquely Roman explanations for changes in collection and spoliation practice in the city.⁶⁹ Some time in the early fifteenth century, for example, seven heads were placed on the outside of the Palazzo Trinci in Foligno, home to the city's seigneurial family; it is fairly clear that the busts were associating their government with the authority of the Roman past.⁷⁰ When the sarcophagi were placed in the Campo Santo, in Pisa, they were raised above the ground, apparently in order to make them more easily seen.⁷¹ In Naples, Diomedea Carafa planned a palace in 1440s, which he completed between 1458 and 1465 (roughly contemporary, then, to Andrea Santacroce in Rome) adorned with antiquities, including in the cortile an ancient column, placed over an ancient cippus, which Carafa had reinscribed.⁷² In the courtyard, Carafa included a welcoming inscription to his guests (*hospes*), and next to the courtyard, a small garden including an inscription proclaiming that nymphs lived there. The use of a welcoming inscription of this sort predates Roman examples, as does the idea that a garden could be a *nymphaeum*.⁷³ Carafa's attitude to the display of antiquities and the imitation of ancient forms thus appears precocious in comparison with Rome. Above the gate, though, we learn that the structure was designed 'for the praise of the king, and the beauty of the country' ('*in laudem regis patriaeque decorum*'). From that, at least, we see none of the ambiguous attitudes towards ruling authority that existed in fifteenth-century Roman noble collections.

In the northern Italian cities, the veneration and display of antiquities became a means to express the prestige of the town as a whole. This is well-illustrated by proposals

69 In general, Franzoni 1984, 304–316.

70 Settis 1993, 1372–1373; Sensi 2001; Fiore et al. 2007.

71 Tolaini 2008.

72 Divitiis 2007, 43–135; Divitiis 2008 (who argues for a local Neapolitan *all'antica* style).

73 In general, gardens for the display of antiquities remained much more common in Rome than elsewhere: see Franzoni 1984, 316–327.

for civic collections of inscriptions in Brescia, Osimo, and Reggio Emilia. On 13 October 1480, the comune of Brescia made the following decree:

We have decided, with no one opposing, that the finished stones recently discovered in the ground and removed to the seat of our commune ... should be preserved for the public buildings of our community.⁷⁴

As a result, the inscriptions were preserved, in a wall in the Piazza della Loggia, where they survive today. In Osimo, various honorific bases were preserved on the site of the ancient forum, though the exact means through which this was achieved are not known; in Reggio Emilia, probably under the influence of the Brescian example, the commune decided that various recently-discovered ancient tombs should be placed “in a public place, so that they could be seen by everyone”, because the civic officials desired “that this city of Reggio should be adorned with similar antiquities, and so made famous.”⁷⁵ Unfortunately in Reggio, the decree does not seem to have been followed, but the wording gives a good idea of what was at stake. Antiquities developed the prestige and standing of the city. In Brescia, the inscriptions were displayed on a secular, communal building, but in Verona, for example, a classical inscription was placed in the façade of the church of Santa Maria in Organo, with the following addition: “what carelessness lost, carefulness restored to antiquity”, dated 1486.⁷⁶ This example makes clear the origins of this form of display. The Brescian collection was described by an eighteenth-century Brescian as “il più antico Museo pubblico d’Italia”⁷⁷, perhaps in an effort to efface the position of the Museo Capitolino in Rome, but as Claudio Franzoni points out, we should seek medieval precedents for the type of display shown there.⁷⁸ As in Rome, medieval spoliation was developed, not abandoned, in early renaissance collections on the Italian peninsula. We should therefore be cautious of privileging Rome, despite the wealth of remains there; in the early renaissance, at least, we can see other sites similarly influenced by humanism. In these cities and in Naples, though, collections seem to have lacked the political edge that conflicts between native and ecclesiastical nobility brought to Rome.

74 Zamboni 1975 (1778), 30, cited in *CIL* V.1, 427: “captum fuit, nemine discrepante, quod lapides laborati nuper sub terra reperti et inde extracti apud domum communis nostri... conservari debeant pro fabricis publicis communitatis nostrae”. For the wider context of this decree, see Bowd 2010, 88–90.

75 Franzoni 1999, 43: “cupientes hanc civitatem Regnam similibus vetustatibus ornari etiam et celebrem reddi, omnes unanimiter ... providerunt et ordinarunt quod infrascripti cives ... curent dicta sepulcra haberi in com(muni) (?) et reduci in hac civitate et collocari in aliquo publico loco ...”

76 Franzoni 1984, 353: “QVOD INCVRRIA PERDIDERAT DILIGENTIA ANTIQVITATI RESTITVIT MCCCCLXXXVI”

77 Zamboni 1975, 31.

78 Franzoni 1984, 354: “questo uso medievale non viene scartato con l’arrivo delle correnti umanistiche, ma viene reinterpretato, prima isolatamente ed ancora in un edificio di culto... poi in un serie di costruzioni civili e secondo un programma più vasto, nella piazza di Brescia.” For these collections and others, see Stenhouse 2014.

7 Conclusion

If we conceive, therefore, of early renaissance collectors as reusing, or redeploing antiquities, and so place them within a tradition of spoliation, we gain new perspectives on their relationships with the ancient, medieval, and contemporary city of Rome, and particularly on the ways owners understood and presented their places within the city. The images of collecting that Settis and Christian present confirm that antiquities could have a living political charge in the later fifteenth century. Even as they became 'art objects' in the sixteenth, owners' canny exploitation of their status both as public records of a glorious past and as glorious private possessions meant that they retained important social and political functions. Early renaissance collections are not *sui generis*, or the first steps in the progression to modern museums, but part of a much longer history of the reception and protection of classical antiquities.

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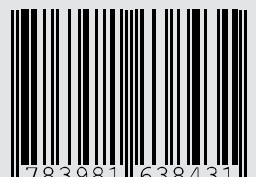
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