DIE KIRCHEN DER STADT ROM IM MITTELALTER 1050–1300

Band 5

S. Maria in Aracoeli · S. Maria Maggiore ·
S. Maria in Trastevere

Herausgegeben von

Daniela Mondini, Carola Jäggi und Peter Cornelius Claussen

FORSCHUNGEN ZUR KUNSTGESCHICHTE
UND CHRISTLICHEN ARCHÄOLOGIE

Band 24

Corpus Cosmatorum II, 5

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Mit Beiträgen von
Peter Cornelius Claussen, Dale Kinney und Daniela Mondini

Franz Steiner Verlag

Umschlagabbildungen:
U1: Ehemals in der »Südkanzel« als Spolie eingebaute spätantike Tischplatte mit Reliefs aus dem Leben des Achilles. Rom, Kapitolinische Museen, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Inv.Nr. S 64 (Foto Lucignani, Archivio fotografico dei Musei Capitolini © Roma – Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali)
U4: Rom, S. Maria Maggiore, die drei Könige der Anbetungsgruppe Arnolfos aus der Praesepe-Kapelle (Foto Vasari Roma)
Frontispiz: Kapitol mit S. Maria in Aracoeli. Luftbildaufnahme BAMS, Photo Matteo Rodella (BAMSphoto - Rodella)

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

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Dale Kinney

S. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE

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Basilica Iulii [*trans Tiberim*], *titulus sancti Iuli et Calisti, titulus sanctae Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae quae vocatur Calisti, Sancta Maria Transtiberim quae vocatur titulus Calisti fundens oleum*
Piazza di Santa Maria in Trastevere

INTRODUCTION

S. Maria in Trastevere is the largest and most ornate church erected in twelfth-century Rome. Exceptionally well-planned and carefully constructed, it boasts a profusion of ancient spolia unmatched in any but the largest Roman basilicas, St. Peter's and the Lateran Cathedral. The spectacular apse mosaic contains a portrait of its sponsor, Pope Innocent II (1130–1143), who died shortly after it was made. Additional decoration and much of the liturgical furniture were executed in the century following his death, and perhaps for that reason, Innocent's foundation is curiously poor in the glittering ornament of colored marbles and mosaic popularly considered »Cosmatesque.« The schola cantorum, the cathedra, and the entrance portals all were devoid of it. The work of the *marmorarii* can be found in the spolia, however, which had to be selected and adapted for reuse. S. Maria in Trastevere offers an opportunity to examine this aspect of their activity in some detail.

S. Maria in Trastevere is unusual in the abundance and diversity of its historical documentation. Its archive goes back to the eleventh century. It is well preserved, although a few important items have escaped it, including an eleventh-century martyrology with marginal obits now in the British Library, and a four-volume Lectionary in the Biblioteca Vaticana. These sources provide a view of the twelfth-century basilica that is more detailed and
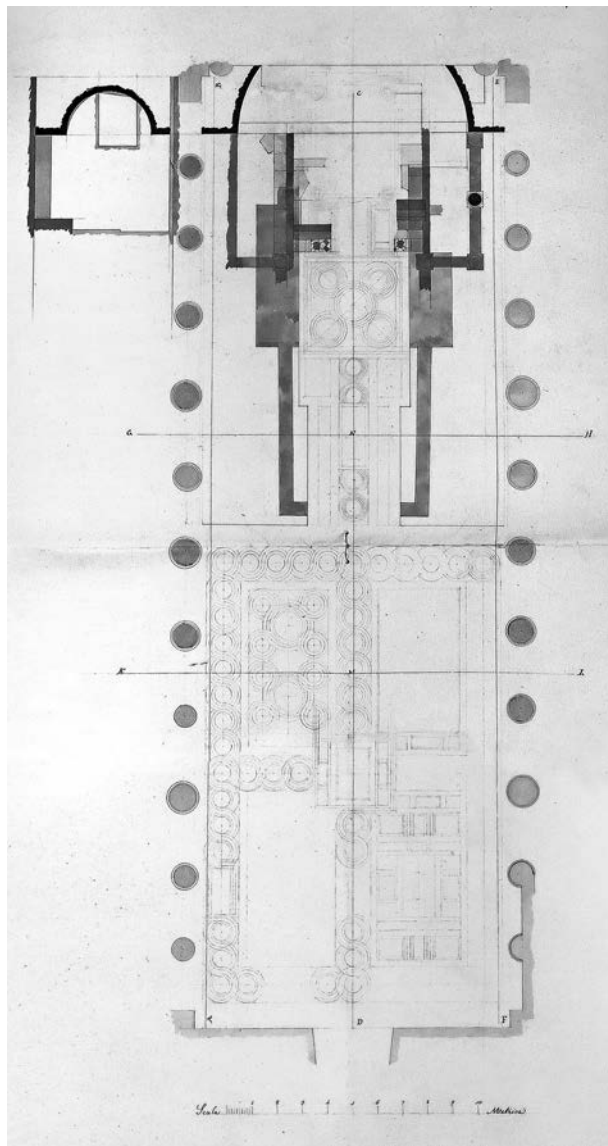
Fig. 347: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, plan of excavation 1865–1869, V. Vespignani, Rome, Archivio Storico Diocesano (photo Senekovic 2018)

sometimes more personal than the official documents available for most churches of this era, and they invite an extended consideration of its history. The archive also contains reams of documents pertaining to the renovation of the basilica under Pope Pius IX (1863–1873), which permit an exceptionally precise determination of nineteenth-century alterations.

Its history, real and invented, was the source of the basilica's importance in medieval Rome. Although in the early middle ages S. Maria in Trastevere was signaled to pilgrims because it housed a miraculous icon, by the ninth century it was known as the site of the *fons olei*, a miraculous spring of oil that arose from an inn (the *taberna meritoria*) at the time of Christ's birth. The tavern and the oil well remained central to the basilica's self-presentation into early modern times. A church purportedly established by Pope Calixtus I (217–222) on the site of the *taberna meritoria* could claim to be the first church founded in Rome.

HISTORY

The First Basilica

The church that became S. Maria in Trastevere was founded by Pope Julius I (337–352); it was one of two basilicas that he erected near sites connected with Pope Calixtus I.[1] The *basilica in via Aurelia mil. III ad Callistum* was in the cemetery on the via Aurelia where Calixtus I was buried.[2] The *basilica trans Tiberim regione XIIII iuxta Callistum* was near an otherwise unknown site in Trastevere, possibly the building that housed Calixtus's popular school.[3] Some argue that it was the site of his martyrdom.[4]

Remains of the fourth-century basilica were uncovered in 1865 and were confirmed by a limited excavation in the 1990s (fig. 347).[5] They comprise the springing of an apse on the axis of the present nave and

1   Catalogus Liberianus, in: Kalenderhandbuch 2 (2014), p. 528.
2   Depositio martyrum, in: Valentini/Zucchetti, Codice 2 (1942), p. 27; Kalenderhandbuch 2 (2014), p. 501. Verrando (1985), pp. 1039–1061; G. N. Verrando, Cal(l)isti Coemeterium (Via Aurelia), in: LTUR Suburbium 2, 2004(a), pp. 44–50; Verrando (2004).
3   On the school: Hippolytus, Refutatio omnium haeresium IX.xii.20–26, in: Hippolytus of Rome, Refutatio omnium haeresium, ed. by M. Marcovich, Berlin/New York 1986, pp. 354–356.
4   Pietri (1976), pt. 1, p. 20; Verrando (1984), pp. 1040–1048; C. Lega, Area Callisti, in: LTUR 1, 1993, pp. 113 f.; Bertolino (1994); De Spirito (1995); De Spirito (1999a), p. 10; J. R. Curran, Pagan City and Christian Capital. Rome in the Fourth Century, Oxford 2000, pp. 122–125, esp. 124 f.; Verrando (2004); Bonfiglio (2010), pp. 208–210; B. Green, Christianity in Ancient Rome. The First Three Centuries, London 2010, pp. 97–111.
5   Kinney (1975); Coccia et al. (2000); Coccia et al. (2012).
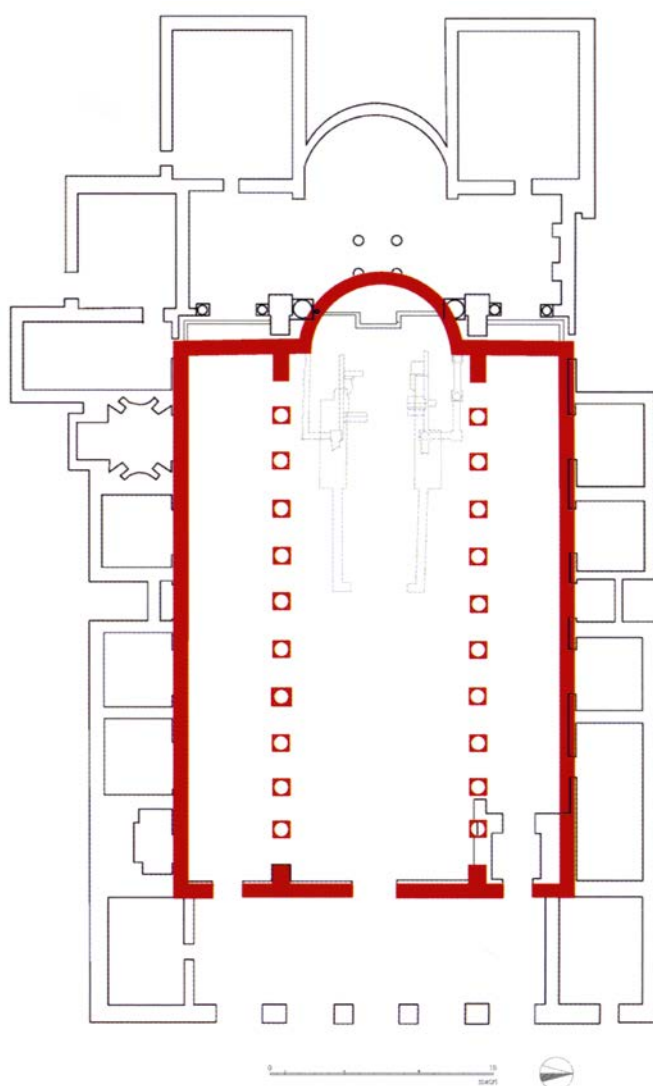
Fig. 348: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan
of Basilica Iulii, reconstruction Cooperativa Archeologia
(after Coccia et al. 2012)
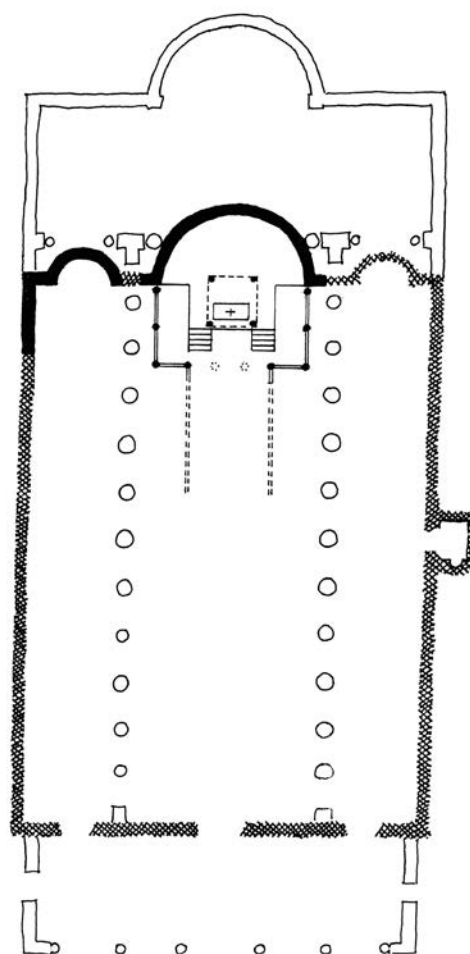
Fig. 349: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere,
ground plan of Basilica Iulii with presepe chapel
(after Einaudi, L'arredo liturgico, 2000)

another apse at the end of the south aisle, indicating that the twelfth-century basilica stands directly over its predecessor (fig. 348). The main apse extended under the twelfth-century transept, with its apex just east of the present altar. Its masonry of alternating courses of brick and tufa blocks (opus listatum) is consonant with a date in the fourth century. The second apse was a later addition; its masonry is characteristic of the second half of the ninth century.[6] A matching apse at the end of the north aisle is conjectural (fig. 349). Assuming that it had a north aisle, the fourth-century basilica was 25 m wide. If its front wall was on the line of the twelfth-century façade, it would have been 37 m long (42 m including the apse), close to the average size of fourth-century titular basilicas like San Clemente.[7] A ninth-century passage in the Liber pontificalis suggests that it also had a porch.[8] The basilica occupied a prominent site at the intersection of the east-west via Aurelia vetus, which carried traffic

6   Guidobaldi, in: Coccia et al. (2012), p. 52; contra Coccia et al. (2000), p. 168. Cf. Dey (2019), pp. 182–185, 200 f.
7   Kinney, Edilizia (2010), pp. 60 f., 95 n. 24.
8   LP 2, p. 147; quoted below, n. 57.

from the western Porta Aurelia to the Tiber, and the street from the region of St. Peter's that entered Trastevere through the Porta Septimiana.

If not founded initially as a *titulus*, Pope Julius' basilica had acquired that status by the end of the fifth century.[9] Julius was not a martyr and his memory lacked celebrity, while Calixtus's tomb in the cemetery on the via Aurelia attracted a cult. The promulgation of the *Passio sancti Calisti papae* in the later fifth century spread his fame.[10] By 595 the *titulus* was known as *titulus Iulii et Calisti*.[11] The *passio* associates Calixtus with an *urbs Ravennatium* in Trastevere, in which were a *templum*; *quidam coenaculum*, where the pope and his followers met for hymn-singing and rites; and a *domus Pontiani*, where the pope was martyred by drowning in a well.[12] The »city of the Ravennates« became part of the lore of S. Maria in Trastevere, which in the twelfth century was said to be on the site of its temple.[13] The *passio* influenced the biographer of the Liber pontificalis, who (perhaps conflating the *coenaculum* with the *iuxta Callistum* of his official sources) claimed that Calixtus founded a basilica in Trastevere.[14] Thus Pope Calixtus I became known as the first founder of S. Maria in Trastevere, and his name quickly supplanted that of Pope Julius in the basilica's nomenclature.[15]

Dedication to Mary and the Madonna della Clemenza

The *titulus sancti Iulii et Calisti* was the second or third church in Rome, and the only *titulus*, dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[16] The dedication is first attested in a signature dated 587.[17] As its dedicatee, Mary displaced Calixtus in the name of the church. It became known by the formula *Titulus sanctae Mariae quae vocatur Calisti*, with more or less elaborate variations.[18]

A curious Greek text, apparently written in Rome in the late eighth century, offers what seems like a fantastic etiology of the basilica's compound nomenclature. It relates the story of an image not made by human

9   Acta synhodi a. CCCCXCVIIII, in: Acta synhodi (1894), pp. 411 (*Paulinus presbyter tituli Iuli subscripsi*), 412 (*Marcellinus presbyter tituli Iuli subscripsi*), 414 (*Septiminus presbyter tituli Iuli subscripsi*). F. Guidobaldi argued that no tituli were founded before the pontificate of Damasus (366–384) (Titulum romanum constituit. Inquadramento cronologico dell'istituzione dei tituli presbiteriali di Roma, in: Titulum nostrum perlege. Miscellanea in onore di Danilo Mazzoleni, ed. by C. dell'Osso, P. Pergola, Città del Vaticano 2021, pp. 544–557).

10   Verrando (1984) made an extended argument for a date before the composition of the LP; followed by De Spirito (1995); Lapidge (2018), pp. 39, 287–290. Contra: E. dal Covolo, I Severi e il Cristianesimo. Ricerche sull'ambiente storico-istituzionale delle origini cristiane tra il secondo e il terzo secolo, Rome 1989, p. 16. Pietri (1976), pt. 1, pp. 621 f. implied that a cult of Calixtus was present in the *titulus* from the beginning; followed by Bonfiglio (2010), pp. 220 f. For Calixtus's cult see A. Handl, Bishop Callistus I. of Rome (217?–222?). A Martyr or a Confessor?, in: Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum 18, 2014, no. 3, pp. 390–419.

11   Pope Gregory I, Epistola V.57a, in: Pope Gregory I (1891), p. 367: *Petrus presbyter tituli sancti Iulii et Calisti*. »Sancti« must refer to Calixtus rather than to Julius, pace Geertman, More Veterum (1975), pp. 147 f. De Spirito (1999b), p. 84 wrongly supposed that there were two *tituli*, one of Julius and another of Calixtus.

12   Moretti (1767), pp. 181–185. Moretti transcribed the *passio* from the twelfth-century Legendary of S. Maria in Trastevere, now in the BAV, Vat. lat. 10999, fols. 78v–79r. See also AASS Octobris VI, pp. 439–441; Mombritius (1910), pp. 268–271. Translation: Lapidge (2018), pp. 290–296.

13   Mirabilia Urbis Romae, in: Valentini/Zucchetti, Codice 3 (1946), p. 64: *Trans Tiberim, ubi nunc est Sancta Maria, fuit templum Ravennantium*. For the likely source of the *urbs Ravenna(n)tium* see L. Richardson, Jr., A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome, Baltimore/London 1992, p. 79; C. Lega, Castra Ravennatium, in: LTUR 1, 1993, pp. 254 f.

14   LP 1, p. 141: *Hic fecit basilicam trans Tiberim*; cf. Verrando (1984), pp. 1057 f.

15   LP 1, pp. 141 f. n. 6.

16   The others were S. Maria Maggiore (432–440) and possibly S. Maria Antiqua, whose founding has been dated 493 to 526 by G. Bordi, Santa Maria Antiqua. Prima di Maria Regina, in: L'officina dello sguardo 1 (2014), pp. 285–290, esp. 289, and 565 to 578 by M. Andaloro, Le icone a Roma in età preiconoclasta, in: Roma fra oriente e occidente. Settimane di Studio del CISAM 49, Spoleto 2002, vol. 2, pp. 719–753, esp. 745; similarly M. Andaloro, La Vergine e il Bambino, in: Santa Maria Antiqua tra Roma e Bisanzio, ed. by M. Andaloro, G. Bordi, G. Morganti, Milan 2016, pp. 194–196, esp. 196.

17   Gregorius Diaconus (1890), Donation of 587, pp. 438 f.: *Bonifacius lector tituli Sanctae Mariae […] testis subscripsi*. Russo (1979), pp. 56–58; J. Richards, Consul of God. The Life and Times of Gregory the Great, London/Boston 1980, pp. 32 f.; Pronti (1996), p. 219. Andaloro (1972/73), p. 210 n. 46 erroneously speculated that this *titulus* was not in Rome.

18   LP 1, p. 509: *Titulum sanctae Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae quae [sic] vocatur Calisti trans Tiberim […] restauravit*.

hands (ἀχειροποίητος) that was venerated in a church in Trastevere. The church must be S. Maria, where an Acheiropoietos was previously recorded in a pilgrim guide of the seventh or eighth century.[19] This image of Mary with her son on her chest miraculously appeared in a building meant to be that of a martyr and took that building for itself, not by force but as a lord honors a servant.[20] Scholars are nearly unanimous in identifying the icon as the extant »Madonna della Clemenza,« even if it seems odd that an image containing a mortal might be considered of miraculous origin (fig. 350).[21] The Greek text may explain this anomaly by its allusion to a lord honoring a servant. If the pope kneeling at Mary's left foot – identified by some as Pope John VII (705–707) – represents that servant, he would be Calixtus I, whose cult the Virgin displaced and who might be considered her attribute.[22] Alternatively, the extant icon could be a copy, presumably made by the pope in the picture, of a miraculous original in which no donor appeared.[23]

The first clear textual match to the extant icon is a passage in the life of Pope Gregory IV (827–844), who presented an altar cloth with scenes of the Nativity and the Resurrection, »and above, an image of the blessed Mother of God Mary comforting an image of her offerer.«[24] It has been suggested that the unnamed *oblator* was Gregory IV, the donor of the cloth, in which case the image would have been an appropriation of the Acheiropoietos rather than a

Fig. 350: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, Madonna della Clemenza, after cleaning in 1953 (photo ICCD)

19 Istae vero ecclesiae intus Romae habentur, in: Valentini/Zucchetti, Codice 2 (1942), p. 122: *Basilica quae appellatur Sancta Maria Transtiberis; ibi est imago sanctae Mariae quae per se facta est* (also in: Corpus Christianorum series latina CLXXV, p. 321). Andaloro (1972/73), pp. 164 f.; Geertman, More veterum (1975), pp. 158–163, 202; Russo (1979), pp. 58–60; Barber (2000), pp. 256–260.

20 Περὶ ἀχειροποιήτων εἰκόνων, p. 349. Wolf (2002), pp. 782 f.; Wolf (2005), pp. 38 f.; Lidova (2009), p. 24. On the date of the text: Περὶ ἀχειροποιήτων εἰκόνων, pp. 106–108, 224–226; Noble (2009), p. 149. I am grateful to Vera von Falkenhausen for translating this difficult text.

21 Especially so because as an *Acheiropoietos*, the icon was also a relic: Barber (2000), pp. 256–260. Wolf (2005), p. 39 claimed that in this case, »Acheiropoietos« denoted not a miraculous image but a »theophanic presence« within it.

22 For a more allegorical interpretation see Wolf (2002), pp. 782 f.; Wolf (2005), pp. 38 f. The identification of the kneeling pope as John VII goes back to Cecchelli (1933?), pp. 123 f., 151–157; followed by Bertelli (1961), pp. 80–86; Beckwith (1962); Mango (1962); Wright (1963); Nilgen (2002), p. 234; Noble (2009), p. 131; V. Pace, Alla ricerca di un'identità. Affreschi, mosaici, tavole dipinte e libri a Roma fra VI e IX secolo, in: Roma e il suo territorio nel medioevo. Le fonti scritte fra tradizione e innovazione. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti, Rome 2012, ed. by C. Carbonetti, S. Lucà, M. Signorini, Spoleto 2015, pp. 471–498, esp. 484 n. 34. It is rejected by those who, following Andaloro (1972/73), date the icon to the sixth century: Russo (1979), pp. 77–80; Leone (2012), p. 58; Lidova (2016); M. Lidova, Monumental Icons and their Bodies in Early Christian Rome and Byzantium, in: Perceptions of the Body and Sacred Space in Late Antiquity and Byzantium, ed. by J. Bogdanović, London/New York 2018, pp. 25–58, esp. 39. Noncommittal are Nilgen, Maria Regina (1981), pp. 5 f.; Wolf (2002), pp. 783–786; Wolf (2005), pp. 37 f.

23 Implied by Barber (2000), p. 259. Favoring this alternative is the fact that the pope evidently had a square nimbus: Bertelli (1961), p. 73. On the basis of several iconographically similar images made in Rome in the late eighth century, Nilgen argued that there were two versions of the Madonna della Clemenza in circulation, with different color schemes: Nilgen (2002), pp. 238–240.

24 LP 2, p. 80: *fecit ibidem vestem crysoclabam cum blatta bizantea, habentem historia* (sic) *Nativitatis et Resurrectionis domini nostri Iesu Christi, et insuper imaginem beatae Dei genetricis Mariae refoventem imaginem oblatoris sui*; Bertelli (1961), p. 21. For the meaning of *vestem* see L. E. Phillips, A Note on the Gifts of Leo III to the Churches of Rome: »Vestes cum storiis,« in: Ephemerides liturgicae 102, 1988, pp. 72–78, esp. 72 f.; Martiniani-Reber (1999), p. 290; de Blaauw, Altare (2001), pp. 987 f.

copy of it.[25] It is also possible that the *oblator* was copied from the icon and the biographer either did not know his name, or thought it unnecessary to mention it.

Pope Gregory IV

The relics of Pope Calixtus I and the presbyter Calepodius were translated to S. Maria in Trastevere sometime after the papacy of Gregory III (731–741).[26] In the late eighth or ninth century they were joined by remains of Pope Cornelius (251–253), exhumed from a tomb near the via Appia in 779/80.[27] When Gregory IV (827–844) acceded to the papacy, all of these relics were in the south aisle.[28] There is no record of relics in the main altar, which was »in a low place, almost in the middle of the nave,« so that Mass was celebrated »with the clergy intermingled with the people in a disorderly way«.[29] Papal Masses must have been celebrated on this altar at least since the pontificate of Gregory II (715–731), who made S. Maria in Trastevere the station church for the second Thursday in Lent.[30] Pope Leo III (795–816) embellished the altar with a 504-pound silver ciborium and a gold crown to hang below it, but these ornaments would not have remedied a lack of relics or the altar's archaic placement in the nave.[31] The basilica itself was »broken down in certain places all around because of great age,« and its site was »full of brambles and filth.«[32] Gregory IV addressed these problems with a thorough-going renovation.

Monastery and praesepium

The renovation began in 835/36 with the foundation of a monastery for *monachos canonicos* who would chant the Divine Office.[33] The pope built »pretty dwellings« or »cells« for them, traces of which were said to be visible in the thirteenth century.[34] He buttressed the church walls and made a *praesepium* »in the likeness of« the *praesepium* at S. Maria Maggiore.[35] The *praesepium* was on the site of the present Cappella del Presepio, opposite the sixth column of the north colonnade (figs. 349, 441). Pope Innocent II is said to have »renovated« it, implying that the ninth-century chapel survived his rebuilding.[36]

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25 Martiniani-Reber (1999), p. 301.
26 Presumably the relics were still in the cemetery when Gregory III refurbished the basilica there: LP 1, 419; Verrando (2004), p. 54; M. Minasi, La Tomba di Callisto. Appunti sugli affreschi altomedievali della cripta del papa martire nella catacomba di Calepodio, Città del Vaticano 2009, p. 91. For the translation: Verrando (1985), p. 1061; S. Lorenz, Papst Calixt I. (217–222). Translation und Verbreitung seines Reliquienkultes bis ins 12. Jahrhundert, in: Ex Ipsis Rerum Documentis. Beiträge zur Mediävistik. Festschrift für Harald Zimmermann zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. by K. Herbers, H. H. Kortüm, C. Servatius, Sigmaringen 1991, pp. 213–232, esp. 218–221; D. Mazzoleni et al., Le iscrizioni della catacomba di Calepodio, in: RAC 75, 1999, pp. 597–694, esp. 644–647.
27 LP 1, p. 506; N. Christie, Popes, Pilgrims and Peasants. The Rôle of the Domusculta Capracorum (Santa Cornelia, Rome), in: Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bd. 1, Bonn 1991 = Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum suppl. 20, 1995, vol. 2, pp. 650–657, esp. 651.
28 LP 2, p. 80: *sancta corpora beatorum Calisti et Cornelii et Calepodi in meridiana plaga aecclesiae tumulata postergum populi iacentia*; cf. Bauer, Frammentazione liturgica (1999), pp. 420–425, 437.
29 LP 2, p. 80: *Nam prius altare in humili loco situm fuerat, pene in media testudine […] pontifex cum clero plebi confuse inmixto sacra misteria celebrabat*. See de Blaauw, Altare (2001), pp. 976 f.; Kinney (2019), p. 90.
30 LP 1, p. 402; Andrieu (1929), pp. 345, 354; Chavasse (1982/93); Baldovin, Stational Liturgy (1987), pp. 153 f., 289.
31 LP 2, p. 11: *in titulo beati Calisti ad honorem Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae fecit cyburium ex argento, pens. lib. DIIII semis*; p. 16: *in titulo sanctae Dei genetricis quae appellatur Calisti fecit regnum ex auro purissimo, pendentem super altare maiorem, ex gemmis pretiosis ornatum, pens. lib. I*. Guidobaldi, Cyboria (2000), pp. 59 f., 67; Kinney (2019), pp. 91 f.
32 LP 2, p. 78: *vepribus vel inmunditiis plena […] saepedicta ecclesia quibusdam per circuitum locis longo senio erat praerupta*.
33 LP 2, p. 78: *iuxta latus praenominate basilicae monasterium a fundamentis statuit et novis fabricis decoravit. In quo etiam monachos canonicos adgregavit, qui inibi officium facerent et omnipotenti Deo grates et laudes diebus singulis et noctibus prosecutis intimo cordis spiramine decantarent*. On the date: Geertman (1979). On the meaning of *monachos canonicos*: LP 2, p. 78 n. 8; Ferrari, Monasteries (1957), pp. 380–386. On the context: Ferrari, Monasteries (1957), pp. 372–375; Di Carpegna Falconieri (2007), pp. 362–367.
34 LP 2, p. 78: *pulchra sunt habitacula monachorum […] cellulae constructa sunt*. Pani Ermini (1981), pp. 34 f. For the thirteenth century see below, n. 189.
35 LP 2, p. 78: *Eo igitur tempore […] eam [basilicam] firmissimis undique munitionibus restauravit, et in ea sanctum fecit Praesepium, ad similitudinem Praesepii sanctae Dei genetricis quae appellatur Maioris*.
36 Legenda in consecratione, fol. 151v: *renovavit etiam presepium, quod antiquitus in ea fuerat*; Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 137.

The *praesepium* contained at least two icons: a gold image of the Virgin, crowned and adorned with many jewels, and another image with necklaces.[37] Carlo Bertelli maintained that the gold image was the Madonna della Clemenza.[38] No document from any period locates the Madonna della Clemenza in the *praesepium*, however. The purpose of the chapel seems to have been to elevate the status of *Sancta Maria quae vocatur Calisti* by making an iconographic connection with the site of Christ's birth in Bethlehem, such as already existed at S. Maria Maggiore.[39]

Presbyterium

Two years later Gregory IV improved the situation of the altar, again following the model of S. Maria Maggiore, which had been reworked by his near predecessor Pope Paschal I (817–824) to suit the stational liturgy.[40] He excavated a »hidden cavity« in the area of the main apse, in which he deposited the relics of Calixtus, Cornelius, and Calepodius.[41] The bodies were surrounded by a great mass of fill, which created a *tribunal* – i.e., an elevated floor for celebrants in the apse – that was decorated with »wondrous stones« (fig. 351). A window under the altar (confessio) was opened in the east face of the *tribunal* to

Fig. 351: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, reconstruction of the apse and chancel of Pope Gregory IV (after Einaudi, L'arredo liturgico 2000)

provide a connection with »the wondrous odor of the hidden ones.« In front of it was a *presbyterium*, with a *matroneum* on the north side.[42] The »wondrous stones« decorating the *tribunal* are the marble chancels that now form a dado in the eighteenth-century porch and also line the vestibule under the campanile (figs. 352, 369).[43] They were reused on the twelfth-century schola cantorum, reused again as paving stones when the schola cantorum was dismantled, and placed in their present locations by Virginio Vespignani, who took them up with the rest of the pavement in 1865.[44]

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37 LP 2, p. 78: *In quo obtulit […] imaginem auream, habentem storiam Dominae nostrae, cum diversis et pretiosis gemmis […] habentem in circuitum capite coronae diverse philopares […] item in eodem, imaginem habentem morenas prasinales pretiosissimas II […].* cf. The Lives (1995), pp. 61 f.

38 Bertelli (1961), p. 19.

39 Kinney, The »Praesepia« (2011), pp. 789 f.; Claussen, in this volume, p. 341–357.

40 De Blaauw, Cultus 1 (1994), pp. 382–394; Bauer, Liturgical Arrangement (2001), pp. 101–105, 117–121; Emerick (2000), pp. 149–151; S. de Blaauw, Liturgical Features of Roman Churches. Manifestations of the Church of Rome? in: Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell' alto medioevo (Settimane di studio del CISAM 61), Spoleto 2014, pp. 321–341, esp. 333–335; Kinney (2019), pp. 91 f.; Claussen, in this volume, p. 215–220.

41 Pace Geertman (1979); Apollonj Ghetti (1984), pp. 209 f.; and de Blaauw, Krypta (1995), pp. 562 f., there is no evidence that the hidden *antrum* was a crypt. No mention is made of Pope Julius. The earliest evidence for his relics in S. Maria in Trastevere is from the eleventh century, and Innocent II »found« them there 80 years later (below, nn. 97, 194). His name appears in the list of relics translated to S. Prassede in 817–824: Riccioni (2021), p. 92; cf. Nilgen (1974); Goodson, Rome (2010), pp. 167, 327–329.

42 LP 2, p. 80: *Nam effosso clandestino antro, summa cum reverentia praefata sancta corpora elevans […] in ambitu abside, honorifice collocando occuluit; circa quae quam maxime molis aggregans aggerem, comptum miris lapidibus tribunal erigens decoravit. Supra que confessionem respicientem ad ortum solis miri odoris celaturarum ornata compagine coaptavit infra consurgentes siquidem bases altaris […] Ante quod presbyterium ampli ambitus operosi operis funditus construxit, cui ex septemtrionali plaga lapidibus circa septum matroneum adposuit.* For the complete text see Bull-Simonsen Einaudi, L'arredo liturgico (2000), pp. 176 f.; Bauer, Liturgical Arrangement (2001), p. 124 n. 2, English translation on pp. 101 f.

43 Kautzsch, Schmuckkunst (1939), pp. 7, 12, 15, 18, 20, 22, 25–27, 39, 47–49.

44 Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 10r–10v: »[18 Febbraio 1865] Si è posto mano al pavimento della nave mag.ᵉ togliendo le transenne della antica schola cantorum, le quali al presente formavano parte del pavimento nella porzione prossima alla Tribuna vicino alla colonne.«

Vespignani encountered the foundations of the schola cantorum immediately beneath the pavement. Further excavation revealed remains of Gregory IV's *tribunal* and *presbyterium*. These finds were progressively recorded on a colored plan preserved in the Capitular archive (figs. 347, 508).[45] Black ink denotes rising walls, including the fourth- and ninth(?)-century apses already discussed. Foundations are indicated in two shades of gray. A diary of Vespignani's renovation by Canon Gioacchino Cressedi, also in the archive, helps to determine that dark gray is the stratum of Pope Gregory IV.[46]

Of the several attempts to reconstruct Gregory's work, that by Karin Bull-Simonsen Einaudi is the most complete (figs. 349, 351).[47] The dimensions of the extant chancels enabled her to locate some of them in the inter-columniations of the presbytery colonnade, and she assigned others to a hypothetical (but plausible) *ruga(e)*, a cor-ridor extending from the presbytery into the nave.[48] The ensemble of presbytery enclosed by a trabeated colonnade and *rugae* was the preferred form for Roman liturgical layouts in the ninth century.[49] Only S. Maria in Trastevere was said to have a *matroneum*, described as »an enclosure surrounded by stones« on the north side of the *presbyteri-um*.[50] Unique to the Liber pon-tificalis, the word *matroneum* has been interpreted as a place for privileged women (*matro-nae*). In the apparent absence of such an enclosure on Ves-pignani's plan, some have sup-posed that it was in the north aisle, but this would have been a liturgically awkward loca-tion.[51] More likely, in my view, the *matroneum* was the place where *matronae* were met by the pope in the rites of Offer-tory and Communion; it would have been part of the *presbyte-rium*.[52]

Fig. 352: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, chancel screens with flowering acanthus and scrolled top (photo Einaudi 2009)

45   Vespignani (1865–69): pen, ink, and washes on paper, L 76 × W 54 cm. The plan is unfinished. It has multiple section lines, but no sections were found in the archive. My interpretation of the plan has been informed by observations made long ago by Frank Brown, Richard Krautheimer, Judson Emerick, Slobodan Ćurčić, and Ronald Malmstrom. Prof. Brown noted the drawing's peculiar scale, 1.15:1 (i. e., 1 cm = 0.85 m). I am grateful to Darko Senekovic for his excellent photographs of this and other graphic documents in the ACSMT.

46   Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 10 [18 Febbraio 1865], 15r–15v [3 Novembre 1866]. G. Bertelli (1974) published the plan but did not know the diary, and consequently reversed the stratigraphy. See Kinney (1975); Bull-Simonsen Einaudi, L'arredo liturgico (2000), p. 181.

47   F. Gandolfo, La cattedra di Pasquale I in S. Maria Maggiore, in: Roma e l' età carolingia. Atti delle Giornate di Studio, Rome 1976, pp. 55–67, esp. 64 f.; Bauer, Liturgical Arrangement (2001), pp. 102–105; Bull-Simonsen Einaudi, L'arredo liturgico (2000).

48   On the *rugae*: V. Saxer, Recinzioni liturgiche secondo le fonti letterarie, in: Mededelingen 59, 2000, pp. 71–79, esp. 71–73. Cf. Guidobaldi (2000), pp. 92 f., 95 f.

49   Guidobaldi (2000), pp. 92–96; Bauer, Liturgical Arrangement (2001), pp. 107–111; Emerick (2000), pp. 142–148; Goodson, Rome (2010), pp. 122–129.

50   LP 2, p. 80: *cui [presbiterio] ex septemtrionali plaga lapidibus circa septum matroneum adposuit.*

51   Location: De Benedictis (1981), p. 77; Bauer, Liturgical Arrangement (2001), pp. 103 f.; Bull-Simonsen Einaudi, L'arredo liturgico (2000), p. 178. Function: Mathews (1962), pp. 92–94; De Benedictis (1981), pp. 75–85; Camerlenghi, St. Paul's (2018), pp. 104, 308 n. 109.

52   The Lives (1995), p. 314; J. F. Romano, Liturgy and Society in Early Medieval Rome, Farnham 2014, pp. 34 f.; Kinney (2019), pp. 91 f.

The ninth-century description of Gregory IV's work does not mention a ciborium, probably because the pope reused the large silver ciborium previously gifted by Pope Leo III.[53] Like most »silver« ciboria of the era, Leo's likely consisted of a silver-covered wooden superstructure borne on four columns of precious stone.[54] Supposing that the columns, like the marble chancels, were preserved and reused in the rebuilding by Pope Innocent II, Einaudi reasoned that they are the same porphyry shafts seen today under the superstructure designed by Vespignani (fig. 492).[55]

<center>Pope Benedict III: apse mosaic</center>

The construction of Gregory IV's tribunal may have destabilized the apse, because his successors found it verging on ruin.[56] Pope Benedict III (855–858) completed its reconstruction, and also renewed the *secretarium* (sacristy), the baptistery, and the *porticus*.[57] He adorned the apse with colored glass windows and a »mosaic picture.« The windows are the latest known example of a Carolingian revival of window glass in Roman churches, following its appearance in the apses of the Lateran Cathedral (Pope Leo III, 807–808) and the new basilica of San Martino ai Monti (Pope Sergius II, 844–847).[58]

The subject of Pope Benedict's mosaic picture is unknown, but given the dedication of the church, it almost certainly represented the Mother of God. If it was still visible when Pope Innocent II decided to replace the old basilica three centuries later, the picture would have been an obvious point of reference for his iconographer. The mosaic may have represented the Assumption, which appeared in Roman ecclesiastical iconography in the late eighth century.[59] Benedict himself presented S. Maria in Trastevere with a gold-woven cloth depicting the Assumption for the main altar.[60] If the Assumption also appeared in his mosaic, its iconography would have seemed archaic in the 1140s.[61] An urge to correct it could have been a factor in the choice of subject for the mosaic that replaced it.

<center>Anastasius Bibliothecarius: *fons olei* and *taberna meritoria*</center>

Benedict III was the titular priest of S. Maria in Trastevere before he was elected pope.[62] He was briefly dethroned by the excommunicate ex-priest Anastasius, who himself was deposed after three days.[63] Anastasius was rehabilitated and in 858 he was given the position of abbot of the monastery of S. Maria in Trastevere. He was named Bibliothecarius Romanae Ecclesiae by Pope Hadrian II (867–872), and served three popes – Nicholas I (858–867), Hadrian II, and John VIII (872–882) – as translator, scholar, diplomat, and archivist, all while

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53 Bull-Simonsen Einaudi, L'arredo liturgico (2000), p. 184.

54 Guidobaldi, Cyboria (2000), pp. 57–59; de Blaauw, Altare (2001), p. 986.

55 Bull-Simonsen Einaudi, L'arredo liturgico (2000), p. 186.

56 LP 2, p. 120 [Leo IV, 847–855]: *in ecclesia beatae Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariae dominae nostrae trans Tiberim, absidam, quae pre nimia vetustate ruitura manebat, tunc praenominatus praesul restauravit.*

57 LP 2, p. 147: *absidam maiorem […], que in ruinis posita, noviter atque fundamentis faciens, ad meliorem erexit statum; fenestras vero vitreis coloribus ornavit et pictura musivo decoravit; necnon et porticum atque baptisterium cum secretario, omnia et in omnibus sarta tecta noviter renovavit.*

58 LP 2, pp. 25, 94; M. Del Nunzio, La produzione di vetri da finestra tra tarda antichità e medioevo. La situazione romana, in: Il colore nel medioevo. Arte, simbolo, tecnica. La vetrata in occidente dal IV all'XI secolo. Atti delle Giornate di Studi Lucca 1999, ed. by F. dell'Acqua, R. Silva, Lucca 2001, pp. 45–65, esp. 52, 55; F. Dell'Acqua, Illuminando colorat. La vetrata tra l'età tardo imperiale e l'alto medioevo. Le fonti, l'archeologia, Spoleto 2003, pp. 50, 54, 122; Claussen, Kirchen, S. Giovanni (2008), p. 29.

59 LP 1, p. 500; LP 2, p. 61; Martiniani-Reber (1999), p. 302; Andaloro (2001/02), pp. 58, 68, 95, 99 n. 35.

60 LP 2, p. 145: *fecit veste in altare maiore de chrisoclavo, habentem historiam Adsumptionis eiusdem Dei genitricis.* On the meaning of *chrisoclavo*: Martiniani-Reber (1999), p. 297.

61 On the ninth-century iconography: J. Croquison, L'iconographie chrétienne à Rome d'après le »Liber pontificalis«, in: Byzantion 34, 1964, no. 2, pp. 535–606, esp. 587–593; Andaloro (2001/02), pp. 49, 51 f.

62 LP 2, p. 140: *Calisti eum titulo ingenti presbiterum consecravit honore.* Di Carpegna Falconieri (2007), pp. 362 f.

63 LP 2, pp. 141–144; The Lives (1995) pp. 169–177; Arnaldi (2000).

remaining abbot of the monastery at least through Hadrian's pontificate.[64] Abbot Anastasius seems to have been the first to associate S. Maria in Trastevere with the site of the *fons olei*.[65] The connection is made in the salutation of a letter written during the papacy of Nicholas I: »Anastasius, insignificant abbot of the monastery of the Holy Mother of God Virgin Mary across the Tiber, where once around the time of the Lord's Nativity the fountain of oil flowed.«[66]

The oil well was not originally a Christian omen. The first surviving mention of it is in the third-century *Historia romana* of Cassius Dio, who included a gush of olive oil on the bank of the Tiber in a list of portents occurring around 38 BCE.[67] St. Jerome transformed the omen in his translation of the universal chronicle of Eusebius by giving it a new interpretation (»signifying the grace of Christ coming forth from his people«) and a more specific location (the *taberna meritoria* in Trastevere).[68] Jerome's account was repeated nearly verbatim in the histories of Paulus Orosius (ca. 417) and Paulus Diaconus (766–771).[69] In a second citation of the miracle, Orosius added a layer of political interpretation by correlating the gush of oil with the coming to power of Augustus Caesar and the dawn of the Roman Empire: »at Rome a fountain of oil flowed for a whole day [signifying that] […] for the entire duration of the Roman empire, Christ and from him Christians would issue copiously and incessantly from the *taberna meritoria*, that is from the hospitable and bountiful Church.«[70]

Thanks to Orosius, the *fons olei* was known to other Christian authors by the time of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. Hrabanus Maurus († 856) repeated Orosius's interpretation of the oil well as Christ and the *taberna meritoria* as the Church in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew.[71] An earlier Irish commentary on Luke, widely circulated in the eighth century, seems to interpret the *taberna meritoria* as Christ.[72] Anastasius could have known such commentaries, but the topographical insight that the miracle occurred on the site of S. Maria in Trastevere appears to have been his own contribution. He may have been inspired by the existence of Pope Gregory IV's *praesepium* (which itself could have been inspired by the legend of the *fons olei*). Bull-Simonsen Einaudi speculated that Anastasius commissioned two unusual marble chancels now in the porch as part of a *memoria* marking the spot where

64   Bull-Simonsen Einaudi (1990), pp. 211–213; Arnaldi (2000). The latest record of Anastasius as »abbas« is a letter dated 871: Anastasii Bibliothecarii Epistolae (1928), p. 403.

65   Bull-Simonsen Einaudi (1990), pp. 213–217. Sansterre (2002), p. 1025 suggested that Anastasius's association of S. Maria in Trastevere with the oil well was deliberately intended to replace the miraculous icon of Mary as the basilica's chief distinction.

66   Anastasii Bibliothecarii Epistolae (1928), p. 399: *Urso […] medico et domestico domini nostri sacratissimi papae Nicolai […] Anastasius exiguus abbas monasterii sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae virginis siti trans Tiberim, ubi olim circa Domini nativitatem fons olei fluxit.*

67   Dio Cassius, Historia romana XLVIII.ix.43, in: Dion Cassius (1994), p. 43: ἐλαιόν τι παρὰ τῷ Τιβέριδι ἀνέβλυσε. Stichel (1990), pp. 50 f. argued for an unknown Christian source for this portent. Osgood (2006), p. 197 speculated that it was the lore of the Jews of Trastevere.

68   Hieronymi Chronicon, ad an. 41 BCE, in: Eusebius (1956), p. 158: *E taberna meritoria trans Tiberim oleum terra erupit fluxitque toto die sine intermissione significans XPi gratiam ex gentibus.*

69   Orosius, Historiarum adversum paganos libri VI.18.33, in: Orose Histoires (1991), p. 222: *His diebus trans Tiberim e taberna meritoria fons olei terra exundauit, ac per totum diem largissimo riuo fluxit.* Paul the Deacon, Historia romana VII.8, in: Pauli Diaconi (1914), p. 100: *his diebus trans Tiberim de taberna meritoria fons olei e terra exundavit ac per totum diem largissimo rivo fluxit, significans ex gentibus gratiam Christi.*

70   Orosius, Historiarum adversum paganos libri VI.20.7, in: Orose Histoires (1991), p. 228: *cum eo tempore quo Caesari perpetua tribunicia potestas decreta est, Romae fons olei per totum diem fluxit: – sub principatu Caesaris Romanoque imperio per totum diem, hoc est per omne Romani tempus imperii, – Christum et ex eo Christianos, id est unctum atque ex eo unctos, – de meritoria taberna, hoc est de hospita largaque Ecclesia, – affluenter atque incessabiliter processuros […].* Engels (1976), pp. 235 f.; transl. Opelt (1961), pp. 48 f.

71   Expositio in Mathaeum I.2.1, in: Hrabani Mauri Expositio in Matthaeum, ed. by B. Löfstedt (Corpus Christianorum, continuatio medievalis 174), Turnhout 2000, p. 53; Engels (1976), p. 241.

72   In evangelium secundum Lucam, in: PL 30, col. 569A: *Ipso tempore fluxit fons oleum a taberna meritoria tota die, usque ad vesperum: ostendit quod nascitur in tempore ejus [Augusti], a quo fluxisset fons olei, id est, spiritalis unctio per totum Evangelium usque in finem mundi. Augustus patrem figurat, Tiberius filium*; similarly PL 114, col. 896B, attributed to Walafrid Strabo; Engels (1976), p. 242. Opelt (1961), p. 53; N. Wibiral, Augustus patrem figurat. Zu den Betrachtungsweisen des Zentralsteins am Lotharkreuz im Domschatz zu Aachen, in: Festschrift für Hermann Fillitz zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. by P. Ludwig = Aachener Kunstblätter 60, 1994, pp. 105–130, esp. 116.

the oil flowed, acknowledging that we cannot know where the ninth-century abbot thought that spot was (fig. 352, center left and right).[73] According to the early thirteenth-century *Legenda in consecratione sancte Marie trans Tiberim*, excavation for the foundations of the new church in the 1140s revealed a bell »next to the place of the oil where the foundations of the *titulus* were laid.«[74] The ground in this place was wet and gave off oil when squeezed, and the squeezed earth was preserved.[75]

While the *fons olei* was clearly amenable to Christian allegorization, the *taberna meritoria* was more ambiguous. *Taberna* could denote an inn, tavern, or shop; *meritoria* pertains to the earning of money, including by prostitution.[76] In a well-known dream recounted by Valerius Maximus, a traveler who stayed in a *taberna meritoria* was murdered by the innkeeper.[77] It seems unlikely that Jerome's use of the term was meant to evoke such sordid connotations, and Rainer Stichel suggested that *taberna meritoria* was just a synonym for the Biblical *diversorium*.[78] The medieval interpretation stems from Isidore of Seville, who observed that soldiers as well as prostitutes were paid for their services, and associated *meritoriae tabernae* with them.[79] Veterans were called *emeriti*.[80] In a sermon composed before ca. 1136, Peter Abelard described the *taberna meritoria* as a house where *emeriti* were cared for.[81] In a similar vein, the contemporary author of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* defined the *domus Meritoria* as the place »where the soldiers who served gratis in the senate were paid.«[82] He located it on the site of the *templum Ravennantium*. The connection of the *taberna meritoria* with a toponym from the *passio Calisti* was repeated by antiquarians in the fifteenth century and became a staple of later Roman guidebooks.[83]

Pope Alexander II: Reform and consecration

After Anastasius Bibliothecarius, the only record of S. Maria in Trastevere for 150 years is an emphyteusis contract naming Anastasius's successor Leo, »abbot of the venerable monastery of St. Mary and St. Cornelius which is called of Calixtus in Trastevere.«[84] Dated 878/79, the contract survives in a parchment copy made in the twelfth century,

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73 Bull-Simonsen Einaudi (1990), pp. 218–222. She has since reconsidered this suggestion (personal communication 29. 10. 2018).

74 Legenda in consecratione, fols. 151–151v: *sicut ab antiquis audivi: cum fundamenta huius ecclesie cavabantur, iuxta locum olei ubi fundamenta tituli posita sunt, inventa est parva campanella*; Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 137; Bartoli (2017), p. 107.

75 Legenda in consecratione, fol. 151v: *In eodem quoque loco in fundamento terra madida inventa est, que expressa magis oleum quam aquam emittebat, que usque ad hec tempora, sicut expressa fuit, reservata apparet*; Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 137; Bartoli (2017), p. 108.

76 So Isidore of Seville, Etymologiarum sive originum libri X.182, in: Isidorus 1 (1911), p. 412: *Meretrix dicta eo quod pretium libidinis mereatur. Inde et meritoriae tabernae.*

77 Facta et dicta memorabilia, I.vii ext. 10, in: Valerius Maximus. Memorable Doings and Sayings, ed. and transl. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Cambridge MA/London 2000, vol. 1, p. 98. The writer's source may have been Cicero, who described the same dream but used the word *copona* (*caupona*, a lower-class inn): De divinatione I.27.57, in: C. E. Schultz, A Commentary on Cicero, De Divinatione I, Ann Arbor 2014, pp. 32, 131.

78 Luke 2:7: *reclinavit eum in praesepio, quia non erat eis locus in diversorio.* Stichel (1990), p. 50.

79 Isidore of Seville, Etymologiarum sive originum libri X.182, in: Isidorus 1 (1911), p. 412: *Inde et meritoriae tabernae: nam et milites, cum stipendia accipiunt, mereri dicuntur.*

80 Isidore of Seville, Etymologiarum sive originum libri IX.iii.34, in: Isidorus 1 (1911), p. 366: *Emeriti dicuntur veterani solutique militia, qui iam in usu proelii non sunt, et quia mereri militare dicitur, ab stipendiis scilicet quae merentur.*

81 Sermo IV, In Epiphania Domini, in: P. De Santis, I sermoni di Abelardo per le monache del Paracleto, Leiden 2002, p. 197: *Meritoria autem taberna illa domus estimatur, ubi emeriti milites fouebantur*; similarly Petri Abaelardi sermones, ed. by L. J. Engels, C. Vande Veire, Turnhout 2020, p. 59. Engels (1976) p. 238.

82 Mirabilia Urbis Romae, in: Valentini/Zucchetti, Codice 3 (1946), p. 64: *Trans Tiberim, ubi nunc est Sancta Maria, fuit templum Ravennantium, ubi terra manavit oleum tempore Octaviani imperatoris, et fuit ibi domus Meritoria, ubi merebantur milites qui gratis serviebant in senatu.*

83 Flavio Biondo, Roma instaurata I.xxxii, in: Flavio Biondo 1 (2005), p. 49: *Hinc ubi papa Callistus primus ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae transtiberinae, quam nunc insignem cernimus aedificauit, templum Rauennatium et tabernam fuisse legimus Rauennatium meritorium.*

84 ACSMT, Pergamene, 532, XXIV, quoted by Radiciotti (2009), pp. 165 f.; Radiciotti (2010), p. 291: *inter Leonem episcopum missus et apocrisarius sancte summe sedis apostolice et abbatem venerabilis monasterii Sancte Marie et Sancti Cornelii qui appellatur Calixti Transtiberim, vel a cunta congregatione servorum Dei et e diverso Gregorius vir clarissimus comes […]* For Abbot Leo see Di Carpegna Falconieri, Clero (2002), p. 153; Di Carpegna Falconieri (2007), pp. 369, 376.

which is one of more than 120 parchment documents in the capitular archive of S. Maria in Trastevere.[85] The parchments of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were published by the late Paolo Radiciotti.[86]

No more is heard of the monastery after the ninth century. The earliest original parchment in the archive, dated 1 November 1026, is the first in a series of documents that trace the secularization of the monastery and its reform in the eleventh century. This emphyteusis contract is between the bishop of Porto and Iohannes, »insignificant priest« of S. Maria in Trastevere and his heirs.[87] Since Iohannes had heirs, he may have had a concubine, which in turn suggests that the monks of S. Maria in Trastevere had been replaced by secular clergy in the course of the tenth century, as occurred at other Roman churches.[88] Another contract, dated 14 February 1037, names the »religious« archpriest Crescentius and the »religious« second priest, also called Crescentius, who act with the consent of the »entire clergy of priests.«[89] The offices of archpriest and second priest indicate that by this time, the basilica's »clergy of priests« were canons.[90] The term »canons« appears explicitly in a deed of 7 August 1063 in reference to the »religious« archpriest Arnulfus and his clergy, who »living there [at the church] and serving God, will never cease to entreat and pour out prayers to the Lord for the souls of Christians day and night.«[91] The last phrase echoes the ninth-century description of the installation of *monachos canonicos* by Pope Gregory IV.[92] It implies a restoration of that community, except that in 1063 the servants of God were not monks but secular priests who owned property in common.

The deed of 1063 can be correlated with a manuscript codex now in the British Library, Add MS 14801, containing a version of the Hieronymian Martyrology (fols. 5–44) and the rule for canons promulgated at the Council of Aachen in 816 (fols. 45–205). A list of popes and emperors at the end of the manuscript helps to date it, as the list of popes initially ended with Alexander II (1061–1073).[93] Memorial notices in the margins of the Martyrology (= the Necrology) were added by numerous hands from the late eleventh through the fifteenth century, after which the book seems to have fallen out of use. The marginalia were published by Pietro Egidi in 1908 from a transcription made for him by the distinguished historian Count Ugo Balzani.[94] While the transcription seems to have been accurate, lack of clarity or misinterpretations of Balzani's notes led to some errors in Egidi's publication, one of which is especially significant for the history of S. Maria in Trastevere. Internal evidence indicates that the manuscript was made for that church. It seems to have left the basilica's archive sometime before the mid-eighteenth century.[95] The codex was purchased by the British Museum from a bookdealer in 1844.[96]

85	Radiciotti (2010), pp. 281, 284, 285. Until 1973 (or 1975: Hüls [2013], p. 580) the archive was housed in an unheated room over the sacristy, where I consulted it extensively in 1971/72. It is now in the Archivio Storico Diocesano near the Lateran, where the binders have been numbered and occupy shelves 249–269. I am very grateful to Biancamaria Hermanin de Reichenfeld for ascertaining that, for the most part, the binders can still be located by their old signatures, and for providing the ASD numbers for many of them.

86	Radiciotti (2010). Radiciotti's edition was harshly criticized by Hüls (2013). An edition of the same parchments was made in the 1970s by David Whitton, who died before it could be published. Dr. Whitton gave me a copy of his edition in typescript (Whitton 1974[?]), and in what follows I draw upon it and his editorial comments as well as Radiciotti's.

87	Radiciotti (2010), pp. 292–294 (at 293): *uti michi Iohannes exiguus presbiter venerabilis ecclesia Sanctae Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariae […] quae appellatur Kalixsta Trastiberi, heredibus successoribusque meis […].*

88	T. di Carpegna Falconieri, Il matrimonio e il concubinato presso il clero romano (secoli VIII–XII), in: Studi storici 41, 2000, no. 4, pp. 943–971; G. Barone, Chierici, monaci e frati, in: Roma medievale (Storia di Roma dall'antichità a oggi), ed. by A. Vauchez, Rome/Bari 2001, pp. 187–212, esp. 197–203.

89	Radiciotti (2010), pp. 294–296 (at 295): *peto domno Crescentius, humilis religioso archipresbitero venerabilis tituli sanctae Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariae […] qui appellatur Calisti Transtiberim, secondo qui voco Crescentius, item religioso presbitero secondo […] consentientiem cunctos cleros presbiterorum Dei suprascripte ecclesiae […].*

90	Ferrari, Monasteries (1957), p. 369.

91	Radiciotti (2010), pp. 296 f. (at 296): *tibi beata genitrix virgo Maria, aelegimus ad ecclesiam tuam quae est sitam in regione Transtiberim in tituli Calisti; in qua degere videtur domno Arnulfo religiosum archipresbiterum et canonicum cum cleros praesbiterorum canonicorum ibi degentium et deo servientium, qui pro Christianorum anime diebus ac noctibus exhorare vel praeces fundere ad Dominum non cessabunt.*

92	Above, n. 33; Radiciotti (2010), p. 296.
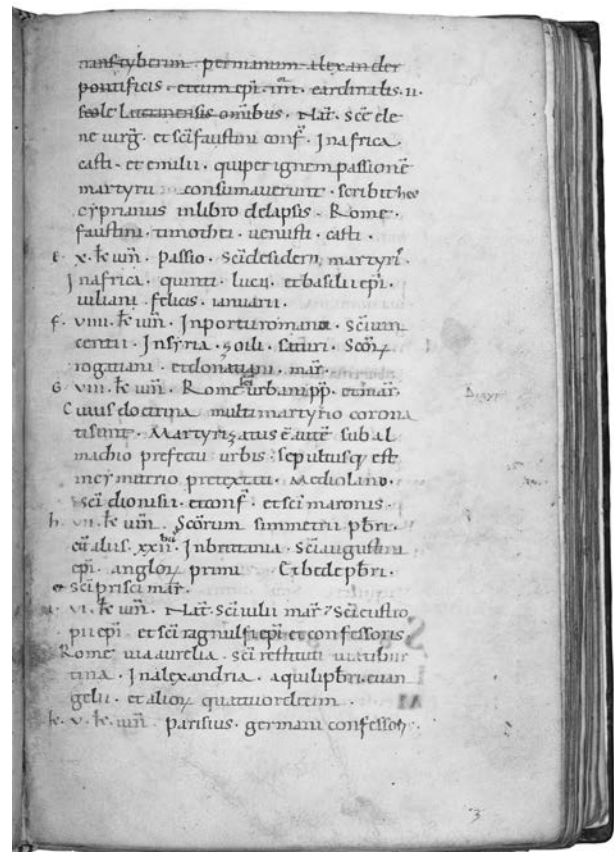
93	Necrologi (1908), p. 86.

94	Necrologi (1908), p. 87.

95	Necrologi (1908), p. 86.

96	Catalogue (1845), List of Additions 1844, pp. 7 f.

The internal evidence linking the codex to S. Maria in Trastevere is in the Martyrology. It includes the unusually lengthy notice of Pope Calixtus I on fol. 36v (14 October) and the emphasis on the burial of Pope Julius I *ad SANCTA MARIA trans tiberim* on fol. 15r (12 April).[97] Most important, the entry for 22 May records the dedication of Santa Maria in Trastevere »by the hand of Pope Alexander, with four bishops, two cardinals, and all the Lateran *scholae*.«[98] Egidi mistakenly published this notice as part of the marginal Necrology, which led him to identify the pope as Alexander III (1159–1181).[99] The notice is not a marginal addition but part of the eleventh-century text, which means that the pope was Alexander II. The entry has been partially abraded and crossed out, probably after the consecration was nullified by the demolition of the church in the twelfth century (fig. 353, top). The Martyrology identifies 25 March as the day of the Crucifixion, and 27 March as Easter.[100] The only years in the eleventh century when Easter fell on 27 March were 1065 and 1076.[101] Since Alexander II was dead in 1076, the consecration most likely was performed on 22 May 1065, two years after the reference to the archpriest Arnulfus and his clergy as canons. We can infer that the consecration and the making of the book containing the Aachen rules for canons were consequences of the reform of the community of canons that had developed at S. Maria in Trastevere in the 1030s.

In the 1060s, consecration could be occasioned by the reform or purification of the clergy or by the need to

Fig. 353: Notice of the dedication of S. Maria in Trastevere in 1065 (continued). London, British Library, Add. MS 14801, fol. 20r (photo © The British Library Board)

»reconcile« an altar upon which unclean priests had sacrificed.[102] It was not necessarily tied to new construction, and there is no indication of any rebuilding at S. Maria in Trastevere, though it is likely that the basilica was cleaned up and repaired. Roof tiles were acquired through a contract of 1075, in which the cardinal priest Falco and the second priest Urso exchange a house in Trastevere for half the income of an adjoining garden and one hundred *tegulae*.[103]

97 Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 15r: *Rome depositio [beati] iulii pape [qui sub constantio augusto arriano] filio constantini ix mensibus tribulationes et exilia perpessus [est]. post eius mortem cum magna gl(ori)a ad sua(m) sedem reuersus e(st). positu(m) ad SCA MARIA trans tiberi(m)*. The words in square brackets are additions and revisions by a twelfth-century hand.

98 Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fols. 19v–20: *Dedicatio basilice SCE MARIE trans tyberim per manum alexander pontificis et cum ep(iscop)i IIII. cardinalis II. scole lateranensis om(n)ibus*.

99 Necrologi (1908), p. 94.

100 Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 14: *hierosolima. d(omi)nus n(oste)r ihc xpc crucifixus e(st)*; *hierosolima. Resurrectio d(omi)ni n(ost)ri ihu xpi*. I am grateful to the late Thomas Waldman for alerting me to the importance of these entries.

101 A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History, ed. by C. R. Cheney, rev. by M. Jones, Cambridge 2000, repr. 2004, p. 166. My thanks to Brenda Bolton for her advice about dates.

102 L. I. Hamilton, Sexual Purity, »The Faithful,« and Religious Reform in Eleventh-Century Italy. Donatism Revisited, in: Augustine and Politics, ed. by J. Doody, K. L. Hughes, K. Paffenroth, Lanham MD/Boulder CO/New York/Toronto/Oxford 2005, pp. 237–259, esp. 247, 251 f.

103 Radiciotti (2010), p. 302: *Nos quidem Falcus, kardinalis venerabilis ecclesiae sanctae Mariae qui apellatur Calixti Transtiberim, et Iohannes qui vocatur Urso presbitero secondo eiusdem ecclesiae […] damus, donamus et irrevocabiliter tradimus […] domum terrineam, scandoliciam, tegulicia unam […] Pro eo quod recepimus a te ad eam vicem dimidium reditum terre*

Bonseniore, a creature of Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085) and ally of his successor Urban II (1088–1099), was named cardinal priest of S. Maria in Trastevere in or just before 1082.[104] Despite his alliance with the Gregorian party, a bequest of 1089 to the archpriest Bonfilius, acting on behalf of the basilica, is dated »in the time of the Lord Pope Clement III« (Wibert of Ravenna, 1084–1100).[105] The means of dating may reflect only the allegiance of the donor and/or the notary of the document, but it is possible that the canons too, like many Roman clergy, were aligned with Clement III rather than Gregory VII.[106]

Pope Calixtus II and the *titulus Calisti*

S. Maria in Trastevere came to new prominence during the pontificate of Calixtus II (1119–1124). According to Pandulph's biography, Calixtus was elected by a small number of cardinals at Cluny and owed his support in France and in Rome to the efforts of Petrus Petrileonis (Peter Pierleoni), cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano, and his father Petrus Leonis.[107] Calixtus rewarded their support by promoting Peter Pierleoni to the title of S. Maria in Trastevere on 12 June 1120.[108] Pierleoni retained the title until his own election to the papacy ten years later. In 1123, Calixtus granted to S. Maria in Trastevere the station on the Octave of the Nativity, which previously had been celebrated at S. Maria ad Martyres.[109] Calixtus celebrated it »with the assent, pleasure, and prayers of all the bishops, cardinals, deacons, and the entire Roman clergy,« and he decreed that future popes should solemnly celebrate the new station every year.[110] He reiterated that mandate on 7 June 1123 in a bull confirming the possessions of S. Maria in Trastevere with effusive professions of friendship for Cardinal Pierleoni.[111] It is unclear whether any of Calixtus's successors followed his injunction to celebrate the station themselves.[112]

Modern scholars have assumed that Calixtus's attention to S. Maria in Trastevere, and even the choice of his papal name, were motivated by his friendship with Pierleoni and by a desire to win support in Trastevere, across the river from the Pierleoni stronghold near the Theater of Marcellus.[113] Other motives may have played a role. The

vacantis cum ortuo suo post se et unum centenarium tegulae. Giustini (2001), p. 10; Montelli, Tecniche costruttive (2011), p. 64 n. 257bis. For Cardinal Falco see Hüls, Kardinäle (1977), p. 188.

104 Volpini (1970), pp. 368–371; Hüls, Kardinäle (1977), pp. 188 f. The last mention of him as cardinal priest is from 1095: Volpini (1970), p. 369.

105 Radiciotti (2010), p. 306: *Anno dominice incarnationis millesimo octuagesimo VIIII, tempore domini Clementis tertii papae et Henrici imperatoris […].*

106 On the clerical resistance to Gregory VII see Di Carpegena Falconieri, Clero (2002), p. 170.

107 LP 2, p. 322: *[…] domnum Petrum Leonis (nam iste nimium laboravit in verbo propter diaconum filium suum [Petrum] P. Leonis qui potissimum Franciae peregerat causam) […].* Stroll, Calixtus 2 (2004), pp. 65 f.

108 Stroll, Jewish Pope (1987), pp. 14 f.; Stroll, Calixtus 2 (2004), p. 147. Pierleoni's signature as cardinal deacon can be seen in Robert 1 (1891), plate following p. c.

109 Kirsch, Stationskirchen (1926), p. 241. S. Maria ad Martyres was given the station of Dominica de Rosa instead, possibly by Pope Innocent II: Liber Censuum 2, p. 157; S. de Blaauw, Das Pantheon als christlicher Tempel, in: Bild- und Formensprache der spätantiken Kunst. Hugo Brandenburg zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. by M. Jordan-Ruwe, U. Real (Boreas 17), Berlin 1994, pp. 13–26, esp. 15; Romano (2010), p. 148; E. Thunø, The Pantheon in the Middle Ages, in: The Pantheon from Antiquity to the Present, ed. by T. Marder, M. Wilson Jones, New York 2015, pp. 231–254, esp. 254.

110 Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 6: *Anno d(omi)nice incarn(ationis) mill. c. xxiii Indi(ction)e I data e(st) statio diei octavi natal(is) d(omi)ni eccl(esi)e s. MAR(IA) transtyberi(m) a d(omi)no romane eccl(esi)e pontifice CALIXTO. Et hoc assensu beneplacito p(re)cibusque o(mn)iu(m) ep(iscop)or(um) cardinaliu(m) diaconor(um) totiusque romani cleri. Qua(m) [stationem] ipse p(ri)mu(m) cu(m) p(rae)fatis d(omi)nis o(mn)ibusque lateranensib(us) scolis solle(m)pnit(er) et maxima romani p(opul)i turba circumdatus celebravit. Et ut de cet(er)o a romanis pontificib(us) annuati(m) sole(m)pni(te)r ageret p(r)ecipue mandavit.* Cf. Notae romanae (1866), p. 273; Stroll, Calixtus 2 (2004), p. 448.

111 Robert 2 (1891), p. 210: *dilecto filio PETRO, presbitero cardinali ecclesie Sancte Marie, [que] Callixti tituli nuncupatur […] illis tamen personis, que nostro lateri specialiori familiaritate adherent […] propensiori nos convenit affectionis studio imminere. Tuis igitur, carissime in Christo fili PETRE cardinalis presbiter, justis petitionibus benignitate debita imparcientes assensum […].*

112 The Golden Legend identifies 1 January as the feast of the Circumcision and says that the station was in the Sancta Sanctorum: Iacopo da Varazze 1 (1998), p. 129; cf. Cecchelli (1933?), pp. 27 f. Calixtus's bull was confirmed by Pope Benedict XII in 1340 with only the list of possessions: ASV, Reg. Vat. 128, fols. 218v–219; Kehr (1900), p. 136; Radiciotti (2010), p. 283, n. 19.

113 B.-U. Hergemöller, Die Geschichte der Papstnamen, Münster 1980, pp. 69 f. On the friendship: Stroll, Calixtus 2 (2004), p. 447. The seventeenth-century explanation of Calixtus's papal name, quoted by Stroll (p. 63 n. 25), is manifestly incorrect.

bull of 1123 emphasizes Calixtus's reverence for his namesake.[114] He seems to have had a particular interest in the Madonna della Clemenza, perhaps because in his day, the anonymous pope kneeling at the Virgin's left foot was thought to be Calixtus I.[115] Calixtus II had a copy of the icon painted in the apse of the Chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran Palace.[116] He added his own portrait in the favored position on the Virgin's right.[117]

The ancient *titulus Calisti* was arguably the first church in Rome. This must have been a factor in Calixtus II' s decision to make it the station church for the Octave of the Nativity. As the site of the portent that announced Christ's birth in Rome even before it happened in Bethlehem, S. Maria in Trastevere might even have claimed the station on Christmas day, but that station had been celebrated for centuries at St. Peter's, with a midnight Mass at S. Maria Maggiore.[118] The station on the Octave was the next best thing.

Purported patronage of Cardinal Pierleoni

Several scholars have speculated that Peter Pierleoni, whether as titular cardinal (1120–1130) or pope (Anacletus II, 1130–1138), initiated the rebuilding of S. Maria in Trastevere. Alison Perchuk took this position to an extreme, claiming that the second basilica is entirely the work of Pierleoni and was appropriated by Innocent II, who only added the apse mosaic.[119] Her argument leans on an observation by Elizabeth Lipsmeyer, that the miniature church held by the pope in the mosaic shows the apse end of the basilica rather than the entrance, contrary to Roman tradition (fig. 354).[120] Lipsmeyer remarked that »the model stresses the large apse for which Innocent II had commissioned his elaborate mosaic«; from this, Perchuk extrapolated her thesis that the mosaic was Innocent' s only contribution.[121] She did not take account of the watercolor copy of the mosaic by Antonio Eclissi in Vat. Barb. lat. 4404 (1640), which appears to show a tall door and a round window rather than an apse (fig. 355).[122] In this it differs from the preliminary sketch in the British Royal Collection, which depicts the odd configuration seen today: two sides of a prism with no indication of masonry, and a roof.[123] Both drawings seem to reflect the grotesque restoration of Innocent's portrait, as both show the resulting tilt of his head and what looks like a strangely ruffled amice. The restoration has been tentatively ascribed to the late sixteenth century.[124] It is possible that it affected the model as well as the face, and that Eclissi first sketched the building as he saw it, and changed his final watercolor to show a more plausible view. In any case, he seems to have been skeptical of this feature as he found it.

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114 Robert 2 (1891), p. 211: *Ob majorem preterea vestre ecclesie dignitatem et beatissimi CALLIXTI pape et martiris reverentiam, cujus sacro corpore idem locus habetur insignis et cujus nomine nos, licet indigni, ejus successores fungimur, preter illas duas stationes, quarum unum infra quadragesimam et aliam in proxima dominica post festivitatem ipsius beati CALLIXTI habetur, terciam stationem in Dominice nativitatis octavis, a nobis solemniter institutam, vobis deinceps per nostram nostrorumque successorum presentiam celebrandam concedimus.*

115 Bertelli (1961), pp. 23, 101 n. 54; Kinney (2024), pp. 215–217.

116 Osborne/Claridge, Antiquity 1 (1996), pp. 108–117; Romano, Riforma (2006), pp. 290–293. The icon was also reproduced over the tomb of Calixtus II' s *camerarius* Alfanus in the porch of S. Maria in Cosmedin: Romano, Riforma (2006), p. 256.

117 A long-standing theory of Duchesne posits that the kneeling pope on the Virgin's left was not the pope in the icon but Anacletus II, shown as sponsor of the painting in the apse: Duchesne (1889). The argument rests on the author's own emendation of conflicting records of a lost verse inscription; despite the near tautology, it has enjoyed remarkable success; e. g., Nilgen, Maria Regina (1981), pp. 3–7, 24; Bloch, Monte Cassino 2 (1986), pp. 964–966; Herklotz, Beratungsräume (1989), pp. 212–214; Stroll, Symbols (1991), pp. 132–149; Johrendt (2012), pp. 136–142; de Blaauw, Kirchenbau (2014), pp. 132 f., 145 f.; Claussen, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), p. 624 n. 28. I think it is very unlikely that Innocent II would have allowed an image commissioned by Anacletus II to survive with »geringfügigen Retuschen« in the heart of the Lateran Palace; for the full argument see Kinney (2024), pp. 206–209; for the quoted phrase see Johrendt (2012), p. 156.

118 Liber Censuum 2, pp. 145 f.; Romano (2010), pp. 144 f.

119 Locke Perchuk, Schismatic (2016), pp. 204–210; Perchuk (2018), p. 45. Riccioni (2021) p. 69 misunderstood U. Nilgen to have said that the original iconography of the apse was the work of Pierleoni, altered by Innocent II. Nilgen was clear that the mosaic, like the entire building, originated with Innocent II. Nilgen, Maria Regina (1981), pp. 24–30; Nilgen, Texte (1996), pp. 161 f.

120 Lipsmeyer (1981), p. 178.

121 Lipsmeyer (1981), p. 178; Locke Perchuk, Schismatic (2016), pp. 208 f.

122 BAV, Barb. lat. 4404, fol. 18r.

123 Royal Collection Trust, inv.no. RCIN 908946; Osborne/Claridge, Antiquity 1 (1996), pp. 238 f., fig. 100.

124 Croisier, in: Romano, Riforma (2006), p. 311.

Fig. 354: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, apse mosaic, Pope Innocent II offering the basilica (photo Darby 2023)

Fig. 355: Antonio Eclissi, apse mosaic of S. Maria in Trastevere, detail, Pope Innocent II, 1640. BAV, Vat. lat. 4404, fol. 18r (photo BAV).

Perchuk took Lipsmeyer's observation out of context. Lipsmeyer showed that elsewhere in twelfth-century Europe the apse-forward view was common, especially in France.[125] She traced the change of perspective to Byzantine influence on Ottonian art, exemplified by the exquisite ivory plaque showing Emperor Otto I presenting the cathedral of Magdeburg to Christ.[126] In the ivory the Lord acknowledges the gift by touching the apse with his fingers, which suggests that one reason for depicting the apse rather than the entrance side of the model was to make the holiest part of the building visible to its recipient.

In light of Lipsmeyer's study, several alternative explanations for Innocent II's apse-forward model might be proposed. One is that the mosaicist followed a Byzantinizing convention he had learned elsewhere; in this respect it may be significant that the model held by Desiderius of Montecassino in the apse of Sant' Angelo in Formis, though it displays the façade, is held with its apse toward the archangel on the central axis.[127] Another possibility is that the iconographer desired to highlight the model's apse because the real apse of the new basilica is unusual, with a

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125   Lipsmeyer (1981), pp. 162–181.
126   https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/41.100.157/ [02. 20. 2019]. Lipsmeyer (1981), pp. 142–144.
127   O. Morisani, Gli affreschi di Sant' Angelo in Formis, Naples 1962, p. 20 fig. 16. This manner of holding the model previously occurred in Rome in the Cappella di S. Venanzio.

decorative blind pilaster arcade that makes it effectively a western façade (fig. 383), while the eastern façade may not yet have been finished.

Sible de Blaauw's carefully considered review of the evidence for Pierleoni's patronage as pope also found a place for S. Maria in Trastevere.[128] De Blaauw concluded that Innocent II and his publicists (notably Cardinal Boso, his biographer for the Liber pontificalis) appropriated architectural interventions by the Pierleoni pope at St. Paul's basilica, the Lateran Cathedral, and S. Maria in Trastevere as a means of erasing his memory. In the case of S. Maria in Trastevere, de Blaauw found it »more plausible« that the basilica was planned and begun by Pierleoni, and finished and decorated by Innocent II, than that Innocent was its true founder.[129]

Parts of de Blaauw's argument are persuasive. Nicola Camerlenghi argued convincingly that the dividing wall in the transept of S. Paolo, credited to Innocent II by Boso, actually was built by Anacletus II.[130] The repair of the roof of the Lateran Cathedral with beams provided by the »glorious and mighty King Roger of Sicily« is as likely to have been the work of Anacletus, who enjoyed Roger's support throughout his papacy, as of Innocent.[131] Yet Innocent certainly made repairs elsewhere. Lead roof tiles with his stamp were found at St. Peter's in the seventeenth century.[132] In 1908 two bricks with his stamp were discovered in the zone called Prati Fiscali near the via Nomentana, leading Giuseppe Gatti to suggest that Innocent also repaired the roof of Sant' Agnese.[133]

De Blaauw's argument for Anacletus as builder of S. Maria in Trastevere, like Perchuk's, rests primarily on an intuitive sense of what Pierleoni might have done as pope (or cardinal), and on the conviction that official histories written under Innocent II suppressed or dissembled Anacletus's accomplishments.[134] Certainly Boso is a tendentious source, but his attribution of the new basilica to Innocent II is far from the only testimony to his authorship.[135] The Necrology of S. Maria in Trastevere in Add MS 14801 records the deaths of two deacons, Saxo (24 April) and Leo (10 August), »in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1141, in the fourth indiction, when the church was being built« (*quando edificabatur ecclesia*).[136] There is no reason to think that the canon who wrote these notices was a propagandist for Innocent II. On the contrary, the clergy and people of Rome strongly supported Pierleoni.[137] This was notably true in Trastevere, even though Innocent himself was »trasteverino.«[138]

Unquestionably, during the 18 years in which he was either cardinal of S. Maria in Trastevere or pope, Peter Pierleoni may have repaired, improved, or embellished the old basilica. He certainly issued a privilege for its clergy, giving them a portion of the properties taken from S. Stefano Rotondo in the Forum Boarium. The possessions were restored and the privilege rescinded by Innocent II in 1140.[139] Innocent also rebuilt the fourth-century church.

128 De Blaauw, Kirchenbau (2014).
129 De Blaauw, Kirchenbau (2014), p. 148.
130 Camerlenghi, Splitting (2013), pp. 130–133; Camerlenghi, St. Paul's (2018), pp. 153–156.
131 Descriptio Lateranensis, pp. 348 f.: *Hic renovavit tectum huius basilicae, propriis expensis, novis trabibus, quas gloriosus et potens Roggerius, Siciliae rex, praecibus suis eidem ecclesiae transmisit.* Kinney, Patronage (2016), pp. 354, 362 f.
132 Gatti (1909), p. 110; Grimaldi, Descrizione (1972), p. 135; De Blaauw, Cultus 2 (1994), p. 635.
133 Notizie degli scavi dell' antichità 5, 1908, pp. 244 f. n. 1; Gatti (1909), pp. 110–112; G. Gatti, Notizie di recenti ritrovamenti di antichità in Roma e nel suburbio, in: Bull. Com. 37, 1909, pp. 113–145, esp. 143.
134 To be fair, I too once suggested on much the same basis that »it is not at all impossible that [Anacletus II] planned to rebuild S. Maria, his old *titulus*, himself, and that he had collected the *spolia* for that project but was prevented […] from carrying it out.« Kinney, S. Maria in Trastevere (1975), p. 323. See also Krautheimer, Rome (1980), p. 163; followed by Parlato/Romano, Roma (2001), pp. 63 f.
135 On Boso see K. Görich, S. Pongratz, Papstgeschichtsschreibung im Zeichen des Schismas. Die Papstviten des Kardinals Boso, in: Das Buch der Päpste. Liber Pontificalis. Ein Schlüsseldokument europäischer Geschichte, ed. by K. Herbers, M. Simperl, Freiburg/Basel/Vienna 2020, pp. 381–398.
136 Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 16: *Ann(o) d(ominicae) incarnationis M. c.xli° Indic(tione) IIII Q(ua)n(do) edificabat(ur) eccl(esi)a Sasso diacon(us) obiit*; fol. 29: *Anno d(ominicae) i(n)carnation(is) MCXLI Indic(tione) IIII^ta q(u)a(n)do edificabat(ur) eccl(esia) Leo diaconus obiit.* Necrologi (1908), pp. 92, 96.
137 Johrendt (2012), pp. 134 f., 146 f.; Doran (2016).
138 On the independence of the secular clergy from the papal administration, see Di Carpegna Falconieri, Clero (2002), pp. 109–127.
139 Bull of 27 October 1140: *Sane illud priuilegium quod a Petro Petri Leonis scismatico clerici sancte Marie in Cosmydyn et clerici beatissime dei genitricis uirginis Marie Transtiberim matris nostre de possessionibus iam prephate ecclesie [s. Stephani] dicitur suscepisse, omnino infringimus et euacuamus atque in irritum perpetuo ducimus.* Kehr (1900), pp. 166 f. The S. Stefano in question was the quondam temple of Hercules near S. Maria in Cosmedin; Kinney (2007), pp. 251 f.

The material, documentary, and circumstantial evidence for his authorship of the second basilica, reviewed below, is overwhelming.

The public reason for replacing the church, as stated in the dedicatory inscription in the apse mosaic, was that the 800-year-old building was »about to collapse.«[140] Though a cliché of such inscriptions, the claim could well have been true. No doubt the pope had unstated motives as well. If the old church did contain material traces of the antipope, he would have been glad to obliterate them. There would have been a precedent for this kind of »Spurenbeseitigung« in the demolition and replacement of the ancient basilica of S. Clemente thirty years earlier, if recent scholarship is correct that its rebuilding was intended to efface the work of adherents of the antipope Clement III.[141] Claudia Bolgia proposed another motive: competition with the newly rebuilt church of S. Maria in Capitolio, which stood on the site of Emperor Augustus's vision of the *ara coeli*, a portent that threatened the primacy of the *fons olei*.[142]

Pope Innocent II: the Second Basilica

Cardinal Pierleoni of S. Maria in Trastevere and Cardinal Deacon Gregory of Sant' Angelo were elected pope on the same night, 14 February 1130. Six days later Pierleoni was consecrated as Anacletus II at St. Peter's, and Gregory was consecrated as Innocent II (1130–1143) in the Frangipane stronghold of S. Maria Nova.[143] Anacletus had by far the stronger hand in Rome. Innocent's attempt to take refuge in his father's house in Trastevere was a failure, and he soon fled Rome for Pisa and points north.[144] His exile lasted for more than half his papacy, while Pierleoni ruled in Rome.

Innocent used his exile to assert his legitimacy throughout Europe. He was immediately accepted by influential French churchmen, including Abbots Suger of St-Denis, Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable of Cluny, and numerous powerful archbishops, as well as by King Louis VI.[145] In March 1131 at Liège, the German king Lothar III honored him by holding the reins of his horse (the *officium stratoris*).[146] Innocent re-entered Italy in April 1132, and supported by the army of King Lothar, he entered Rome a year later.[147] Taking up residence in the papal palace at the Lateran, he crowned Lothar emperor of the Romans on 4 June 1133, an event he later commemorated in a wall painting inside the palace.[148] The Romans themselves remained hostile, however, and pope and emperor quickly retreated. From November 1133 through February 1137 Innocent resided in Pisa, where he held a major council in 1135 that established his authority north of Rome.[149] He returned to Rome on 1 November 1137. Anacletus, his power already weakened, died soon afterward on 25 January 1138.[150] His remaining adherents elected the aged Cardinal Gregory of SS. Apostoli as his successor (Pope Victor IV), but Innocent quickly bought off his allies and the antipope relinquished his pontifical regalia to Bernard of Clairvaux.[151] On the Octave of Pentecost (29 May 1138) Victor IV, his clerical followers, and members of the Pierleoni family prostrated themselves at Innocent's feet and swore loyalty to him, apparently expecting clemency.[152]

140   MOLES RVITVRA VETVS FORET.
141   Pace, Riforma (2007), pp. 57 f.; L. Yawn, Clement's New Clothes. The Destruction of Old S. Clemente in Rome, the Eleventh-Century Frescoes, and the Cult of (Anti)Pope Clement III, in: Reti Medievali Rivista, 13, 2012, no. 1, pp. 175–208, URL: http://rivista.retimedievali.it [06. 06. 2018]; followed by Wickham, Rome (2015), pp. 356 f. »Spurenbeseitigung«: Johrendt (2012), p. 157.
142   Bolgia, Reclaiming (2017), p. 131. Cf. Mondini, p. 25 in this volume.
143   Di Carpegna Falconieri (2004); Doran (2016), pp. 5–7, 13 f.
144   Di Carpegna Falconieri (2004); Doran (2016), pp. 14 f. Tillmann (1972), p. 333 located the family residence in front of the Porta Portese; similarly Vendittelli (2015).
145   Dinzelbacher (1998), pp. 132–138; Di Carpegna Falconieri (2004); Johrendt (2012); P. Montaubin, Innocent II and Capetian France, in: Pope Innocent II (2016), pp. 107–151, esp. 112–115.
146   I. S. Robinson, Innocent II and the Empire, in: Pope Innocent II (2016), pp. 27–68, esp. 54–58.
147   Jaffé, Regesta 1 (1888), pp. 856–859; Di Carpegna Falconieri (2004).
148   Doran (2016), pp. 18–20; Kinney, Patronage (2016), pp. 381–384.
149   Jaffé, Regesta 1 (1888), pp. 861–874; Brett/Somerville (2016), p. 235.
150   Jaffé, Regesta 1 (1888), p. 877 no. 7856; Di Carpegna Falconieri (2004); Doran (2016), pp. 20 f.
151   Vita prima sancti Bernardi Claraevallis abbatis, ed. by P. Verdeyen (Corpus Christianorum, continuatio medievalis 89 B), Turnhout 2011, vol. 2.47, p. 123; Di Carpegna Falconieri (2000).
152   Di Carpegna Falconieri (2000); Doran (2016), p. 21.

The schism was formally concluded by an ecumenical council convened at the Lateran on 3 April 1139, which was attended by hundreds of prelates from all over Europe.[153] Innocent opened the council by excoriating the false pope Anacletus, declaring »whatever he set up we pull down, whomever he promoted we demote, everyone he consecrated we degrade and depose.«[154] He called the bishops who had been loyal to Anacletus to come forward, seized their croziers, ripped off their pallia, and took their rings.[155] This ruthless spectacle was regarded as excessive even by some of the pope's allies.[156] The final canon issued by the council rendered null and void all of Anacletus's ordinances and those of »other schismatics and heretics.«[157] Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres was sent to Aquitaine (where the cardinal legates Gerard of Angoulême and Egidio of Tusculum had been loyal to Anacletus), and there he personally destroyed all the altars consecrated during the schism; »not leaving a stone upon a stone […], he levelled them all the way to the ground, and as reason dictated, took care to rebuild other altars in their place.«[158]

»Several« altars in Rome had been consecrated by Anacletus, according to Baronius, who saw inscriptions recording the consecrations in the seventeenth century. He destroyed all of them except one in the porch of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, which commemorates the consecration of that church and the deposition of relics in its main altar in 1130.[159] Displayed in the porch at least since 1588, when it was noted with disapproval by Ugonio, the inscribed stone is broken into two unequal pieces and its edges are chipped all around, perhaps reflecting an unceremonious removal from its original location.[160] The plaque's whereabouts between 1138 and 1588 is unknown; it could have spent time lying face-down in reuse. In any event, the survival of this or any other inscription stone does not guarantee that the altar itself was spared.

S. Maria in Capitolio is a more complicated case. It was the church of a Benedictine monastery upon which Anacletus II conferred ownership of the entire Capitoline hill.[161] Since the eighth century the church had been associated with a legendary altar established by the emperor Augustus in honor of the son of God.[162] According to the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, the twelfth-century church stood on the site of the emperor's vision of such an altar.[163] The Augustan altar authorized the claim, inscribed on the thirteenth-century confessio, that S. Maria in Capitolio was »the first of all [churches] founded in the world« (*cunctarum prima que fuit orbe sita*).[164] Fourteenth-century

153 Estimates of the attendance range from 500 to 1,000: Foreville (1970), p. 99; Brett/Somerville (2016), p. 239. On the Council see Foreville (1970), pp. 98–119; Concilium Lateranense II (2013), pp. 97–101.

154 Chronicle of Morigny, III.3, in: Morigny (1912), p. 74: *Unde quia inordinate persone inordinata sunt decreta, quodcumque ille statuerat destruimus, quoscumque exaltaverat degradamus, et quotquot consecraverat exordinamus et deponimus*; transl. by Cusimano (2003), p. 137; cf. Schoenig (2016), p. 311.

155 Chronicle of Morigny, III.4, in: Morigny (1912), p. 74: *His dictis, singulos quos reos cognoverat, propriis nominibus exprimens, eisque cum indignacione et jurgio exprobans, pastorales baculos de manibus violenter arripuit, et pontificalia pallia, in quibus summa dignitas consistit, de humeris verecondose abstraxit, ipsos quoque anulos, in quibus ad ipsos pertinens ecclesie desponsacio exprimitur, sine respectu misericordie abstulit*; transl. by Cusimano (2003), p. 139. Foreville (1970), p. 105 (»einer peinlichen Szene«); Schoenig (2016), p. 311.

156 Bernard of Clairvaux, Epistola 213, in: PL 182, col. 378; transl. by Foreville (1970), p. 220; Dinzelbacher (1998), pp. 208 f.; Di Carpegna Falconieri (2004).

157 Concilium Lateranense II (2013), p. 113: *Ad haec ordinationes factas a Petro Leonis et aliis schismaticis et haereticis evacuamus et irritas esse censemus.*

158 Chronicle of Morigny, III.4, in: Morigny (1912), pp. 74 f.: *omnem Gallie regionem, ipsius quoque Aquitanie, studiose circumiens, omnia sanctarum ecclesiarum altaria, que vel Girardus ille sedicionis auctor et obtentor, vel Gilo Tusculanensis episcopus, aut eorum conplices xrismalis unctionis benedicione, in illius odiosi scismatis tempore consecraverant, propriis manibus dissipavit, nec relinquens lapidem super lapidem, quem non destrueret, solo funditus adequavit, et racione dictante, alia eorum loco restaurare curavit*; transl. by Cusimano (2003), p. 139.

159 Baronius, Annales ecclesiastici (1607), quoted by Holst Blennow, Inscriptions (2011), pp. 95 f. n. 195. Mondini, in: Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), pp. 280–282; de Blaauw, Kirchenbau (2014), pp. 146 f.

160 Mondini, in: Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), pp. 282 n. 83, 294 n. 136. Holst Blennow (2011), p. 92, opined that the right edge of the stone was already damaged when the inscription was carved.

161 Bull of 1130–1134, quoted by Malmstrom, S. Maria in Aracoeli (1973), p. 269; Stroll, Symbols (1991), p. 150 n. 3; Bolgia, Reclaiming (2017), p. 28 n. 26. For discussion see Malmstrom, pp. 15 f.; Stroll, pp. 150 f.; Bolgia, pp. 28–34; Mondini, in this volume, p. 19.

162 Bolgia, Reclaiming (2017), p. 26; Mondini, in this volume, p. 16–18.

163 Mirabilia Urbis Romae, in: Valentini/Zucchetti, Codice 3 (1946), pp. 28 f.; quoted by Bolgia, Reclaiming (2017), p. 35 n. 71.

164 Stroll, Symbols (1991), p. 156; Bolgia, Reclaiming (2017), p. 22. Stroll, pp. 155–157 took the confessio to be the twelfth-century altar; corrected by Bolgia, pp. 132–136.

sources state that the altar was consecrated by Pope Anacletus I.[165] The author of a sixteenth-century *passio* of Sts. Abundius and Abundantius argued that the consecrator could not have been Anacletus I, but must have been Anacletus II.[166] This argument was endorsed in modern times by Mary Stroll.[167] Claudia Bolgia went further, attributing not only the altar but the entire twelfth-century church to Anacletus II.[168]

The altar of S. Maria in Capitolio is not the usual stone or masonry block, but a porphyry trough containing the relics of Sts. Abundius and Abundantius and, in a different container, part of the jaw of St. Helena.[169] Helena's relics were brought to the abbey of Hautvillers near Reims in the 840s, but a Roman source claimed that they were rescued from her sarcophagus on the via Labicana in the time of Pope Innocent II, and brought »into the City.«[170] Bolgia maintained that the sarcophagus and the relics were installed in S. Maria in Capitolio by Anacletus II, although she also stated that the translation was »completed« by Innocent II.[171] Mondini proposes that the sarcophagus was brought to the church by Innocent II, along with the relics of St. Helena.[172] If we accept that Anacletus II was indeed the founder of the twelfth-century church, the scenario most consistent with Innocent's actions elsewhere is this: Anacletus consecrated the altar with relics of Sts. Abundius and Abundantius. Innocent II destroyed that altar (reserving the relics) and replaced it with the sarcophagus, consecrating it with relics of St. Helena. Alternatively, if Innocent found the sarcophagus already in place, he preserved it for the sake of its antiquity and material, and simply reconsecrated it with new relics. Perhaps the monks resisted his actions, as the memory of the original consecration never died out.

At S. Maria in Trastevere, Innocent built an entirely new church. The obits of Saxo and Leo are explicit.[173] The mention of the circumstances of their demise (*quando edificabatur ecclesia*) is unique in the Necrology, and raises a suspicion that their deaths were construction-related. Construction would have been followed by decoration. The contemporary Polyptych of Benedict the Canon confirms that the church was rebuilt »from the foundation with new walls« and the apse was »decorated with gold« in Innocent's lifetime.[174] Still, according to an early thirteenth-century source, the project was unfinished when Innocent II died on 24 September 1143. He left funds for completing it to »a certain brother of his, the bishop of Sabina.«[175]

The identity of the brother/executor is uncertain. Agostino Oldoini claimed that the basilica was finished by Petrus de Papareschis, but he was cardinal bishop of Albano (1143–1146), and Brixius found no evidence that he was the pope's brother.[176] According to Bartoli, the work was left to Guido (de Papa?), but this must be a mistake, as Innocent is not known to have had a brother named Guido, nor was Guido cardinal bishop of Sabina.[177] Schimmelpfennig identified the executor as the basilica's titular cardinal Gregory (1140–1155), who was indeed bishop of Sabina but not until 1154, and was of a different family from Innocent.[178] If, like Schimmelpfennig, we take »brother« metaphorically, the obvious candidate is the actual cardinal bishop of Sabina, Conrad of Suburra (bishop 1126–1153, Pope Anastasius IV 1153–1154). Conrad was Innocent's most faithful supporter, to whom the

165   Bolgia, Reclaiming (2017), p. 129; Mondini, in this volume, p. 99.
166   Quoted by Stroll, Symbols (1991), pp. 159 f. n. 30; cf. Panciroli, Tesori (1625), p. 69.
167   Stroll, Symbols (1991), pp. 150–161.
168   Bolgia, Reclaiming (2017), pp. 61–64; followed by Mondini, in this volume, p. 20.
169   Bolgia, Reclaiming (2017), pp. 127 f.
170   *Quidam religiosi […] caput & grossiora ossa inde leuantes in Vrbem intulerunt*; quoted by Aringhus (1651), p. 39. Cf. Geary (1990), p. 152; Bolgia, Reclaiming (2017), pp. 127 f.
171   Bolgia, Reclaiming (2017), pp. 128–132, 144.
172   Mondini, in this volume, pp. 86 f., 94 f.
173   See above, n. 136.
174   Liber Censuum 2, p. 169: *Innocentius papa II dominus meus […] ecclesiam sancte Marie trans Tiberim novis muris funditus restauravit et absidam ejus aureis metallis decoravit.*
175   Legenda in consecratione, fol. 151v, quoted below, n. 202.
176   Ciacconio, Vitae 1 (1677), col. 1002: *PETRVS de Papareschis Romanus, germanus frater Innocentij Secundi ab eodem electus est Episcopus Cardinalis Albanensis anno nostrae salutis 1142. Is absoluit S. Mariae Transtiberim Basilicam, quam Innocentius restaurare coepit, & eiusdem Pontificis corpus in eadem Basilica intra maiorem portam sepeliuit Inscriptione […]*; followed by Parlato/Romano, Roma (2001), p. 63. See Brixius (1912), pp. 45 no. 36, 93 n. 75.
177   Bartoli (2017), p. 84; cf. Di Carpegna Falconieri (2004); Vendittelli (2015). Guido was a common name among the de Papa after Innocent's papacy; see Tillmann (1975), pp. 389 f.
178   Brixius (1912), p. 42 no. 14; Zenker, Kardinalkollegium (1964), pp. 51, 56; Tillmann (1972), pp. 343 f.; Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 138.

Fig. 356: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, cinerary chest with heads of Jupiter Ammon, 1st century (photo Kinney 2023)
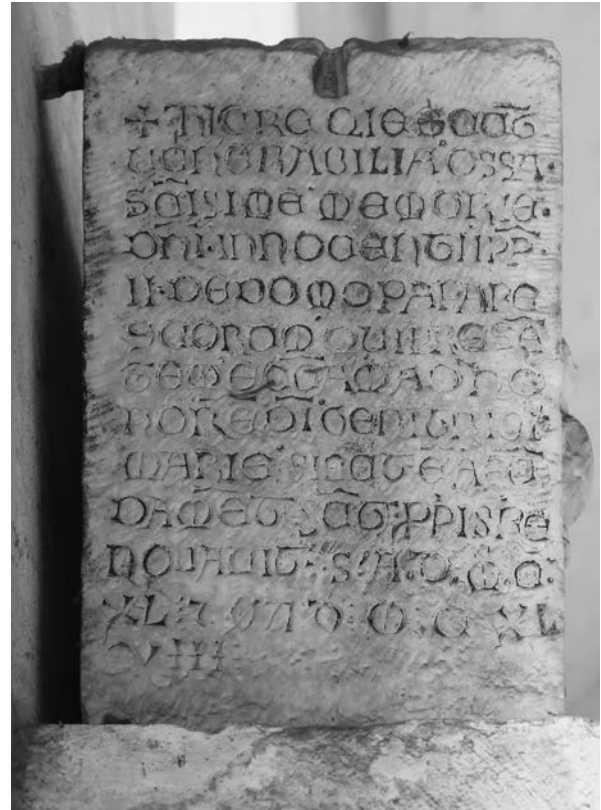

Fig. 357: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, cinerary chest with heads of Jupiter Ammon, rear side with 14th-century inscription (photo Kinney 2023)

pope might well have entrusted the completion of his church.[179] Cardinal Gregory might have assisted him as overseer of the work force.

The use of the pope's own funds (*sumptibus propriis*) is corroborated by the inscription on an ancient cinerary chest that was used to house Innocent's remains after they were transferred to S. Maria in Trastevere from the Lateran Cathedral, where his porphyry sarcophagus was destroyed by fire in 1361.[180] The marble chest is decorated on the front with heads of Jupiter Ammon supporting a garland of fruit, a Gorgon's head above the garland, erotes dancing below it, and eagles in the lower corners (fig. 356). It is a canonical type of funerary altar datable to the last third of the first century CE.[181] The original dedicatory inscription was chiseled away, and the rear was planed smooth to receive a new inscription in Gothic script (fig. 357). At some point the altar was inserted into the wall of the north aisle, leaving only the inscription exposed.[182]

179 Brixius (1912), p. 36 no. 26 and pp. 78 f. no. 24; R. Manselli, Anastasio IV, in: EP, 2000, URL: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/anastasio-iv_%28Enciclopedia-dei-Papi%29/ [08. 03. 2019].

180 Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler 2 (1994), pp. 117–119 no. 35; Claussen, Kirchen, S. Giovanni (2008), p. 35; Kinney, Patronage (2016), pp. 373 f.

181 Boschung (1987), pp. 22–27; cf. pl. 18 nos. 657, 658b, p. 21 no. 667a, etc. The left side is decorated with a laurel tree and a pitcher; the right side is against the wall and cannot be seen. I am grateful to Ann Kuttner and Brian Rose for their expert advice about this altar.

182 Ugonio, Stationi (1588), pp. 137v–138: »Di questo Papa ne è vna memoria con l'arme sua in vn marmo che è nel muro à man destra nell'entrar della chiesa, con vna inscrittione sotto che malamente si può leggere.« Alveri, Della Roma (1664), vol. 2, pp. 335 f., quoted a transcription of the Gothic script from 1657. Similarly Moretti, Miscellanea. The altar was transferred to the porch by Vespignani. Valorosi (2), no. 348: »posto in opera un' antico modiglione in due pezzi […] e sul medesimo allettato in gesso un cippetto antico […].«

According to the inscription, Innocent II »renewed the present church … from the foundations with his own funds in the year of our Lord 1140 and he died in the year of our Lord 1148.«[183] The reference to »the present church« indicates that the inscription was composed at S. Maria in Trastevere. The date 1140 would refer to the commencement of the work and is consistent with the notices in the Necrology that the basilica »was being built« in 1141. 1148 is likely a mistake (MCXLVIII for MCXLIII), though it has been taken as the year of the basilica's completion.[184]

The fourteenth-century funerary inscription probably reflects its author's knowledge of a history of S. Maria in Trastevere written for the canons a century before, called *Legenda in consecratione sancte Marie trans Tiberim lecta ex diversis ystoriarum libris*. It is known from a ten-page insertion into the fourth of a four-volume Legendary compiled for S. Maria in Trastevere around 1200. All four volumes are now in the Vatican Library (BAV, Vat. lat. 1194, 1193, 1191, 10999).[185] The *Legenda* contains a detailed account of how Pope Innocent III was persuaded to consecrate the basilica in 1215. Its author claims to have heard the story »often« from the basilica's titular cardinal Guido de Papa (1191–1221), who was of the family of Innocent II.[186] Bernhard Schimmelpfennig inferred that the text was written by a canon of S. Maria in Trastevere not long after Cardinal Guido's death.[187] Marco Bartoli argued that it was commissioned by Pope Innocent III himself at the time of the consecration.[188]

The *Legenda in consecratione* must be taken with a grain of salt. It was written 80-plus years after the death of Innocent II by someone who relied on collective memory and the testimony of Cardinal Guido de Papa, whom it shows in a wholly positive light. Doubtless the narrative is slanted to the Papareschi version of events, especially as regards the pope's virtues and personality. Nevertheless, the dates and the broad outlines of the construction of S. Maria in Trastevere are corroborated by other sources. The »Legenda« is history as the canons knew it; it was written to be recited annually on the anniversary of the consecration.

The »Legenda« begins by situating S. Maria in Trastevere in the grand sweep of providential history. It opens with a few Old Testament types of the Virgin Mary and proceeds to the *taberna meritoria*, the portents of the *ara coeli* and the *fons olei*, the birth of Christ in the time of Caesar Octavian, the sufferings of Mary upon Christ's death, the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian, Christ's love of Rome and Rome's preeminence as seat of the popes, Pope Calixtus I's construction of a small church in the *taberna meritoria*, the rebuilding of that church by Pope Gregory III (sic), Gregory IV's foundation of a monastery (»a vestige of which is seen to this day«) and his creation of a *praesepium* in the likeness of that at S. Maria Maggiore.[189]

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183   Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 338 no. 1036: + HIC REQVIESCV(N)T VENERABILIA OSSA S(AN)C(T)IS(S)IME MEM-
      ORIE D(OMI)NI INNOCENTII P(A)P(E) II. DE DOMO PAPARESCORVM QVI PRESE(N)TEM ECC(LESI)AM AD
      HONORE(M) D(E)I GENITRICIS MARIE SICVT E(ST) A FV(N)DAME(N)T(IS) SV(MP)T(IBVS) P(RO)P(RI)IS RE-
      NOVAVIT S(VB) A(NNO) D(OMINI) M⁰. C⁰: XL 7 Ø A(NNO) D(OMINI) M: CXL VIII; Riccioni (2021), pp. 43 f. Forcella
      mistakenly dated the inscription 1148. The inscription was copied by Eclissi: Royal Collection Trust, inv.no. RCIN 909038,
      a preliminary sketch for BAV, Barb. lat. 4404, fol. 9; see Osborne/Claridge, Antiquity 1 (1996), pp. 234 f.
184   Cecchelli (1933?), p. 36.
185   Borino (1955), pp. 309–314; Garrison, Studies 4 (1960–62), pp. 277–283; F. Dolbeau, Notes sur deux collections hagio-
      graphiques conservées à la Bibliothèque Vaticane, in: Mél. Éc. Franç, Moyen âge, temps modernes 87, 1975, no. 2, pp. 397–
      417, esp. 398–407; C. Vircillo Franklin, Roman Hagiography and Roman Legendaries, in: Roma nell' alto medioevo, Setti-
      mane di Studio del CISAM 48, Spoleto 2001, vol. 2, pp. 857–891, esp. 872–875, 882 f., 886–891; Bartoli (2017), pp. 85 f.
186   Legenda in consecratione, fol. 152v: *sicut ab eodem sepe audivi*. Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 139; Bartoli (2017), p. 109.
      Di Carpegna Falconieri, Clero (2002), p. 127 n. 92; Bolton (2005), pp. 173 f. On Cardinal Guido: Tillmann (1975), pp. 389 f.;
      Maleczek, Kardinalskolleg (1984), pp. 64, 99–101. He was promoted to bishop of Palestrina in 1206 but continued to hold
      the title of S. Maria in Trastevere until his death. He was commemorated in the basilica's Necrology: Martyrologium, Brit-
      ish Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 7 (at 10 January): *†d(omi)n(u)s g(uido) p(re)nestin(us) ep(iscopu)s q(ui) fec(it) co(n)secrari
      hanc eccl(esi)am et reliq(ui)t […] (red)ditu(m) p(ro) festo annuati(m) faciendo p(ro) cui aniuersario soll […]*; Necrologi
      (1908), p. 89.
187   Schimmelpfennig (1992), pp. 457, 460.
188   Bartoli (2017), pp. 87–90, the entire text on pp. 91–110; substantial excerpts with commentary by Schimmelpfennig, Jesus
      (1998).
189   Legenda in consecratione, fol. 150v: *Cuius monasterii vestigium usque in odiernum diem apparet*; Schimmelpfennig, Jesus
      (1998), p. 134; Bartoli (2017), p. 106. On these preliminary chapters see Schimmelpfennig (1999/2000), pp. 40 f.

The lengthy section *De Innocentio papa secundo* begins with a comparison of Innocent II to the Biblical David, who had to contend with Saul for his kingship and was unable to build a temple to the Lord until his enemies had been overcome.[190] Innocent too prevailed over enemies (the schismatics) and obtained spiritual and temporal power in Rome. Securely established, the pope wondered how he could repay God for his favor. It came to him that he should renovate S. Maria in Trastevere, »devoured by age«: »Therefore, in the tenth year of his pontificate [1140] he had it entirely destroyed, and, as was befitting the glorious Virgin Mary Mother of God and becoming the honor of the papacy, he adorned it with a very strong new building and with glorious columns and glorious capitals. He had a pavement of precious stones laid down that is so marvelous and skillful that, as it is seen, there is hardly anything like it of tiny stones. He was moved by such love and desire for the building he had begun that, laying aside all selfishness, he showed himself bountiful in this work beyond what anyone could believe.«[191] The author continues his paean to the building (»the more one looks at it, the more beautiful it appears«), opining that Christ himself could have been the pope's collaborator and artist.[192] He then recounts the discovery of a bell »where the foundations of the *titulus* were laid« and the earth was wet with oil.[193]

The narrative moves on to the finding of the bodies of Calixtus, Cornelius, Julius, and Calepodius and the addition of the body of St. Quirinus, »which at that time they brought from the catacomb.«[194] The translation of St. Quirinus is corroborated by a medieval addition to the saint's late antique *passio*, according to which the remains of the bishop of Siscia (Sisak in Croatia), preserved since the fifth century in the so-called Platonia attached to the basilica of S. Sebastiano, were rediscovered when Innocent II was building S. Maria in Trastevere.[195] The pope ordered that the body be translated to his new church, where »with hymns and prayers they hid it in the main altar.«[196] Perhaps the tomb was found by suppliers of materials for the new basilica, as the many partial funerary inscriptions taken from the pavement by Vespignani suggest that the builders scavenged in the catacombs for marble.[197]

The »Legenda« continues with the renovation of the *praesepium*: »He renovated the *praesepium*, which had been in it of old, and with the greatest honor and reverence and a large crowd of people he consecrated the venerable altar in it on the Feast of the Purification of Blessed Mary, where he granted an indulgence of forty days and absolution for those who come faithfully each year.«[198] The duplication of *in ea* (= in it) creates an ambiguity

190 Legenda in consecratione, fol. 150v; Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 136; Schimmelpfennig (1999/2000), p. 41; Bartoli (2017), p. 106.

191 Legenda in consecratione, fol. 151: *Cum itaque gloriosus presul et spirituali et temporali esse preditus potestate et utrumque regimen in pace possideret [...] cepit cogitare in corde suo, quid retribuerit domino pro omnibus, que ipse retribuerat ei. Incidit bonum in corde suo consilium, videlicet ut construeret templum domino. Erat tunc temporis beate Marie virginis fabrica tota vetustate consumpta. Intellexit enim venerandus presul hanc ecclesiam sibi dominum renovandam reservasse. Igitur decimo anno sui pontificatus eam ex toto dirui fecit et, sicut conveniebat gloriose virgini Marie dei genitrici et decebat honorem papalem, eam gloriosis columpnis et capitellis gloriosis et firmissimis fabricis decoravit. Pavimentum etiam tam mirificum et artificiosum ex pretiosis lapidibus sterni fecit, quod, sicut cernitur, vix ei simile de minutis lapidibus invenitur. Tanto enim amore ac desiderio erga opus quod ceperat movebatur, quod, deposita omni avaritia, se largum ultra quam credi potest, in hoc opere exiberet.* Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 136; Bartoli (2017), p. 107.

192 Legenda in consecratione, fol. 151: *quod opus, quanto plus inspicitur, tanto amplius pulcrius apparet [...] Credendum sane est, quod [...] Christus filius dei vivi cohoperator et artifex huius extiterit domus.* Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 136; Bartoli (2017), p. 107.

193 Quoted above, nn. 74, 75.

194 Legenda in consecratione, fol. 151v: *quibus [Calixtus et al.] corpus beati Quirini episcopi et martiris additum est, quod tunc temporis de catacumba adduxerunt*; Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 137; Bartoli (2017), p. 108.

195 On the site: Bertolino (1994), pp. 185 f.; Nieddu (2009), pp. 249–254, 406–411.

196 AASS Iunii, I, die 4, p. 383: *tempore Innocentii II Papae S. Mariae trans Tiberim fundentis olei fundatoris, quando eadem Ecclesia fabricabatur, eodem Spiritu Sancto inspirante, consilio & mandato ejusdem Pontificis ac totius Romanae Ecclesiae Clerici S. Mariae cum magna reverentia levaverunt pretiosissimum Corpus gloriosissimi Quirini Episcopi & Martyris, de eodem loco: quod cum timore Dei detulerunt in praedictam Ecclesiam S. Mariae trans Tiberim, ac cum hymnis, & orationibus, in majori altari ejusdem ecclesiae recondiderunt.* Boldetti (1720), pp. 97 f.; Nieddu (2009), pp. 254–256. The translation is also mentioned in the Lectionary of S. Maria in Trastevere: Garrison, Studies 4 (1960–62), p. 281.

197 Cf. below, n. 827.

198 Legenda in consecratione, fol. 151v: *Renovavit etiam presepium, quod antiquitus in ea fuerat, et cum maximo honore et reverentia et magna populorum caterva venerandum altare in ea collocatum in festo purificationis beate Marie consecravit, ubi quadraginta dierum indulgentiam et remissionem annuatim devote venientibus concessit*; Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 137; Bartoli (2017), p. 108.

regarding the identity of this altar. In its first use the phrase clearly refers to the basilica (the *praesepium* was »in it«); in the second it should refer to the *praesepium* (the altar »in it«), but *ea* is the wrong gender. Schimmelpfennig solved the problem by breaking the passage into two sentences after »crowd of people.«[199] At the price of creating an incomplete sentence, his emendation implies that the altar *in ea* was in the basilica, i. e., it was the main altar. Canon Pietro Moretti, who transcribed the text in the eighteenth century, interpreted the passage differently. Noting that Innocent III consecrated the main altar, he reasoned that Innocent II must have consecrated the altar of the *praesepium*.[200] It would have been contrary to canon law to consecrate the main altar a second time.[201]

After an enumeration of the pope's gifts to the altar, the *Legenda* concludes with the notice that the pope died before his work was finished: »Like the prophet David, to whom it was said, as he was eager to build the temple and was preparing the materials, »You will not build my temple,« so [Innocent], though he began it, was not permitted to see this church completed. And just as [David] left the funds for making the temple to his son, so [Innocent] left the means to complete the church to a certain brother of his, the bishop of Sabina, who completed the church as it stands.«[202]

To sum up, according to the *Legenda in consecratione*, S. Maria in Trastevere was built almost entirely in the years 1140 to 1143. The pope did not live to consecrate the building, but he consecrated an altar on 2 February, the Feast of the Purification of Mary, presumably in 1143. The text is ambiguous about which altar this was, but Moretti's caution about assuming that it was the main altar is valid. The independent account of a deposition of relics of St. Quirinus in the main altar does not necessarily imply a consecration. Earlier in the century at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, the altar was opened repeatedly for the insertion of new relics before its consecration occurred.[203]

Pope Innocent III: consecration and the *fons olei*

After concluding the section on Innocent II, the author of the *Legenda in consecratione* provided a first-hand account of how Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) came to consecrate S. Maria in Trastevere on the first Sunday of the Fourth Lateran Council, 15 November 1215. The impetus for the consecration is attributed to Cardinal Guido.[204] Unable to find any evidence that Innocent II's church had been consecrated, Guido was told by a voice that the time for the consecration had come. He proposed the idea to the canons on the vigil of the Feast of St. Calixtus (13 October), and the canons in turn convened the whole *populus* of Trastevere on the following Sunday to discuss it. The people consented, and the clergy, the cavalry, and the foot soldiers went to see the pope that afternoon.[205]

199   Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 137, followed by Bartoli (2017), p. 108.

200   Moretti, in: BAV, Vat. lat. 8429, fol. 164v: *obserua Innocentium II Basilicae Restauratorem uoluisse consecrare aliquod Altare absque Ecclesiae dedicatione, sed elegisse Altare Praesepij, non uero Maius*; fol. 165: *Vide non disiunge consecrationem Maioris Altaris ab Ecclesiae totius consecratione.*

201   Decretum Gratiani, III.i.19, in: Corpus (1879), col. 1299: *Si motum fuerit altare, denuo consecretur ecclesia; si parietes mutantur, et non altare, salibus tantum exorcizetur.* III.i. 20: *Ecclesiis semel Deo consecratis non debet iterum consecratio adhiberi […].* Kuttner/García y García (1964), p. 144; dismissed by Schimmelpfennig (1992), p. 464, and implicitly by Ladner, Papstbildnisse 3 (1984), p. 118.

202   Legenda in consecratione, fol. 151v: *Ob reverentiam enim beate virginis Marie optulit dona, calicem videlicet aureum pensantem libras duas cum pretiosis gemmis et duas vestes super altare, quatuor planetas, tres pluviales et duas dalmaticas et unam tunicam et tapeta tria. Cum autem ad consummationem operis sanctissimus presul omnino intenderet et hanc ecclesiam proponeret magnis honoribus et muneribus ditare et honorifice consecrare, quarto decimo presulatus sui anno feliciter migravit ad dominum securus de dei misericordia, qui beatam Mariam virginem merito apud dominum habet adiutatricem. Qui sicut David propheta, cum anelaret ad faciendum templum et inpensas pararet, dictum est ei, »non edificabis michi templum,« sic et, cum incepisset, completam videre hanc ecclesiam non est permissus. Et sicut ille pro templo faciendo reliquit expensas filio suo, sic iste pro ecclesia complenda impensas cuidam suo fratri Sabinensi episcopo reliquit qui, sicut stat, ecclesiam complevit.* Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 137; Bartoli (2017), p. 108.

203   Mondini, in: Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), pp. 278–280, 291–295.

204   Legenda in consecratione, fol. 152: *Eo itaque tempore curam et administrationem huius venerande ecclesie reverendus gerebat Guido Penestrinus episcopus […] qui hanc ecclesiam fere per triginta annos rexit.* Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 139; Bartoli (2017), p. 109; Di Carpegna Falconieri, Clero (2002), p. 124 n. 83.

205   Legenda in consecratione, fol. 152v: *Congregatis itaque omnibus clericis, militibus, peditibus, cum maxima exultatione papam adierunt.* Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 140; Bartoli (2017), p. 110. On the meaning of *milites* and *pedites* see Wickham, Rome (2015), pp. 260–266.

Brenda Bolton remarked that they may not have had to go very far, as there was a station at S. Maria in Trastevere on the Sunday following the feast of St. Calixtus.[206] The »eloquentissimus« Iacobus Iohannis Crassi pled their case *ornate*, and the pope made the memorable reply, »It is the work of the Lord that you have requested the consecration of this church, and it is wondrous in our eyes, that Innocent [II] made the body, Innocent [III] will instill the soul.«[207] He added, »it is proper that the place in which the Lord deigned to show the sign of the oil at the time of his birth should be honored by all men.«[208] The *Legenda* breaks off at this point, due to the loss of at least a page when the Legendary was rebound in the eighteenth century.[209] Moretti published an abridged version of the conclusion before it was lost. It states that the pope duly performed the consecration with a great crowd of people and the illustrious attendees of the council, and he consecrated the main altar in honor of the Virgin Mary.[210]

While the anecdotes of the *Legenda* may seem frivolous, Schimmelpfennig showed that they conform to canon law. The consultation of Cardinal Guido with the canons, of the canons with the people, and of the canons and people with the pope illustrates the principle that bishops should not consecrate churches without the consent of their clerical community.[211] The narrative also complies with what we know about how and why consecrations were performed. Consecrations could be long delayed and opportunistic. In this case, the pope desired a spectacle that would impress the many hundreds of prelates at his council.[212] Guido de Papa, as a member of the curia, would have been privy to the planning for the council and could have proposed the consecration of S. Maria in Trastevere as just such an event.[213] Innocent III' s embrace of the idea is not surprising. Schimmelpfennig argued that the pope must have been »horrified« that the basilica remained unconsecrated after half a century.[214] Another consideration was the presence of the *fons olei*. In an age of dawning skepticism, Innocent III accepted the oil well as an authentic miracle; he had cited it in a sermon on the Nativity as one of the »new signs« marking the birth of Christ.[215]

Innocent' s sermon influenced the Golden Legend of Jacobus da Varagine (ca. 1260): »At Rome, as attested by Orosius and Pope Innocent III, a fountain of water was changed to a flow of oil and bursting forth it ran to the Tiber and gushed out abundantly for that entire day, and in that place now is S. Maria in Trastevere. For the Sibyl had prophesied that when a fountain of oil erupted the savior would be born.«[216] This is a new version

206 Bolton (2005), p. 175; contra Schimmelpfennig (1999/2000), p. 43. I do not know the source of Bolton's claim that the station was established before 587. To my knowledge, the first notice of it is in a late eleventh-/early twelfth-century Gospel book from S. Maria in Trastevere, now BL, Add MS 6156: Alexander (1985), p. 193; see also the Bull of Calixtus II quoted in n. 114. It is not known that this station was celebrated in the thirteenth century.

207 Legenda in consecratione, fol. 152v: *Quo audiens sanctissimus papa tale fertur primo dedisse responsum, »A domino factum est istud, quod vos illius ecclesie consecrationem petistis, et est mirabile in oculis nostris, quia Innocentius fecit corpus, Innocentius immittet animam.«* Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 140; Bolton (2005), pp. 175 f.; Bartoli (2017), p. 110. The death of the canon Iohannes Crassus, presumably the orator's father, is recorded in the basilica's Necrology: Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 37 (at 20 October): *Joh(anne)s crassus f(rate)r n(oste)r obiit.* Necrologi (1908), pp. 100 f.; Schimmelpfennig (1992), p. 466.

208 Legenda in consecratione, fol. 152v: *Dignum est, ut ille locus ab omnibus hominibus honoretur, in quo dominus signum olei tempore sue nativitatis dignatus est demonstrare.* Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 140; Bartoli (2017), p. 110.

209 Schimmelpfennig (1992), p. 456; Schimmelpfennig (1999/2000), pp. 39 f.

210 Moretti (1741), p. 382: *Tandem rebus omnibus ad consecrationem studiose, diligenterque praeparatis, idem gloriosus Pontifex in magna populi, illustriumque virorum, qui ad Concilium ex universi Orbis christiani partibus confluxerant, praesentia basilicam hanc decimaquinta die mensis Novembris maxima cum solemnitate consecravit [...] Altare quoque majus, sub quo Sanctorum Calixti, Cornelii, Julii, Calepodii, & Quirini corpora requiescunt, consecravit in honorem B. Mariae Virginis Genitricis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui vivit, & regnat &c.* Schimmelpfennig, Jesus (1998), p. 140; Bartoli (2017), p. 110.

211 Schimmelpfennig (1992), p. 467. Schimmelpfennig (1999/2000), p. 42 notes that the participation of the people was unique.

212 Bolton (1991), pp. 61 f.

213 On the planning: Bolton (1991).

214 Schimmelpfennig (1999/2000), p. 43.

215 Innocentius III, Sermo II in Nativitate, PL 217, col. 457; Bolton (2005), pp. 157–160, 169–177; Bolgia, Reclaiming (2017), p. 34.

216 Iacopo da Varazze 1 (1998), pp. 68 f.: *Nam in ipsa nocte obscuritas aeris in claritatem diei uersa est. Rome etiam, ut testatur Orosius et Innocentius papa tertius, fons aque in liquorem olei uersus est et erumpens usque in Tyberim profluit et tota die illa largissime emanauit et ibi est modo Sancta Maria trans Tyberim. Prophetauerat enim Sibylla quod quando erumperet fons olei nasceretur saluator.*

Fig. 358: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, Nativity mosaic, Pietro Cavallini, ca. 1295–1300 (photo Scala/Art Resource, New York)

of the story. The Sibyl is a contamination from the legend of the *ara coeli*, which was mentioned together with the *fons olei* in Pope Innocent III's Nativity sermon and in the *Legenda in consecratione*.[217] The oil well begins as a fountain of water, and the sign occurs on the day of Christ's birth, not years before it as in Orosius. There is no mention of the *taberna meritoria*.

The Fourth Lateran Council has been called »the largest and most comprehensive assembly of the ecclesiastical hierarchy ever held in the Middle Ages.«[218] The consecration of S. Maria in Trastevere is concomitantly the most renowned and probably the best-attended event in its history. A first-hand account of the procession to the church is preserved in a manuscript now in Giessen. It describes the rich garments, the music, and the decoration of the streets and alleys of Traste-

vere, but nothing is said about the consecration itself except that it lasted almost all day and the author could not recount it all in order.[219] Perhaps he did not see all of it, as the throng of prelates and delegates that nearly filled the Lateran Cathedral could not have fit into S. Maria in Trastevere, which is only about one-quarter as large.[220] Many of those who processed to the church must have had to remain outside.

Bertoldo Stefaneschi: mosaics

At the end of the thirteenth century, Bertoldo Stefaneschi (fl. 1277–1280) commissioned a suite of six scenes from the Life of Mary to go under the conch mosaic in the apse (fig. 488). His iconographer incorporated the new version of the story of the *fons olei* into the scene of the Nativity, where the oil well appears directly below the Virgin lying on her pallet (fig. 358). The oil runs into a river – the Tiber – from which the shepherds' flock is drinking, visually conflating Bethlehem with Rome. The source of the well is a little building labeled TABERNA MERITORIA. Below the image, the last line of a three-line metric inscription states that the oil well came »from here.«[221] »Here« refers both to the building depicted in the mosaic and to S. Maria in Trastevere, as according to Bertoldo's brother Cardinal Giacomo Gaetani Stefaneschi, S. Maria in Trastevere and the *taberna meritoria* were the same.[222]

217 The coupling probably grew out of Orosius' pairing of the *fons olei* with a »circle of light like a rainbow« around the sun: Opelt (1961), p. 48.

218 J. M. Powell, Innocent III and the Crusade, in: Innocent III. Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?, ed. by J. M. Powell, 2nd ed., Washington, D. C. 1994, pp. 121–134, esp. 128; cf. Moore (2003), p. 229: »the largest peaceful invasion that Christian Rome had ever seen.«

219 Universitätsbibliothek Gießen, Hs 1105, fols. 59–59v; URL: http://digisam.ub.uni-giessen.de/ubg-ihd-hm/content/pageview/576919 [19. 03. 2019]. Kuttner/García y García (1964), pp. 125, 143–146; Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), transl. by C. Fasolt, in: Medieval Europe, ed. by J. Kirshner, K. F. Morrison (University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization 4), Chicago/London 1986, pp. 369–376, esp. 371 f.; Bolton (2005), pp. 169 f.

220 For the Lateran, a rough calculation of floor space based on the dimensions given by Krautheimer, CBCR 5 (1977), p. 73, is over 4100 m² in the nave and aisles, compared with 950 m² at S. Maria in Trastevere.

221 HINCQ(VE) CLEI [sic] SCATVRIRE LIQVAMINA TYBRIM.

222 Iacopo Stefaneschi (2001), pp. 8–10.

The donor appears in a seventh panel below the narratives (fig. 359).[223] Identified by his family coat of arms and the inscription BERTOLDO FILIVS PET(RI), Bertoldo is dressed as a layman in a long blue robe under a mauve coat, with a white cap. One of eight children born to Pietro Stefaneschi and Perna Orsini, Bertoldo was a chamberlain (*domicellus*) of Pope Nicholas III (1277–1280), also an Orsini.[224] His mother was the pope's niece. The pope himself took an interest in S. Maria in Trastevere and its clergy, bequeathing them ivory and silver images *ad figuras* and 50 florins to observe the anniversary of his death.[225] The *dominus M[atheus] Rubeus* who left a generous bequest of over one thousand florins (»not yet paid«) and four gold-woven vestments was probably another Orsini, Perna's brother Cardinal Matteo Rosso Orsini († 1305), who had S. Maria in Trastevere *in commendam* in the 1270s.[226] Bertoldo himself left a more modest sum for his own commemoration.[227] He was buried in

Fig. 359: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, portrait of Bertoldo Stefaneschi, Pietro Cavallini, ca. 1295–1300 (photo Kinney 2017)

the basilica under an engraved marble slab that is now in the pavement of the transept, but was once in the north aisle near the Cappella del Presepio.[228] Scholars have speculated that the mosaic containing his portrait was added to the frieze of Marian panels after his death.[229] The year of his death is unknown.

Façade mosaics

Around the time of Bertoldo's contribution to the mosaic decoration in the apse, the canons completed a lengthy campaign to add mosaic to the façade. Their work seems to have been confined to the cavetto, as there is no evidence of mosaic elsewhere. The earliest view of the façade, by Girolamo Franzini, confirms this (fig. 360). Modern research has shown that the canons' mosaic was executed in three phases: (A) the central image comprising the Virgo lactans, two devotees, and four female saints; (B) three additional females on the right (north) side of this

223 Romano, Apogeo (2017), pp. 171–182.
224 Navone (1878), pp. 231–237; Ragionieri (1981), pp. 452 f.; Carocci, Baroni (1993), pp. 426 f., 430.
225 Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 30v (at 22 August): *Ob. d(omi)n(u)s Nicolaus pp. iij de domo ursinor(um) q(ui) rel(iquit) flor. L. et duas imagines una(m) de ebhor(e) et alia(m) de ar(g)ento ad figuras q(uae) nu(n)c su(n)t i(n) sacristia n(ost)ra pro ei(us) aniuersario.* Necrologi (1908), p. 97.
226 Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 32 (at 4 September): *Ob. d(omi)n(u)s M(atheus) rubeus q(ui) rel(iquit) M. et Vᵉ flor. qui no(n)du(m) soluti su(n)t et param(en)ta p(re)tiosa que nu(n)c (su)nt i(n) sac(ri)st(i)a n(ost)ra et I dossale I talmatica(m) I tunicella(m) I pluuiale o(mn)ia co(n)testa de auro p(er) totu(m) p(ro) ei(us) aniu(er)sario.* Necrologi (1908), p. 99; Menichella (1980), pp. 53 f.
227 Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 39v (at 6 November): *Ob. B(ertoldus) d(omi)ni p(e)tri steph(an)i q(ui) fec(it) fier(i) totum opus musaycu(m) de b(ea)ta vi(r)g(ine) i(n) tribuna n(ost)ra. p(ro) ei(us) aniuersar(io) soll.* Necrologi (1908), p. 101.
228 Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 338 no. 1038: HIC IACET BE(R)TOLDVS FILIVS DNI PETRI STEPHANI D(E) FILIIS STEPHANI. Alveri, Della Roma 2 (1664), p. 340; De Benedictis (1976), pp. 964 f.
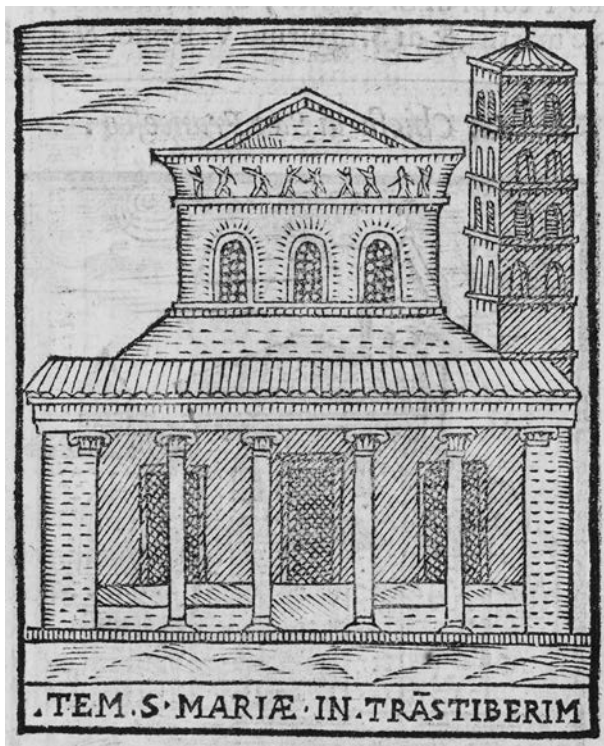229 See below, n. 941.

Fig. 360: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, view of façade, Girolamo Franzini, 1588 (photo BHR)

image; and (C) three more females on the left (south) (figs. 533–535, 538).[230] Stylistic differences indicate that the phases may have spanned several decades. Only the latest one, C, can be tied to a written document, an obit in the basilica's Necrology naming the priest B. de Malpiliis, »our canon, who sponsored three mosaic images of virgins above the doors.«[231] The handwriting of the notice is attributable to the fourteenth century.

Fifteenth-century renewal: choirs, sacristy, and the *fons olei*

The return of the papacy to Rome after the Council of Constance was followed by a long campaign of repair and reform of Roman churches. At S. Maria in Trastevere the campaign was begun by Cardinal Gabriele Condulmer (1426–1431; Pope Eugenius IV, 1431–1447), whose brother Leonardo was buried in the basilica in 1429.[232] Condulmer refurbished a palace adjoining the church and resided there even after his elevation to the papacy.[233]

According to Giannozzo Manetti's biography of Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455), the pope's vast plan to renovate Rome included restoring the 40 station churches »with repairs and construction.«[234] S. Maria in Trastevere is named among the churches restored.

Vasari attributed the restorations of all 40 churches to the pope's architect Bernardo Rossellino (1409–1464) and the attribution has been perpetuated in modern histories of S. Maria in Trastevere.[235] Specialists have shown repeatedly that it is false; Rossellino can be credited only with the restorations of S. Stefano Rotondo and S. Teodoro.[236]

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230 Oakeshott, Mosaics (1967), pp. 245 f.; confirmed by Cantone (1992).

231 Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 26 (at 15 July): *Ob. p(res)b(yte)r B. de malpiliis can(onicus) n(oste)r q(ui) fec(it) fieri tres ymagines musaycas ui(r)ginu(m) sup(ra) portas. Et rel(iquit) Bacile de a(r)ge(n)to p(ro) ei(us) aniu(er)sario soll.* Necrologi (1908), p. 95. Queijo, in: Romano, Il Duecento (2012), pp. 75 f. The Malpili family is documented from the late twelfth through the mid-fourteenth century: M. Vendittelli, La Famiglia Curtabraca. Contributo alla storia della nobiltà romana del Duecento, in: Mél. Éc. Franç., Moyen Âge 101, 1989, no. 1, pp. 177–272, esp. 208, 230 f.; Schmitz, Cavallini (2013), p. 59 n. 162. They were clients of the Orsini: Rehberg, Kirche und Macht (1999), p. 314.

232 Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 342 no. 1049; Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler 1 (1981), p. 225 no. XLI,7. Almost wholly abraded, the tomb stone is in the pavement in front of the door in the south wall of the porch.

233 Chartularium, BAV, Vat. lat. 8051, pt. 1, fol. 98: *palatium nostre residentie videlicet sancte Marie Transtiberim.* Tomei (1977), p. 35. The palace existed at least by 1398: A. Esch, Tre sante ed il loro ambiente sociale a Roma. S. Francesca Romana, S. Brigida di Svezia e S. Caterina da Siena, in: Atti del Simposio Internazionale Cateriniano-Bernardiniano, Siena 1980, ed. by D. Maffei, P. Nardi, Siena 1982, pp. 89–120, esp. 105.

234 Smith/O'Connor (2006), p. 388: *Cunctas sanctarum stationum edes carie ac vetustate pene consumptas pontifex […] egregie reparare ac reformare decreverat atque hoc ipsum reformandi et reparandi officium in plurimis minoribus sanctae Mariae trans Tiberim […] plurimumque aliarum huiusmodi basilicarum […] reparationibus constructionibusque incoavit.* Translation on p. 389.

235 Vasari, Vite, hg. Bettarini/Barocchi 3 (1971), p. 394: »Così restaurò S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Prassedia, S. Teodoro, S. Piero in Vincula, e molte altre delle minori […].«

236 Tomei (1977), pp. 103–105; C. R. Mack, Nicholas the Fifth and the Rebuilding of Rome. Reality and Legacy, in: Light on the Eternal City. Observations and Discoveries in the Art and Architecture of Rome, ed. by H. Hager, S. S. Munshower (Papers in Art History from The Pennsylvania State University 2), University Park PA 1987, pp. 29–56, esp. 32–34; F. Caglioti, Bernardo Rossellino a Roma, vol. 2: Tra Giannozzo Manetti e Giorgio Vasari, in: Prospettiva 65, 1992, pp. 31–44, esp. 34; O. Brunetti, R. Pagliaro, Bernardo Rossellino tra Roma e Firenze, in: Architettura in Toscana tra '400 e '500 = QUA.S.A.R. 13–14, 1995, pp. 5–35, esp. 21, 33–35.

There is no evidence that he worked at S. Maria in Trastevere. This is not to say that Nicholas V did not sponsor any more or less significant repairs to the basilica; he may well have completed a campaign begun by Eugene IV, who donated 100 ducats to repair the porch and the campanile.[237] One of these two popes may have been responsible for the groin vaults said by some to have covered the aisles.[238]

Condulmer's successor in the title of S. Maria in Trastevere, Cardinal Gerardo Landriani Capitani (1440–1445), issued rules for the canons in 1441.[239] The rules mention a choir, which canons were forbidden to leave during Mass.[240] Documents from the 1460s and 1470s mention two choirs, an upper and a lower one.[241] In 1477 a new wooden choir near the main altar was commissioned by Cardinal Stefano Nardini (1476–1484); it was to have inlaid and carved decoration on the model of the choir in S. Maria Maggiore, but »better and more beautiful.«[242] From contracts for the repair of a broken lead roof dated 1467 and 1474, Mariafilomena Martucci inferred that Nardini's choir replaced a previous one that had been ruined by leaking water.[243] The wooden choir would have been the »upper« one, while the lower choir presumably was the twelfth-century schola cantorum in the nave. The last mention of the *chorus inferioris* is in a contract of 1478, when Nardini's new choir was half complete.[244] The term *chorus superioris* continued to be used until 1484.[245] Subsequent documents refer simply to the *chorus*, as if there was only one.[246] If the disappearance of the schola cantorum from the written record indicates that it had been dismantled, its removal was not connected with the Council of Trent, as has been assumed. It was part of a fifteenth-century movement, traced by de Blaauw, to create a »navata libera« with no visual obstructions of the altar.[247]

Cardinal Nardini also built a sacristy, which probably contributed to the obsolescence of the schola cantorum. It replaced an earlier sacristy where the »curia of the Capitol« and many other witnesses attended the discovery of the head of St. Anastasius in 1408.[248] Nardini's sacristy stands against the south wall of the transept (fig. 440). It is a roughly rectangular room entered from the east through a door with a marble frame inscribed with Nardini's name and bearing his coat of arms.[249] A rectangular plaque above the door dates its construction to 1484.[250] The plaque clearly is not in its original position; nor is the door, which was moved from its previous place in the north wall of the sacristy in the sixteenth century.[251] Opening directly into the transept, the original doorway gave easy access to the choir behind the altar. The previous sacristy probably stood farther east, off the south aisle, to facilitate

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237 Müntz, Les arts 1 (1878), pp. 38, 50.
238 Friedel (1978), p. 94 n. 37 claimed to see the springers of a groin vault under the sixteenth-century barrel vault in the south aisle. Perhaps the same traces were seen by Luigi Rossini in the 1840s (fig. 521).
239 The rules presumably were part of Eugenius IV's program of reform, for which see L. von Pastor, The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages, ed. by F. I. Antrobus, 2nd ed., vol. 1, London 1899, pp. 356–358.
240 Chartularium, BAV, Vat. lat. 8051, pt. 2, fol. 8: *dum divina officia celebrantur nullus confabulare cum altero debeat aut de choro exire […].*
241 Liber II Instrumentorum, fol. 6: a contract of 1467 *Actum in choro inferiori*, quoted by Martucci (2003), p. 50 n. 7; fol. 20: an agreement of 1477 *Actum in choro superiori*, Martuccci, p. 51 n. 13. Further mentions of the *chorus superioris*: Liber II Instrumentorum, fols. 34 (1481), 47, 49, 50, 52v (1483), 56 (1484).
242 Martucci (2003), p. 50 n. 11, quoting Liber II Instrumentorum, fol. 19: *facere edificare et componere in suo […] loco […] et cum altare maius dicta ecclesia Sancta Maria unum chorum ligneum cum apporatorio, oratorio ad se traforatum tarsiatum relevatum et figuratum ut exemplo apparet in ecclesia Sancta Maria Maioris […] dictus chorus melioris et pulcrioris laboreris fabricit vel compositionis quam chorus situs in Sancte Marie Maioris.* Nardini's choir was in turn replaced by Cardinal Santorio di Santa Severina; below, n. 294.
243 Martucci (2003), pp. 45 f. and 50 nn. 7, 9, quoting Liber II Instrumentorum, fols. 6, 7v.
244 Liber II Instrumentorum, fol. 26, quoted by Martucci (2003), p. 51 n. 14.
245 Liber II Instrumentorum, fol. 56.
246 Liber II Instrumentorum, fol. 66v (1488): *Actu(m) in choro dict(a)e eccl(esia)e.*
247 De Blaauw (2006), pp. 43–46.
248 Diario (1917), p. 32: *invenimus ibi [Sancte Marie Transtiberim] totam curiam Capidolii […] isti domini Capidolii cum dicto populo iverunt ad sacristiam supradicte ecclesie, et ibi franserunt unam cassam, et in dicta cassa invenerunt pulcerrimum tabernachulum […] in quo tabernachulo stabat caput sancti Anastaxii martiris […].*
249 STE(PHANVS) NARDINVS CAR(DINALIS) MEDIOL(ANENSIS). Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 343 no. 1055. The sacristy was nearly demolished after 1891, when it was damaged by the explosion of the Monteverde gunpowder magazine. Arch. Aristide Leonori's request to replace it was denied by the Ministero della Istruzione Pubblica, which mandated that it be strengthened and repaired: ACSMT, Fabbriceria Basilica e Canonica, Armadio XI, Busta no. 3, Sagrestia Nardini e suoi restauri e locali annessi.
250 Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 343 no. 1054.
251 Martucci (2003), p. 47.

the liturgical processions through the nave for which the schola cantorum was designed. A move away from such processions may have occurred before the time of Cardinal Nardini, if Martucci is correct that his wooden upper choir replaced a pre-existing one.

The first recorded visits to the *fons olei* occurred around the same time as the likely removal of the schola cantorum. The coincidence is significant because the *fons olei* and the schola cantorum seem to have occupied the same space. Beginning with a German manuscript of 1448, pilgrim guides consistently describe the oil well as »on the ground,« at or near the main altar.[252] Since the pavement in front of the altar was occupied by the schola cantorum, early pilgrims would have had to obtain entrance to the choir to visit it (fig. 441). Eliminating the schola cantorum also gave freer access to the altar. In 1510 Pope Julius II granted a plenary indulgence to those who would recite the Lord's prayer in front of the altar seven times on the feast day of Pope Julius I.[253] The promulgation of the indulgence followed the discovery of the relics of Julius I in the altar by Cardinal Marco Vigerio della Rovere (1505–1511) and Julius II's subsequent celebration of Mass on the altar *magna populi frequentia*.[254]

Cardinal ab Altemps, the Council of Trent and the Madonna della Clemenza

Sources pertaining to the second basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere have almost nothing to say about the Madonna della Clemenza before the sixteenth century. This might be explained by Alessandro Zuccari's proposal that the icon was housed outside the basilica, in what later became the Oratorio di Maria Santissima Addolorata, an independent structure perpendicular to the north aisle (fig. 372).[255] In 1375, however, an image that »replied to the Romans that they would be safe because of the penance they had made,« which sounds like the Madonna della Clemenza, was inside the basilica »high above the door.«[256] Either the icon had left its external abode, or this was a temporary installation.

In the sixteenth century the icon was in a chapel of St. Stephen off the south aisle. Small (L ca. 3.4 × W 1.6 m) and »closed by iron grates,« the chapel went back at least to the fourteenth century.[257] It was inherited in 1545 by Pompeo Ruggieri, who held it until his death in 1591.[258] The icon, which may or may not have been in the chapel when Ruggieri inherited it, was known for performing miracles and for being »wont to hear the prayers of supplicants mildly (*clementer*) and to succor them.«[259] In 1578 Pope Gregory XIII assigned the image and its chapel to the confraternity of the Santissimo Sacramento, of which Ruggieri was a member.[260] In 1584 the canons approved

252 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. 16.1 Aug. quart, fol. 22r, and Mirabilia Romae vel potius Historia et descriptio urbis Romae, fol. 33v, quoted by Miedema, Rompilgerführer (2003), pp. 104, 260.

253 Chartularium, BAV, Vat. lat. 8051, pt. 2, fols. 47–48 (transcribed from Ughelli's Aggiunte to Ciacconius's Vitae et res gestae pontificum): *cupientes quod dictum altare in quo ossa eiusdem sancti [Julii] requiescunt congruis honoribus frequentetur […] omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Xpi fidelibus vere penitentibus et confessis qui in festo eiusdem sancti Julii […] devote visitaverint ac coram Altari maiori septies orationem dominicam recitaverint […] plenarium omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem […] concedimus.*

254 Chartularium, BAV, Vat. lat. 8051, pt. 2, fols. 46–47.

255 Maroni Lumbroso/Martini, Confraternite (1963), pp. 230 f.; Zuccari (2014).

256 Mirabilia Romae (1869), p. 60: *In sancta Maria Transtyberim […] ymago beate Virginis in alto supra hostium, que respondit Romanis, quod essent securi […] propter penitentiam quam egerunt.* Quoted from Vat. lat. 4265. Belting, Bild und Kult (1990), p. 599; Bolgia, Icons (2013), p. 122.

257 Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 22 (at 11 June): *Ob. p(res)b(yte)r a. palomelle can(onicus) n(oste)r q(ui) rel(iquit) t(er)ras s(an)c(t)i steph(an)i et fec(it) fieri capellam p(ro) ei(us) aniu(er)sario soll.* Necrologi (1908), p. 95. Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 265, quoting Avila (1581): *Sacellum clausum clatris ferreis, quod alias dicebatur S. Stephani, et nunc B.mae Virginis Mariae de Clementia*; Mallerini (1870), p. 64v: »È questo luogo ristretto a palmi 15 romani di latitudine con lo sfondo di palmi 7 […].«

258 S. Hoppe, Der Buon Governo des Pompeio Ruggieri. Die Fresken von Cherubino Alberti im Palazzo Ruggieri in Rom, Diss. Saarbrücken 2015, pp. 15 f., URL: https://publikationen.sulb.uni-saarland.de/handle/20.500.11880/23698 [29. 08. 2019]; Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 355 no. 1098.

259 Friedel (1978), p. 122, quoting a Breve of Pope Clement VIII (1593): *Cum(que) in dicta Basilica in medio illius sinistrae navis in quadam parva Capella non satis decenter asservaretur mirae devotionis antiquissima Imago gloriosissimae virginis Mariae de Clementia, quae supplicantibus preces clementer audire, illisq(ue) opitulari solet, et quamplura miracula Populo Romano ostendere dignata est […].* Two miracles are described by Ugonio, Stationi (1588), p. 139.

260 Moretti, De S. Callisto, pp. 270v–271v, quoting Avila (1581); C. Fanucci, Trattato di tutte l' opere pie dell' alma città di Roma, Rome 1601, p. 285; Miscellanea monumentorum, Bibl. Vallicelliana P.199, fols. 235 f.; Jurkowlaniec (2009), p. 70; Noreen (2016), p. 891.

Ruggieri's petition to rebuild the chapel on another site, unless the titular cardinal should wish to make a chapel of the Virgin for his own tomb.[261] Cardinal Marco Sittico ab Altemps (1580–1595) did wish to erect such a chapel. It was completed in 1589, and the icon was translated to it in 1593.[262] The chapel of St. Stephen remained where it was until it was suppressed by Vespignani, who put a new wall tomb for Pope Innocent II in its place.[263]

The decoration of the spectacular new chapel commemorates the Council of Trent, which Cardinal Altemps attended as a legate of Pope Pius IV in 1562.[264] Its construction was accompanied by a thorough overhaul of the plan and furnishings of the basilica informed by the »Instructions« of Carlo Borromeo (1577), especially concerning the placement and regularity of chapels.[265] Designed by Martino Longhi, the renovation is a turning point in the architectural history of S. Maria in Trastevere.[266] It eliminated many medieval features and altered others, and it inaugurated a series of further modernizations that progressively obscured the building's medieval appearance.

The Altemps renovation is well documented in the Altemps family archive.[267] Information about the state of the basilica before the renovation is contained in the report of an apostolic visit by Girolamo d' Avila in 1581.[268] Innovations are reflected on a ground plan in the Chapter archive, signed and labeled by Orazio Torriani (fig. 361).[269] The Altemps chapel appears on the south side of the apse. A matching chapel on the north side had yet to be built; this dates the plan before 1625, when the north chapel was begun.[270] Other features seem to represent an idealized projection of Longhi's design. In addition to the proposed chapel mirroring that of Cardinal Altemps, the plan shows four large chapels along the north aisle, when only the western two existed.[271] It includes some pre-Altemps elements, like the pairs of free-standing columns at the ends of each aisle, and features that never existed, including the doubled columns of the porch. It fails to show any difference in floor level between the aisles and the transept, although there were steps between them. Despite these discrepancies, Torriani's plan can serve as a rough illustration of how the medieval basilica was transformed by Longhi and Cardinal Altemps.

Avila described eleven altars.[272] Two were in the transept: an altar of Sts. James and Philip on the south side, erected by Cardinal Philippe d' Alençon (1378–1397) with his tomb above it; and an altar of Sts. Lawrence and Francis in the tomb of Cardinal Francesco Armellini (1523–1527) against the north wall. Five altars were in the south aisle, including the altar of the chapel of St. Stephen and one with a wooden image of the Crucifix between two columns of the south colonnade. The altar of the Archangel stood against the end wall of the aisle near the font. Four altars were in the north aisle: the altar of St. Peter »next to the minor entrance« at the west end; the altar of the adjoining chapel of St. Ursula, dark, humid, »more like a hole than a chapel«; the altar of the *praesepium* between the chapel of St. Ursula and the cemetery; and the altar of the cemetery in a chapel thought to have been constructed

261 Moretti, De S. Callisto, pp. 39v–40, quoting vol. 2 of the Atti capitolari: *13 Aprilis (dᵒ 1584). Ad petitionem nobilis v(iri) Pompeji Ruggieri fuit concessa capella, seu locus pro fabricanda illa, in qua reponi deberet imago B(eatissi)mae Virginis, modo illam sufficienter ornet et dotet. Vbi ille resolutionem fecerit, recurrendum erit ad Ill(ustrissi)mum Cardinalem, qui si voluerit fabricare ejusmodi Capellam B(eatissi)mae Virginis pro loco sepulturae suae, potius gratificandum esse Ill(ustrissi)mo Cardinali hac in parte ut Benefactori Ecclesiae, quam cuiquam alteri.* On the cardinal's interest in the icon: Jurkowlaniec (2009), pp. 72–74.

262 Friedel (1978), p. 122 no. 181 (Breve of Pope Clement VIII), no. 182, no. 183 (Diary of Master of Ceremonies Giovanni Paolo Mucante); Noreen (2016), p. 894.

263 Mallerini (1870), p. 64v.

264 B. Ulianich, Altemps, Marco Sittico, in: DBI, vol. 2 (1960), URL: https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marco-sittico-altemps_(Dizionario-Biografico)/ [20. 10. 2020]. On the decoration: Friedel (1978), pp. 107–114.

265 Franceschini (2020), p. 11.

266 Martino Longhi the Elder died in 1591; he was succeeded as architect of the project by his son Onorio. Friedel (1978), p. 92.

267 Most of the documentation was published by Friedel (1978), pp. 115–122.

268 Avila (1581); Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 263. Moretti transcribed the entire report.

269 Diagrammata, 2b, *Horatio Torriani Architetto*. Pen and blue wash on paper, L 96 × W 47 cm.

270 Diagrammata, 2b: *Capella da farsi nel modo del' altra*. Spear (1982), p. 278; R. Cantone, La Cappella della Strada Cupa in Santa Maria in Trastevere, in: Domenichino 1581–1641, ed. by R. E. Spear, Milan 1996(a), pp. 278–283, esp. 278. The plan may have been made around 1618, when Torriani was authorized to build the adjacent Palazzo di S. Callisto: H. Hibbard, Di alcune licenze rilasciate dai Mastri di Strade per opere di edificazione a Roma (1586–'89, 1602–'34), in: Bollettino d' arte s. 5, 52, 1967, pp. 99–116, esp. 109.

271 The easternmost chapel was never built; the chapel next to it was constructed in 1721–1727: Mallerini (1870), p. 61.
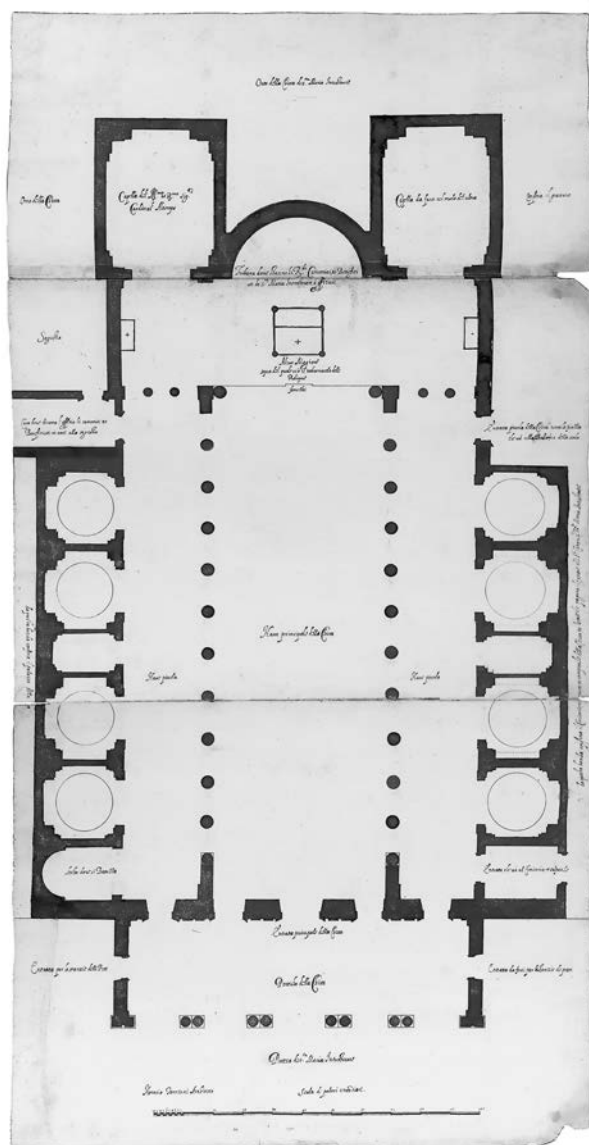
272 Moretti, De S. Callisto, pp. 263–267v.

Fig. 361: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan, Orazio Torriani, ca. 1618. Rome, Archivio Storico Diocesano (photo Senekovic 2018)

by the Velli family, whose coat of arms was represented on the ciborium.[273]

The tomb of Cardinal d' Alençon was disassembled to make way for the monumental entrance to the Altemps chapel in the transept's southwest wall. Its altar was moved to the center of the south wall, symmetrically opposite the Armellini altar to the north. The move required blocking the door from Cardinal Nardini's sacristy and opening the new door previously discussed.[274] The new door opens into the sacristy from a rectangular vestibule that is entered from the aisle. The vestibule was built by Cardinal Altemps, and temporarily served as a choir.[275] Pieces of the d' Alençon tomb were affixed to the transept wall over and to the left of its altar, and to make a symmetrical composition, the tomb of Pietro Stefaneschi was removed from the north aisle and installed on the right.[276]

The south aisle was re-envisioned as a pathway to the Altemps chapel. A sightline was created by opening a door from the porch into the east end of the aisle, where the chapel of the Archangel had been, and separating the two columns at the west end, shown still in their original place by Torriani.[277] In their new position the columns carry an arch rather than the previous trabeation, and so frame a view of the chapel's entrance (fig. 476). The arch echoes the curve of a new vault over the aisle. In order to build the vault the architect demolished some rooms that had been constructed over the aisle by Cardinal Juan de Torquemada (1446–1460), which blocked the windows of the nave.[278] The wooden

273 Moretti, De S. Callisto, pp. 267–267v: *Altare S. Petri juxta minorem portam*; *Capella S. Ursulae juxta altare p[raefa]tum muro occlusa est, obscura, et humida […] potius caula, quam capella appareat.* The Velli family was established in Trastevere at least since the fifteenth century; their palace survives just north of the church, in the Piazza di S. Egidio: Gigli, Trastevere 2 (1979), pp. 68–70. See also below, n. 322.

274 Above, n. 251. Friedel (1978), pp. 94, 117 no. 159bis.

275 Diagrammata, 2b: »Coro doue dicono l' offitio li canonici et Benefitiati inanti alla sagrestia.« Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 41v, quoting the Atti capitolari for 11 November 1585.

276 Kinney (2016), pp. 337–340. The Stefaneschi tomb was originally next to the altar of St. Peter: Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 269v, quoting Avila (1581): *Juxta altare s. Petri in muro est sepulchrum marmoreum q(uonda)m Card.lis de Stephaneschis Romani, qui obiit anno D(omi)ni 1417.*

277 Friedel (1978), pp. 94, 118 no. 162, 119 nos. 163bis, 165. Friedel's publication of his document no. 162 does not include: »p(er) auer leuatj le due colonne de le scale rinco(n)tro la capella de sua Sr^ia Illma della nauata sinistra(?) et remesse in opera et fattj sopra le colo(n)ne il suo architraue di mattoni co(n) sei me(m)brette dalle ba(n)de re(n)co(n)tro dette colo(n)ne co(n) suo soprarco et agetto de mattoni.« Transcribed in 1978 by kind permission of the late Don Luigi Maria Hardouin di Gallese.

278 Friedel (1978), pp. 94, 118 no. 161. Avila (1581), quoted by Moretti, De S. Callisto, pp. 289v–290: *Fenestrae, quae occupantur a mansionibus Palatii supra Eccl(esi)am, sunt aperiendae, et mansiones illae demoliendae, adeo ut amplius supra Eccl(esi)am aliquo modo no(n) possit habitari, et Eccl(esi)a in pristinum statum restituatur*; see also pp. 314–315v. Mallerini (1870), p. 47v: »fece demolire le fabbriche, che il card. Torre cremata aveva costruito sopra la navatella che riguarda il sud ed in tal guisa restituì la luce alla chiesa.«

Fig. 362: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, interior view to west, Antonio Sarti, 1825
(Istituzione Biblioteche Centri Culturali di Roma – Biblioteca A. Sarti)

Crucifix was relocated to a new altar against the wall of the campanile in the northeast corner of the nave (fig. 362). The font was replaced by a chapel off the aisle (»Locho doue si Battezza«) built by Onorio Longhi.[279] Only the Ruggieri chapel remained intact. Torriani showed it as an elongated rectangle projecting from the aisle at its midpoint, symmetrically opposite the *praesepium* on the north (the locations are accurate, but not the shapes). Four large new chapels were laid out, two on each side of the Ruggieri chapel, to be ceded to local families as they came forward. The westernmost chapel was taken by Girolamo d' Avila in 1584. According to Mallerini, it had a mosaic pavement from the time of Pope Innocent II, evidence that there was previously a medieval structure on the site.[280]

The renovation extended to other parts of the basilica. The north aisle was remodeled to match the south one.[281] An organ was erected over the Armellini tomb against the north wall of the transept, blocking the original windows in that wall (fig. 391).[282] A wooden »ciborium in the form of a small temple« was created over the main altar to house relics, with a balcony from which to display them.[283] The wooden ciborium and its medieval predecessor appear

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279   Friedel (1978), p. 118 n. 165; L. Pascoli, Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni, Rome 1736, p. 515.
280   Mallerini (1870), p. 66: »Il pavimento di mosaico costruito nel tempo d' Innocenzo II sendochè probabilmente in allora in questo luogo vi era il fonte battesimale con l' ingresso dalla parte ove si vede mancante il pavimento.« Its remains are described below (figs. 523, 524).
281   Friedel (1978), pp. 94 f. The *praesepium* chapel was preserved, and the chapel of St. Ursula survived until 1652; see below, n. 572.
282   Friedel (1978), p. 94.
283   Mallerini (1870), pp. 47v–48: »sopra dell' altare nella confessione fece un ciborio a forma di piccolo tempio ricco di pittura e marmo e dorature […] per conservare le sacre Reliquie, con un loggiato d' attorno per farne la mostra al popolo.« The ciborium was removed in 1871, Cressedi (1863–73), p. 22: »[23 Decembre 1871] È stato tolto il cupolino di legno sovraposto
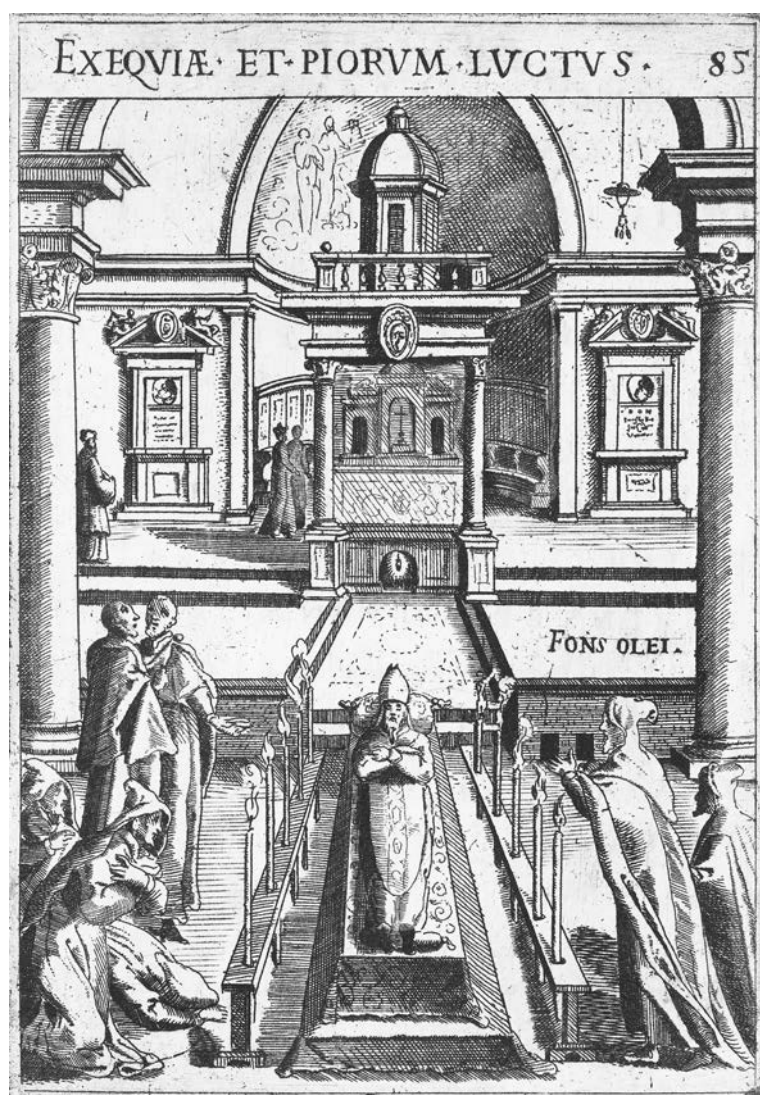
Fig. 363: Tomasz Treter, Theatrum virtutum Stanislai Hosii cardinalis, Rome 1588. Kraków, National Museum, the Princes Czartoryski Museum, Rkps 2921 IV, p. 171 (Photo Laboratory stock National Museum Kraków)

in two renditions of the funeral of Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz (Stanislaus Hosius, †1579) by the canon Tomasz Treter. The earlier image shows a rectangular base on four columns supporting a polygonal canopy on colonnettes (fig. 495).[284] The engraving after the drawing shows the rectangular base supporting the Altemps tempietto instead (fig. 363).[285]

Both versions of the funeral depict the cardinal's body laid on a bier, flanked by rows of burning candles, in front of the altar in what had been the place of the schola cantorum. In the drawing, a tabernacle labeled FONS OLEI appears at the foot of the bier, issuing liquid that cascades over three steps (fig. 495). This is plainly emblematic. In the engraving, FONS OLEI is written on the floor of the transept above two dark rectangles at the bottom of the transept's vertical face. This matches a contemporary guidebook description of »little windows in front of the main altar« that looked into the *fons olei*.[286] Earlier guides refer to these windows as »presso al choro.«[287]

Torriani's ground plan shows six entrances into the basilica, five in the east wall and one at the west end of the north aisle, as well as a door in the northeast corner leading to the cemetery and an external stair of the campanile.[288] The door at the west end of the aisle, mentioned by Avila, was given an interior frame matching that of the new door into the vestibule of the sacristy directly opposite; both bear

Cardinal Altemps's name on the lintel.[289] The five doors in the façade wall are a conflation of the pre- and post-Altemps state of the basilica. Originally, three doors opened into the nave, and none into the aisles.[290] In the Altemps

alla Tribuna, ove erano custodite le SS. Reliquie […] unitamente alla balaustra in legno che poggiava sulle colonne della Tribuna […].«

284 Treter (ca. 1582), p. 99v, no. 91. On Treter see Bertelli (1977), pp. 97–105; Jurkowlaniec (2009). On the funeral: Schraven (2014), pp. 160 f. I am grateful to Grażyna Jurkowlaniec for telling me about this drawing and for her generous help in obtaining photographs. The ciborium is discussed below.
285 Treter (1588), no. 85; Jurkowlaniec (2006), p. 232.
286 Cose Maravigliose (1588), p. 44v: »liquore d'oglio […] come potrete vedere in quelle finestrelle auanti l'Altar maggiore.«
287 Cose Marauigliose (1540), p. E ii: »in quello loco doui sono q(ue)lle due finestrelle cancellate di ferro presso al choro«; similarly Del Sodo, BAV, Vat. lat. 11911, p. 176: »(uicino al coro)«.
288 Diagrammata, 2b: »Entrata piccola della Chiesa uerso la piazza che uá alla Madon'a della scala; Entrata che uá al Cimiterio et ca'panile.«
289 M. S. CAR.AB ALTAEMPS. The outer frame of the door is an assemblage of medieval reliefs discussed below (fig. 417).
290 Ugonio, Stationi (1588), p. 138: »L'entrata di cui è per tre porte, che rispondono tutte nella naue di mezzo«.
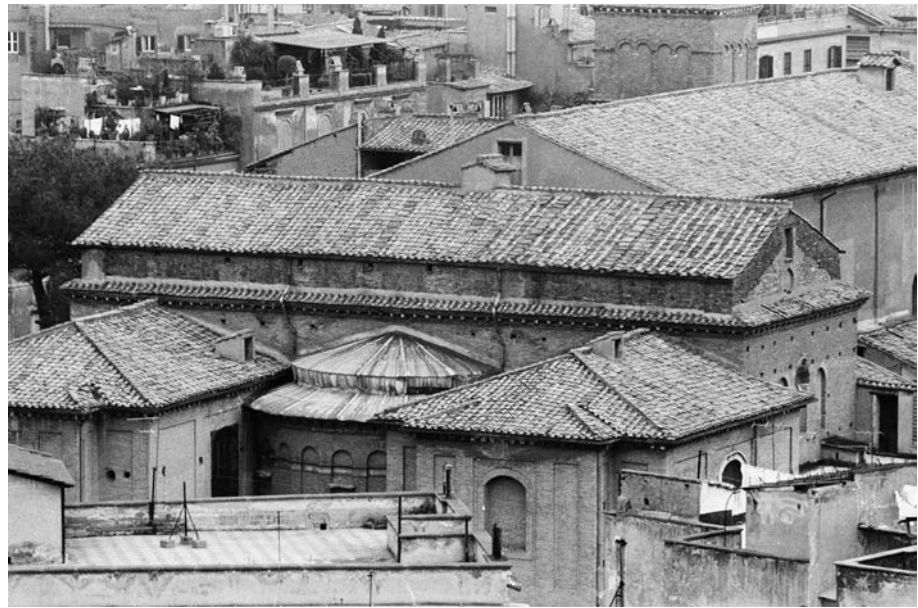
Fig. 364: Rome,
S. Maria in Trastevere,
transept from Janiculum Hill
(photo Mathews ca. 1970)

remodeling the marble frame of the southern door was moved to the new opening at the end of the south aisle.[291] Subsequently the frame of the north door was likewise moved to a new portal at the end of the north aisle, which opens into the base of the campanile.[292] Perhaps the outlines of the original doors were still visible when Torriani made his ground plan two or three decades later, but they were not open at the time of his plan.

New ceilings and windows

The successor of Cardinal Altemps, Giulio Antonio Santorio di Santa Severina (1595–1597), completed the renovation of the transept with a »bellissimo« gilded ceiling.[293] He also replaced the fifteenth-century choir (figs. 374, 445).[294] The ceiling survives, but it was reworked and appropriated by Pope Pius IX, whose arms appear in the south lateral compartment.[295] Cardinal Santorio's work was eclipsed when Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1612–1620)

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291 Friedel (1978), pp. 118 f. no. 163: »Per haver levato dopera la porta di marmo che entrava dal porticale alla nave grande et rotto il muro e mesola in opera sotto il porticale alla nave […] rincontro la capella […].«

292 Friedel (1978), p. 94.

293 Moretti, De S. Callisto, pp. 52v–53: *17 Septembris [1597] […] il Card.e di Santa Severina […] licet dimiserit titulum n[ost]rae Bas[ilic]ae, laqueare tamen non solum perficere ex Tignis vellet, sed auro totum delinire […].* Cose maravigliose (1615), p. 61: »vn bellissimo solaro sopra l' altar maggiore.« Following the insertion of the ceiling, Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici (1600) commissioned Agostino Ciampelli to paint the apse wall below the medieval mosaics: S. Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, Baronio e il protoclassicismo dei pittori fiorentini a Roma, in: Baronio e l' arte. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Sora 1984, ed. by R. de Maio, Sora 1985, pp. 511–526, esp. 519–521

294 Cressedi (1863–73), p. 25 »[15 Gennajo 1873]: Il Card. Mertel … decise di togliere l' antico Coro fatto nell' Abside dal Card. Santorio di S. Severina (vi erano gli stemmi gentilizi del med.°) perchè ridotto in pessimo stato per l' antichità[…].« Pius IX sponsored a new one, still there today.

295 Giustificazioni 1872, Filze nos. 3, 9: the ceiling was restored by the wood-cutter Raffaele Vespignani, who inserted the inscription PIVS.IX.PONT.MAX. INSTAVRAVIT PONT.ANNO.XXVI. Cf. Cressedi (1863–73), p. 23v: »[24 Giugno 1872] Si è compiuto il restauro del soffitto, nel quale per le grandi riparazioni eseguite, fù collocato anche lo stemma di Pio IX.« The original iconography is described in the transcription of a contract with the painters: ACSMT, Armadio XI, Fabbriceria Basilica e Canonica, Busta no. 2, Instrumentum. »Conuentionum, pactorum et capitulorum initiorum inter Illmum et Revmum D(omi)num Julium Antonium cardinalem S. Seuerine & Magistros […] pictoris super Inauratione laquearis Nauis transverse […] Rogatum […] Die V. Septimbris, 1597 […] Item che la figura dell' Assuntione della S.ma Vergine, che và nel quadro grande et le altre figure et Angioli et Serafini che vanno negli altri quadri debbano esseri di colori fini et oro, velati, secondo ordinarà il P. Giuseppe Cesare d' Arpino Pittore […].« The *Assunta* was repainted by Silverio Capparoni: Giustificazioni 1872, Filza no. 38. Further on the renovation: Ciccarelli (2019), pp. 221 f.
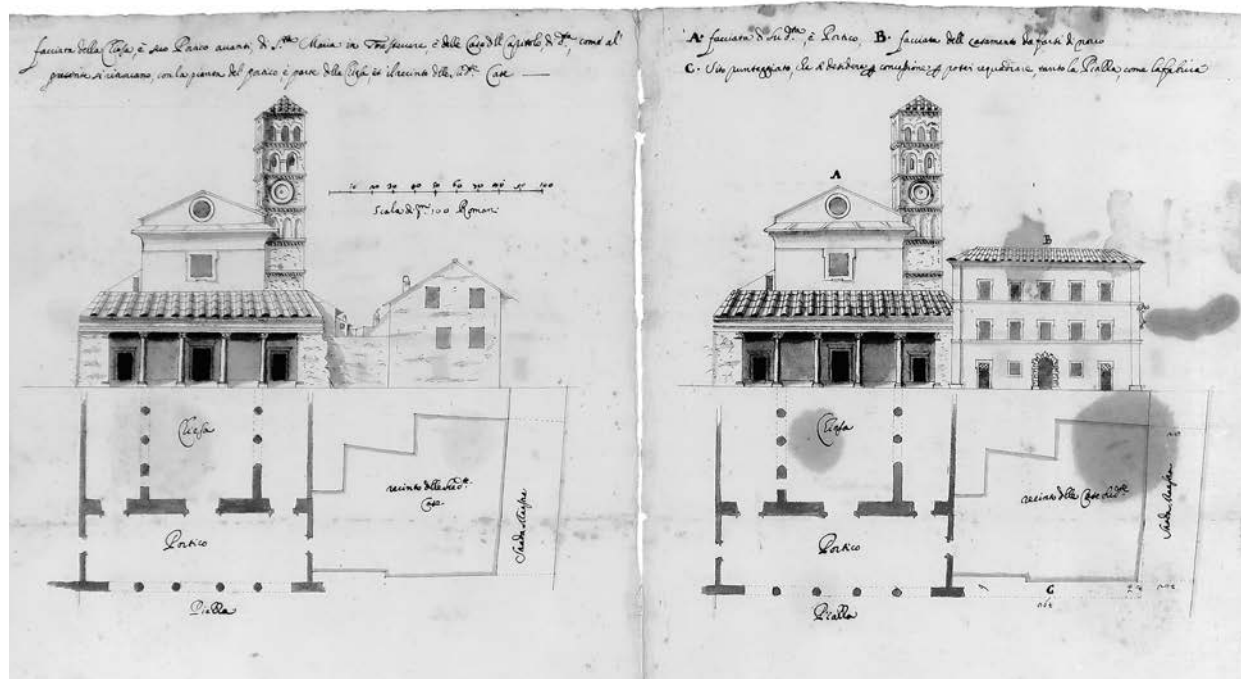
Fig. 365: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, façade with design for canons' residence, anonymous (Sebastiano Giannini?), ca. 1659–1663. Rome, Archivio Storico Diocesano (photo Senekovic 2018)

commissioned a far more spectacular ceiling over the nave. Designed by Domenichino, it is still one of the principal glories of the basilica, albeit also somewhat altered by nineteenth-century restorers.[296]

The insertion of the ceilings entailed the destruction of the original truss roofs and the gables at the ends of the transept and nave. The walls were raised to carry new roofs from which the ceilings were suspended (fig. 364).[297] Cardinal Aldobrandini also increased the light in the nave by opening »well proportioned« windows, which can be seen in views of the interior made before the nineteenth-century renovation (fig. 362).[298] The windows were square in shape and seven in number: three in each lateral wall and one in the façade.

The single window in the façade replaced the three round-headed ones that appear in Girolamo Franzini's view of 1588 (fig. 360).[299] The new window is shown in two mid-seventeenth-century drawings in the Chapter archive, which render the basilica twice, first with its adjoining houses and again with a proposal for transforming the houses into a single residence for the canons (fig. 365). At the insistence of Pope Alexander VII, a modified version of the proposed design was erected in 1660/63 by the architect of the Chapter, Sebastiano Giannini, who may be the author of the drawings.[300] The new residence appears in Falda's view of the piazza published in 1665

296   Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 351 no. 1084: PETRVS.CARD.ALDOBRANDINVS.S.R.E.CAMER.DD.ANNO MDCXVII. BAV, Urbin. lat. 1085, p. 484: »1617 dicembre 9. Giovedì in S. Maria in Trastevere si scoprì la soffitta nuova fatta fare dal signor cardinale Aldobrandino con spesa di 17 mila scudi et con solenne cerimonia […],« quoted by J. A. F. Orbaan, Documenti sul barocco in Roma, Rome 1920, p. 252. Spear (1982), pp. 87 f., 189–191 no. 50, 328 f. no. 6; Cantone (1996), pp. 253–255; Ciccarelli (2019), pp. 219–221.

297   Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 351 no. 1085: BASILICAE.HVIVS.PARIETES.VETVSTATE.COLLABENTES | RESTITVIT | TECTVM.ALTIVS.SVSTVLIT | LAQVEARI.COELATO.AVRATO.EXORNAVIT.

298   Panciroli, Tesori (1625), p. 589: »sotto dello stesso soffitto dall'vna, e l'altra parte con debita proportione aperse finestre, che danno à tutta la chiesa maggior lume.«

299   Cose maravigliose (1588), p. 20r. On Franzini: F. Cantatore, Girolamo Franzini e Le Cose Maravigliose dell' Alma Città di Roma (1588). Roma antica e moderna in una guida per Sisto V, in: Scritture per Massimo Miglio, Roma nel Rinascimento 2006, Rome 2007, pp. 133–141.

300   Diagrammata, 13, ink with fuchsia and yellow wash, L 55.5 × W 43 cm; attribution by Pasquali (2014), p. 470. An invoice from Giannini for drawings associated with the building, dated June 1664, is in ACSMT, Fabbriceria Basilica e Canonica, Busta N° 5. On Giannini: In Urbe Architectus (1991), p. 380.

Fig. 366: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, view of piazza and façade, G. B. Falda, 1665 (photo BHR Fotothek)

(fig. 366).[301] In addition to the square window below the cavetto, both Giannini (?) and Falda recorded a pediment with a large round window, a rectangular window in the end wall of the south aisle, and the clock that was installed on the east face of the campanile sometime after 1602.[302] The round window lighted the new roof space created by Cardinal Aldobrandini, and the rectangular one similarly lighted the space over the aisle vault constructed under Cardinal Altemps. Unchanged from Franzini's view is the trabeated porch on four columns with a sloping tiled roof.

Demolition and replacement of the porch

Beginning in 1625, when the central portal was made a Holy Door by Pope Urban VIII, S. Maria in Trastevere substituted for S. Paolo fuori le mura in Jubilee years when S. Paolo was inaccessible due to pestilence or flood.[303] This was the case in December 1700, when Pope Clement XI visited S. Maria in Trastevere and granted an indulgence to all who followed him.[304] A few months later the pope commissioned Carlo Fontana to replace the decrepit porch, which, according to Piazza, had become »a den of the dissolute, depraved crowd of people« who abounded in Trastevere.[305] Fontana described the porch as »very deformed,« with crude capitals, an entablature composed of spolia, and a shabby roof.[306] He would have preferred to redesign the entire façade, but the pope insisted on a

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301 Falda (1665), p. 33: »Habitatione delli Canon(ic)i fatta dal N(ostro) S(ignore);« cf. R. Krautheimer, The Rome of Alexander VII 1655–1667, Princeton 1985, p. 179. Pasquali (2014), pp. 470–472, wrote that the residence was not completed until the eighteenth century, but Falda showed it already in the form it has today. The canons had to borrow money from the nuns of S. Cecilia to build it: ACSMT, Fabbriceria Basilica e Canonica, folder Armad. XI, Busta N° 5, item: »Copia di certa Instrutione datta à Mons. Fagniani 1663 […] li 15. Xbre 1663.«

302 Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 55v: »7, et 14 Gennaro 1602 […] si discorre delle offerte […] incominciate a farsi dagli abitanti del Rione di Trastevere ad effetto di fabricarsi per comodo del Rione L'Orologio nel n(ost)ro campanile […].«

303 Moroni, Dizionario 2 (1840), pp. 102, 126.

304 Moroni, Dizionario 2 (1840), pp. 132 f.

305 Piazza, Gerarchia (1703), p. 370: »un covile, nido, e ricetto della turba scostumata de' viziosi, di cui abbonda […] quella parte della Città […].«

306 Fontana, Windsor (1701), quoted below n. 505. Johns (1993), pp. 147–152. The views by Giannini (?) and Falda, as well as Fontana's own drawing, show that the porch was not without a roof, pace Johns, p. 147.

minimal intervention that would cost little and leave the medieval mosaics undisturbed.[307] The old porch was torn down on 27 June 1701, after Fontana had recorded its plan and elevation (figs. 428, 429).[308] Its replacement was completed in a matter of months.[309]

Fontana's designs for the new porch and its wrought-iron gates are preserved in sketchbooks now in the British Royal Collection at Windsor Castle and the Museum der bildenden Künste in Leipzig.[310] The final design, dated August 1701, shows a simple row of five equal arches framed by shallow pilasters, with the granite columns of the old porch flanking the central three bays.[311] Over the columns the entablature is topped by a balustrade, which is continued by solid parapets above the arches at the north and south ends. The balustrade eventually was adorned with four travertine statues usually identified as Popes Calixtus I, Julius I, Cornelius, and the presbyter Calepodius (figs. 367, 368).[312] The surviving designs for the iron gates all were rejected, even though one was judged probably »the best.«[313] The gates currently in situ are very similar to those Fontana later designed for S. Maria Maggiore, which were made by Pietro Monti.[314]

Following his successful proposal for the porch, Fontana was permitted to make cosmetic additions to the façade (figs. 367, 368).[315] He reframed the square window and added complementary stucco panels to either side of it; added a classicizing entablature over the cavetto that masked the heightened walls of the nave; reframed the window in the gable; and replaced the triangular wall at the end of the south aisle with one that curved elliptically upward to the height of the gable (the effect was simulated on the north side by stucco applied to the campanile). The mosaics on the cavetto were restored under the direction of Pietro Paolo Cristofari.[316] The apse mosaic, which was »falling to pieces,« was also »remade and restored.«[317]

The new gated porch immediately became a »museo sacro« of early Christian inscriptions and funerary objects initiated by the pope's librarian, Giovanni Cristoforo Batelli, with the assistance of Marcantonio Boldetti, longtime canon of S. Maria in Trastevere (1691–1749) and the official Custodian of the Sacred Relics and Cemeteries.[318] Bol-

307 Fontana, Windsor (1701); Braham/Hager (1977), pp. 77, 79; Vitiello (2017), p. 301. An anonymous proposal for a full rede-sign survives in the British Library (Fig. 430): Pasquali (2014), pp. 472 f.

308 Valesio, Diario 1 (1977), p. 410: »Lunedì 27 Si è in questa mattina dato principio alla fabrica del portico di S. Maria in Trastevere con la demolizione del Vecchio […].«

309 Fontana, Windsor (1701): »fù terminato nell'ano 1702. con Spesa di Sc. 6800 in circa […].« Transcribed by Braham/Hager (1977), p. 79. Valesio, Diario 1 (1977), p. 463, scorned the masonry: »[Domenica 14 Agosto] il portico che hora si va for-mando […] di poca magnificenza, essendo composti gli pilastri di materia.«

310 Fontana, Leipzig (1701), pp. 69–76, 78–83; Coudenhove-Erthal (1930), pp. 107–109; U. V. Fischer Pace, A. Stolzenburg, Zur Provenienz der römischen Barockzeichnungen im Museum der bildenden Künste Leipzig, in: Salvator Rosa. Genie der Zeichnung. Studien und Skizzen aus Leipzig und Haarlem, ed. by H. Guratzsch, Cologne 1999, pp. 37–79, esp. 62 no. 7458. Fontana, Windsor (1701), inv.nos. RCIN 909353, 909416, 909537, 909537A; Braham/Hager (1977), pp. 78 f. nos. 136–138. Vitiello (2003) analyzed and plausibly reconstructed the sequence of the surviving designs. I am grateful to Patricia Waddy for a helpful discussion of the Leipzig drawings, and to Jeannette Stoschek for her kind assistance in the Graphische Sammlung, Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig.

311 Leipzig (1701), p. 78; Vitiello (2003), pp. 93 f.; Vitiello (2017), pp. 301 f. The inscription in the upper left corner of the draw-ing, mutilated by trimming, includes the words »[…] Lanno 1701 […] di Agosto.«

312 Le statue (1987), pp. 211, 214, 224, 226, 248 f. figs. 83–86; Johns (1993), p. 150. The statues are attributed to Vincenzo Felici, Michel Maille, Lorenzo Ottoni, and Jean Baptiste Théodon. The identification of Felici's statue as Calepodius is question-able, as all four figures wear papal tiaras. Posterla (1707), p. 113 called them »quattro Santi Pontefici«; similarly Titi, Studio (1721), p. 48.

313 Leipzig (1701), p. 83: »questo e que(llo) dirimpetto(?) par(e) sia il megli(o).« I did not find the inscription »Questo f.« said to be on p. 80 by Coudenhove-Erthal (1930), p. 126.

314 C. M. S. Johns, Clement XI and Santa Maria Maggiore in the Early 18th Century, in: Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 45, 1986, no. 3, pp. 286–293, esp. 288–290; Johns (1993), pp. 151–153, fig. 88.

315 Fontana, Windsor (1701), inv.no. RCIN 909353; Braham/Hager (1977), pp. 78 f. no. 137; Vitiello (2003), p. 94.

316 Furietti (1752), p. 108; Cantone (1992), pp. 229–232, 236 f.; Johns (1993), p. 53.

317 ACSMT, Fabbriceria, Basilica e Canonica, Armadio XI, Busta 2, Documenti estratti dall'Archivio di S. Maria in Trastevere riguardanti le spese fatte della S. M. di Clemente XI nella detta basilica: »Nel Lib. X degli Atti Capit.li […] si legge […] [a] pag. 175 […] N. S. Clemente XI […] benignamente si è compiaciuto ordinare che si rifaccia e risarcisca a tutte sue spese il Mosaico della nostra Tribuna che stava cadendo in pezzi.«

318 Boldetti (1720), p. 330: »Alcune [iscrizioni] […] sono state da me conservate a solo oggetto di collocarle nell'antica Basilica di S. Maria in Trastevere a pubblica soddisfazione de gli Eruditi […]«. Marangoni, Cose gentilesche (1744), p. IX; Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 369 no. 1143; Curcio (2000), p. 151; Yasin (2000), pp. 46–57. On Boldetti: N. Parise, Bold-etti, Marcantonio, in: DBI, vol. 11 (1969), URL: https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marcantonio-boldetti_(Dizionario-
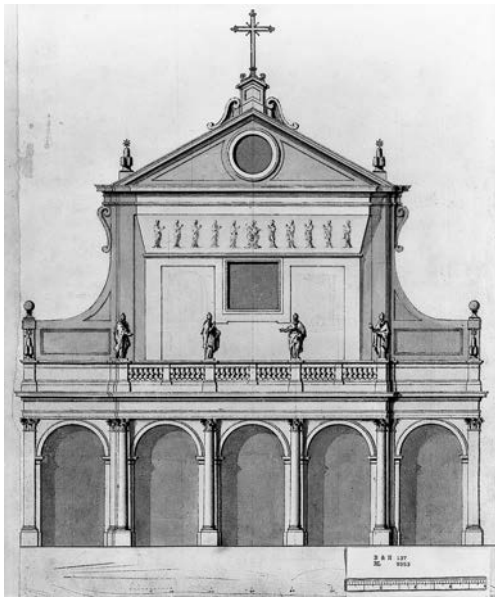
Fig. 367: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, proposal for remodeling the façade, C. Fontana, 1701 (photo Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2018)

Fig. 368: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, façade ca. 1855 (photo ICCD)

detti's collection was dismantled by Vespignani, who used the porch to display items that he uncovered in the nave and aisles, including many, like the chancels of the schola cantorum, found during the disassembly of the pavements (fig. 369).[319]

Destruction of the *praesepium*

In 1709 Giacomo Onorato Recalcati, newly appointed architect of the Chapter, made a survey of the medieval *praesepium* and its surroundings in preparation for erecting a new chapel (fig. 370).[320] The plan is color-coded. According to the key, a yellow line traces the site proposed for the new chapel, and violet (»pauonazo«) represents »the walls covered with various ancient paintings that enclosed the ancient church of S. Maria in Trastevere founded by St. Calixtus I pope and martyr, presently the cemetery of the church.«[321] The dotted yellow line extends from the roofed space (»sito coperto con tetto«) on the right side of the drawing to a point above the »praesepium« (E), where it turns 90° toward the basilica. The »pauonazo« walls surround the roofed »sito« and the adjoining Velli chapel aligned with

Biografico)/ [31. 10. 2023]; P.-A. Fabre, J.-M. Ticchi, Marcantonio Boldetti ou l'apologétique souterraine, in: Reliques romaines. Invention et circulation des corps saints des catacombes à l'époque moderne, ed. by S. Baciocchi, C. Duhamelle, Rome 2016, pp. 131–146.

319 Valorosi (2), nos. 331–336, including 126 pieces of marble coming from the pavement. Many of Boldetti's inscriptions were transferred to the Lateran, e. g. De Rossi, Inscriptiones 1 (1857), nos. 436, 484, 879, pp. 189 f., 208, 391.

320 Diagrammata, 20, ink with pale yellow, pink, and gray washes, L 40.5 × W 27 cm. Inscribed on the verso: »Essendo io Infrascritto Architetto richiesto dall' Ill.mi Sig. Cano.i della Basilica di S.ª Maria in Trasteuere ad effetto di misurare e stimare il sito di una capella posta nella Loro Basilica detta del santiss.mo Presepio, con altro sito accanto, conforme dalla quì sotto delineata pianta con la linea gialla, che La recinge, hò trouato essere in quantità di Ca(nne) 19 p(al)mi 19 […] In fede questo di 4. Maggio 1709. Giacomo Recalcati Architetto.« On Recalcati: Fasolo (1949), pp. 128–135; In Urbe architectus (1991), pp. 431 f.; M. Villani, Un' architettura ritrovata di Giacomo Onorato Recalcati, in: Studi romani 44, 1996, pp. 336–343.

321 Diagrammata, 20: »Il colorito di pauonazo sono li muri coperti di uarie pitture antiche che recingeuono la chiesa antica di S. M.ª in Trasteuere fondata da s. Calisto p.mo Papa e Martire al pre(se)nte Cimitero della Chiesa […] La linea di colore giallo è il sito che si concederà p(er) fare la Cappella si come si concederà anco la sudetta antica Immagine del SS.mo Presepio p[er] situarla nella medema con suoi priuilegi.«

Fig. 369: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, interior view of porch to south (Photo James Anderson, ca. 1890, Alinari 6505/Art Resource)

the present via della Paglia, containing an altar marked A.[322] The roofed space communicates with the Velli chapel to the north and with the basilica to the south through a door labeled C, known as the »Porta del Cemeterio.«[323] Recalcati's plan and its key indicate that the roofed space and the chapel, joined on an axis nearly perpendicular to the basilica, were the remains of the third-century church of Pope Calixtus I. Although the canons knew that the altar of the Velli chapel dated only to the sixteenth century, features like the »ancient paintings« on the walls must have convinced Recalcati, at least, that its enclosure was much older, and even predated the basilica.[324]

The »praesepium« (E), deformed by the construction of the adjoining chapel of Cardinal Federico Cornaro (1646–1652) on its west side, was described as »extremely narrow, crude, misshapen, irregular, and venerable only for its age.«[325] It was nevertheless very busy. Its altar had been privileged for the dead by Pope Gregory XIII in 1578, and it was still »endowed with many daily Masses« in 1709.[326] It received a new altar in 1715, when it was discovered that the underside of the old mensa bore a funerary inscription from the time of Pope Benedict VIII (1012–1024).[327] The chapel was »removed and destroyed« for aesthetic reasons by Cardinal Francesco Antonio Finy (1738–1740, 1743),

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322 Diagrammata, 20: »A. Capella con Imagine antica di un SS.^mo Crocefisso pre(se)nte in essere [sic] […] Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 268: *Altaris cemeterii, quod appellant altare S(anctissi)mi Crucifixi […] creditur, fuisse constructum a nobili familia de Vellis, qui ibidem habent sepulturam, et insignia ejusdem familiae in ciborio d(ic)tae capellae depicta existunt.*

323 Diagrammata, 20: »C. Porta grande della mede(si)ma Chiesa antica hora detta Porta del Cemeterio.«

324 Cappelle e Giuspatronati, G. 8. Busta 8, no. 1, Nota delle Cappelle et Altari della Ven.^le Basilica di S. Maria in Trastevere, s. v. Cimiterio: »L'antica cappella del Crocifisso esistente nel Cimiterio interiore era dei Signori Velli […] questa famiglia s'estinse cola morte del Caualier Adriano Velli.« See also above, n. 273; Zuccari (2014), pp. 140–142.

325 Cappelle e Giuspatronati, H. 9. Busta 9, no. 3, Cappella del Presepio. Notice of rebuilding by Cardinal Finy: *vetustam cappellam SS^mi Praesepis nuncupatam […] angustissimam, rudem, informem, irregularem, et non nisi à vetustate venerandam.*

326 Pope Gregory XIII, quoted in: Chartularium, BAV, Vat. lat. 8051, pt. II, fol. 84: *altare Presepis domini […] concedimus ut quoties missa ad predictum altare celebrabitur pro anima cuiuscumque fidelis que […] ab hac luce migraverit […] indulgentiam consequatur […] a Purgatorii poenis liberetur. Datum Rome […] Anno Incarnationis Dominice Millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo octavo Nonis Februarii […].* Diagrammata, 20: »E. Capella antica del SS.^mo Presepio l'Altare della quale è priuilegiato per li uiui, e per li morti dotato di molte messe guotidiane senza le messe auentitie di Requie che alla giornata uengono si basse come cantate.«

327 Cappelle e Giuspatronati, H. 9. Busta 9, no. 3, Cappella del Presepio.

who commissioned the Neapolitan architect Filippo Raguzzini to design its successor.[328] Raguzzini's chapel occupies the roughly square space between the Cornaro chapel and a new chapel of S. Francesca Romana (dedicated in 1727) to the east (fig. 440).[329] Cardinal Finy later asked Raguzzini to remake the baptistery as well.[330]

Oratorio di Maria Santissima Addolorata

The ex-Velli chapel was remodeled in 1710/12.[331] In 1787 it became the oratory of the Pia Unione di Maria Santissima Addolorata e delle Anime Sante del Purgatorio, which constructed a new oratory in 1819.[332] Restored by Pope Pius IX in 1877, the oratory stands along the via della Paglia on the north side of the basilica.[333] During repairs to its façade in 1991, Alessandro Zuccari noticed two fragments of marble door jambs rising from below street level, evidently the remains of an old portal that had been suppressed and covered with plaster.[334] In size, material, and decoration, the fragments match the outer jambs of the door into the north aisle of the basilica (figs. 418, 420–422). Zuccari reasoned that the oratory door was closed during the Altemps remodeling, and its jambs – except for the lowest portions – were taken to decorate the aisle door farther along the same street. The aisle door had been opened probably in the 1520s, when the north transept portal was closed to accommodate the installation of the Armellini tomb, but Cardinal Altemps may have enlarged it.
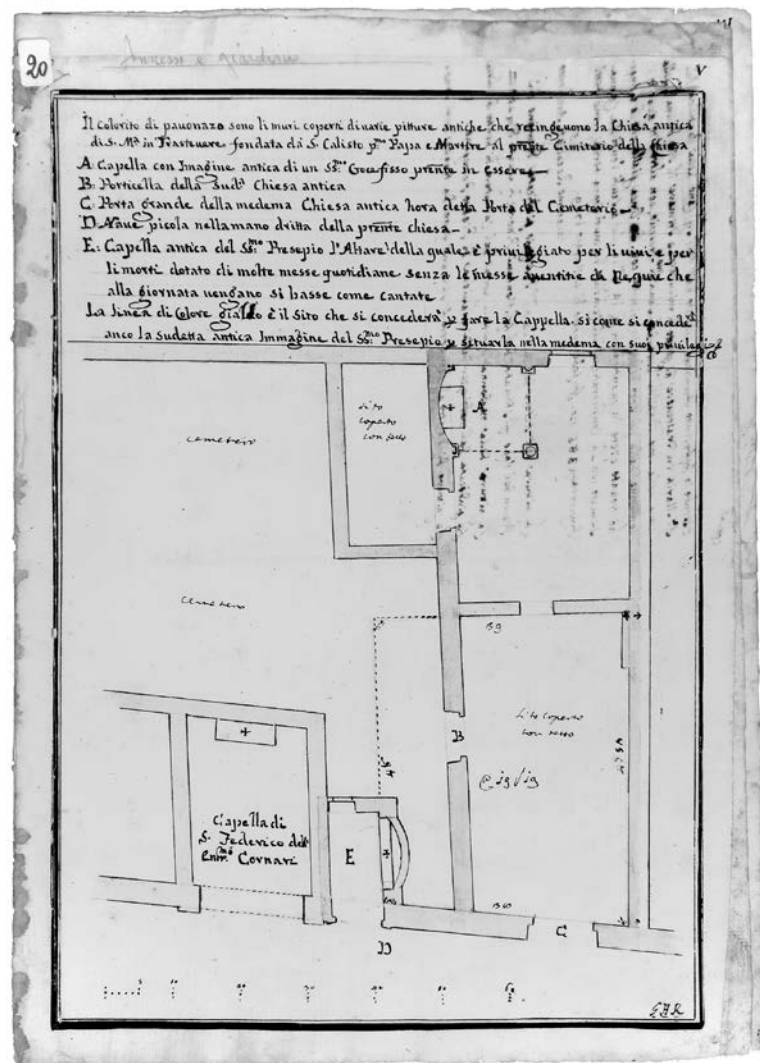

Fig. 370: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan of chapels adjoining the north aisle, Giacomo Onorato Recalcati, 1709. Rome, Archivio Storico Diocesano (photo Senekovic 2018)

328 Cappelle e Giuspatronati, H. 9. Busta 9, no. 3, Cappella del Presepio. Notice of rebuilding by Cardinal Finy: *vetustam cappellam SS^{mi} Praesepis nuncupatam […] amovit, et destruxit, novamque ex integro, et fere à fundamentis exstruxit, et tam in latitudine, quam in longitudine ad instar, ut potuit aliarum cappellarum, ampliavit;* notice of expenses incurred by Raguzzini dated 25 June 1739; similarly Busta 9, no. 9. Moretti, De S. Callisto, pp. 105v, 108; Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 367 no. 1137. On Raguzzini: In Urbe architectus (1991), pp. 427–429; Curcio (2000), pp. 175–179.

329 Cappelle e Giuspatronati, H. 9. Busta 9, no. 6, Cappella di S. Francesca e legati pii Muti-Bussi.

330 Cappelle e Giuspatronati, H. 9. Busta 9, no. 9, Battistero. Notice of payment to Raguzzini dated 12 September 1740; Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 368 no. 1138, p. 369 no. 1141. Raguzzini's baptistery was demolished and rebuilt in 1919–1922: Cappelle e Giuspatronati, H. 9. Busta 9, no. 9, passim.

331 Cappelle e Giuspatronati, G. 8. Busta 8, no. 1, Nota delle Cappelle et Altari della Ven.^{le} Basilica di S. Maria in Trastevere, s. v. Cimiterio.

332 A. Bevignani, Le rappresentazioni sacre per l'ottavario dei morti in Roma e suoi dintorni, Rome 1912, pp. 206–209; Gigli, Trastevere 2 (1979), pp. 74–76; Zuccari (2014), p. 138.

333 Gigli, Trastevere 2 (1979), pp. 78–80.
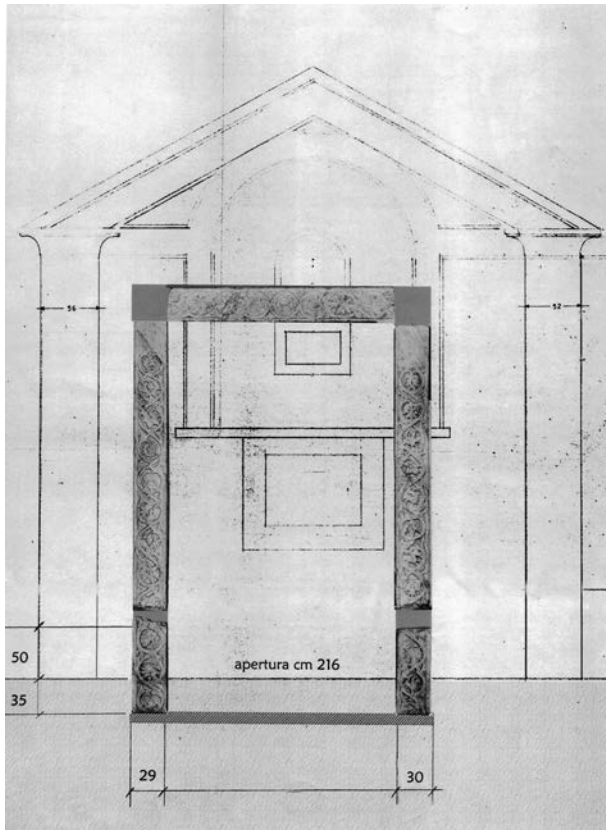
334 Zuccari (2014), pp. 131–136.

Fig. 371: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, elevation of façade of the Oratorio di Maria Santissima Addolorata with reconstruction of its medieval portal (diagram: A. Zuccari)
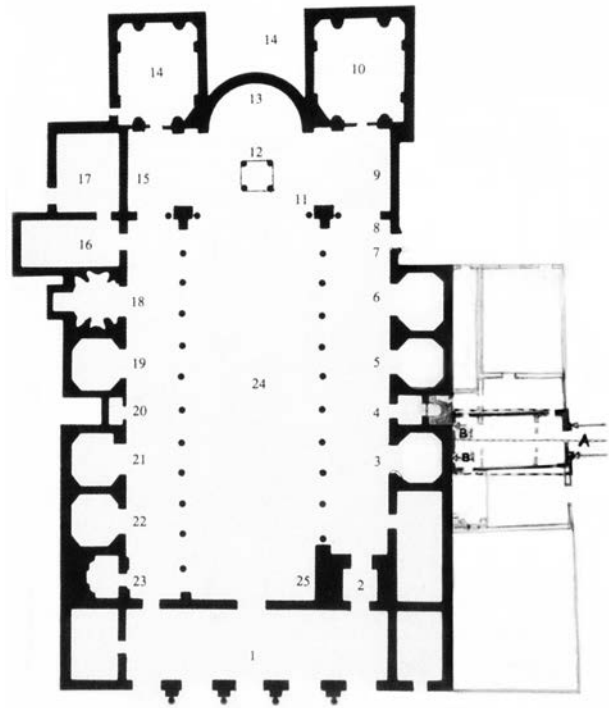

Fig. 372: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan with the Oratorio di Maria Santissima Addolorata (in: Zuccari 2014)

The oratory door was in the western part of its two-part façade, decentered to the east (fig. 371). It must have led into the building that preceded the oratory, that is, the chapel identified by Recalcati as part of the original church.[335] Zuccari plotted the position of the portal in relation to the present basilica and its chapels (fig. 372, A). The opening was wide and tall (W 2.15/16 × H 3.45 m), and the lintel, preserved over the north aisle door, is decorated with a roundel containing Maria Regina (fig. 424).[336] Since the Madonna della Clemenza is a Maria Regina, Zuccari reasoned that the »church« entered through the door frame housed the icon. Adjacent to the basilica but not part of it, the building had a door large enough to allow the icon to be processed through it.[337]

Pope Pius IX: Renovation

After an unexpected visit to the basilica in August 1863, Pope Pius IX (1846–1878) was convinced that urgent repairs were needed, especially to the mosaic pavement and the »squalid« walls.[338] He named a commission to oversee the renovation, and the commission selected Virginio Vespignani to design it. The project was completed ten years later at a cost of 463,424 lire.[339] The diary of the work kept by Canon Gioacchino Cressedi, though sketchy in places, is an invaluable guide to its progress. The renovation proceeded in two parts. In May 1864 the nave was partitioned from

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335   Above, n. 321.
336   Zuccari (2014), p. 136.
337   Zuccari (2014), pp. 143–146.
338   Cressedi (1863–73), p. 2v: »[20 Agosto 1863] Il S. Padre venne improvvisamente alla nostra Basilica […] vide […] coi propri occhi il bisogno urgente di restauro specialmente del pavimento di mosaico in pietre, e lo squallore delle pareti.«
339   Cressedi (1863–73), p. 29v: »[15 Decembre 1873] Le spese […] risultano dal Rendiconto in Lire 463,423,93.« A final accounting in 1879 produced the figure 454,123,93 (p. 30).

Fig. 373: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, interior view to west (photo Ignazio Cugnoni, ca. 1875, ICCD)

the transept, leaving the transept accessible from the sacristy and from the door at the end of the north aisle. Work on the nave, aisles, porch, façade, and campanile was completed seven years later, by August 1871.[340] The restorers then moved to the transept for an additional two years. The partition was removed on 21 April 1873, and the newly resplendent basilica was unveiled on 25 April.[341]

Vespignani's plan for the nave and aisles included the addition of pilasters over the columns of the nave colonnade; enlarging the nave windows and making them round-headed; and opening lanterns in the vaults to bring more light into the aisles.[342] Scraping the nave walls revealed some original windows. Two in the north wall were round-headed, »of nice shape, small in the ancient manner, wider on the inside«; others differed in size and were irregularly spaced.[343] Rather than reopen these windows, the commission decided to continue with Vespignani's plan to enlarge the existing seventeenth-century ones. Standing saints were painted in the remaining spaces between the pilasters (fig. 373, cf. fig. 374).[344] Two more old windows were discovered in the east wall on either side of the

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340   Cressedi (1863–73), p. 21v: »[14 Agosto 1871] In questo giorno nel Vespero dell' Assunzione di Maria SS.ma fù riaperta al culto la Basilica nella parte restaurata.«
341   Cressedi (1863–73), p. 27v: »[25 Aprile 1873] Si riaprì in questo giorno al culto l'intiera Basilica.«
342   Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 4–4v.
343   Cressedi (1863–73), p. 6v: »[4 luglio 1864] riapparvero le antiche finestre nelle pareti […] esse sono situate negli intercolunnii […] di dimensioni non grandi, la parte superiore è formata ad arco, la inferiore ad angoli retti […] Nei giorni seguenti si riconobbe che le d(ett)e finestre non rispondevano a ciascuno intercolunnio, e che esse erano di dimensioni ineguali.«
344   Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 10v–11 [Marzo 1865].

Fig. 374: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, interior view to west, P. Letarouilly
(in: Les édifices III 1857, pl. 327, detail)

square one.[345] All three were replaced with new round-headed windows filled with colored glass representing Sts. Calixtus, Julius, and Cornelius.[346] Fontana's moldings were stripped off the façade. The wall around the new windows as well as the pediment were painted in »finto mosaico« by Silverio Capparoni (fig. 375). The real mosaics were restored by craftsmen from the Fabbrica Vaticana.[347]

The Crucifix altar in the northeast corner of the nave was dismantled (fig. 362).[348] The marble architrave behind it was found to be broken, and the wall of the campanile above it had a sizeable crack.[349] Vespignani proposed demolishing the campanile and replacing it with a freestanding one in the area of the cemetery, but the commission rejected this idea and advised reinforcing the tower as needed.[350] Relieving arches were built into the wall above the architrave. A wall filling the first two intercolumniations was removed in the hope that the first intercolumniation could be left open, but this proved unrealistic (fig. 440).[351] The rest of the tower, rising above the basilica, was restored in 1869.[352]

345 Cressedi (1863–73), p. 6v [4 luglio 1864].
346 Cressedi (1863–73), p. 8v [21 Settembre 1864].
347 Cressedi (1863–73), p. 18v [20 Giugno 1869].
348 The Crucifix is now in the chapel on the west side of the Cappella del Presepio: Cecchelli (1933?), pp. 106 f., plan no. 5.
349 Cressedi (1863–73), p. 6: »[10 Maggio 1864] Nel lato del campanile che risponde alla nave mag.ᵉ si manifesta nel muro una non piccola spaccatura, ed inoltre è spezzato l'architrave di pietra, che poggia sulle colonne, tra la penultima ed ultima di esse.«
350 Cressedi (1863–73), p. 7v: »[August–September 1864] Riguardo al campanile propone il Vespignani di demolirlo, per le lesioni e per poter togliere il muro alzato tra i due ultimi intercolunii, e così ancora aprire la rispettiva finestra nella nave mag.e, proponendo di costruirne uno nuovo dalle fondamenta nell' area dell' attuale cemetero.« Mertel (1864/65), report of Luigi Grifi dated 21 settembre 1864.
351 Cressedi (1863–73), p. 12 [Luglio 1865], pp. 14–14v: »[26 Gennaio 1866] È stato demolito il muro addossato sotto l' architrave dei due primi intercolunii a destra per sostegno del Campanile, e si spera di poter liberare del tutto dal muro il primo intercolunnio facendo un arco a tutto sesto.«
352 Cressedi (1863–73), p. 19: »[20 Giugno 1869] finalmente si sta eseguendo qualche restauro più necessario nel Campanile«, p. 19v: »[31 Decembre 1869] si è compiut(o) […] il restauro del Campanile rafforzato con archi, e scoperta parte delle colonne.«

Work on the pavement of the nave began in 1865 with the lifting of the chancels of the schola cantorum.[353] The chancels covered the width of the floor to the colonnades, and their removal revealed the varied column bases »more or less buried« by the pavement.[354] A debate ensued whether to lower the level of the entire floor in order to expose all the bases, or only its western portion, which was higher.[355] In 1866 the pope approved a proposal to make a completely new pavement according to the old design. The execution was assigned to the Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici under Vespignani's direction.[356] The old pavement was removed in September/October, revealing the remains of the *presbyterium* of Pope Gregory IV.[357] The laying of the new floor was still underway in June 1869 when excavators encountered what must have been the *agger maxime molis* with which Gregory IV had filled the fourth-century apse, and the apse wall behind it.[358] Still unfinished on the »fatal day« in September 1870 when the troops of King Vittorio Emanuele II conquered Rome, the mosaic pavement presumably was completed in time for the reopening of the nave the following April.[359] The repaving of the aisles in white marble and bardiglio had been finished in 1869.[360]

With the pope imprisoned in the Vatican and funds diminishing, the restoration of the transept proceeded »alacramente.«[361] The ceiling and the apse mosaics were restored between February and June 1872.[362] Two square windows (»fenestroni«) in the walls over the aisles were »made round like the others.«[363] The Altemps wooden »tempietto« over the ciborium columns was dismantled and replaced by a marble canopy designed by Vespignani.[364] The porphyry columns were cleaned and their capitals gilded.[365] The mosaic pavement behind and in front of the altar was repaired.[366] Elsewhere the pavement of white marble was relaid, except for the part toward the nave, where new mosaic was inserted into marble »lastroni.«[367] The paschal candlestand was raised one palmo

353   See above, n. 44.

354   Cressedi (1863–73), p. 10v: »[18 Febbraio 1865] sono state scoperte le basi intiere di varie forme delle colonne, le quali basi erano più o meno coperte dal piano del pavimento.«

355   Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 11–11v: »[6 Aprile 1865] Non si è presa ancora una risoluzione se abbassare il piano del pavimento, livellandolo, anche perchè appariscano le intiere basi delle colonne […] forse si potrà conciliare la cosa in modo che basti abbassare la porzione […] più prossima alla tribuna, la quale è molto più alta della altra porzione del pavimento; così si livellerebbe l' intiero piano, si eviterebbe molta spesa, e alcune almeno delle basi si potrebbero intieramente scoprire.«

356   Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 14v–15: »[29 Agosto 1866] Si è stabilito coll' approvazione del S. Padre di rifare il pavimento nella Nave maggiore a musaico in pietra, detto all' Alessandrina secondo l' antico disegno, incassato però sopra tante lastre di marmo, ciò che renderà il lavoro più preciso, e assai più durevole. Il Ministero dei Lavori Publici […] dal S. Padre è stato commesso di far eseguire il lavoro, sotto la direzione però dell' Architetto Vespignani.« In 1869 the Ministero sent 1254 square, triangular, and hexagonal pieces of marble salvaged from the pavement of S. Paolo fuori le mura to S. Maria in Trastevere; M. Docci, San Paolo fuori le mura. Dalle origini alla basilica delle ›origini.‹ Rome 2006, p. 208. Thanks to Daniela Mondini for this notice.

357   Cressedi (1863–73), p. 15 [3 Novembre 1866].

358   Cressedi (1863–73), p. 19: »[20 Giugno 1869] Nello sterrare la Nave mag.e furono rinvenuti i fondamenti della [lacuna]. Era un grande rettangolo, che si stendeva innanzi l' antica Tribuna situata anche essa presso a poco allo stesso livello, dietro la quale girava il muro dell' abside antico.« For Gregory IV's *agger*: above, n. 42.

359   Cressedi (1863–73), p. 20: »[20 Aprile 1871] Dall' infausto giorno 20 Settembre 1870 in cui Roma assalita sagrilegamente dalle armi del rè sabaudo Vittorio Emmanuele II caddè in suo potere, i lavori progredirono assai lentamente.«

360   Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 15v [3 Febbraio 1867], 16 [18 Febbraio and 16 Agosto 1867], 18v [20 Giugno 1869].

361   Cressedi (1863–73), p. 23 [22 Febbraio 1872]. ACSMT, Armadio XI. Restauri di Pio IX, Relazione pell'udienza di Sua Santità 29 Agosto (?) 1871 [draft]: »ove si ponesse mano al ristauro della nave traversa nel modo che fù fatta pella nave i(n)feriore, la spesa sarebbe il doppio d' quella annunciata nel preventivo, quando anchi si omettesse per ora ogni restauro al lacunare. Si restringe ora il lavoro al necessario, in modo che in appresso possa eseguirsi il resto, senza molto olterare quello che sarà fatto.«

362   Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 23 [22 Febbraio 1872], 23v [24 Giugno 1872].

363   Cressedi (1863–73), p. 23v: »[22 Febbraio 1872] I due fenestroni rispondenti sulle navi minori sono stati ridotti al sesto degli altri«; cf. Moretti, Miscellanea, Descrizione materiale: »Questa nave traversa piglia il lume ad oriente da due finestroni quadri […]«; and below, n. 405.

364   Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 22–22v [23 Dicembre 1871], 24v [31 Dicembre 1872].

365   Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 24v [31 Dicembre 1872], 26 [15 Gennajo 1873].

366   Cressedi (1863–73), p. 23v: »[24 Giugno 1872] Si è posto mano a riparare il mosaico all' alessandrina già esistente nel pavimento della nave traversa avanti e dietro la Tribuna.«

367   Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 25 [31 Dicembre 1872], 26: »[23 Marzo 1873] Nella parte corrispondente alla nave mag.e, dove non era l' antico mosaico sono stati collocati i lastroni in marmo bianco per incassarvi il nuovo mosaico.«

Fig. 375: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, façade ca. 1875, anonymous albumen print (photo Kinney archive)

(22.3 cm) and restored.[368] At the last minute, the head of the oversight commission approved the canons' request to replace Cardinal Santorio's wooden choir stalls (fig. 374). Removing the vertical panels revealed some old frescoes, including a relatively well-preserved half-length image of St. Peter Martyr (canonized in 1253) »di bella forma.« The masons destroyed it.[369] The tall central panel of Santorio's choir covered the round back of the medieval cathedra; it was replaced with a panel that curves around the marble disk and bears the arms of Pope Pius IX.[370]

Don Vincenzo Paglia: Rejuvenation

By the 1960s S. Maria in Trastevere was again dingy and covered with grime. The porch was disfigured by graffiti (fig. 376). The situation was not without advantages for an architectural historian, who might see old masonry where Vespignani's plaster had fallen off the walls (figs. 394, 395), but the basilica was vulnerable to vandalism and decay. This direction was dramatically reversed when Don Vincenzo Paglia (1981–2000) took over the parish in 1981.[371] In his 19 years as »parroco,« he managed to recruit and coordinate the various responsible Soprintendenze

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368 Cressedi (1863–73), p. 25 [31 Decembre 1872].
369 Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 25 f. [15 Gennajo 1873].
370 Cressedi (1863–73), p. 29 [15 Decembre 1873].
371 Vincenzo Paglia is now an archbishop and Grand Chancellor of the John Paul II Pontifical Theological Institute for Marriage and Family Sciences.

(Antichità, Monumenti, Belle arti) to clean and repair the components of this complex building and bring it back to life.

In 1979 I began collaborating with Architect Marzio Fulloni on a survey of the basilica. Fulloni's meticulous measurements and structural analysis were amply facilitated by Don Vincenzo, allowing him to make an exact 1:100 plan and numerous sections. The drawings were virtually complete in 1985 but were not finally inked until 2016, in connection with the present publication. The following discussion relies heavily on observations made by and with Fulloni, and on the kind cooperation of Vincenzo Paglia and his successors, Matteo Zuppi and Don Marco Gnavi.[372]

Fig. 376: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, porch
(photo Kinney 1983)

MATERIAL ANALYSIS

Exterior

Brickwork and cornices

The masonry envelope of Innocent II's basilica is well preserved. Original wall surfaces can be examined outside the apse and the transept, at the west end of the north aisle, and within and without the campanile. Typical of the mid-twelfth century, the walls comprise a rubble core faced with reused bricks.[373] The core is visible inside the scaffolding holes in the wall of the apse and on the south wall of the transept, where the frame of an aedicula has been robbed out (fig. 392). The scaffolding holes are characteristic of the well-organized construction sites of the twelfth century: large, square, and regularly spaced in horizontal and vertical alignments (fig. 383).[374] The reused bricks differ in length, height, and color, but they were laid in fairly regular courses in abundant grey mortar.[375] The modulus of 5 brick courses and 5 mortar beds ranges from 26.5 cm to 31 cm, with a mode of 28.5 cm on the apse and 28 cm on the transept.[376] Moduli of 28.3–30 cm were measured in the campanile.[377] Stilatura can be seen around the voussoirs of some arches in the blind arcade on the wall of the apse and inside the tower (figs. 377, 389).[378]

Cornices marking rooflines survive on the wall of the north aisle and around the transept (figs. 378, 391). Similar cornices divide the upper walls of the campanile into four stories with windows (fig. 379). The nave cornices were destroyed when the walls were raised by Cardinal Aldobrandini, and any traces of them are obscured by

372 Matteo Zuppi is now a Cardinal and president of the Conference of Italian Bishops. I also profited from multiple visits to the building with Joan Barclay Lloyd, Judson Emerick, Karin Einaudi, and Ronald Malmstrom (†).
373 On the technique see Avagnina et al., Strutture (1976/77), pp. 242–247; Barclay Lloyd, Masonry techniques (1985), pp. 226–239; Brunori (2001), pp. 226 f.
374 Montelli, Tecniche costruttive (2011), pp. 200–203.
375 Lengths vary from 6 cm to 25 cm, heights from 3 to 4.6 cm: Avagnina et al., Strutture (1976/77), p. 208; Barclay Lloyd, Masonry techniques (1985), p. 260. Somewhat different figures are given by Montelli, Tecniche costruttive (2011), pp. 250 f. no. 13/10a.
376 Avagnina et al., Strutture (1976/77), p. 208; Barclay Lloyd, Masonry techniques (1985), p. 260; Montelli, Tecniche costruttive (2011), pp. 250 f. no. 13/10a.
377 Priester, Belltowers (1990), p. 225; Montelli, Tecniche costruttive (2011), pp. 254 f. no. 30/10b.
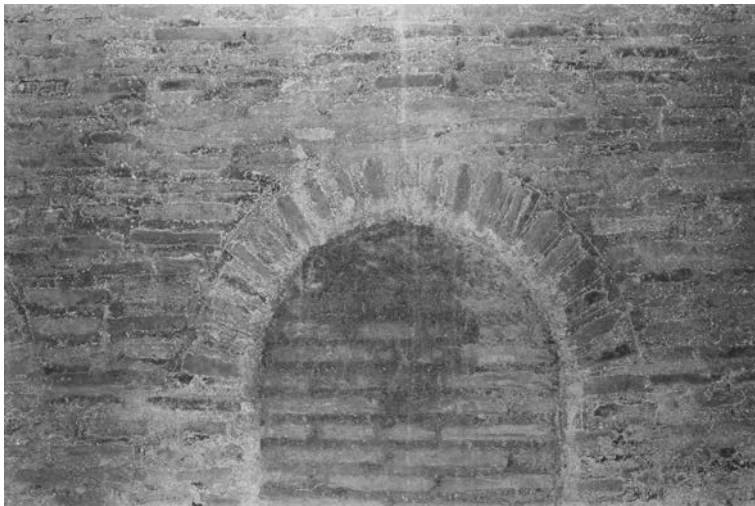378 Montelli, Tecniche costruttive (2011), p. 171. On stilatura: Venanzi (1953), pp. 35–37; Brunori (2001), p. 223.

Fig. 377: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, campanile interior, first register of north side, masonry with stilatura (photo Kinney 1981)

Fig. 378: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north aisle wall and juncture with transept (photo Kinney 2009)

modern plaster (figs. 390, 393). Post-medieval masonry appears above the cornices of the aisles and transept, dating from the insertion of the aisle vaults by Cardinal Altemps and the transept ceiling by Cardinal Santorio. The raised walls of the transept are set back from the plane of the cornice and are mostly of unfaced rubble (fig. 364). The wall above the aisle cornice is brick-faced (fig. 378).

The cornices topping the transept and aisle walls are identical. They are of a type classified by Montelli as »complex,« with marble modillions and decorative brick patterns between two rows of sawtooth bricks.[379] The bricks between the modillions are set in the form of two lambdas separated by a vertical (iota) (figs. 378, 387, 391). The »teeth« of the sawtooth friezes point to the right in the lower row and to the left above. The modillions often show the quarter-round profile characteristic of the twelfth century.[380]

The cornices of the campanile are more varied. On the lower levels the left-right orientation of the teeth in the sawtooth friezes is reversed (leftward at the bottom, rightward above). A number of modillions show vestiges of early medieval carving that was not planed off (fig. 380). The upright brick between the double lambdas occurs only in the two uppermost cornices and in the western section of the cornice below them. Otherwise the iota is omitted in the three lowest cornices (figs. 380, 437).[381] Priester observed the »zigzag« ornament of double lambdas, with or without the iota, in the cornices of six other Roman bell towers.[382]

The cornice of the apse is much more sumptuous than the others (figs. 381, 382). Instead of simple modillions recut from ancient marble in the twelfth century, its brackets are segments of ancient cornices with their ornament intact. Because of the cornices' greater height, the intermediate brick pattern is doubled vertically, with one double lambda + iota over the other. Of the 21 visible brackets, eleven were cut from the same source.[383] They have

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379   Montelli, Tecniche costruttive (2011), p. 118. Including the horizontal bricks that separate the main components, Priester described the cornice as having seven parts: brick course, sawtooth frieze, brick course, bracket frieze, brick course, sawtooth frieze, brick course. Priester, Belltowers (1990), p. 219; Priester, Buildings (1993), p. 206.
380   Montelli, Tecniche costruttive (2011), p. 332 pl. 9b.
381   The two lowest cornices can be seen only on the east and west faces of the tower.
382   Priester, Buildings (1993), pp. 205 tab. 1 and 2, 211–213.
383   Montelli, Tecniche costruttive (2011), pp. 121 f. n. 467.

Fig. 379: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, campanile, west side
(photo Kinney 2009)

Fig. 380: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, campanile,
first register of east face, cornice (photo Kinney 1983)

Fig. 381: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, apse wall and
cornice (photo Kinney 2009)

a five-part profile decorated with Lesbian leaf, bead-and-reel, water leaf, dentils, and egg-and-dart (fig. 382). These pieces alternate with two other types: a simple cyma recta decorated with bead-and-reel, upright acanthus leaves, and guilloche (eight pieces), and a cavetto decorated with bead-and-reel and anthemion (two pieces). Evidently the builders took care to collect as many similar spolia as possible and to distribute them in an A-B-A rhythm.

Apse wall

The wall below the lavish cornice is articulated with a colossal pilaster blind arcade. Eight pilasters are visible; four others are covered by the large chapels that abut the transept north and south (fig. 383). The stilted arches spring from a continuous marble band with classicizing components: fillet and ovolo, frieze, cavetto and cyma recta (fig. 381).[384] The cavetto and cyma recta are repeated in a

Fig. 382: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, apse wall,
cornice and remains of painting (photo Klein 2016)

384   Montelli, Tecniche costruttive (2011), p. 171 suggested that this simple band was a placeholder for something more decorative.

Fig. 383: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, exterior view
of apse (photo Kinney 2010)

smaller molding lower on the wall. This pilaster arcade has no true parallel in Rome. The only other blind arcading, on the eleventh- or twelfth-century clerestory of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, has different proportions; its arches are broad and somewhat irregular.[385] Krautheimer suggested that the arcade at S. Lorenzo might have been inspired by contemporary churches in Ravenna; Mondini argued that it might rather follow the outlines of the early Christian windows previously in the wall.[386] A Ravennate source might also be claimed for S. Maria in Trastevere (evoking its origin in the *templum Ravennantium*) in such buildings as the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia. Other early Christian sources like the Basilica at Trier, which would have been known to some members of the curia, are also possible. In my opinion, it is more likely that the designer of S. Maria in Trastevere was thinking of the tall, slender, marble pilaster arcades popular on churches in Pisa, where Innocent II spent so much time. It may not be irrelevant that the church's first Innocentian cardinal, Baldwin, was from Pisa.[387]

The apse also was painted. Traces of color are visible at the top of the wall, where it has been protected by the cornice (fig. 382). The bricks were covered in red and the mortar beds in white, making them look brighter and more regular. Red paint can also be seen between the sawtooth bricks in the cornice. This decorative treatment (»falsa cortina dipinta«) is otherwise known only

in examples of the thirteenth century.[388] It may be a later embellishment, but considering the elaborate design of the apse overall, I am inclined to think that it is original. No paint has been detected on the adjoining walls of the transept.

Façade

The eastern façade is much less well preserved than the apse and transept; its wall has been modified or rebuilt from top to bottom (fig. 375). The earliest view of the basilica, in Franzini's *Cose maravigliose* (1588), shows three round-headed windows above the trabeated porch, the cavetto with its mosaic decoration, and a windowless gable (fig. 360).[389] The trapezoidal apron between the porch roof and the wall is hard to construe; otherwise the engraving is a plausible rendition of the medieval state.[390] It resembles Franzini's view of S. Crisogono, which also shows a trabeated porch, three windows (though the outer two are rectangular), and a cavetto.[391]

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385   Mondini, in: Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), pp. 266 f., figs. 216–217.
386   CBCR 2 (1959), p. 184; Mondini, in: Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), p. 266 n. 23.
387   Brixius (1912), pp. 41 no. 5, 85 f. no. 46; Zenker, Kardinalkollegium (1964), pp. 55 f. Poeschke called the arcade »toskanisch-lombardisch«; Poeschke, Kirchenbau (1988), p. 10.
388   Barelli, in: Carbonara/Barelli (2014), pp. 45–48. The other examples are in S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, S. Pietro in Vincoli, and the Sala delle Pentafore at SS. Quattro Coronati; cf. Mondini, in: Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), p. 361.
389   Cose maravigliose (1588), p. 20r.
390   The porch roof should abut the façade wall immediately below the windows, as at S. Lorenzo fuori le mura.
391   Cose maravigliose (1588), p. 19v.

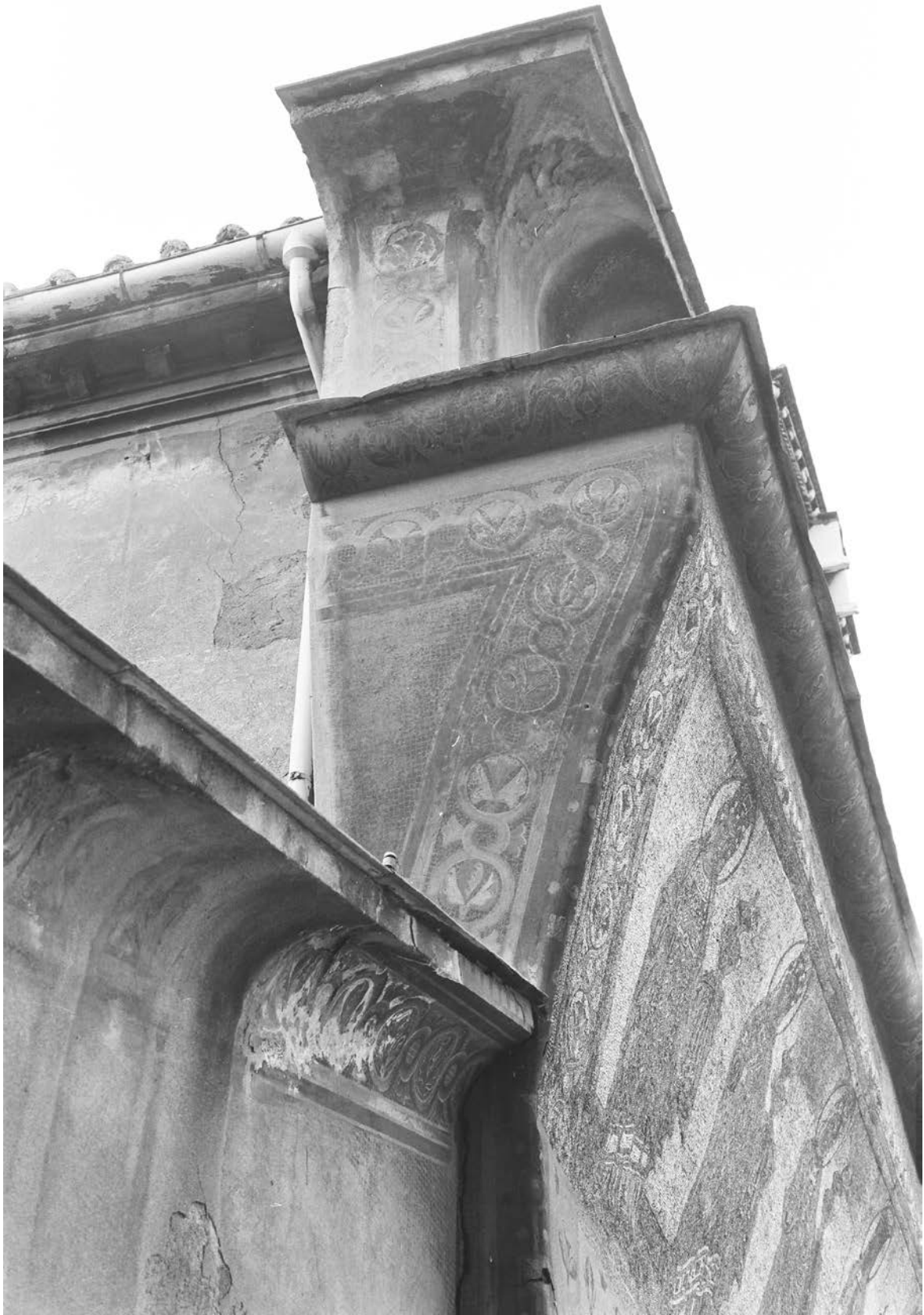*Fig. 384:* Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, juncture of cavetto and end wall of south aisle (photo Kinney 1981)

Fig. 385: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, juncture of cavetto and campanile (photo Kinney 1972)
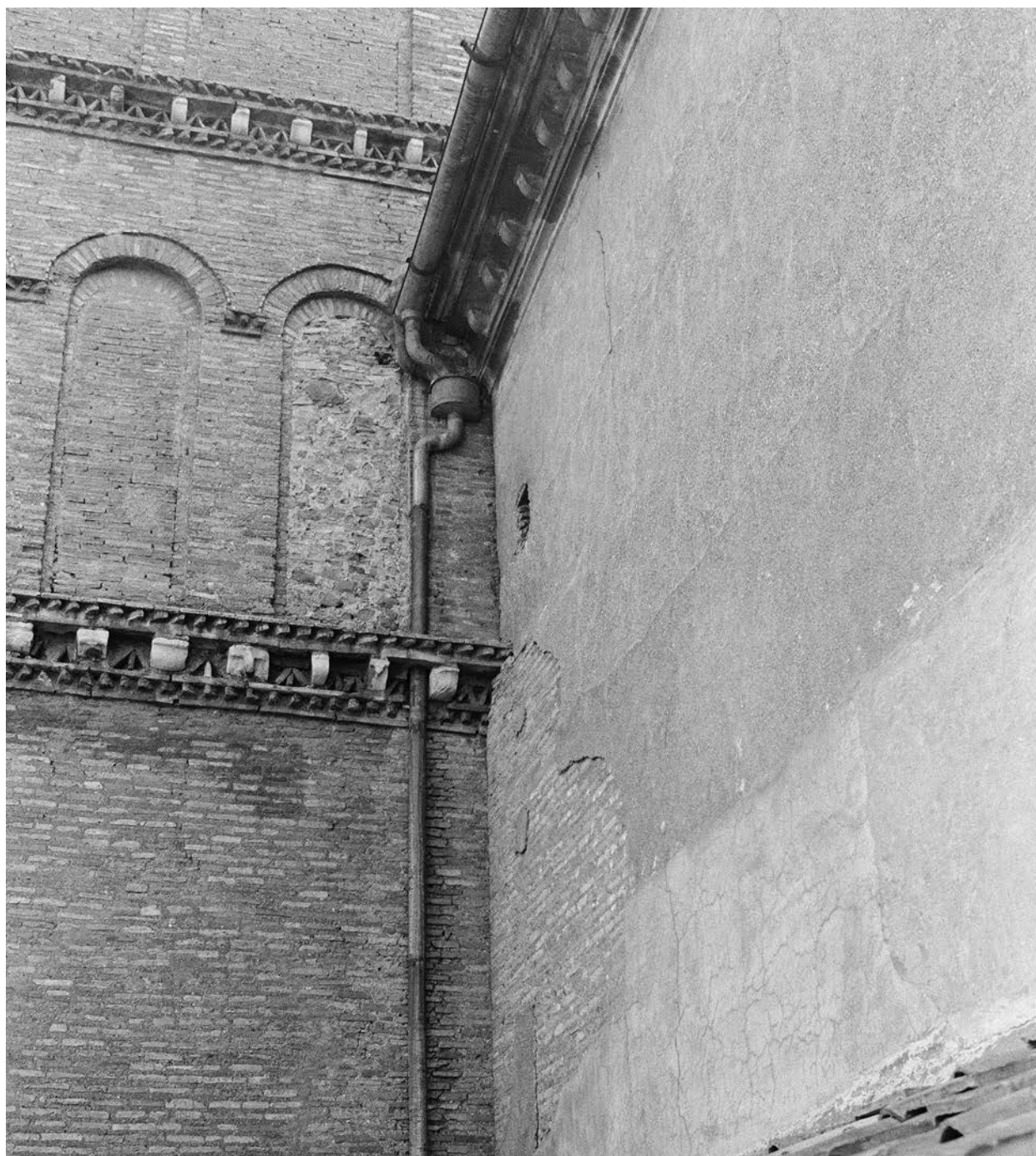
Fig. 386: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, juncture of campanile and north nave wall (photo Kinney 1972)

Fig. 387: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, juncture of transept and south nave wall (photo Kinney 1972)

Fig. 388: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, juncture of south nave trabeation and impost of triumphal arch (photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 389: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, exterior of apse, central window (photo Kinney 2009)

The date of the cavetto at S. Maria in Trastevere cannot be determined by visual analysis, because its juncture with the vertical wall is covered by mosaic and nineteenth-century plaster (figs. 384, 385). Most cavetti are from the thirteenth century, when they were attached to pre-existing walls to receive mosaic or painted decoration.[392] Claussen argued that the cavetto of S. Crisogono (1123–1129), destroyed in a restoration of the 1620s, was an exception.[393] He reasoned that because the east front of S. Crisogono presents at least one significant innovation – the trabeated porch, which is the first dated example of its type – the cavetto, another novelty, would be in keeping with the twelfth-century design.[394] S. Maria in Trastevere follows the design of S. Crisogono in many other respects, so it cannot be ruled out that its cavetto, too, is part of the twelfth-century façade. Favoring the opposite conclusion is the date of the mosaic surface, discussed below, close to the middle of the thirteenth century.

The roof line above the cavetto was treated differently in the two basilicas. Franzini's depiction of S. Crisogono does not show a gable.[395] If this is accurate, the cavetto of S. Crisogono created a false façade (»Schaufassade«) that obscured the roof ridge of the nave, as at S. Maria in Aracoeli.[396] At S. Maria in Trastevere the roof line was exposed.

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392 Bolgia, Reclaiming (2017), pp. 198 f.
393 On the restoration: L. Bartolini Salimbeni, Giovan Battista Soria e il Cardinal Borghese. Restauri a Roma 1618–1633, in: Quad. Ist. St. Arch. N.S. 1–10, 1983–1987, pp. 399–406, esp. 402; M. Hill, The Patronage of a Disenfranchised Nephew. Cardinal Scipione Borghese and the Restoration of San Crisogono in Rome, 1618–1628, in: Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 60, 2001, no. 4, pp. 432–449, esp. 439 f.
394 Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 394–396.
395 Cose maravigliose (1588), p. 19v; Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), p. 386 fig. 309.
396 Kleefisch-Jobst, Dominikanerkirche (1991), p. 67.
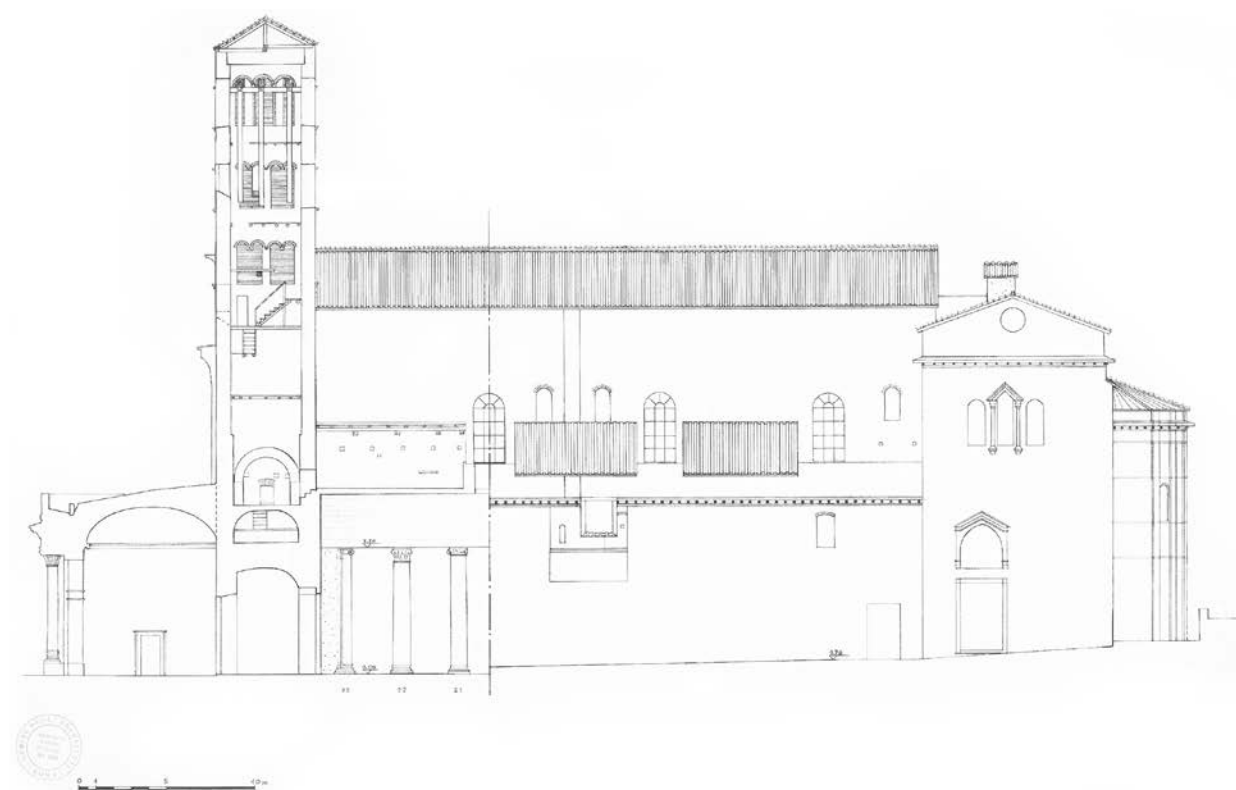
Fig. 390: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, elevation of north side with partial section through aisle (Fulloni 1985/2016)

Fig. 391: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north wall of transept, windows and niche (photo Kinney 1998)

Fig. 392: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, south wall of transept, windows and niche (photo Kinney 1972)

Fig. 393: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, view of north nave wall from east (photo Kinney 1972)

Fig. 394: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, arch of original
nave window, north wall adjoining transept
(photo Kinney 1972)
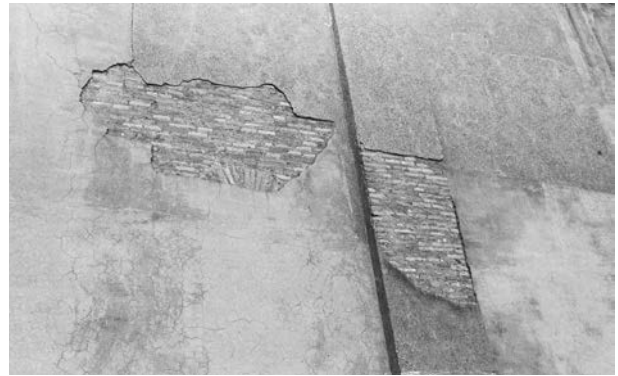
Fig. 395: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, arch of original
nave window and aura of a second window, north wall
(photo Kinney 1972)

The façade reflected the interior elevation as in early Christian basilicas, and the cavetto was situated between the top of the windows and the base of the roof.

Construction sequence

The cavetto overlaps the east side of the campanile (fig. 385). On the west side, the tower is abutted by the wall of the north clerestory, indicating that this part of the tower was standing before the nave wall was built (fig. 386).[397] The nave wall continues the south wall of the campanile; below this wall, the tower rests on the north colonnade (fig. 433). Structurally, the tower and the north nave elevation are interdependent. The clerestory wall between the tower and the transept must have been constructed after the tower had been completed to the level of its second cornice. Both the north and south clerestory walls overlap the transept cornices, just as, inside the basilica, the nave colonnades abut the entablatures of the columns of the triumphal arch (figs. 387, 388); the transept must have been completed before the nave. This accords with Avagnina's assumption that construction began with the apse and transept and moved eastward, but the structural role of the campanile demands a more complicated chronology.[398] The juncture of the transept wall and the wall of the north aisle shows an irregular fissure, but not a clear break like that with the sixteenth-century masonry above the cornice (fig. 378).[399] This suggests that the transept wall was not cleanly finished before its extension along the aisle was begun.

The construction sequence could have been as follows: (1) the old basilica was levelled. (2) The second basilica was laid out over the foundations of the fourth-century east-west walls and colonnades and possibly of the façade (fig. 348). New foundations were made for the apse and transept. (3) The apse and transept were completed to the level of the transept roof, and their decoration begun. The lower part of the aisle walls may have been erected at the same time, in order to enclose the construction site.[400] (4) Simultaneously, construction began in the northeast corner of the nave, including the façade wall, the beginning of the colonnade and the lower zones of the campanile. (5) The aisle walls were completed to the level of the cornice (fig. 390). (6) Construction of the remaining colonnades, clerestory and façade walls, nave and aisle roofs, porch, and window zones of the campanile came last. The erection of the campanile in two phases may explain why its lower sawtooth cornices are not identical to the upper ones; the design of the crowning cornices may not have been finalized when the campanile was begun in phase 4. Given the homogeneity of the masonry, the phases must have followed one another rapidly. The documentary evidence suggests completion before September 1143. With a sufficient workforce and decent weather, 1140 to 1143 seems a viable time span.

Windows and transept aedicula

The only original windows still open are in the wall of the apse, in the fourth, seventh, and tenth bays of the blind arcade (fig. 383). Their openings are 2.2 m high at the apex and 0.7 m wide. They were manhandled in the nineteenth century, when the restorers cut through the masonry in order to remove the old window frames and insert new iron ones filled with colored glass.[401] The original arches were destroyed and rebuilt, possibly with the same bricks (fig. 389). Above each of these arches is another one, protected by a little modern roof. They cannot be relieving arches, because they are smaller than the arches below them and land on their arcs. As the brickwork of both the upper arches and the wall below them is twelfth-century, they are best explained as pentimenti, the results of a miscalculation of the position of the windows in relation to the interior decoration. As finally built, the windows

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397 The notion that the campanile dates to the time of Pope Innocent III cannot be correct: Avagnina et al., Strutture (1976/77), p. 206.

398 Avagnina et al., Strutture (1976/77), pp. 206 f.

399 This part of the aisle wall can only be seen above the vestibule of the Altemps door; it is impossible to examine the juncture at lower levels.

400 This seems to have been the sequence at S. Maria sopra Minerva: Klein, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), p. 318.

401 Valorosi (1): »In uno dei finestroni dell' Abside per levare il telaro vecchio non potendosi smurare dalla parte interna per non offendere il mosaico nelle spalle si è dovuto tagliare il muro delle spalle ed arco nella parte esterna, e levarlo da opera […] Portato in alto il telaro di ferro con lastre colorate e messo in opera con diligenza […] Costruito il nuovo arco a tutto sesto […] Negli altri due finestroni eseguito il lavoro tutto simile al descritto.«

crest just under the marble cornice marking the bottom of the apse mosaic; had they been higher, they would have interrupted the frieze of lambs (figs. 476, 477). Since it seems unlikely that the frieze was an afterthought, there must have been a miscommunication between the designers of the mosaic and the masons about where the mosaic would begin.

The transept had at least six windows. Two »rather large« ones were in each end wall, 2.6 m high and 1 m wide, flanking framed niches that probably sheltered paintings (figs. 390, 391, 392).[402] The windows are topped by semicircular arches of small radially laid bricks, without springers or covers. Those in the north wall were closed when Cardinal Altemps built an organ against the inner side of the wall in the 1580s. The windows in the south wall may have remained open, but they were closed long before the 1780s, when a wooden »coretto« attached to the wall (visible in fig. 445) was old enough to threaten collapse.[403]

One round-headed window in each half of the west wall is partially outlined by the border of the twelfth-century mosaic (fig. 488). The southern one was closed by Martino Longhi to make a new window looking into the Altemps chapel, and the northern one may have been blocked at the same time. This leaves the east walls over the aisles, site of the only open windows now in the transept (fig. 393).[404] These windows are enlargements of earlier ones, which had sills above the aisle roofs.[405] The roofs were erected under Cardinal Altemps, and it is likely that the windows were made in the same renovation, to compensate for the loss of light from the windows that were closed. It is possible that the sixteeenth-century windows replaced smaller twelfth-century ones.

Traces of the nave windows survive under the plaster of the clerestory walls, and they could be seen in the north wall in the 1970s where the plaster was in disrepair (figs. 390, 394, 395). Parts of the arches of two windows were exposed, and the outline of a third was indicated by differential discoloration of the plaster (fig. 395, right). The two visible arches displayed radially laid bricks with stilatura marking the upper contour of the arc. Their openings were smaller than the transept windows, about 1.9 m high and 0.9 m wide, and they are higher in the wall, close to the cornice of the transept (figs. 390, 394). They are placed over the sixth and seventh intercolumniations in the center of the nave and over the twelfth intercolumniation at the west end (figs. 390, 472).[406] The central pair must be the windows described by Cressedi, who stated that windows were not found over every intercolumniation, and that other windows were not of the same size and shape.[407] The spacing of the three known windows in the north wall favors a reconstruction of others over every intercolumniation in the west half of the nave. Windows over alternate intercolumniations are possible in the east half, over the fourth and sixth intercolumniations in the north wall (where the second intercolumniation is blocked by the bell tower), and over the second, fourth, and sixth intercolumniations on the south.

An aisle window is visible from the roof of the Presepe chapel (fig. 396). Small and narrow (H 1.08 × W 0.23 m), it was set high in the wall (1.05 m below the roof cornice) near the sixth column of the interior colonnade, but not in vertical alignment with the clerestory window (fig. 390).[408] Part of another window can be made out above the roof of the vestibule of the door into the north aisle. This window is near the eleventh column of the colonnade, but again, it is not necessarily aligned with the nave window. The pattern, if any, in the placement of these windows is obscure.

402 Montelli, Tecniche costruttive (2011), p. 189 (»piuttosto ampie«).

403 ACSMT, Armadio XI, Fabbriceria, Basilica e Canonica, Busta no. 2–1°, item: »Essendomi io infras(cri)tto Architetto […] portato à riconoscere il coretto esistente nella chiesa […] e precisamente nella crociata, ed incontro all' Organo; qual visita si è fatta stante il dubbio di sua poca sicurezza […] 14 Aprile 1789 (signed) Francesco Rust Perito Arch.« The choir was removed by Vespignani: Valorosi (1), at 5868.08.

404 The door to the right of the window in fig. 393 leads to the organ.

405 Valorosi (1), at 4213.11: »Finestrone corrispondente sopra il Tetto della Navatella destra verso il cemetero. Per ampliare ed abbassare la luce di questo finestrone disfatta la parte di tetto della Navatella […] Dal nominato finestrone si è smurato e tolto da opera il telaro di ferro […] Eseguito il taglio a piccoli tratti del tenace muro delle spalle ed arco lungo M. 3.50 alto M. 4.85 grosso M. 1.00 […] defalco del vano largo M. 1.75 × 3.00 × 1.00.« Similar work for the south window is described at 4835.99.

406 The window over the twelfth intercolumniation was inadvertently omitted from fig. 472.

407 See above, n. 343.

408 The measurements were made by Ronald Malmstrom.

Fig. 396: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, aisle window over chapel of the Presepio (photo Kinney 1972)

Fig. 397: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north transept façade, aedicula (photo Kinney 1988)

The windows in the north wall of the transept are separated by a shallow rectangular niche framed by a marble aedicula (figs. 391, 397). The aedicula comprises two reused columns and an open pediment. The spiral-grooved shafts are broken at the bottom and rest on puffy square bases that in turn are supported by brackets (fig. 398). The brackets and the imposts over the columns were set into the wall at the time of construction; the pediment abuts the wall. The pillow-like base is fatter on the west side than on the east, to compensate for a slight difference in height between the brackets (fig. 397). The brackets have seven-part moldings and seem to be reused.[409] The imposts have the same profile, minus the lowest fascia (fig. 399). The pediment is constructed from trapezoidal sections of old cornices. Although they have the same moldings (cavetto, fillet, torus, fillet, torus, fascia), the two segments have slightly different proportions and do not join smoothly at the apex.

The column shafts invite comparison with spiral-fluted shafts from the fifth and sixth centuries, but they could be several centuries older.[410] The capitals are in tertiary use. Over the eastern shaft is a late antique schematic Composite capital, to which articulation of the leaves, echinus, and volutes was added in the Middle Ages (fig. 399).[411] It resembles a similarly recarved capital in S. Prassede dated by Cattaneo to the papacy of Paschal I (817–824), which was made originally in the late fourth or early fifth century.[412] The carving at S. Maria in Trastevere is not as fine, but that capital too probably was reworked in the ninth century. The western capital is based on an unusual schematic Corinthian type found in S. Vitale (401–417), in which the leaves of the second ring rise to meld with or become the volutes.[413] When the capital was recarved, again probably in the ninth century, the uncut leaves were given lobes, the middle leaves in the lower ring were framed with reversed helices, and a rosette with a ribbon was added below the abacus. Because the capital was too large for the column shaft of the aedicula, the twelfth-century marmorarius decreased its diameter by planing off the bottoms of the leaves of the lower ring.[414] All such adjustments of the spolia are invisible to a spectator on the ground. It is only through a telephoto lens that one sees how hard the marmorarius had to work to make his assemblage of premade parts seem homogeneous.

On the south wall of the transept the niche between the windows is semi-circular, and the marble frame has been robbed

409   Fascia, torus, fascia, torus, fascia, cavetto, fillet.
410   Fifth/sixth century: CSA VII 4 (1976), pp. 61 f. nos. 9–10; CSA VII 5 (1981), pp. 167–170 nos. 122–123. John Herrmann finds the workmanship too precise to be late antique, and suggests a Roman Imperial date (personal communication 18. 05. 2020).
411   I am grateful to John Herrmann for identifying the original date of these capitals.
412   Cattaneo (1888), p. 153 (»piccolo e non brutto capitello del secolo IX«), followed by Pani Ermini in CSA VII 1 (1974), p. 131 no. 77; Herrmann (1973), p. 216 no. 162.
413   Herrmann (1973), p. 229 no. 209.
414   This was observed by Peter Cornelius Claussen (personal communication 27. 02. 2020), whom I thank for his perceptive parsing of the capital's details.

Fig. 398: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north transept façade, aedicula, detail, bases (photo Kinney 2017)

Fig. 399: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north transept façade, aedicula, detail, capitals and pediment (photo Kinney 2017)

out (fig. 392). If the two marble brackets at its base are original, this aedicula was much plainer than its counterpart on the north, probably because unlike the north wall, which faced a major intersection, the south wall was not exposed to public view.

A fragmentary painting in the north niche, identified as Christ, was recorded by Eclissi (fig. 400).[415] The ogee arch framing the figure indicates that the painting was not twelfth-century; it may have been contemporary with the much later painting under the canopy at the base of the same wall (fig. 409).[416] The only painting visible today is the classicizing rinceaux on the soffit of the niche behind the pediment, which also may postdate the twelfth century (fig. 399). Despite the later date of the remains, the north niche, and perhaps also the south one, probably housed some kind of painting from the outset.

East portals

The basilica presently has four entrances, three in the east wall and one at the end of the north aisle (fig. 440). Only one of these portals – the central one in the east wall – is original. Traces of a fifth door, long closed, are visible in the north transept wall under a cantilevered canopy.

The central portal has a spoliate marble frame surrounding an aperture 5.15 m high by 2.9 m wide (fig. 401). The frame is 0.75 m wide, ornamented with an astragal (bead-and-reel) and anthemion (standing palmettes and inverted calyces) (fig. 402).[417] The jambs and lintel each consisted of a single

Fig. 400: Antonio Eclissi, fresco of Christ in the north transept aedicula, 1640. BAV, Vat. lat. 4404, fol. 33 (photo © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

415 BAV, Barb. lat. 4404, fol. 33r; Royal Collection Trust, inv.no. RCIN 908947; Osborne/Claridge, Antiquity 1 (1996), pp. 262 f.
416 See below, n. 444.
417 Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 599: additional elements below the anthemion and astragal have been trimmed off. For a full description: Di Fazio/Guidone (2014), pp. 241–243, 249.

Fig. 401: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, central portal
(photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 403: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, frame of central
portal, upper south corner (photo Kinney 2023)

Fig. 402: Rome, S. Maria
in Trastevere, central portal, north jamb
(photo Kinney 2016)

block.[418] The jambs make a return at pavement level, indicating to Pensabene that they were inverted in reuse.[419] Crude attempts to make new corners are visible at the top (fig. 403). The lintel has the same profile and decoration as the jambs, but it is not continuous with them. Attributing the jambs to the late Antonine or early Severan era, Pensabene proposed that the lintel is a copy made in the Middle Ages.[420] While there do appear to be some differences in execution, the fleshy foliage and rhythm of the pattern on the lintel have no parallels in twelfth-century Rome. Even if pieced together, the entire frame is likely to be antique.[421]

A more complete version of the same frame is found around the central door of S. Sabina (422–432), where the spoliate jambs and lintel preserve two additional fasciae separated by a Lesbian leaf and another bead-and-reel.[422] From a slightly earlier source than the frame at S. Maria in Trastevere, the lintel at S. Sabina is topped by an elaborately decorated cornice.[423] Since cornices or tympana above the lintel were not the norm in medieval Rome, the absence of such a feature at S. Maria in Trastevere would not be surprising.[424] Falda's view, however, shows an entablature and a lunette above the central portal (fig. 366). If they existed, these features must have disappeared in Carlo Fontana's remaking of the porch.

Fig. 404: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, south lateral portal, James Anderson, ca. 1890 (Alinari 6487/Art Resource)

The two lateral doorways, with openings 4.25 m high and 2.05/2.10 m wide, are elaborately framed with proportionately wide jambs, entablatures inscribed MARCVS SYTICVS CARD(INALIS) AB ALTAEMPS HVIVS BASIL(ICAE) TIT(ULARIS), and pediments (fig. 404).[425] The jambs are spolia, comprising marble blocks decorated with a frieze of scrolling acanthus vine bordered on the side towards the door by a cyma reversa (hanging

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418 The blocks are no longer intact; there is a break in the lintel and several in the north jamb. Parts of the anthemion are missing at the bottom left.
419 Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 600.
420 Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 600.
421 Neu (1972), p. 174 no. 21.
422 Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 255 no. 2, proposing an Antonine date.
423 Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 255 no. 1, Antonine.
424 Barral i Altet, Incorniciare (2014), pp. 25, 28–30.
425 The dimensions and ornament correspond to the invoice from the mason who made the south door in 1591: »Adi 7 Marzo […] Per haver levato dopera la porta di marmo che entrava dal porticale alla nave grande et rotto il muro, et mesola in opera sotto il porticale alla nave [sinistra] rincontro la capella [Altemps] lar(ga) p(almi) 9¼ [2.06 m] alt(a) p(almi) 19

Fig. 405: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north lateral portal, south jamb (photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 406: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, south lateral portal, north jamb (photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 407: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north lateral portal, north jamb rotated (photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 408: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north lateral portal, south jamb rotated (photo Kinney 2016)

acanthus) and astragal (bead-and-reel) (fig. 405).[426] Moldings on the outer side of the blocks were roughly sawn off, eliminating the tops of the vine scrolls and reducing the width of the blocks to 0.58–0.59 m. In some places the cut edge is jagged or broken. Each jamb comprises two pieces: a long block rising to a height of 3.40–3.44 m, and a much shorter one above it (figs. 405, 406). An attempt has been made to fit the pieces together so that the acanthus rinceau looks continuous, but the discontinuity is clear. The sixteenth-century mason regularized the appearance of these assemblages by enclosing them in straight vertical and horizontal frames. The frames extend the height of the jambs to meet the new entablature, which includes an imitation of the ancient cyma reversa and astragal directly over the door.[427]

Made for an entablature, the carved blocks were turned on their sides to make the jambs. The original pattern was symmetrical, with coils of foliate vines emerging from a central leaf basket. Each jamb contains one side of such a symmetrical unit, with half a basket at its base (left half on the right jamb, right half on the left), so the vines appear to scroll upward (figs. 407, 408). After three coils the vine crosses another one coming from the opposite direction, which suggests that originally, the leaf baskets occurred six coils apart.[428] Every coil envelops a floral or foliate blossom. The blossoms vary in type and orientation as if at the will of the sculptor.

The date and source of the eight reused blocks are uncertain. Schörner considered them Antonine (third quarter of the second century); Pensabene dated them almost 50 years later.[429] They may have come from the same site as the frieze blocks under the triumphal arch, but this is disputed.[430] Whatever the source, it must have contained substantial tracts of rising wall with its ornament still in situ. A very similar vine-scroll entablature was reused for the jambs of the portal of S. Giorgio in Velabro, but despite the resemblance, archaeologists generally doubt that they were taken from the same ruin as the blocks at S. Maria in Trastevere.[431]

The lateral portals originally were in the wall of the nave, one on the south »where the baptism was« and the other »near the Crucifix« (figs. 361, 362).[432] The openings, as measured by the mason who walled them up, were about the same as the sixteenth-century doors in width (2.23 m) but they were lower (3.79 m). With an average length of 3.42 m, the large blocks in the current jambs would have sufficed for the height of the twelfth-century doors with the addition of 0.37-m plinths. The shorter blocks (ca. 0.8 m long) must have been taken from elsewhere in the basilica in the sixteenth century. Nothing can be said about the frames of the original doors above the jambs.

In sum, the basilica originally was entered from the piazza through three doors 2.2, 2.9, and 2.2 m wide, all in the end wall of the nave. In a wall 12.3 m long, the doors would have been only about 1.25 m apart.[433] All three were framed with spolia. The central portal, surrounded by an authentic late antique door frame, had a sober early Christian appearance. The lateral doors were more exuberant, with jambs created by repurposing a late-second- or third-century entablature to make vertical vine scrolls. By using spolia, the marmorarius retranslated the antique-inspired vine-scroll jambs popular in Rome in the eleventh century into a genuinely classical art form.[434]

[4.24 m] il vano li stipiti lar(ghi) in faccia p(almi) 3½ [0.78 m] in testa p(almi) 1½ [0.34 m] con l' agetto, soglia architrave fregio cornice timpano frontespitio levatura rompitura metitura et muratura nella facia […].« Friedel (1978), pp. 118 f.

426 Di Fazio/Guidone (2014), pp. 237–241, 249; Pensabene, Roma (2015), pp. 600–603.

427 Contra Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 602, where the cyma reversa is attributed to the middle ages.

428 Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 603.

429 Schörner (1995), pp. 94, 173 nos. 238b–i; Pensabene, Roma (2015), pp. 599, 603. Di Fazio/Guidone (2014), p. 241 seem to argue for a date in between.

430 In favor: Schörner (1995), pp. 94, 173 no. 238a–i; Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 603. Against: Di Fazio/Guidone (2014), pp. 240 f.

431 Against: Schörner (1995), pp. 94, 173 nos. 233a–b; Pensabene, Roma (2015), pp. 444, 599; implicitly Claussen, in: Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), p. 25. Neu (1972), p. 58 posited a close workshop connection but not explicitly the same source.

432 Invoice of 28 November 1593: »Muro de una porta remurata nella facciata della Chiesa lar(ga) p(almi) 10 [2.23 m] alta p(almi) 17 [3.79 m] vicino al d(etto) crucefisso. Muro dell sfondato dell' altra porta dove stava il battesimo alto p(almi) 17 larga p(almi) 10«; Friedel (1978), p. 119. The »battesimo« was moved to an »apse« on the site of the present baptistery: Friedel (1978), p. 119.

433 12.3 m is the internal dimension between the spur walls at the ends of the colonnades.

434 On the medieval vine-scroll jambs see Cecchelli, Incorniciature (1965), pp. 23–25; Gandolfo, Programmi (1985), pp. 529–535; Claussen, Renovatio (1992), pp. 90 f.; Sartori, Gradino (1999), pp. 290–292; Claussen, Römische Skulptur (2004), pp. 73–77.

Fig. 409: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north transept façade (photo Mathews ca. 1970)

Fig. 410: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north transept door and canopy (photo Kinney 2009)

He was not the first to do this, if Claussen is correct that the portal of S. Giorgio in Velabro was made in the eleventh century.[435] But S. Giorgio had only one portal, as did S. Crisogono, which did not have a spoliate frame.[436] The abundance and density of the spolia around the portals of S. Maria in Trastevere, as everywhere else in the church, were unprecedented.[437]

North transept portal

Vestiges of a large portal are visible in the north wall of the transept, under a canopy supported by stone brackets (fig. 409). Its eccentric position is explained by the original two-level layout of the transept, described below, but the outline visible today must be later. The

Fig. 411: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north transept door, lintel and wreathed head (photo Kinney 1998)

435   Claussen, in: Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), p. 25 n. 66.
436   Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 397 f.
437   Pace, Nihil innovetur (1994), pp. 590 f., rept. in: Pace, Arte a Roma (2000), pp. 32–35.

Fig. 412: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north transept door, soffit of canopy (photo Kinney 2017)

Fuori della Chiesa, da la parte siniſtra uerſo la Lungara.

Pittura nel lato deſ la Madonna: forſi uotione, dal Sig.r Cardinale ſui ritrat: incluſo hora nel ci di S. Paolo; con

tro, del tabernacolo de faſta fare per ſua de= Rainaldo Brancacci, to, che mori nel Palazzo, Monaſterio de Mona= tiguo à queſta Chieſa.

Fig. 413: Antonio Eclissi, fresco of John the Baptist in the soffit of the canopy, 1640. BAV, Vat. lat. 4404, fol. 30r (photo © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

large opening (W 2.35 × H 3.7 m) is blocked by crude rubble masonry. The ornament of the jambs and lintel has been planed off, leaving only a curious figured bracket below the east end of the lintel and an unadorned cornice above it (figs. 410, 411).[438] There are clearly visible discontinuities in the brickwork surrounding the jambs, and the masonry around the brackets of the canopy also is disturbed. Where it is visible behind the impressions of the centering, the brickwork in the soffit of the canopy appears rougher than that of the twelfth century, with thicker, more fragmentary bricks (fig. 412). The cornice of the pediment is out of character with the twelfth-century decoration, as it has nearly uniform modillions, no interstitial brick patterns, and only one sawtooth frieze (fig. 410). Like the similar canopy at S. Maria della Luce, this one seems to have been added to the twelfth-century wall.[439]

The lintel stone was an inscribed block from the Macellum of Livia ([C]ELLO LIVIAE AD ORNATV[M]). The only record of the inscription's presence in the door frame is the nineteenth-century marble worker's invoice for removing it. Vespignani had it sawn off the lintel and installed in the north wall of the porch (fig. 352).[440] The

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438 Cecchelli (1933?), p. 68 recorded two heads, but today the west bracket exhibits only a fragment of relief.
439 Claussen, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), p. 304 dated the canopy at S. Maria della Luce to the fourteenth century.
440 Viti: »Nella porta antica murata impiegati 2/3 di giornata […] per levare da opera l'architrave di marmo dove era la iscrizione monumentale del macello di Livia […] Tagliata una lastra al detto architrave per mezzo di sega onde conservare quell'epigrafe.« The inscribed block is 2.5 m long, almost exactly the width of the door. R. Lanciani, The Destruction of

inscription was transcribed while still complete by the anonymous author of the Itinerary of Einsiedeln, who saw it somewhere in the eastern part of the city, possibly still in situ.[441] Poggio Bracciolini copied the Einsiedeln transcription, and other syllogists followed Poggio.[442] Presumably, in Poggio's day the block was at S. Maria in Trastevere under a layer of plaster, as it was in the nineteenth century. This suggests that its reuse was adventitious rather than programmatic (it was the right size). Otherwise one might be tempted to see it as an attempt to appropriate the history of S. Maria Maggiore, *iuxta macellum Libiae*.[443]

Until sometime after the mid-twentieth century, when the paintings were detached and moved to the sacristy, the canopy sheltered images of the Virgin and child enthroned with a kneeling donor in the lunette, and standing figures of St. Michael and John the Baptist below a roundel with Christ blessing in the soffit.[444] The copies of the frescoes by Eclissi include the coats of arms of a cardinal on the inner faces of the brackets (fig. 413).[445] Eclissi identified the cardinal as Rinaldo Brancaccio, who had the basilica *in commendam* between 1406 and 1427.[446] Accepting his identification, Serena Romano attributed the frescoes to Taddeo di Bartolo.[447] They may not have been the first paintings under the canopy, because Cardinal Brancaccio almost certainly did not make the door. The mysterious garlanded head at the east end of the lintel cannot be reconciled with a date in the early Quattrocento.

The head bears some similarity to a Green Man (»Blattmaske«), a common antique decorative motif found as spolia in several early medieval Roman churches, but it differs in conception in that it does produce any foliage (fig. 414). The stylized leaves are worn rather than sprouted; they cling to the head like a modern swim cap. Parlato and Romano judged the head to be a product of »the mature ambient of the Vassoletti,« presumably in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[448] In fact, the closest comparison to the expressionless face appears in a photograph of miscellaneous fragments from the church in Lanuvio, at least one of which came from a ciborium commissioned from Vassallettus in 1240 (fig. 415).[449] The photo was published in 1909, and the pieces have since disappeared.[450] The head of a female with splayed hair on the underside of a bracket at the far right of the photo is physiognomically similar to the Trastevere »Blattmaske.« There is little to compare with it in Rome. The close-set eyes, triangular nose, and thin closed lips have some resemblance to the faces of the busts in the architrave over the entrance to S. Pudenziana, but if the architrave was made in the eleventh century, as is now generally believed, the resemblance only accentuates the archaic quality of the head (fig. 416).[451] Circumstances favor a date after 1215, when the canons may have enlarged a twelfth-century portal to accommodate or attract the crowds of pilgrims expected after the basilica's spectacular consecration. This is speculation; only the discovery of written documentation or better formal comparanda will make it possible to date the head more precisely.

Ancient Rome, New York 1903, p. 152 thought that it came from the pavement. Jordan correctly described it as found »in the plaster«: Jordan 1 (1907), pt. 3, p. 344 n. 3: »Das grossgedruckte Stück ist 1871 im Pflaster von S. Maria in Trastevere wieder aufgefunden.«

441 CIL, VI pt. I, p. 245 no. 1178 (*Refertur sine loco post inscriptiones portae Praenestinae ab EINSIEDLENSI*); Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung (1987), p. 27 no. 20: *Valens et gratianus pii felices ac triu(m)phatores semp(er) augg(usti) porticus areasq(ue) cello liviae ad ornatu(m) urbis suae addi dedicariq(ue) iusserunt*; cf. p. 79.
442 CIL, VI pt. I, p. 245 no. 1178.
443 LP 2, p. 208: *Hic [Liberius] fecit basilicam nomini suo iuxta macellum Libiae*.
444 Romano, Eclissi (1992), pp. 404–408; Solberg (2015), pp. 51–54; Romano, Apogeo (2017), pp. 362–365.
445 Royal Collection Trust, inv.nos. RCIN 908948, 909216; BAV, Barb. lat. 4404, fols. 30–32, 34. Osborne/Claridge, Antiquity 1 (1996), pp. 260–262, nos. 114–115.
446 BAV, Barb. lat. 4404, fol. 30: »Pittura nel lato destro, del tabernacolo della Madonna: forsi fatta fare […] dal Sig.r Rainaldo Brancaccio, Cardinale iui ritratto.« On the date of his accession: Solberg (2015), p. 54; she dated the frescoes after 1419.
447 S. Romano, Taddeo di Bartolo a Roma?, in: Il più dolce lavorare che sia. Mélanges en l'honneur de Mauro Natale, ed. by F. Elsig, N. Etienne, G. Extermann, Milan 2009, pp. 15–19; followed by Solberg (2015); Romano, Apogeo (2017), pp. 362–365.
448 Parlato/Romano, Roma (2001), p. 64. I am grateful to several colleagues for sharing their thoughts about this head, including Cornelia Berger-Dittscheid, Dorothy Glass, Jacqueline Jung, and especially Peter Cornelius Claussen.
449 Galieti, Memorie (1909), p. 353 fig. 3; Claussen, Magistri (1987), pp. 119–121 and fig. 137. The fragments were in the collection of the Ispettore onorevole alle antichità Lanuvine, Vincenzo Seratrice.
450 Claussen, Magistri (1987), p. 120 n. 675.
451 For the eleventh-century date see below, n. 475.

Fig. 414: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north transept portal, wreathed head (photo Darby 2023)

Fig. 415: Lanuvio, S. Maria Maggiore, Cosmati decorations in Seratrice collection (photo F. Frediani 1909)

Fig. 416: Rome, S. Pudenziana, doorframe reused on prothyron, detail (photo Kinney 2023)

Door inserted in the north aisle

When the transept portal was closed in the 1520s, a smaller entrance was created at the west end of the north aisle. Now enclosed in a nineteenth-century vestibule (fig. 409, left edge), the door is framed by medieval reliefs appropriated from the façade of the Oratory of the Addolorata just down the street (figs. 371, 417).[452] The opening is narrow in proportions: W 1.69 × H 3.35 m.[453] The jambs and lintel comprise seven marble blocks, all 0.29 m wide. Each jamb contains one block carved with an inhabited vine scroll that rises to a height of 2.55 m, and a shorter (0.8 m) block that has been planed smooth. The lintel comprises one block nearly 2 m long, again carved with vines, and one smooth block at each end to bring it to the outer edges of the jambs. The assemblage is architecturally incoherent and obviously does not display the decorated components as they were made to be seen. Zuccari's discovery of additional pieces of the jambs still in the oratory façade allowed him to reconstruct the original door frame, 2.47 m wide and 3.76 m high without the filler blocks (fig. 371).[454]

Cleaning and conservation of the door frame in 1995 revealed that the medieval jambs were made from ancient blocks originally carved as piers, which had Corinthian capitals and fluting (fig. 418).[455] The presence of the capitals explains the curious fact that on each jamb, the ornament ends 2.26 m (on the east) and 2.18 m (west) before the top of the 2.55 m-long block. On the west side, the final 0.37 m coincides with the capital and the astragal at the top of the ancient pier. The capital

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452 Valorosi (1): »Nuovo Portichetto esterno alla porta d'ingresso verso il Cemetero.« For the oratory: above, nn. 332–334.
453 Alessandro Zuccari kindly supplied all of the dimensions cited in this paragraph.
454 Zuccari (2014), p. 136. The width is given as 2.74 m, but this must be a typo.
455 For information about the cleaning I am indebted to Karin Einaudi.

Fig. 417: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north aisle portal, photomontage (photo Senekovich 2018)

Fig. 418: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north aisle portal, west jamb (photo Klein 2016)

must have continued onto what is now the front side of the block. It likely was planed off by the »scalpellino« who pieced together the current frame in the sixteenth century. The medieval marmorarius had preserved the capital (perhaps recarving it) and planed off the fluting below it in order to carve his vines in sunken relief.

The vines grow from top to bottom. The fragment of the east jamb discovered in the Oratory of the Addolorata, now in a room off the sacristy, shows the lower terminus of one vine, marked by two symmetrical curlicues in the corners like those at top of the west jamb (figs. 419, 420). The lower edge of the west jamb is broken, showing less than half a scroll. When intact, each jamb displayed 12 vine scrolls. Each scroll contains a floral, foliate, or figural motif in its center, while small birds and animals perch in the interstices between the vine and the frame (figs. 419–422). Some of the central motifs are unremarkable; others are whimsical (fig. 421); still others are mythological, like the centaur on the west jamb (fig. 422). Although the carving is flat, keeping within the plane of the block, it is competent. The vine is well controlled, with scrolls of uniform size ending comfortably in upright motifs.

The lintel has the same conception and vocabulary, but it is organized differently. Currently it has three central roundels containing bust-length figures and two vine scrolls on either side (figs. 423–425). The east end has been sheared off in the middle of a third scroll, and the west end is severed just after a third scroll begins; originally there must have been three scrolls to left and right. The vines move outward from the two lateral roundels, which are

actually closed scrolls. The frame of the central roundel is a wreath. It encloses a bust-length orant female wearing a crown, pendilia, jeweled collar, and a high-waisted belt, very like the mosaic image of Maria Regina in the Oratory of Pope John VII in St. Peter's.[456] Because it is a Maria Regina, the bust has long been considered a reference to the Madonna della Clemenza.[457] The roundels to either side contain angels with staffs acclaiming her. The motifs inside the vine scrolls are less imaginative than they are on the jambs, and the carving seems slightly more flaccid, but the resemblance is close.

The date of the reliefs is unsettled. Toesca put them in the eleventh century.[458] Believing that they were made for the door into the transept, Cecchelli dated them to the time of Innocent II.[459] Rejecting the connection with the transept door, Gioia Bertelli argued for different chronologies for the lintel and the jambs.[460] She compared the lintel to reliefs generally ascribed to the late tenth or eleventh centuries and dated it to that era.[461] The jambs were judged »Romanesque,« similar to the vine scroll jambs on the central door of the cathedral of Salerno, and thus of the late eleventh or early twelfth century (fig. 426).[462] Bertelli's dating of the lintel and the jambs a century apart failed to convince, but her comparison with Salerno found favor.[463] Still, scholars vacillate between the extremes of the date range she proposed, even within their own work.[464] To some extent, the uncertainty is due to the unstable chronology of the comparanda, which collectively have been dated as early as the sixth and as late as the twelfth century.[465]

The most obvious comparanda for the jambs and lintel are other Roman door frames: in situ at S. Maria in Cosmedin and S. Stefano degli Abissini; reused as a step in the sanctuary of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina; reused on the prothyron at S. Pudenziana; and salvaged from the door of S. Apollinare in the Campus Martius, now in the Grotte Vaticane.[466] The frame of the »glorious portal« of the abbey church of Grottaferrata also is relevant (fig. 427).[467] Two of these comparisons can be dispatched quickly. The vine on the frame at S. Maria in Cosmedin is not a scroll, but a sine curve with animal and vegetal forms on either side.[468] Schmitz made a good case for dating it to the tenth century.[469] At the other extreme, the jambs of S. Stefano degli Abissini feature sculptural vines with well-disciplined scrolls all containing the same small rosette.[470] Their almost academic regularity permits none

456 M. Lidova, The Earliest Images of Maria Regina in Rome and Byzantine Imperial Iconography, in: Niš and Byzantium. The Collection of Scientific Works VIII, Niš 2010, pp. 231–243, esp. 241 fig. 10; Pogliani, in: Ballardini/Pogliani, A Reconstruction (2013), figs. 10.10, 10.13.

457 Cecchelli (1933?), p. 68; Bertelli, Precisazioni (1976), p. 73.

458 Toesca, Il Medioevo (1927), pp. 859 f.

459 Cecchelli (1933?), p. 68; similarly Hermanin, L'arte (1945), p. 140 (»con influenze meridionali«); Cecchelli (1963), p. 25; the same in: Cecchelli, Incorniciature (1965), p. 25; Melucco Vaccaro, in: CSA VII 3 (1974), pp. 83, 100 n. 6.

460 Bertelli, Precisazioni (1976). I am grateful to Gioia Bertelli for giving me the photographs taken at the time of her study.

461 Comparisons: the »gradino« in S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), pp. 182–184; the central door frame at S. Maria in Cosmedin, Schmitz, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), pp. 178–193; the altar in S. Maria del Priorato, Pollio, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), pp. 409–415.

462 Bertelli, Precisazioni (1976), pp. 72 f. The Salerno comparison was suggested by Valentino Pace: p. 74 n. 7.

463 The split dating was endorsed by Sartori, Gradino (1999), p. 292 n. 8, but rejected by E. Russo, Integrazioni al »Corpus,« VII,3 della scultura altomedievale di Roma. S. Giovanni a Porta Latina e S. Giovanni in Laterano, in: RAC 56, 1980, pp. 95–102, esp. 96 n. 3; Pace, Nihil innovetur (1994), p. 599 n. 27, rept. in Pace, Arte a Roma (2000), p. 36 n. 27; and implicitly by others who have since studied the door frame.

464 E. g., Claussen, Renovatio (1992), p. 90 (later 11th c.); Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), p. 184 (10th/early 11th c.). Cf. Pace, Grottaferrata (1987), pp. 51 f. (ca. 1100), followed by Silvestro, L'incorniciatura (1994), p. 119; Poeschke, Kirchenbau (1988), p. 12 n. 33 (first quarter 12th c.); Fratini, Considerazioni (1996), p. 56 (first decades 11th c.).

465 Fratini, Considerazioni (1996), p. 51; Parlato/Romano, Roma (2001), p. 75.

466 Fragments excavated in the 1980s/90s at S. Lorenzo in Damaso may be from a door frame that was also part of this group. John Mitchell dated them to the pontificate of John XIX (1024–1032), Mitchell, Giudizio (2011), pp. 170–174. A less likely member is the interior door frame in S. Giorgio in Velabro, which was compared to the jambs at S. Maria in Trastevere by Fratini, Considerazioni (1996), p. 56. Melucco Vaccaro, CSA VII 3 (1974), p. 83, also found the relationship »strettissimo«, but I cannot see any resemblance. Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), p. 16, called the relief in S. Giorgio »early medieval.«

467 S. Parenti, Il monastero di Grottaferrata nel medioevo (1004–1462). Segni e percorsi di una identità, Rome 2005, pp. 209 f., 238 f. My thanks to Valentino Pace for the photo in fig. 427.

468 Schmitz, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), pp. 180–184, figs. 149–158.

469 Schmitz, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), pp. 191–193.

470 http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/scheda/fotografia/141353/ [10. 12. 2020].

Fig. 419: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north aisle portal, fragment of east jamb now in sacristy corridor (photo Klein 2016)

Fig. 420: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north aisle portal, west jamb, detail (photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 421: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north aisle portal, east jamb, detail (photo Kinney 2015)

of the Romanesque whimsy seen at S. Maria in Trastevere. The dates proposed for this portal range from the 1080s to the early twelfth century.[471]

The frames of S. Apollinare and S. Pudenziana are related. Both have elegantly stylized scrolls combined with clipeate busts and lengthy inscriptions.[472] The jambs of S. Apollinare display slender but lush vines, inhabited by realistically rendered animals and birds, scrolling in complicated patterns on either side of a continuous vertical stem. The stem on each jamb is interrupted by an inscribed roundel containing the bust of a saint, while a bust of the Pantokrator appears in the lintel.[473] The door frame of S. Pudenziana must have been of similar design.[474] The lintel is adorned with three *clipei* of St. Pudentiana (fig. 416), St. Praxedis, and the Lamb of God, separated by symmetrical vine scrolls on either side of a vertical stalk. Finding it »advanced and perfect in craftmanship,« Claussen initially dated this frame to the early thirteenth century, but he was later persuaded by Corrado Fratini's argument for dating it and the door frame of S. Apollinare much earlier, »in the age of Hildebrand« (Pope Gregory VII).[475]

That leaves the fragments of a portal now installed as a stair riser in the bema of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina (the »gradino«) and the portal in situ at Grottaferrata. The vines on the »gradino« behave similarly to those in S. Maria in Trastevere, continuously dividing so that one part curls backward to enclose a vegetal or figural motif, and the

471 Gandolfo, Programmi (1985), p. 531 (»non oltre i primi due decenni del XII secolo«); Fratini, Considerazioni (1996), p. 59 (»non troppo lontana nel tempo« from ca. 1080); Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), p. 106 (late 11th c.); Claussen, Römische Skulptur (2004), p. 76 (second half 11th c.).
472 S. Apollinare: Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 96–109; S. Pudenziana: Petrignani (1934), pp. 10 f., 14 f., 62–67 (suggesting an eighth-century date); R. U. Montini, Santa Pudenziana (Le chiese di Roma illustrate, 50), Rome 1958, pp. 36–39, 53 f.
473 The saints are Apollinaris (left) and Peter (right).
474 See the diagram in Petrignani (1934), p. 66 fig. 48; Claussen, Magistri (1987), pl. 66 fig. 132.
475 Claussen, Magistri (1987), pp. 118 f.; Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 107 f. (quotation on p. 107). Fratini, Considerazioni (1996), pp. 57–64 (quotation on p. 63).

Fig. 422: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north aisle portal, west jamb, detail (photo Kinney 2016)

other moves forward to make the next scroll.[476] The figural motifs are likewise varied and partly fantastic, and there is a comparable use of incision to delineate internal details. At Grottaferrata, vine scrolls of the same type grow upward from the bottom of the right jamb, across the lintel and down the left jamb (fig. 427).[477] The scrolls are filled with a variety of animals and birds, human and animal heads, a naked man, leaves, blossoms, and fruits. The relief is much more accomplished than the »gradino«; it is sculptural rather than graphic, with more naturalistically rendered, graceful forms. The vine is accompanied by both classical and Cosmati-style ornament, and there are recesses for colored inlay. Small holes in the vine and the motifs within it may indicate that the frieze was dotted with gold or spots of color.[478] Similar holes appear in the jambs at S. Maria in Trastevere, but with less regularity (fig. 419).

The existence of a sub-group comprising the »gradino« and the portals in Trastevere and Grottaferrata was recognized by Valentino Pace, who associated them with the jambs of Salerno Cathedral.[479] Silvia Silvestro rejected the comparison with Salerno but affirmed the resemblance between the Grottaferrata portal and the gradino.[480] Sartori acknowledged »affinities« among the gradino and the three portals, but argued that the gradino is a unicum because of its direct reliance on classical precedents like the Severan pilasters reused in the Oratory of Pope John VII.[481] Claussen endorsed the comparison with Salerno, but denied a relationship between the gradino and the »Byzantinizing« portal in Trastevere.[482] He attributed the latter to the late tenth or eleventh century, which would make it contemporary with Schmitz's date for the jambs at S. Maria in Cosmedin.

In sorting out the competing opinions, it is helpful to distinguish typology (design) from craftsmanship (quality) and what might be called the sculptor's interpretation (style). The type or general conception of the scrolling vine in the gradino-Trastevere-Grottaferrata examples is the same, and different from the vine types of S. Maria in Cosmedin and S. Apollinare-S. Pudenziana. It is an ancient, pan-Mediterranean type that was utilized by artists in multiple cultures and media during the eastern and western middle ages.[483] There was no need for an eleventh- or twelfth-century sculptor to return to classical sources to discover it. The type was part of his inheritance, but the interpretation of it was his own. Claussen aptly compared the metamorphosing vine on the gradino, where the tendrils turn into animal heads and even a human hand, to the marginalia of illuminated manuscripts.[484] This kind of interpretation might be called Romanesque.[485] At Grottaferrata and Salerno the interpretation is classicizing, or more precisely re-classicizing, as the sculptors seem to have self-consciously reinvested a contemporary type with

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476 The upper third of each block was trimmed off when the blocks were installed in the stair, making the vines hard to read. The diagrams of Sartori, Gradino (1999), pl. XXXVIII are helpful.
477 I am grateful to Valentino Pace for sharing his informative photos of this portal and for discussion of its style.
478 Silvestro, L'incorniciatura (1994), figs. 6–8, 16.
479 Pace, Grottaferrata (1987), pp. 51 f.
480 Silvestro, L'incorniciatura (1994), pp. 126 f.
481 B. Nobiloni, I pilastri marmorei dell' oratorio di Giovanni VII nella vecchia basilica di San Pietro, in: Xenia antiqua 8, 1999, pp. 69–128; Kinney, Spolia/St. Peter's (2005), p. 30; Ballardini, in: Ballardini/Pogliani, A Reconstruction (2013), pp. 193–196.
482 Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), pp. 183 f.
483 See the wide-ranging comparisons cited by Silvestro, L'incorniciatura (1994), pp. 123–128; Pace (1997), figs. 19–20, 23, 29–31.
484 Claussen, in: Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), p. 184.
485 Obviously, fantasy and grotesquerie comprise only one aspect of the various styles that fall under the rubric »Romanesque.« The focus on this facet here is heuristic.

Fig. 423: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north aisle portal,
east end of lintel (photo Bertelli ca. 1975)

Fig. 424: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north aisle portal,
center of lintel (photo Bertelli ca. 1975)

characteristics of its ancient exemplars: volume, lifelike appearance, graceful movement. The uninhabited vine at S. Stefano degli Abissini also exhibits re-classicization.

The classicizing mode of interpretation demanded considerable skill, and there is a marked difference in quality between the Grottaferrata-Salerno door frames and those at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina and S. Maria in Trastevere. The door frames of S. Apollinare and S. Pudenziana also evince a high level of craftsmanship. The gradino and the inhabited vine at S. Maria in Trastevere are less adept. We might describe them as examples of a Romanesque interpretation executed with middling competency. These qualities signal a relationship, but not a date.[486]

Dates have been advanced on the basis of contextual considerations and models of stylistic development. Sartori's examination of the personnel history of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina led her to conclude that the patron of the gradino must have been the archpriest John Gratian in the 1040s.[487] Her argument was rejected on developmental grounds by Claussen, who maintained that the reliefs must have been made after mid-century.[488] Fratini determined that the S. Apollinare-S. Pudenziana frames have qualities generally held to be characteristic of the Gregorian Reform: »a learned and erudite language,« classicism, naturalism, a pro-papal political message; consequently he dated both door frames to the early 1080s.[489] Accepting his date, Claussen pointed out that this was also the age of the antipope Clement III (Wibert of Ravenna, 1080–1100), and the reliefs might equally be »Wibertine.«[490] Pace argued for Campanian influence at Grottaferrata; this entailed a date for its portal ca. 1100, after the jambs of Salerno Cathedral, which are thought to have been installed before its consecration in 1084.[491]

A contextual/developmental approach to the reliefs in S. Maria in Trastevere yields a probable date in the third quarter of the eleventh century. The carving most closely resembles that of the gradino, especially in the treatment of human heads and bodies. Although the archangels in the medallions on the lintel show life and movement, the carving is graphic and flat. The treatment of the vines is more confident than on the gradino, and the animal forms on the jambs are more rounded. A date near that of the gradino coincides with the judgement of Karin Einaudi on the basis of her careful study of the portal after its cleaning in 1995; she proposed 1050 to 1075.[492] This period presents an obvious context: the reform of the clergy of S. Maria in Trastevere in the 1060s, marked by the consecration of the old church in 1065.[493]

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486 Cf. Claussen, Nuovo campo (2007), p. 63, noting the possibility that workshops with different »Anspruchniveaus« co-existed.
487 Sartori, Gradino (1999), pp. 298–306.
488 Claussen, Nuovo campo (2007), pp. 68 f.
489 Fratini, Considerazioni (1996), pp. 55–57.
490 Claussen, Römische Skulptur (2004), pp. 76 f., 80.
491 Pace, Grottaferrata (1987), pp. 50–52. On the date of the Salerno jambs: Pace (1997), p. 214. The bronze valves were installed later, in 1099.
492 Einaudi, personal communication (08. 12. 2016).
493 See above, n. 98.

Fig. 425: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north aisle portal, west end of lintel (photo Bertelli ca. 1975)

Fig. 426: Salerno, Cathedral, main portal, south jamb, detail (photo Kinney 2015)

An association of the portal with the eleventh-century consecration conflicts with Zuccari's suggestion that the door frame was made under Pope Innocent II or a twelfth-century predecessor, and possibly with his theory that it was made for the cemetery building later replaced by the Oratory of the Addolorata (fig. 371).[494] A door of this size and ambition would have been appropriate to the basilica itself.[495] The figured frame would have been anomalous after 1100, in the age of the Cosmati, when sculpture became aniconic.[496] The Romanesque style and modest craftsmanship of the reliefs are hard to reconcile with the antique spolia lavished on the basilica of Innocent II.[497] If an eleventh-century date for the door frame is better suited to style and circumstance, we can conclude that the building it adorned was also of the eleventh century or earlier. Perhaps the frame is now in tertiary use: made for the old basilica in the 1060s; moved to the cemetery building when the old basilica was demolished; moved again in the sixteenth century. On the other hand, if Zuccari is correct that the door frame was made not for the basilica but for a separate building housing the Madonna della Clemenza, a date in the 1060s suggests that the icon itself may have had some association with the eleventh-century Reform. This would explain its celebrity in the early twelfth century and its importance to Pope Calixtus II.
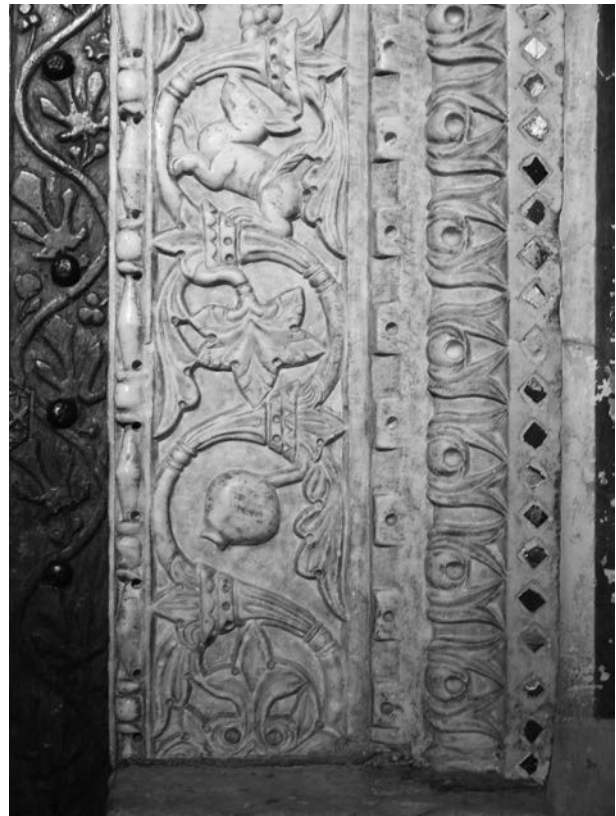

Fig. 427: Grottaferrata, Abbey Church, main portal, south jamb, detail (photo Pace 2006)

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494 Zuccari (2014), p. 144.
495 Cf. Fratini, Considerazioni (1996), p. 55.
496 Claussen, Nuovo campo (2007), pp. 63 f.; Claussen, Scultura e splendori (2008), pp. 212 f.
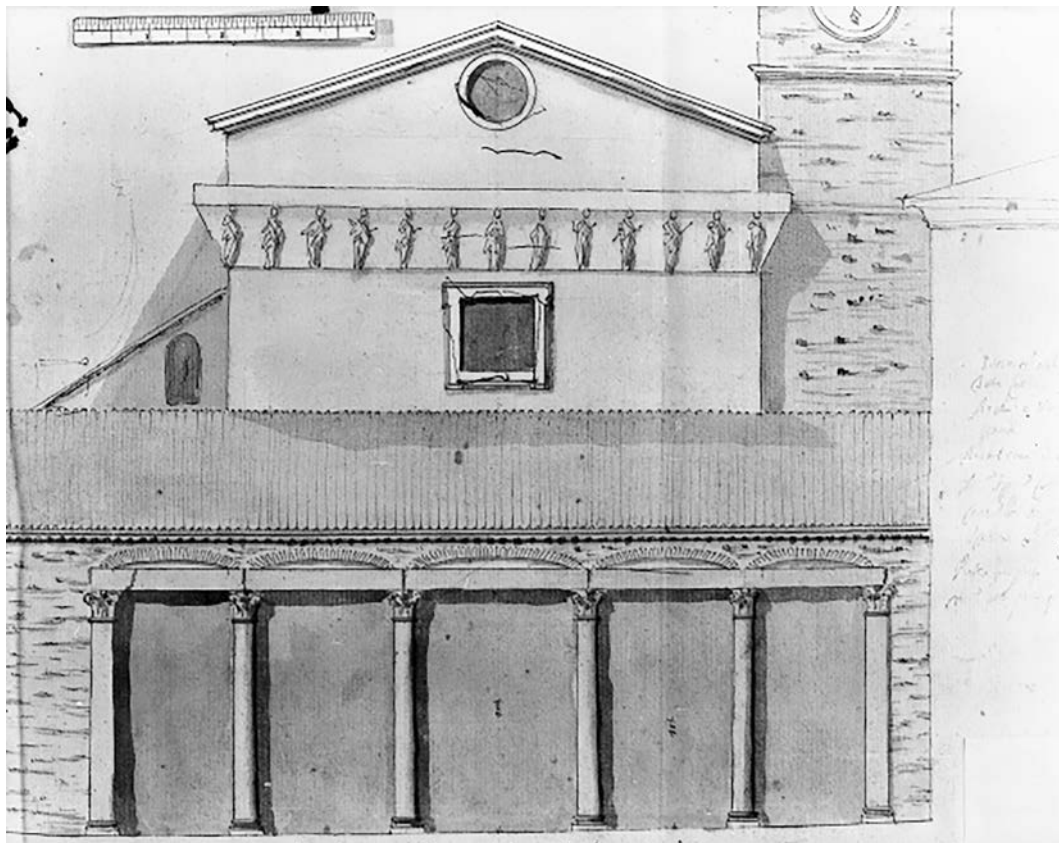497 Parlato/Romano, Roma (2001), p. 75.

Fig. 428: Carlo Fontana, elevation of the façade, 1701. Royal Library, Windsor
(photo Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2018)

Porch

Carlo Fontana made drawings of the façade and the twelfth-century porch before he demolished the porch in 1701. A measured elevation in the British Royal Collection shows cracks in the masonry, in the mosaic, and in the frame around the square window (fig. 428).[498] A ground plan, annotated with dimensions in palmi romani, indicates that the interior of the porch was trapezoidal, measuring 30.29 m north-south at the west versus 24.89 m north-south at the east, with short sides 7.38 m and 7.67 m long (fig. 429).[499] According to a note in the lower left of the sheet and a section in the right margin, the height of the columns with their bases was 6.37 m, and the height from the floor to the horizontal roof beams was 7.93 m. A second section shows Fontana's idea for the new porch, with a vaulted interior 40 palmi (8.92 m) high.[500] The porch he constructed is somewhat higher, 9.5 m from the pavement to the apex of the elliptical vault (figs. 369, 390). Its plan is a regular rectangle, 24.5 m long and 7.2/7.4 m deep (fig. 440).

The ground plan shows a door in each of the short walls. Fontana must have closed the southern door, because it was reopened in the nineteenth century to give access to a corridor leading to the sacristy (figs. 369, 440).[501] The north door also was suppressed. Although Torriani labeled it »to be made,« a door must have existed here in the

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498   Fontana, Windsor (1701), inv.no. RCIN 909418; Braham/Hager (1977), p. 78 no. 135. Contrast Leipzig (1701), p. 77, which is an idealized copy, not a »rough sketch« for RCIN 909418 as per Braham/Hager.
499   Fontana, Windsor (1701), inv.no. RCIN 909417; Braham/Hager (1977), p. 78 no. 134.
500   For the final drawing: Vitiello (2003), p. 95.
501   Giustificazioni 1874, »Conto dei lavori di Arte Muraria eseguiti per formare il passaggio dal portico […] alla Sagrestia […] Nella testata sinistra del portico si è aperto il vano di porta con taglio del grosso e tenace muro larg. ragg. M. 2.15 alto M. 3.05 grosso M. 1.30.« Cf. ACSMT, Armadio XI, Restauri di Pio IX, Giustificazioni 1864, draft of a letter to Pope Pius IX requesting his intercession with the monks who occupied the adjoining palace.
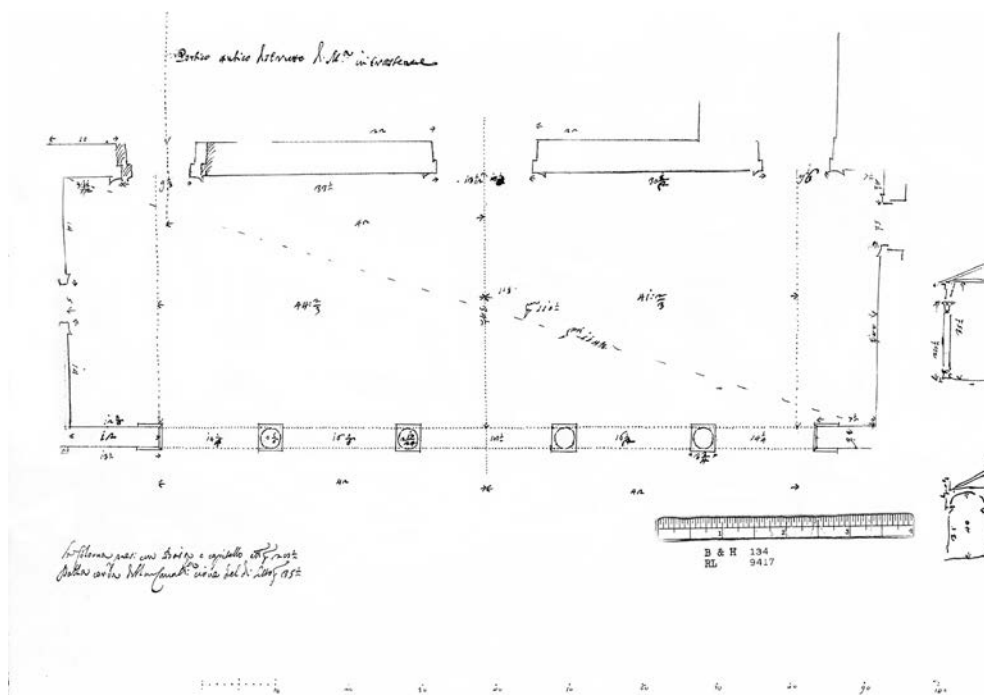
Fig. 429: Carlo Fontana, ground plan of porch, 1701. Royal Library, Windsor
(photo Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2018)

twelfth century, to give access to a space behind an extension of the porch wall seen in the drawing attributed to Gi-annini and in an anonymous view in the British Library (figs. 361, 365, 430).[502] The wall breaks off raggedly in both drawings; evidently the space it enclosed had been destroyed. On his plan, Giannini (?) showed another wall labeled »enclosure of the aforesaid houses,« that is, the houses belonging to the Chapter shown in elevation above the plan (fig. 365).[503] The porch wall stood slightly east of this wall of the enclosure, which may have been a post-medieval intrusion. By the time of Fontana's plan the houses had been replaced by the extant palace, and the door he drew may have been an entrance into it.[504]

The drawings by Fontana in the Royal Collection are accompanied by a description in his hand. It states that the porch had four granite columns with their bases »on the ground,« clumsily made capitals of mixed types (»varie sorti«), roughly built pilasters that did not line up with the doors, spoliate blocks »of terrible design« forming an ar-chitrave, and a »despicable« roof.[505] Fontana's demolition spared only the granite shafts, which he reused as accents in front of his piers (figs. 367, 368, 376). The shafts are of the same material (granito del foro) and nearly identical in size (5.31 m tall, 0.59/0.60 m in diameter) to the four that stand at the ends of the aisles (figs. 361, 440). All eight probably were found together in the twelfth century, perhaps in the first basilica.

The other elements of Fontana's description can be visualized by comparing his elevation to earlier views by Giannini (?), Falda, and the British Library Anonymous.[506] The meaning of »base in Terra« is clearest in Falda's

502 Diagrammata, 2b: »Entrata da farsi per le stanzie de' preti.« British Library, Cartographic items, Maps 6, tab. 3, fol. 37; Vitiello (2004); Pasquali (2014).

503 Diagrammata, 13: »facciata della chiesa, è suo Portico auanti, di Sta Maria in Trasteuere, è delle Case dll Capitolo, di dta, come al' presente si rìtrouano, con la pianta del portico, è parte dlla Chiesa, èt il recinto dlle Sudte Case.«

504 For the canons' palace: above, n. 301.

505 Fontana, Windsor (1701), fol. 11 (preceding inv.no. RCIN 909416): »Risiedeua il Portico antico […] molto diforme, et abietto con quattro Colonne di granito con base in Terra, e Capitelli di Varie sorti di goffa maniera, e pezzi di pilastro rozzamente costrutti senza uerun ordine e si nella situazione, come nella Corrispondenza con le porte della Basilica. Sosteneuano le predette Colonne alcuni pezzi di marmo auanzi dei fraementi dell'antichi edificij di pessimo disegno, e di Varie forme, quali faceuano l'offitio d'Architraue, e sop.a ui staua un tetto molto uile, il quale rendeua poca soddisfatione all'occhio in guardarlo;« Braham/Hager (1977), p. 79. I am grateful to Rhian Wong of the Print Room for providing a scan of this page.
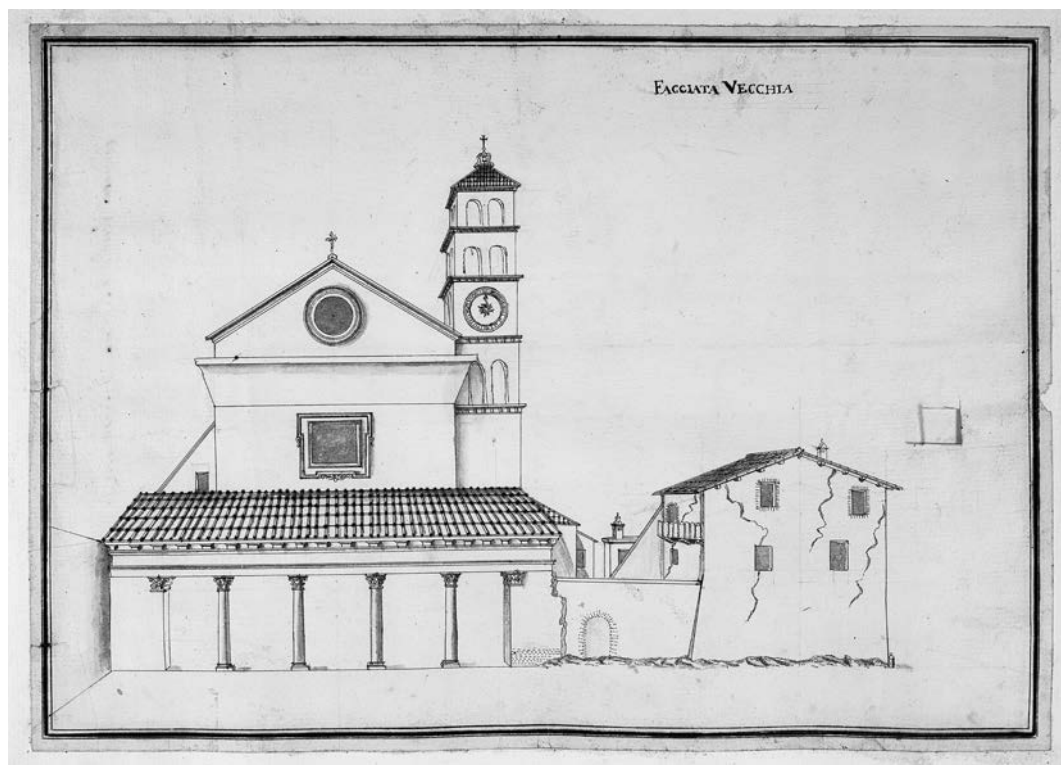
506 Vitiello (2004), pp. 636–640.

Fig. 430: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, view of piazza and façade, 1660s.
London, British Library, maps 6, tab. 3, fol. 37 (photo London, British Library)

view (fig. 366), where the dirt of the piazza covers the stylobate, which must have been low to begin with.[507] In every view, all of the capitals are Corinthian, so »varie sorti« probably refers to differences within that type rather than a mix of orders. Pace Giannini (?) and Falda, who depicted the intercolumniations aligned with the lateral entrance portals, Fontana's plan shows that the columns were spaced in relation to the original position of the doorways in the wall of the nave (fig. 429). The intercolumniations increased in width toward the center, measuring 3.18 m, 3.61 m, 4.13 m, 3.69 m, and 3.18 m from south to north. The »pezzi di pilastro« were at the ends of the colonnade, where the walls had smooth revetments, Corinthian pilaster capitals, and bases at their terminals (figs. 365, 430). No one depicted the »terrible design« of the architrave blocks, but Falda filled the frieze with rune-like lines suggestive of an inscription, as on the later porches of S. Giorgio in Velabro and SS. Giovanni e Paolo (fig. 366).[508] Fontana's elevation omits the frieze in order to show the relieving arches behind it (fig. 428). Both Falda and the British Library Anonymous, but not Fontana, depicted modillions at the roofline over the frieze (figs. 366, 430).

The twelfth-century porch can confidently be reconstructed as a relatively deep quasi-rectangular space with a trabeated colonnade of four columns supporting a mono-pitched roof. It was extended on its north side (possibly also the south) by a room or chapel. In its general aspect the porch conformed to the typical Roman type of the twelfth century.[509] It was not Ionic, however, but seems to have had unmatched Corinthian capitals and equally mixed architrave blocks (»di pessimo disegno«). If, as seems likely, the modillions of the cornice also were spolia, the colonnade presented a display of antiquities complementing the sumptuous door frames visible through the intercolumniations. It was of a piece with the rest of the basilica and announced its profusion of spolia to the piazza.[510]

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507   Cf. the stylobates at S. Giorgio in Velabro and SS. Giovanni e Paolo; Pistilli, L'architettura (1991), pp. 13–15.
508   Pistilli, L'architettura (1991), pp. 12–15.
509   For the type see Poeschke, Kirchenbau (1988), pp. 18 f.; Claussen, Renovatio (1992), p. 117; Kinney, Romanità (2012), pp. 53–56.
510   Cf. Vitiello (2017), p. 300.

Campanile

The bell tower of S. Maria in Trastevere rises from the east end of the north aisle to a height of 37 m (figs. 368, 431).[511] Like all such towers it is a square shaft subdivided internally by wooden floors connected by ladders, and externally by modillion cornices that demarcate rows of windows (figs. 432, 433).[512] The square measures about 5.7 m per side.

The location at the end of the aisle was not uncommon, but normally the tower shares two perimeter walls (aisle and façade) of the basilica at its base. A third side coincides with the clerestory wall above the colonnade.[513] At S. Maria in Trastevere the aisle is too wide for this arrangement (fig. 434). The builder chose to forego the aisle wall and erect the tower adjoining the nave, over the colonnade and the east wall.[514] As a consequence, the tower has two party walls with the basilica. A third (north) wall is shared with an elliptical staircase that invades the aisle on the north side (figs. 433, 434). The fourth (west) wall crosses the aisle at the center of the second intercolumniation. The elliptical stair must be post-medieval, but a stairway on its site goes back to the middle ages (cf. fig. 430). Ann Priester observed a twelfth-century arch in the party wall with the stair tower at approximately the level of the north aisle roof, indicating that the campanile always had an entrance at this point (fig. 390).[515] It must have been accessed by an exterior stairway against the campanile wall.

The builder's choice to rest one side of the tower on a single column and its architrave exacerbated what was already a vulnerable design.[516] A reinforcing wall under half of the entablature may have been envisioned from the outset (fig. 441). It would explain the choice of the upper zone of a Composite capital for column N1, as its volutes project away from the wall and are not obscured by it (fig. 435). By the sixteenth century the wall extended to column N2 (fig. 362). Further strengthening was achieved by closing most of the tower's windows, ultimately eliminating nearly all light to the interior.[517] In the nineteenth century Vespignani found cracks in the wall above the entablature and »sizable lesions« between the tower and the wall of the nave.[518] He replaced the wall under

Fig. 431: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, campanile, east side
(photo Kinney 1998)

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511   Priester, Belltowers (1990), pp. 217–229.
512   Priester, Belltowers (1990), pp. 46–48.
513   E. g., S. Bartolomeo all' Isola, Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), p. 134 fig. 89; SS. Bonifacio ed Alessio, Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), p. 188 fig. 129. At S. Maria in Cosmedin the base of the tower was built first and its third wall rises behind the colonnade, rather than over it; Schmitz, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), pp. 159–162.
514   Serafini's plan is completely inaccurate: Serafini, Torri (1927), p. 221 fig. 560A.
515   Priester, Belltowers (1990), p. 223.
516   Priester, Belltowers (1990), p. 50.
517   Remaining open: two lunettes in the first story, west and east sides; four windows in the third story, south (1), north (1), and east (2) sides. On the structural reasons for the fill walls: Priester, Belltowers (1990), pp. 50 f.
518   Mertel (1864/65), letter to Constantini Baldini, Ministro del Commercio e Lavori Pubblici, 27 Agosto 1864: »Nel riordinare le finestre della nave media […] alcune lesioni considerevoli si sono ritruovate frà le mura di essa nave ed il campanile.« Report of Luigi Grifi, 21 settembre 1864: »stanti le fenditure, che si osservano nell' interno della chiesa nel muro eretto sulla cornice delle prime colonne a destra e l' averne chiusa pure con un muro gli intercolunni, a cagione dell' innalzamento del campanile.«
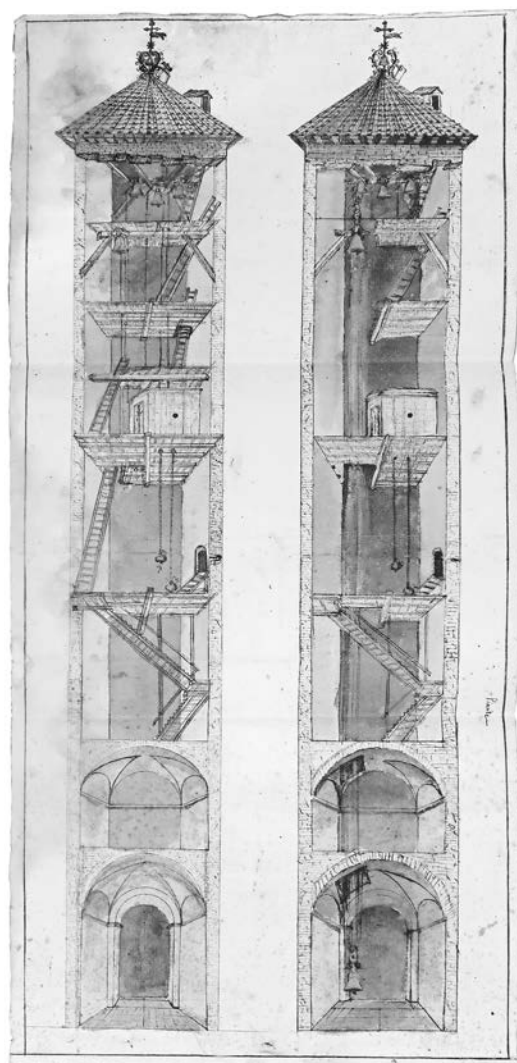
Fig. 432: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, sections through campanile, ca 1713. Rome, ACSMT (photo Senekovic 2018)

the architrave and rebuilt the party wall above it to a height of 8.59 m.[519] The exterior of the tower was extensively restored. The brick facing was repaired, framing arches were touched up, headers over the voussoirs were replaced, cornices were patched and given new modillions, and eighteen stone disks were inserted into the east wall.[520]

The base of the tower currently serves as a vestibule to the basilica. It has three doors: one from the porch, one into the north aisle, and one to the external stairway (fig. 440). All three were opened by Onorio Longhi in 1593.[521] The door to the aisle already existed and was »enlarged«; the other two doors were new. Longhi also made a wall »attached to the old one« in the intercolumniations for the purpose of supporting the tower.[522] If the »old« wall went back to the twelfth century, the base of the campanile originally was closed off from the nave and the porch, and accessible only from inside the basilica via the north aisle.

The vestibule is covered by an irregular vault that rests on the tower's north party wall and the supporting wall under the columns. A second, low vault above the first one creates a floor accessed through the twelfth-century arch from the stair tower (figs. 390, 433). Both vaults may date from Vespignani's restoration, but the arrangement is essentially the same as that shown in an eighteenth-century drawing in the Chapter archive, which probably was made in conjunction with the recasting of the main bell in 1714 (fig. 432).[523] The before and after sections through the tower illustrate the measures that were taken to lower the broken bell: eliminating one wooden floor entirely,

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519 Valorosi (2), no. 463: »fra i due intercolunni corrispondenti nel Campanile tagliato […] il muro in lunghezza assieme di M. 4.24 alto M. 7.22 grosso M. 0.50 […]; no. 462: al disopra della trabeazione, sfoderato […] il muro […] ripreso […] a piccoli tratti il nuovo […] dalla parte d'ingresso M. 5.80 alto dalla trabeazione stessa fino al termine M. 8.59.«

520 Valorosi (2), no. 465: »Prospetto sulla piazza […] sonosi riprese […] alcuni tratti degli archetti sui vani e incassi arrecati, nonchè la maggior parte degli aggetti sui medesimi […] parimenti riprese in parecchie parti le cinque cornici che coronano gli ordini, avendo pure murate delle nuove mensolette di marmo […] più fatti gl' incassi e murati N 18 dischi di pietre dure e rabboccate le vecchie commissure.« Eighteen is the total number of disks on the façade. Priester, Belltowers (1990), p. 221, correctly identified them as modern. For the other three sides see Valorosi (2), nos. 469–473. There are at least 39 new modillions: Viti (at 10,922): »Per aver fatto col marmo greco della chiesa una delle N° 39 mensoletta bisantina […] che essendo No 39 mensole con fattura simile.«

521 Altemps family archive, Gallese, fol. 87: »Adì 28 Nouembre 1593. Misura et stima de lauori di muro fatti da me mr Domenico Pozzo da Coltre m(urato)re alla chiesa di s. Maria fons olei […] Per hauer fatto et alargat(o) la porta che entraua al campanile rincontro alla d(etta) naue [sinistra] lon(ga) p. 10½ alt(a) p. 21 […] Per hauer rotto la porta che entra dal portico della Chiesa […] Per hauer rotto è fatto una porticella che entra dalla scaletta al campanile larg(a) p. 3 alt(a) p. 8.« Cf. Friedel (1978), p. 119.

522 Altemps family archive, Gallese, fol. 87: »Muro che sostiene il campanile attacato al uechio [largo?] p. 3 nella facia doue è messo il SSmo Crucefisso alt(o) p. 34 larg(o) p. 20.« Friedel (1978), p. 119.

523 ACSMT, 240, pen in brown ink, tinted with brown, lavender, and blue washes, L 54 × W 25 cm. The drawing was previously in a folder containing accounts of a later recasting in 1772: ASD, ACSMT, Fabbriceria Basilica e Canonica, Armadio XI, Busta no. 3, Campane e campanile, folder: »Rifusione della Campana Maggiore eseguita da Francesco Blasii Romano nel 1772.« It fits the documentation of the 1714 recasting, however; see n. 524.

sawing two others in half, and cutting holes in the remaining three as well as in both vaults.[524] Some of the floors were never replaced.

The wooden floors correspond to the exterior modillion cornices at the bases of the windows (figs. 431, 436).[525] There are four stories of windows: one of triple monofores, two of double bifores, and trifores. The stories increase slightly in height, from 3.9 m in the lowest two to 4.2 m in the upper two.[526] The presence of both bifore and trifore windows is unique in Rome; they are not mixed on any other tower.[527] Above the trifores is the pyramidal roof, carrying a bell in an elaborate metal armature.[528]

The bifores and trifores were closed in multiple stages. Column shafts survive only in the trifores; they appear to be spolia, and one on the east side is spiral-fluted (fig. 438).[529] The shafts carry pulvin capitals that span the full thickness of the walls.[530] The windows are capped by doubled arches. In the bifores and trifores the lower arches spring from the pulvins, while the arches above them spring from modillions over the pulvins and, in the bifores, from brick frieze fragments on the pilasters (fig. 437).[531] The upper arches are covered by header bricks. At the outer ends these arches meet a sawtooth »impost cornice« that continues around the wall of the tower to the next bifore or trifore.[532]

Above the center opening of the east trifore is a marble aedicula (fig. 438). It overlaps the terminal modillion cornice and appears to have been added post-construction.[533] The rudimentary structure was made by inserting into the wall two spoliate blocks of marble with fluting on one side, creating a cantilever that supports two vertical marble slabs and two pitched slabs forming a roof (fig. 439). The aedicula shelters a mosaic depicting a bust-length Virgin and Child. The style of the image was distorted by restoration in the 1870s, when the mosaic was detached, lowered to the ground, and set into a peperino case.[534] Nevertheless, it is possible to see that the style is not twelfth-century. Schmitz ventured a date in the second half of the thirteenth century.[535] Eclissi's rendering of the mosaic shows expressions, postures, and attributes different from those seen today, but he could hardly have seen the mosaic well if he recorded it from the ground, and he probably improvised.[536]

Serafini sorted the bell towers in Rome and Lazio into a complicated system of »maestranze,« attributing S. Maria in Trastevere to a »medieval Roman workforce DM.«[537] »DM« (unique to S. Maria in Trastevere) fused

524 The folder cited in n. 523 contains a letter dated 1713, stating that the main bell, cast in 1598, broke in 1701 and was recast in 1713. It broke again in 1714: ACSMT, Fabbriceria, Armadio XI, Spese fatte per accommodare il campanile, e per rifondere la campana maggiore, p. 200, Letter I, dated 12 Giunio 1714: »Conto di diuerse Operazioni ad uso di Muratore […] Lauori fatti da Mº Gioseppe Sardi […] Per hauere Rotto le dui uolte che sonno nella Campanile; p. 211, Letter O: Conto e Misura dei lauori fatti ad uso di Falegniame […] per hauer guastato un pezzo di solaro per poter palpare la Campano Rotta, e Ritirare la nuoua. Segue per hauer disfatto tutto il Resto dell dº solaro.«
525 The cornices are discussed above (»Brickwork and cornices«).
526 On the increase in height see Priester, Belltowers (1990), p. 18. The height-to-width ratios are 1:1.46 and 1:36 (p. 17).
527 Priester, Belltowers (1990), p. 19; similarly Serafini, Torri (1927), p. 221. He suggested that the trifores better accommodated the aedicula.
528 The bell was donated by Cardinal Aldobrandini in 1613. ACSMT, Fabbriceria Basilica e Canonica, Armadio XI, Busta no. 3, Campane e campanile, item: »Restauro della campana sulla sommità del Campanile di S. Maria in Trastevere: Fu rifatta ex novo quasi tutta l'armatura di ferro battuto conservando l'antico disegno […] La campana porta la seguente iscrizione: Petrus S. R. E. Presb. Card. Aldobrandinus camerario = Insignis Basil. S. Mariae Transtyb. Tit. F. F. A. D. M.D.C.XIII.«
529 Single spiral-fluted shafts also appear on the towers of S. Crisogono and SS. Giovanni e Paolo: Priester, Belltowers (1990), pp. 24 f.
530 Serafini, Torri (1927), pp. 220, 221 fig. 560B determined that, unlike the modillions, the pulvins were made for the tower. He distinguished two forms with slightly different profiles.
531 Priester, Belltowers (1990), pp. 26 f.
532 On the impost cornice: Priester, Belltowers (1990), pp. 26–28.
533 Priester, Belltowers (1990), pp. 45, 221 f.
534 Valorosi (2), no. 466: »Per levare e rimettere in opera l'Immagine in Mosaico di Maria SSma che trovasi nella sommità di questa facciata [the east face of the campanile] […] Assistito il musaicista da un Maestro e due Manuali per staccare dalla parete il suddetto mosaico e portarlo a basso […] In seguito che il ridetto mosaico fu restaurato e riportato sull'ossatura di peperino […] inalzato […] internato nella parete.«
535 Schmitz, Cavallini (2013), p. 67 n. 245.
536 Royal Collection Trust, inv.no. RCIN 909051; BAV, Barb. lat. 4404, fol. 10. Osborne/Claridge, Antiquity 1 (1996), pp. 224 f.
537 »Maestranza Romana medioevale DM«: Serafini, Torri (1927), pp. 220, 253, and fold-out chart between pp. 248 and 249.

Fig. 433: Rome, S. Maria in
Trastevere, transverse section
through campanile and bap-
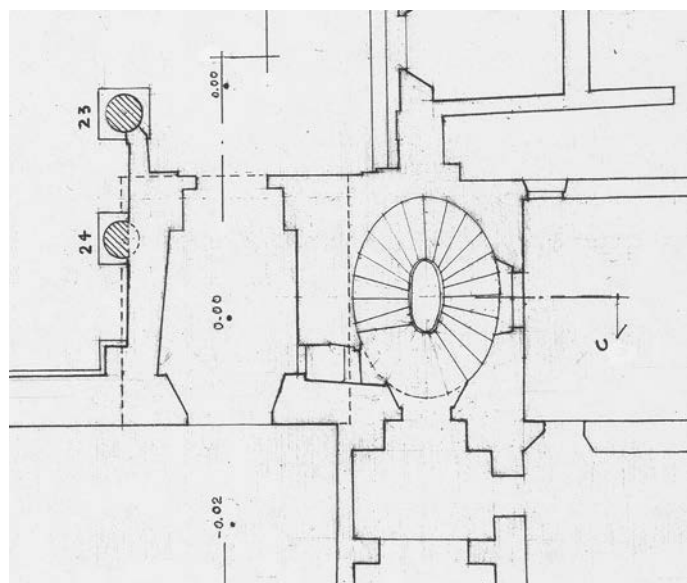tistery (Fulloni 1985/2016)

Fig. 434: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan of base of cam-
panile (Fulloni detail of fig. 440)

Fig. 435: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north colon-
nade, capital N1 from west (photo Kinney 2023)

Fig. 437: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, campanile, south side, third and fourth cornices (photo Kinney 1983)

characteristics of the »maestranza« of the towers of S. Cecilia and S. Bartolomeo all'Isola (D) and that of S. Francesca Romana, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and S. Silvestro in Capite (M). Ann Priester devised a less subjective means of sorting the towers using database analysis of cornice types, falsa cortina pointing, and stone disks and decorative pottery (»bacini«).[538] On the basis of these criteria, she sorted 35 Roman bell towers into four groups or workshops. S. Maria in Trastevere falls into her Group B, together with the towers of S. Bartolomeo all'Isola, S. Francesca Romana, S. Maria della Luce, the upper stories at S. Croce in Gerusalemme, and the lower part of the tower of S. Eustachio.[539] Her date for the workshop's activity, in the decades between 1140 and 1160, is generally accepted.[540] Within its group, and especially compared to its larger members, the tower of S. Maria in Trastevere seems subdued. It is shorter than the towers of S. Croce (41 m) and S. Francesca Romana (42 m). Its walls contained no »bacini« and possibly not even stone disks. The aedicula seems a slapdash afterthought compared to those on the tower of S. Francesca Romana.

Fig. 436: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, campanile, north and west sides (photo Kinney 1998)

Priester defined a workshop as »a team of brick masons […] [with] a consistent set of constructional and decorative techniques that it carried from project to project and that were passed on to new workers (possibly sons, relatives, or friends) as they entered the workshop.«[541] Techniques could migrate from one workshop to another; an example is the »zigzag« cornice, which is characteristic of Workshop B but also is found on towers by Workshop A. It appears predominantly in Trastevere, and Priester speculated that it was introduced there by one

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538 Priester, Buildings (1993), pp. 202–214.
539 Priester, Buildings (1993), pp. 205 tab. 2, 211 f.
540 Priester, Buildings (1993), p. 213; Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 144 (S. Bartolomeo all'Isola), 425–427 (S. Croce), 461 (S. Eustachio), 485 (S. Francesca Romana); Claussen, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), pp. 304–306, 308 (S. Maria della Luce).
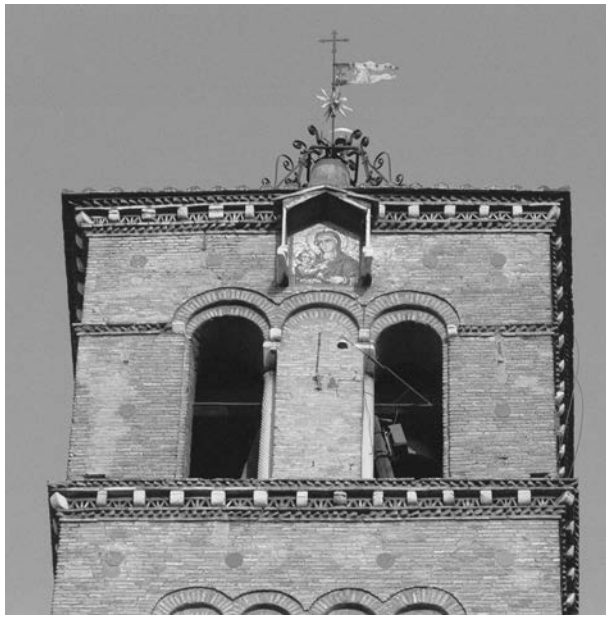541 Priester, Buildings (1993), pp. 212 f.

Fig. 438: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, campanile, east side,
fourth story (photo Kinney 1985)

Fig. 439: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, campanile, aedicula
from south
(photo Kinney 1983)

workshop and became a local trait through imitation.[542] She allowed the possibility that bell tower workshops might also build churches, or act as »specialists« within a team that built churches, especially when the tower and the church have very similar masonry, as at S. Maria in Trastevere.[543] The structural integration of the tower with the basilica at S. Maria in Trastevere affirms this. Finally, Priester argued that brick masons' workshops did not produce their own marble ornament but acquired it from the *marmorarii* who specialized in that material.[544]

Interior
Layout

The second basilica followed the outline of its fourth-century predecessor, with the addition of a non-projecting transept at the west. In its present state, it is almost completely surrounded by chapels added after 1584 (fig. 440). The only original chapel, the *praesepium*, was demolished in 1738/39. The campanile is an integral part of the plan. The porch that abutted the façade at the east end was taken down in 1701. A reconstruction of the plan before these additions and losses was created for this volume by Caroline Cottier (fig. 441).

The walls of the basilica are one meter thick. Not counting the walls, the nave (measured from the edge of the current transept podium) is 38.9 m long; the transept (measured from the same point) is 9.2 m deep; and the radius of the apse is 4.8 m, for a total clear length of about 53 m.[545] The clear width (measured in the transept) is 26.3 m.

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542 Priester, Buildings (1993), p. 214.
543 Serafini, Torri (1927), p. 222 similarly suggested that the tower and the basilica were built by the same craftsmen, except for the top story of the tower, where he found a different technique.
544 Priester, Buildings (1993), p. 215.
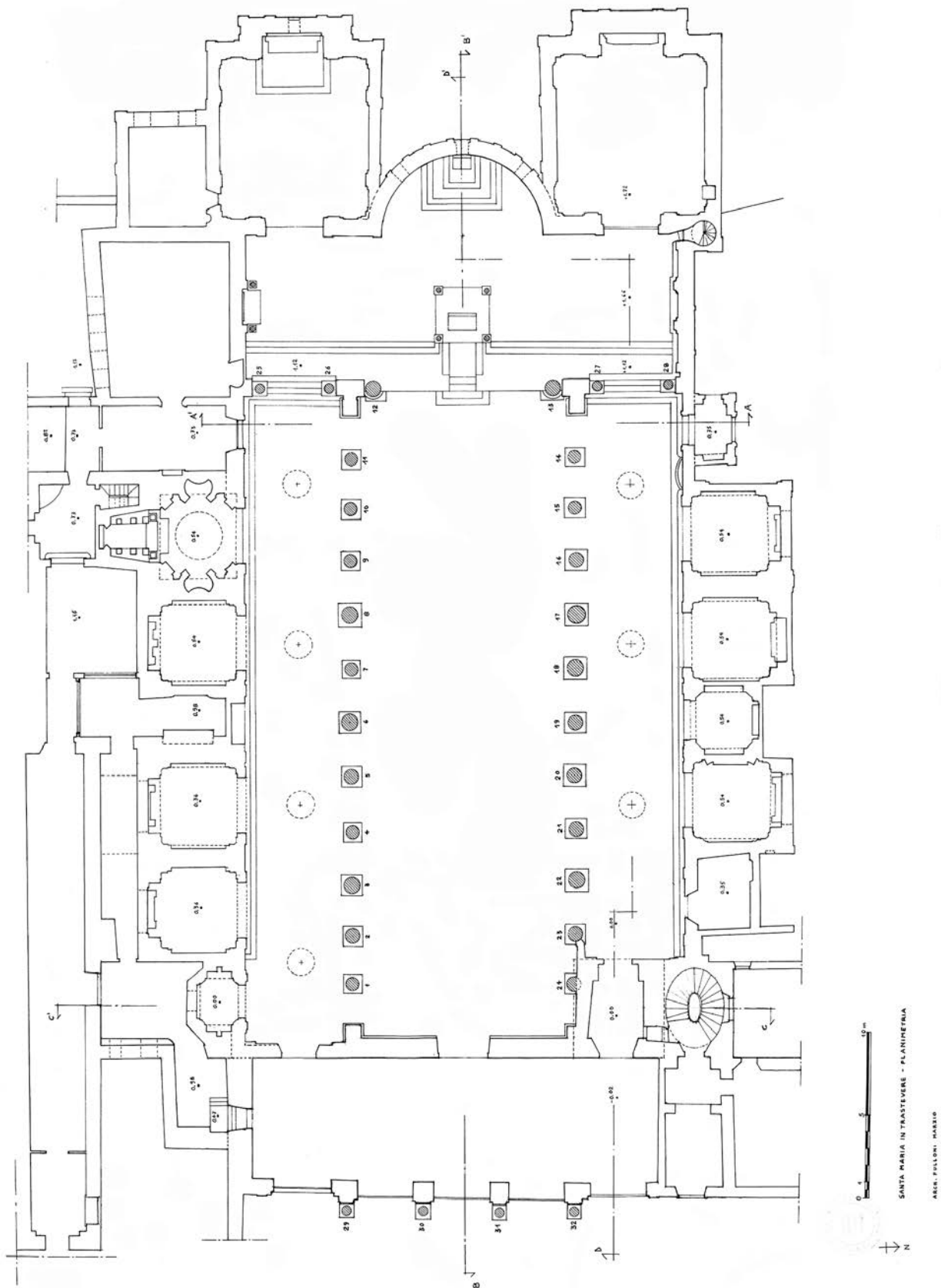545 Due to irregularities of construction, dimensions of length and width must be approximate.

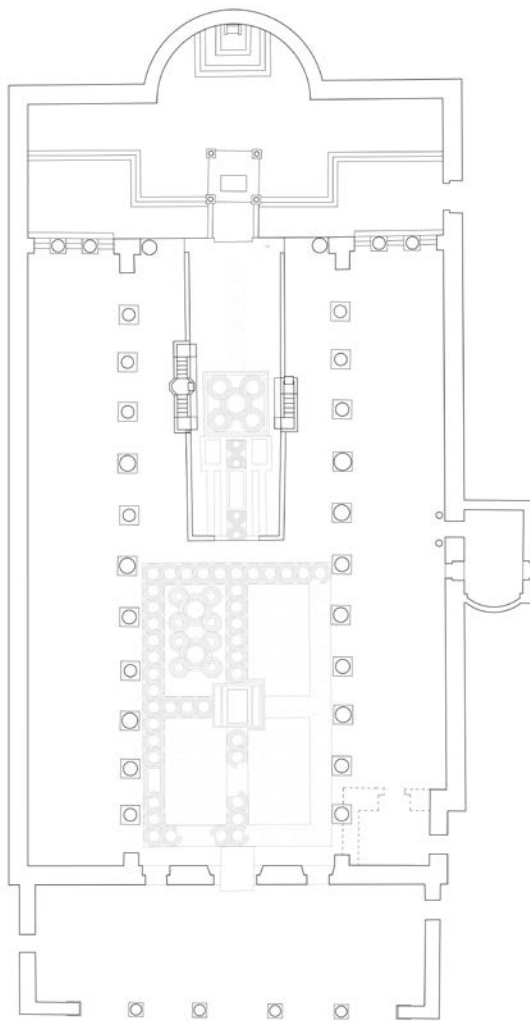*Fig. 440:* Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan (Fulloni 1985/2016)

Fig. 441: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan of twelfth-century basilica (reconstruction Cottier 2018)
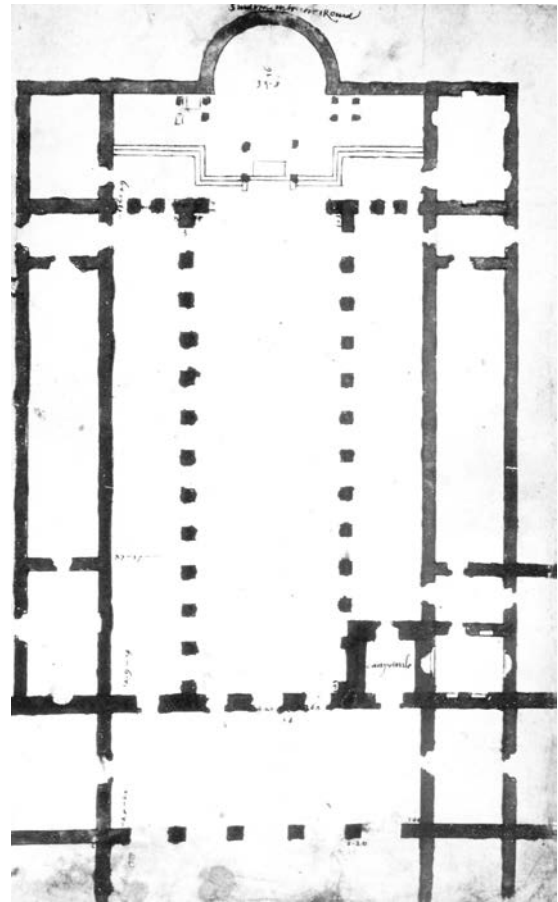

Fig. 442: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan, anonymous, ca. 1510/20 (Roma, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, per gentile concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali)

Measured between the center points of the columns, the width of the nave is approximately 13.6 m and the width of the aisles is about 6.4 m.[546]

The nave and aisles are separated by colonnades of eleven columns each. Six additional columns appear at the juncture with the transept: two large shafts under the triumphal arch and two smaller ones at the end of each aisle. The smaller columns were moved to their present position against the aisle walls and the piers of the triumphal arch under Cardinal Altemps. Originally they spanned the aisles, as shown on the plan by Torriani and on an earlier, anonymous plan in the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica (fig. 442).[547] In their original position the columns must have carried an architrave.

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546 Valeriani (2003), p. 2030 gives the roof span of the nave as only 11.10, evidently measured between the inner faces of the nave walls. Similarly the roof span of the transept is given as only 8.00 m.

547 Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, vol. 2510, no. 32746 (35). »SA maria in tr(ast)uere i(n) Roma.« Brown ink with brown wash, L 44 × W 27.5 cm. On the verso, a drawing in red pen of a turbaned man bending to his left with his hands on his right thigh. My thanks to Matthias Winner, who long ago shared the opinion that the drawing is from the 1560s or 1570s, after a model of the 1540s.

The anonymous plan is useful for its indication of the subdivision of the transept by stairs. Attributed by Hubertus Günther to »Italiener X,« the plan must have been made ca. 1510/20.[548] It is annotated with dimensions in Roman *pedes* (0.296 m) with subdivisions of 1/32 (0.009 m).[549] Comparisons with a modern ground plan yield close approximations; for example, the width of the apse is 32 *pedes* (9.4 m) + 8/32 *pedes* (0.07 m) = 9.47 m, close to 9.7 m on the plan by Fulloni (fig. 440). Despite this accuracy, the plan, like Torriani's, is a mix of actual and non-existent features. In the transept, the four columns against the wall south of the apse represent the tomb of Cardinal d'Alençon as it stood before it was dismembered to make the entrance to the Altemps chapel, but the four columns on the north side are an invention.[550] On the other hand, the doors shown in the end walls both existed. The southern one was the entrance to the Nardini sacristy; the north one opened to the outside. It was closed in the construction of the Armellini tomb (1523–1527), which provides a terminus ante quem for the plan.[551]

The plan's depiction of a Z-shaped line of steps on either side of the altar is corroborated by the apostolic visitor's report of 1581, which noted that »the level of the choir does not extend to the sacristy, to which one descends by another, lower level.«[552] The visitor ordered that »the level of the entire choir should be made even to the door of the sacristy, which should be raised.«[553] Although he suppressed the door, Martino Longhi did remake the
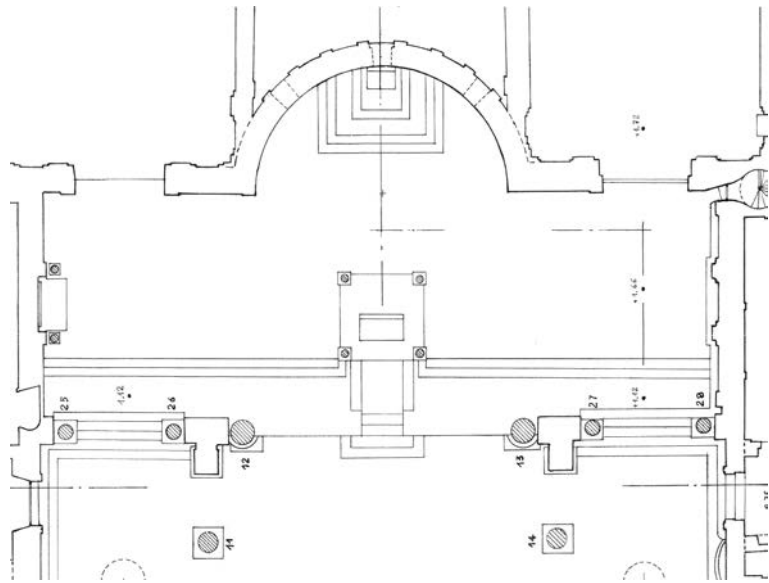

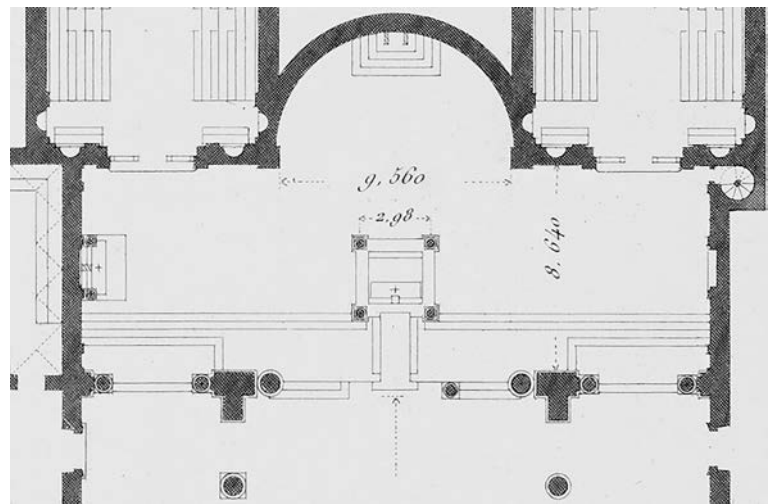*Fig. 443:* Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan of transept (Fulloni; detail of fig. 440)

Fig. 444: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan, P. Letarouilly, detail (in: Les édifices III 1857, pl. 327, detail)

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548 Günther (1988), p. 351 no. 7, pl. 72b; cf. p. 205. The watermark is almost identical to Briquet's number 3900, dated 1503: Briquet, Les filigranes 2 (1923), p. 246. Günther was the first to publish the plan, but Richard Krautheimer brought it to my attention long before; Kinney, S. Maria in Trastevere (1975), fig. 23.

549 The units were identified by Günther (1988), p. 350. The *pes* was usually divided into $\frac{1}{16}$ths (*digiti*) or $\frac{1}{12}$ths (*unciae*).

550 Günther (1988), p. 351 no. 7 identified the northern tomb as that of Pietro Stefaneschi, but his tomb was of a different type and was located in the north aisle: see Schmitz, Cavallini (2013), p. 30 n. 165; Kinney (2016), pp. 339 f.

551 Kinney (2016), pp. 340–342.

552 Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 269, quoting Avila (1581): *planu(m) chori non se extendit usque ad sacristiam, ad quam descenditur per aliud inferius planu(m).*

553 Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 289v, quoting Avila (1581): *Planum quoque totius chori equetur usque ad hostiu(m) sacristiae, quod elevandum est.*

stairs to run straight north and south from the front of the main altar. This enabled him to reposition the altar of the d'Alençon tomb and part of its ciborium against the center of south wall (fig. 443).

In the original design recorded by the anonymous draftsman, the transept was divided by a flight of three steps that began parallel to the front of the main altar, extended north and south about as far as the opening of the triumphal arch, turned 90° west to a point level with the rear columns of the ciborium, and turned 90° again to reach the north and south walls of the transept (fig. 442). The draftsman ignored the arrangement in front of the altar, but additional steps there can be reconstructed from the ground plan by P.-M. Letarouilly (fig. 444).[554] Two steps perpendicular to the altar rose to a landing between the altar platform and the triumphal arch. The additional steps raised the elevation of the floor under the altar to about 0.93 m above the nave (as opposed to 1.66 m today).[555] Another step, from the nave to a landing in front of the confessio, brought the total height of the floor under the altar to 1.15 m (figs. 374, 444).

To sum up, the twelfth-century layout featured one step up to a landing in front of the confessio,
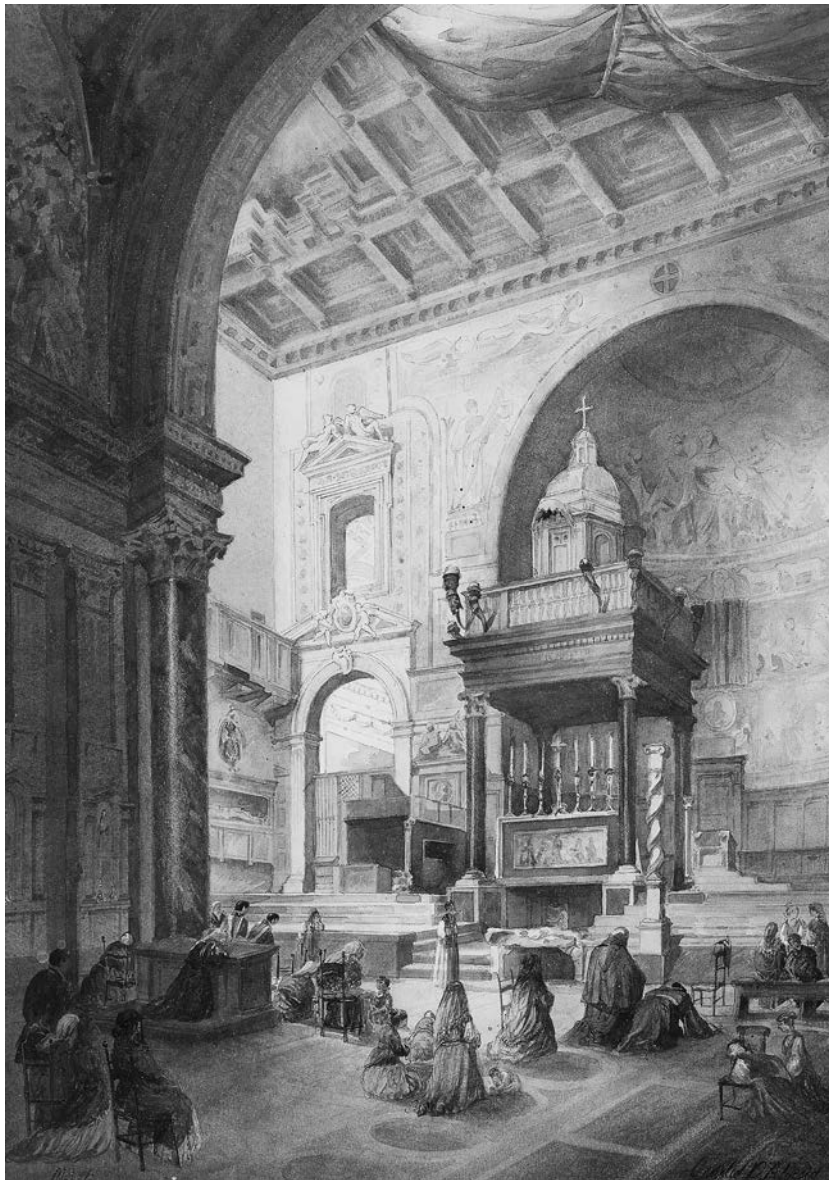

Fig. 445: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, watercolor view into transept with adoration of the fons olei, watercolor, Aniello D'Aloisio, before 1855 (in: Dipinti antichi e del XIX secolo 2013)

two steps turning 90° to a second landing, and three steps again turning 90° to the level of the altar floor and the seating for the clergy in the apse (fig. 441). It was a processional arrangement that allowed the celebrants to pass through the schola cantorum, pause before the confessio, turn and climb solemnly up to the *presbyterium*.[556] The layout is essentially the same as the one that survives in S. Clemente, except that at S. Clemente the highest part of the *presbyterium* is confined to a rectangular area in front of the apse. At S. Maria in Trastevere the most elevated area was relatively enormous and would have accommodated a large number of clergy.

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554   Letarouilly, Edifices 3 (1857), pl. 327. The plan was made in the 1840s at the latest; Kinney, A Building's Images (2016), p. 12.
555   The calculation is based on a step height of 18.5 cm, derived from the existing steps.
556   Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 322–324, 333.

The second landing formed a low podium, about 0.55 m high, that demarcated the transept from the nave. Letarouilly's plan shows two steps in front of the podium on either side of the central axis (fig. 444). Since steps in this position would have allowed access to the *presbyterium* from outside the schola cantorum, they almost certainly were not medieval. The paschal candlestand seen at the end of the north steps in Letarouilly's view originally would have been on the schola cantorum, which suggests that the steps may have been added when the choir was demolished (fig. 374).[557] They were removed by Vespignani.

In the twelfth century there would have been parapets along the front of the podium, as there are at S. Clemente. Access to the landing for the purpose of Communion must have been from the aisles, again as at S. Clemente. The columns at the ends of the aisles stood amid a flight of four steps (fig. 441). Perhaps the celebrants stood on the lowest step to administer the sacrament, or communicants passed between the columns to meet the celebrants on the landing.

Fons olei

The *fons olei* is at the juncture of the nave and the transept, behind a nineteenth-century transenna in the face of the podium on the north side of the altar (fig. 373). On the pavement below the transenna, an inscription in bronze letters repeats two verses »which once were read at the fountain of oil«: »Here flowed the oil when Christ was born of a virgin/And here indulgence is given for whomever it is asked,« and »The oil comes forth here like God from a virgin/Consecrated in both senses by oil, Rome is head of the world.«[558]

Two watercolor sketches from around 1850, one signed by Aniello D' Aloisio (1775–1855) and the other attributed to Vincenzo Marchi (1818–1894), show the *fons olei* before Vespignani's restoration (fig. 445).[559] The podium was not as tall as it is now, since Vespignani had not yet lowered the pavement. In place of the present transenna, the sketches show a dark cavity, surrounded by what looks like drapery in D' Aloisio' s depiction; Marchi rendered it more clearly as an elaborate stucco frame, part of which survives in the sacristy (fig. 446). Letarouilly ignored this feature, but it can be made out in Sarti's view of 1825 (figs. 362, 517).[560] The style of the frame suggests that it could have been installed by the titular cardinal Niccolò Albergati-Ludovisi (1666–1676), who was buried in the pavement in front of the *fons olei* in 1687.[561] His large sepulchral chamber was encountered in Vespignani's excavation; it was rediscovered in the excavation of the 1990s.[562]

The sixteenth-century views by Tomasz Treter show the *fons olei* in the same location but behind two rectangular windows (figs. 363, 495). The presence of two windows misled some observers to think that there were two wells of oil, or even three.[563] The earliest known mention of the site, in a German manuscript guide dated 1448, describes

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557 Gutensohn reconstructed two candlesticks, one on either side (fig. 475).
558 HINC OLEVM FLVXIT CVM CHRISTVS VERGINE LVXIT | HIC ET DONATVR VENIA A QVOCVMQVE ROGATVR · NASCITVR HIC OLEVM DEVS VT DE VIRGINE VTROQVE | TERRARVM EST OLEO ROMA SACRATA CAPVT · VERSVS QVI OLIM LEGEBANTVR AD FONTEM OLEI. The second verse was recorded by Moretti in the eighteenth century above the window of the *fons olei*, »scolpiti in marmo«; Moretti, Miscellanea. Nibby read the words in a different order »by the side of« the fountain: Nibby, Roma 3 (1839), p. 496.
559 The sketch attributed to Marchi is in the Museo di Roma (inv.no. MR-3610). The sketch by D' Aloisio (L 45 × W 32 cm) was featured in an auction catalogue dated 28 May 2013: R. Nobilitato, A. Gesino, Dipinti antichi e del XIX secolo, cat. Wannenes Art Auctions, Genoa 2013, p. 267 no. 297. I am very grateful to Darko Senekovic for sharing his discovery of this catalogue.
560 On Sarti's view: Kinney, A Building's Images (2016), pp. 15 f.
561 Moretti, Miscellanea, Descrizione materiale: »In Capo alla Nave in mezzo a piedi della Confessione la memoria del Cardinale Nicolò Ludovisio oggi titolare munificentissimo di questa Basilica fatta di Marmi mischi commessi alta pal. 22.6 et larga pal. 14.«
562 Valorosi (2), no. 142: »Presso la navata traversa fatto un cavo […] per la scoperta dell' antico tempio, il medesimo è lungo M. 11.98 largo M. 9.36 profondo ragguagliato già defalcato […] la camera sepolcrale nel mezzo […] M. 1.00 […] L' opera di un Maestro e 3 manuali […] avendo inoltre demolito il muro tenace trovato sotto la cassa del defunto E(minentissi)mo Ludovisi che esisteva nella camera soprannominata.« The sepulchral chamber was subsequently enlarged and vaulted. Unaware of this history, the twentieth-century excavators dubbed it »cripta Z«; Coccia et al. (2012), pp. 38–45.
563 Capgrave, Solace (1911), p. 111: »On þat same day þat crist was born þere sprong in þis same place too wellis of oyle […] These too welles be ȝet þere in ful grete reuerens«; Muffel, Beschreibung 1452 (1999), p. 94: »Item zu Unser frawen über die Tyber, do die drey öl prunnen entsprungen.«

Fig. 446: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, sacristy vestibule, ornamental titulus of the fons olei, ca. 1680 (photo Kinney 2015)

two windows where two oil wells spouted »near the high altar.«[564] The printed version adds that the windows had grates and were »on the ground.«[565] The many editions of Fra Santi's *Le cose maravigliose […] di Roma* and other guidebooks repeated a similar description (with only one well) into the seventeenth century.[566] Only Johann Jakob Rabus, who visited during the Jubilee of 1575, mentioned that the iron grilles were in »a little crypt.«[567] It is likely that there was a crypt or cavity behind the windows, and that it was exposed for veneration in the late seventeenth century when the fountain received its ornate frame. Vespignani enlarged and regularized this cavity before closing it with the present transenna.[568]

The location of the grated windows corroborates the claim in the thirteenth-century *Legenda in consecratione* that the oil well was found »where the foundations of the *titulus* were laid,« as it is very near the wall of the fourth-century apse that was demolished by the builders of the transept (fig. 348).[569] The site of the oil well's display – under the transept podium, visible through windows – likely goes back to the twelfth century. As an ongoing miracle (the earth was found still wet with oil) the *fons olei* should have been an attraction for pilgrims from the time the new basilica opened its doors. It certainly had international renown by the fifteenth century. It is remarkable, then, that the presentation of the site was so low-key. Visually, it was far subordinate to the altar. Its location was inside the schola cantorum, which could have made it difficult of access (fig. 441). A pilgrim without a guidebook easily could have missed it. It is not surprising that its fame burgeoned in the fifteenth century, when the schola cantorum seems to have fallen out of use.

Praesepium

According to the *Legenda in consecratione*, Pope Innocent II »renewed« (*renovavit*) the ninth-century *praesepium* and consecrated its altar in 1143.[570] The chapel was destroyed in the 1730s, and the only records of it are the 1709 plan by Giacomo Recalcati (fig. 370) and a description in the *Summarium ecclesiae S. Mariae trans Tiberim* by Girolamo

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564 Miedema, Rompilgerführer (2003), p. 104, quoting Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. 16.1 Aug. quart, fol. 22r: »Vnd bey dem haichen altar sind zway fenster, da die zwen öllbrunen entsprungen, vnd da jst beij jettlichen fenster hundert jar abblas.«

565 Miedema, Rompilgerführer (2003), p. 260, quoting Mirabilia Romae vel potius Historia et descriptio urbis Romae, fol. 33v: »By dem choraltar sint vf der erde zwei fenster, die sint vergettert, da sint die brun gestanden.« Similarly Planck 1925 (page unnumbered); see also Miedema, Kirchen (2001), p. 686.

566 Cose Maravigliose (1588), pp. 20r–20v: »in quel luogo doue sono al presente vicino al choro, quelle due finestrelle ca(n)cellate di ferro, la notte che nacque il nostro Signore vscì miracolosame(n)te dalla terra vn fonte d' oglio«; the same in: Cose Maravigliose (1669), p. 27. Similarly Martin (1581[1969]), pp. 41 f.; Francesco del Sodo († 1606), in: BAV, Vat. lat. 11911, p. 176.

567 Rabus, Rom (1575), p. 74: »Beim hohen Altar stehn in einem Grüftlin zwei eiserne Gitter.«

568 Valorosi (2), nos. 109–114: »Per sistemare nella fronte il nuovo paramento di marmi rivestiti di musaici si è tagliato il muro tenacissimo, ingrandito il vano del Fons Oleum […]; A destra dell'incasso sudd.o del Fons Oleum costruita la nuova sponda di muro in mattoni […] etc.«

569 See above, nn. 74, 75.

570 Above, n. 198.

d' Avila of 1597.[571] Recalcati's plan shows what remained of the chapel after its western portion was sacrificed to the construction of the Cornaro chapel in the 1650s: a short north wall with a window niche and an east wall with a very shallow apse (fig. 447).[572] A long thin altar stands on the chord of the apse, and the entire south side is open to the aisle. Scaled in palmi, the plan indicates that the outer dimensions of the surviving walls were about L $2.2 \times$ W 3.7 m. The *praesepium* shared the site of the future Cornaro chapel with the tiny chapel of St. Ursula.[573] If it was oblong like its model in S. Maria Maggiore, it must have extended at least to the center of the site. Calculating ca. 3 m (half the width of the Cornaro chapel) plus the 2.2 m drawn by Recalcati, the *praesepium* would have been more than 5 m long.[574]

Curiously, Recalcati showed the walls of both the remnant *praesepium* and the Cornaro chapel meeting the aisle wall at less than a right angle. The walls of the Cornaro chapel are in fact perpendicular to the church (fig. 440, second chapel from the west), but the *praesepium* may have been askew, like the extant Carolingian chapels at SS. Quattro Coronati.[575]

Fig. 447: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan of chapels adjoining the north aisle, detail of fig. 370 (photo Kinney 2009)

Avila claimed that the chapel had to be rebuilt (*restituit*) by Innocent II because of the »frightful disturbance« wrought by the schismatic Anacletus. It remained as Innocent left it into the sixteenth century, like the *praesepium* at S. Maria Maggiore »before it was moved to the Chapel of [Pope] Sixtus [V]« (1587).[576] The chapel had a door adorned with »two little porphyry columns« carrying a tall (or projecting) cornice.[577] Francesco Damiani observed the resemblance of this feature to the frontispiece of the chapel of S. Zeno at S. Prassede, again suggesting a Carolingian aspect.[578] The doorway must have been low (again as at S. Prassede), because after an apostolic visit in 1592, Pope Clement VIII recommended painting an arch on the front of the chapel to match the Ruggieri chapel
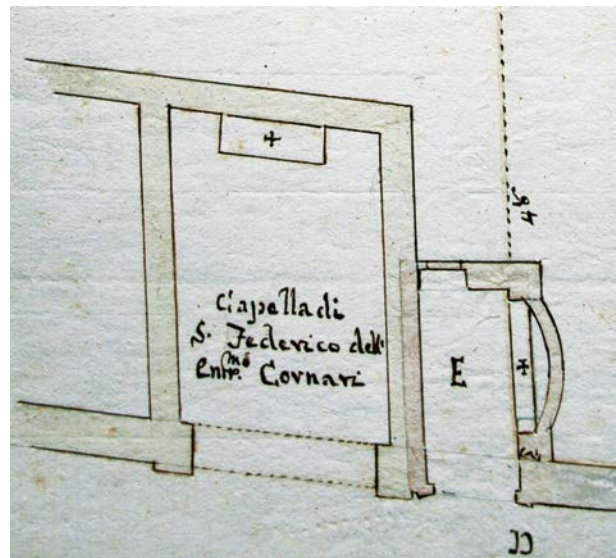
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571   Avila's *Summarium ecclesiae S. Mariae trans Tiberim* provided a fuller description of the basilica than the brief notes from his apostolic visit, quoted here as Avila (1581). The manuscript of the *Summarium* was seen and quoted by Carlo Bertelli but was no longer in the Chapter archive when I consulted it in 1970/71: Kinney, S. Maria in Trastevere (1975), p. 98 n. 14 bis.

572   Cappelle e Giuspatronati, Busta 9 no. 8, Cappella di S. Federico e Cappellania Cornaro, item: »La Cappella Cornaro era una volta dedicata a S.a Orsola come si legge nell 1.o delli Comp(end)i (?) Capitolari li 23 luglio 1584, poi fu concessa alla fel(ice) me(moria) del Card.e Cornaro nostro (?) Titolare come dal d.o Libro li 31. 8bre 1652«. The Busta contains invoices for the construction of the chapel dated 1653–1654. See also Cappelle e Giuspatronati, G. 8. Busta 8, no. 1. The cardinal († 5 June 1653) was buried in a more famous Cornaro Chapel in S. Maria della Vittoria.

573   Above, n. 572.

574   Kinney, The »Praesepia« (2011), pp. 779–791. The external dimensions of the Cornaro chapel are L $6.2 \times$ W 6.6 m.

575   L. Barelli, R. Pugliese, L. Sadori, Nuovi dati dallo scavo del chiostro del complesso dei Ss. Quattro Coronati a Roma, in: Rendic. Pont. Accad. 80, 2007/08, pp. 77–121, esp. 117 pl. VI.

576   Avila, *Summarium ecclesiae S. Mariae trans Tiberim*, p. 56, quoted by Bertelli (1961), pp. 97 f. n. 13: *De Capella Praesepii Dei. Sanctus Gregorius eius nominis quartus Pontifex […] oratorium hoc Praesepii ad illius imitatione quod est ad sanctam mariam majorem condidit […] cum oratorium hoc […] temporis iniuria, sive immanissimi schismatis Anacleti tempestati, que prope modum omnium in Urbe Ecc.am donaria absumpserat; […] illud Innocentius Papa secundus de integro restituit et Altari in eo collocato die Purificationis Beatae Mariae consecravit […] A temporibus Inn. II ad nostram usque memoriam, oratorium hoc in eod. statu permansit, in quo erat, et illud Sanctae Mariae Majoris antequam in capellam Sixti transferretur.* For the chapel in S. Maria Maggiore see Claussen, in this volume, pp. 341–360.

577   Avila, *Summarium ecclesiae S. Mariae trans Tiberim*, p. 56, quoted by Bertelli (1961), p. 98 n. 13 bis: *Portam habet columnillis porphyreticis duabus ornatam, quae coronam eminentem sustinent, supra eam est depicta Petri Romani manu Praesepii Domini memoria, cui lampas aliquando perlucit. Fenestras duas habet, unam prope portam versus sinistram Ecc.ae Navim crati ferrea munitam ut celebrans a populo videri possit. Alteram Septentrionem versus, quae lumen Altari praebet.*

578   Damiani (1993/94), p. 29. I am grateful to Dott. Damiani for kindly sending me a copy of his outstanding thesis.

opposite, in order to preserve the »proper form and structure of the church.«[579] Next to the door was a window with an iron grate, »so the celebrant could be seen by the people.«[580] There was another window on the north side, to light the altar. The windows seem to have been opposite one another; the door was farther west. When the door was sacrificed to the Cornaro chapel, the *praesepium*'s grated window was removed to make an entrance, as shown on Recalcati's plan.

Whether he rebuilt or only renewed it, Innocent II seems to have preserved the outline and even the ornamented entrance of the *praesepium* of Pope Gregory IV. As described in the Liber pontificalis, the ninth-century *praesepium* was more like a treasury than a chapel: revetted with silver and gold, containing icons covered in gold and gems, and jeweled necklaces and gold and gilded bowls hanging from the ceiling or vault.[581] These trappings probably melted away over the centuries, even before the »disturbance« of the antipope. Innocent II modernized the chapel with a new mosaic pavement (*pulchrum vermiculatum*) and a new altar with an eleventh-century tombstone as its mensa.[582] The function of the refurbished chapel is a matter of speculation. Certainly it was meant to house liturgical celebrations, after Innocent himself consecrated the altar.[583] In the sixteenth century it was closely connected with the cemetery, and the connection may have been longstanding. The Necrology records many gifts intended to guarantee commemorative Masses.

Nave colonnades

The nave is defined by colonnades of eleven columns each, consisting almost entirely of spolia (figs. 448, 449). The shafts are of several types of granite and the bases are heterogenous. Most of the capitals are Ionic; four are Corinthian, and the three-sided capitals of the terminal pilasters are Composite (fig. 450).[584] Four of the Ionic capitals were made in the twelfth century.

The spoliate capitals feature specimen pieces. The most distinctive are the eight from the Baths of Caracalla decorated with heads of the Alexandrian Triad (Isis, Serapis, and Harpocrates), five of which are in the north colonnade and three in the south (figs. 457, 461).[585] Only two of the heads on the abaci are intact (Isis, S5; Serapis, N3); the others have been chipped, hacked (S6, N4, N7) or outright destroyed (S8, N5, N8).[586] The damage clearly was intentional, and may have been inflicted in the nineteenth century. According to the English version of Baedeker's guide to Rome of 1872, »the heathen deities […] were removed during the restoration of the church in 1870,« and Lanciani later

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579   Decreta Clementis VIII, fol. 54: *Ad Capellam Praesepis. Pingatur in anteriori parte huius Capellae arcus, qui Capellae e regione positae similitudine respondeat, ut debita Ecclesiae structura, at forma seruetur.*

580   The window was also mentioned by Avila (1581), quoted by Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 267v: *Est clausa muro habens fenestram clavatam, per qua(m) ex Eccl(esi)a in eam respicitur.*

581   LP 2, pp. 78 f.: *lamminis aureis et argenteis adornavit […] haec obtulit dona: […] digitias aureas VIIII, pendentes in filum aureum; item morenam fylata, ex quibus habet gemmas pendentes iachinteas XIIII signochristas […]; gabathas aureas purissimas interrasiles phylopares signochristas pendentes in catenulas III, lilio et uncino […]; gabatam saxiscam signochristam, habentem storiam in modum leonis […] pendentem in catenulas IIII et uncinum I; item gabatam saxiscam, habentem in modum leones IIII […] pendentem in catenulas tribus et uncinum I; item gabathas saxiscas […] pendentes in catenulis III et uncinus IIII.* For the icons see above, n. 37. Kinney, The »Praesepia« (2011), pp. 791.

582   Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 268, quoting Avila (1581): *Pavimentum vero pulchrum est vermiculatu(m).* For the tombstone: above, n. 327.

583   Above, n. 198.

584   The pilaster capitals were heavily restored and in part remade under Vespignani: ACSMT, Armadio XI, Restauri di Pio IX, Consuntivo dei lavori da Stuccatore eseguiti dal Capo d'Arte Giuliano Corsini […] 1872–1873: »Al pilastro dell'intercolunnio med(esimo) a destra cui si unisce col muro della navata traversa e precisamente nel lato sulla Navata Minore si è fatto di nuovo il Capitello composito siccome era mancante […] e ciò previo il calco in creta sul vecchio in marmo […] Nel pilastro dell'intercolunnio a sinistra […] eseguitovi il nuovo Capitello e l'intonaco in tutto e per tutto come il precedente descritto.« See Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 950 nos. 878–881 (the illustrations are wrongly labeled: fig. 843 is no. 880; fig. 845 is 881). The pilasters were revetted with *cipollino* acquired from the excavation of the ancient Emporium on the left bank of the Tiber: Giustificazioni 1870, Filza no. 2; see also Valorosi (2), nos. 97, 102, 106, 107.

585   Kinney, Spolia (1986).

586   A modern electrical wire runs through the place of the head on S8; one hopes that the head was already destroyed when the wire was installed.

Fig. 448: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, south colonnade (photo Vasari 1998)

Fig. 449: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, north colonnade (photo Vasari 1998)

Fig. 450: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, south colonnade, capital on pier of triumphal arch, south and east faces (photo Kinney 2016)

complained that the heads were »hammered and destroyed« by the restorers.[587] The vandalism was decried in the popular press.[588] Canon Cressedi wrote a vigorous defense of the restorers, claiming that »the very precious antique capitals were […] neither touched nor broken in any part, and scrupulously preserved the way they were before, especially the heads of the divinities […], of which some are intact, others broken, as they already were before the restoration.«[589] His defense may be corroborated by the »Beschreibung der Stadt Rom« of 1842, which noted that »traces of lost heads can be observed« on some of the capitals.[590] Whenever the iconoclasm occurred, it most likely was not in the twelfth century. If the original builders objected to the pagan heads, they would have destroyed all of them before putting the capitals in place.

The twelfth-century Ionic capitals include three nearly identical ones (S2, S10, N2) made for their ancient shafts (figs. 451–454).[591] They are fully carved on the aisle side as well as the front.[592] They are of a standard Roman type with a plain astragal, three-egg echinus, straight channel over the echinus, and molded abacus (cyma reversa, cavetto).[593] On two capitals the surfaces between the eggs are incised with crescents; there are no palmettes.[594] The volutes make two turns marked by seamed fillets that end in rosettes. The bolsters are decorated with two rows of water leaves and an unadorned balteus. Claussen judged these capitals to be ancient, reworked in the nineteenth century, but Pensabene classified them as »Romanesque,« the first of a series of capitals closely modeled on ancient exemplars.[595] In his view, the relative proportions of the parts, the »sober« style, and the »elegant« carving of the volutes and echinus make these capitals, of the many twelfth- and thirteenth-century Roman Ionic capitals, closest to their antique roots.[596] He associated their emulative style with the medieval revival of fifth-century Ionic trabeated elevations like those of S. Maria Maggiore and S. Stefano Rotondo; yet the capitals in S. Maria in Trastevere are far more classicizing than those in S. Stefano Rotondo. They strongly resemble the medieval capitals in the porch of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, commissioned by the titular cardinal John of Sutri (1151–1180), which Claussen attributed to the marmorarius Nicolaus Angeli.[597]

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587   Baedeker (1872), p. 229; Lanciani (1883), p. 35. Contrast Baedeker (1865/66), p. 267: »Das Innere dreischiffig, mit 22 antiken, ungleichen Säulen, die an den jonischen Capitälen zum Theil heidnische Gottheiten zeigen, wie Jupiter, Harpokrates mit dem Finger auf dem Mund.«

588   Lanciani (1883), p. 35, cites an article in: Il Popolo Romano, in 1882.

589   Cressedi (1863–73), p. 20: »[14 Agosto 1870] Le colonne e gli antichi pregievolissimi capitelli sono stati ripuliti, ma non tocchi nè guastati in alcuna parte, e scrupolosamente conservati come già esistevano specialmente nelle teste delle divinità (che alcuni portano nel mezzo in alto, o nelle volute) delle quali altre sono intiere, altre spezzate, quali già erano prima dei restauri.«

590   Platner et al., Beschreibung 3,3 (1842), pp. 664 f. Nibby mentioned the heads around the same time, without noting any damage: Nibby, Roma 2 (1839), p. 674; cf. vol. 3, p. 493.

591   Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 895 cat. 254–256. The fourth capital is discussed below.

592   In the case of capital S10 (fig. 454) the aisle side is crisper than the nave side, raising the suspicion that it is the intended front.

593   Herrmann, Ionic (1988), p. 10 fig. 4.

594   Crescents: S2, N2. On S10 there is something like a basket (fig. 454).

595   Claussen, Magistri (1987), p. 16 n. 81; followed by Mondini, in: Kirchen G–L (2010), p. 277; Pensabene, Roma (2015), pp. 895 f. John Herrmann agrees that the capitals are medieval (personal communication 13. 08. 2020).

596   Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 895.

597   Claussen, Magistri (1987), pp. 32 f.; Mondini, in: Kirchen G–L (2010), pp. 87–89, fig. 65, 76 f., 101 f. Mondini dated the capitals to the 1180s, but the closeness of the resemblance to S. Maria in Trastevere suggests that this date should be revisited.

Fig. 451: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital S2, nave side (photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 452: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital N2, nave side (photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 453: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital S10, bolster (photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 454: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital S10, aisle side (photo Kinney 2016)

The classicizing approach may have been inaugurated at S. Crisogono, where the Ionic elevation was revived in the 1120s, but those capitals were lost to renovation in the seventeenth century, so their role must remain an unknown.

The four Corinthian capitals are at the west end of the nave, seemingly in accord with John Onians's theory that Corinthian capitals marked spaces reserved for the clergy.[598] Type seems to have overridden beauty in the case of S9, which is in poor condition and had to be cut down to fit its shaft (fig. 455). Their distribution also corresponds to Malmstrom's observation that spoliate colonnades tend to form cross-axial pairs.[599] Capitals S11–N11 are of the same size and date, and probably came from the same source.[600] Capitals S9–N9 are likewise similar in size and date.[601] Farther east, however, such pairs are infrequent. Capitals of widely differing dates and styles occur on the same cross axis, while capitals from the same source, like those from the Baths of Caracalla, were split up.[602]

Fig. 455: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital S9, south colonnade (photo Gustafson 2022)

position	PP cat.	type/date	type/date	PP cat.	position
S11	653	Corinthian sec. III	Corinthian sec. III	654	N11
S10	96	Ionic sec. II	Ionic sec. XII	255	N10
S9	627	Corinthian sec. II	Corinthian sec. II	628	N9
S8	103	Ionic sec. III	Ionic sec. III	107	N8
S7	95	Ionic sec. II	Ionic sec. III	106	N7
S6	102	Ionic sec. III	Ionic sec. XII	257	N6
S5	101	Ionic sec. III	Ionic sec. III	108	N5
S4	85	Ionic sec. I	Ionic sec. III	105	N4
S3	84	Ionic sec. I	Ionic sec. III	104	N3
S2	254	Ionic sec. XII	Ionic sec. XII	256	N2
S1	94	Ionic sec. II	Composite sec. II–III	927	N1

Tab. 1

Rather than by capitals, cross-axial pairing was determined by the size, color and value of the shafts. From the builder's point of view, dimensions were the most important consideration. Creating a trabeated colonnade with found components required laborious calculations; in this case 66 largely unrelated pieces (22 shafts, 22 capitals,

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598 Onians, Bearers of Meaning (1988), pp. 94–97.
599 Malmstrom, Colonnades (1975), passim.
600 Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 925 nos. 653–654, proposing a date in the first half of the third century. Note that his indications of their positions are reversed.
601 Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 923 nos. 627–628, with a date 100–120. The positions are again reversed.
602 In Tab. 1, »PP cat.« = Pensabene, Roma (2015), catalogue numbers on pp. 878–880, 895, 923, 925, 955. Numbering throughout this discussion is from east to west.

22 bases) had to be combined to produce 22 units measuring exactly the same height from the foundations to the underside of the architrave.[603] The shafts in S. Maria in Trastevere range in height from 5.87 m to 6.4 m, a difference of over half a meter.[604] Within any given cross-axial pair, however, the difference is at most 0.15 m; the mean is 0.05 m.

position	material	diameter	height	height	diameter	material	position
S11	Troad?	0.75 m	5.88 m	5.87 m	0.79 m	Italian	N11
S10	Italian	0.80 m	6.32 m	6.36 m	0.80 m	Italian	N10
S9	Aswan	0.91 m	6.15 m	6.04 m	0.96 m	Aswan	N9
S8	Aswan?	1.07 m	5.99 m	5.97 m	1.04 m	Italian	N8
S7	MC/Italian	0.83 m	6.40 m	6.25 m	0.98 m	MC	N7
S6	MC	1.02 m	5.95 m	5.99 m	0.96 m	MC	N6
S5	MC	0.96 m	6.29 m	6.05 m	0.95 m	MC	N5
S4	MC	0.86 m	6.23 m	6.35 m	0.98 m	MC	N4
S3	Italian?	1.00 m	6.03 m	5.96 m	1.03 m	Italian	N3
S2	Aswan	0.81 m	6.26 m	6.26 m	0.87 m	Aswan	N2
S1	Italian	0.88 m	6.29 m	6.34 m	0.90 m	Italian	N1

Tab. 2

Fig. 456: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, column N8, base (photo Kinney 1979)

After sorting his shafts by height, the builder had to deal with an inconsistent ratio of height to diameter. Only one shaft (N10) has the ancient Roman slenderness ratio of 8:1; the rest are stouter, sometimes markedly so (S6, N8).[605] Generally the ratio is roughly the same in cross-axial pairs, but there are exceptions (S7 [7.7:1]–N7 [6.4:1]). In some cases, stout proportions indicate that the shafts furnished to the builder were too tall and had to be shortened; others may have been broken, as can be seen where the modern apophyges of cement and plaster have fallen away (fig. 456). The astragals of all shafts are preserved, evidence that the builder tried to maintain the appearance of intact shafts by trimming them only at the bottom, where the cutting could be disguised.

The disposition of the height pairs was dictated by color and value. The most valuable shafts were those from the imperial quarries on Mons Claudianus in Egypt (commonly called »granito del foro«).[606] Enor-

603   The height from the present floor as measured by S. Pittaccio varies from 6.98 m to 7.27 m on the south side and from 7.16 m to 7.27 m on the north. This is a factor of the slope of the nineteenth-century pavement rather than any calculation by the twelfth-century builder. Pittaccio (2013), pp. 16 f.
604   Dimensions were provided by M. Fulloni.
605   Wilson Jones (2000), p. 148. The lowest ratio in S. Maria in Trastevere is 5.6:1 (column S8).
606   The materials of the shafts in S. Maria in Trastevere were kindly identified for me by Demetrios Michaelides in 1979 and by Clayton Fant in 1993. Their identifications coincided, except for column S7 and the precise sources (Sardinia or Elba) of some of the Italian granites. Pensabene published his identifications in 2015 (Roma, p. 586). They mostly agree with

Fig. 457: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, columns N7–N6
(photo Kinney 2009)

Fig. 458: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital S4
(photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 460: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, base N6
(photo Kinney 1979)

mous shafts of this stone adorned the most imposing ancient buildings in the city, including the Baths of Caracalla, Baths of Diocletian, and the Pantheon.[607] Durable and resistant, granito del foro is glossy when polished and its characteristic looping veins add visual interest and drama (fig. 457).[608] These most valuable shafts are clustered in the center of the nave (S4–S7, N4–N7). Red granite from Aswan also was prized; four shafts of this stone were paired east and west of the block

Fig. 459: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, base S6
(photo Kinney 1979)

Michaelides and Fant, except for S3, which he called Aswan; S8 (Italian), and S11 (Italian). I have acknowledged his disagreement with question marks in Tab. 2.

607 M. J. Klein, Untersuchungen zu den kaiserlichen Steinbrüchen an Mons Porphyrites und Mons Claudianus in der östlichen Wüsten Ägyptens, Bonn 1988, pp. 89 f.; Pensabene, I marmi (2013), pp. 231–240.
608 Gnoli, Marmora Romana (rev. ed. 1988), pp. 148–150; Marmi antichi (1989), p. 222.

Fig. 461: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital S6 (photo DAI)

Fig. 462: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital N6 (photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 463: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital N6, aisle side (photo Kinney 2016)

of granito del foro (S2–N2, S9–N9). A fifth shaft of Aswan granite was paired with a shaft of Italian granite with a reddish tinge (S8–N8).

Capitals and bases were distributed as the shaft heights permitted.[609] Even the most beautiful capital could be shorn of a finely sculpted collar to accommodate the height of a shaft (fig. 458). Some bases were partially or wholly sunk beneath the pavement; others were on plinths of varying height (fig. 521).[610] Unlike the capitals, the bases are mostly undistinguished.[611] The exceptions are four elaborately decorated pieces believed to have come from the Baths of Caracalla (vine scroll and masks on the lower torus, anthemion on the lower scotia, double bead-and-reel, hanging acanthus leaves on the upper scotia), two of which were placed in the center of the nave, under shafts S6–N6 (figs. 459, 460).[612] The most valuable capitals also were concentrated in the center (over shafts S3–8, N3–5, 7–8).[613]

The capital on shaft N6, opposite one with a head of Serapis and busts of Harpocrates, is a surprising exception in this gathering of special antiquities (figs. 461, 462). Made to fit its shaft in the twelfth century, it is a unique version of the Ionic type in which the volutes are formed by coiled serpents that emanate from the central

609 Pensabene posited a complicated pattern independent of the shafts, with three zones of cross-axial and/or diagonal pairs: Roma (2015), pp. 589 f.
610 Nearly all of the plinths were remade in the nineteenth century; originals survive on columns S5, S7, N3, N5, and N7.
611 Original bases survive on columns S2–3, S5–8, S10–11, N3–9, and N11; the rest were replaced by marble collars under Vespignani. Pensabene, Roma (2015), pp. 586, 588 figs. 920, 921, 924; 589 figs. 927, 929; 981 nos. 18, 19; 986 nos. 221–229. Not all bases are included in his catalogue.
612 M. Wegner, Schmuckbasen des antiken Rom, Münster 1966, pp. 77–80, pl. 25a–c; Pensabene, Roma (2015), pp. 586, 588 figs. 922, 923, 925; 589 fig. 928; 992 nos. 344–347, 1105 figs. 1092, 1093. The other two bases from this set are under shafts S2 and N4. Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 590 speculated that before the nineteenth-century restoration, there were more such decorated bases at the east ends of the colonnades.
613 Herrmann, Ionic (1988), pp. 30, 33–35, 58; Pensabene, Roma (2015), pp. 878–880 nos. 84–85, 95, 101–108.

Fig. 464: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital N6, detail
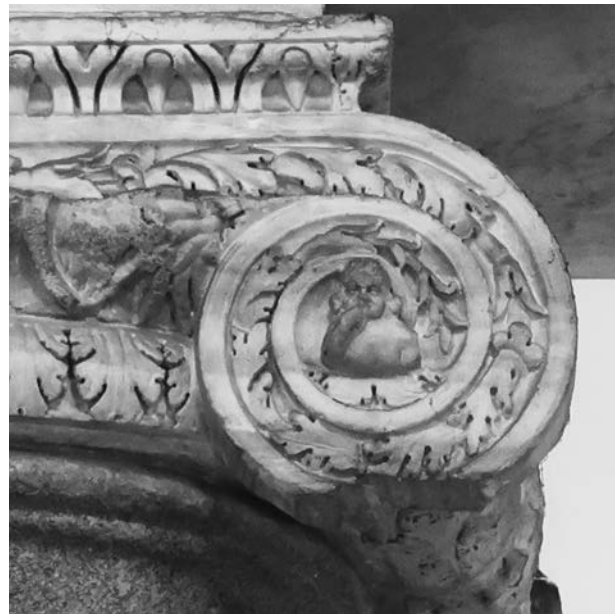(photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 465: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital N8, detail
(photo Kinney 2016)

rosette and end with their mouths seeming to nibble the palmettes at the ends of the egg-and-dart on the echinus (fig. 464).[614] The marble worker began with a large block of marble – perhaps, as suggested by Irmgard Voss, an Isis or Serapis capital that had been left unfinished at the Baths.[615] An unsuccessful attempt to work out the placement of the half-palmettes and the relation of the volutes to the abacus can be seen on the side turned to the aisle (fig. 463). This initial effort lacks the rosettes in the eyes of the volutes and does not seem to have envisioned the snakes. The serpents were added on the second try, which is considerably more complicated (fig. 464). Two ribbons emanate from beneath the rosette, one rounded and the other flat. The convex ribbon is the body of the serpent and terminates in its head and mouth (which help to position the half-palmettes).[616] The flat ribbon ends in the canalis above the ovolo. If we allow the marmorarius a sense of humor, we might see the serpents as a comment on the difficulty of designing an Ionic volute, but in their architectural context they respond to the volutes of the capitals opposite and around them, most of which contain images of Harpocrates (fig. 465). His silencing gesture evokes what cannot, or should not be said.[617] Perhaps the serpents similarly allude to mystic secrets.

Damiani argued that the provocative pair S6–N6 is one of three cross-axial pairs of spolia that mark significant points in the papal liturgy: *ad medium ecclesiae*, indicated by the stout shafts of red Aswan granite S3–N3; the *porta chori* (S6–N6); and the *medium presbiterii*, signaled by another pair of thick red shafts at S8–N8 (fig. 466).[618] Damiani's analysis was modeled on Claussen's correlation of the pavement patterns in S. Clemente with scripts (*ordines*) for Masses in the papal basilicas.[619] At St. Peter's, the *medium ecclesiae* coincided with the porphyry disk on which the pope received the reverence of cardinals and priests, who in turn received his blessing.[620] At the *portam chori*, according to the *Ordo* of Canon Benedict, the pope lit a candle during the Nativity Mass at S. Maria Maggiore, »as a figure of the end of the world by fire.«[621] *In medio presbiterii*, according to the same *Ordo*, the *primicerius* re-

614   Or as Mondini, Ostentation (2016), p. 239 suggests, not palmettes but the serpents' tripartite tongues.
615   Voss, Studien (1990), pp. 71 f. n. 46.
616   Voss, Studien (1990), pp. 71 f. n. 46 suggested that this side of the capital had already been roughed out in the third century, which would explain the two ribbons.
617   For a speculative reconstruction of the twelfth-century reception of this figure, see Kinney (2021).
618   Damiani (1993/94), pp. 105–111; Damiani (2008), p. 351.
619   Voss/Claussen (1991/92), pp. 14–18; Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 319–325.
620   De Blaauw, Cultus 2 (1994), pp. 677–680, fig. 26.
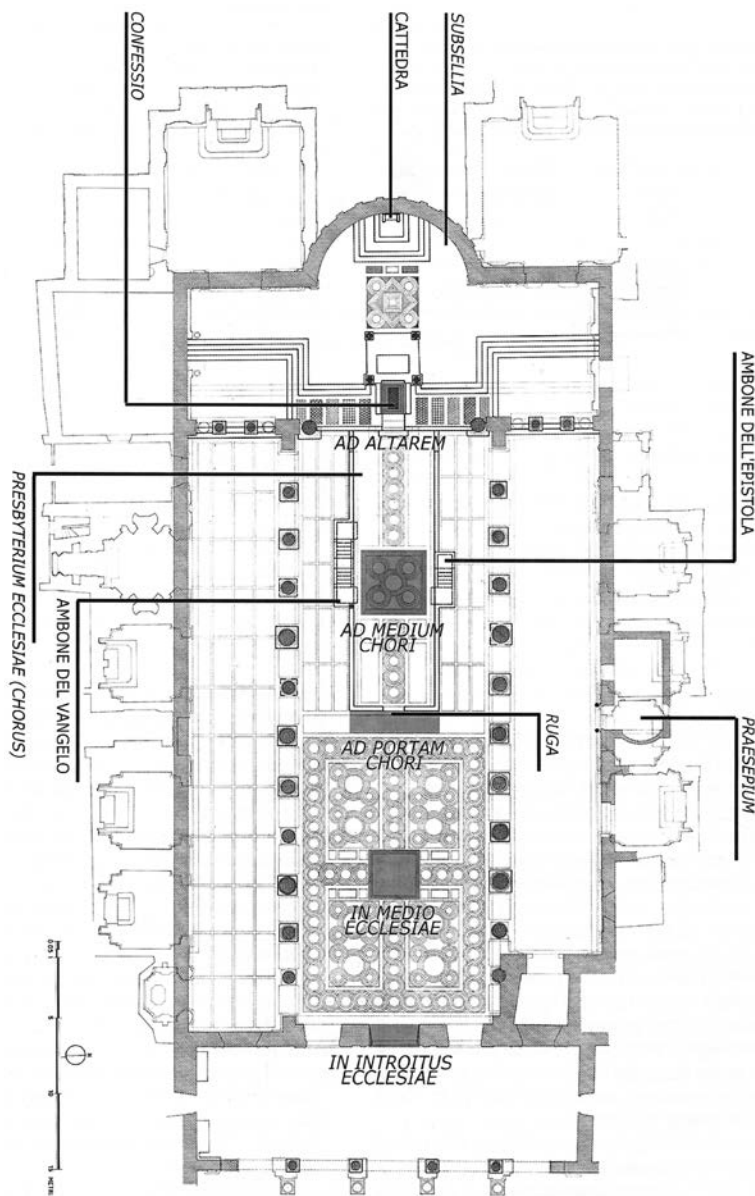621   Liber Censuum 2, p. 145; De Blaauw, Cultus 1 (1994), pp. 418 f.

Fig. 466: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan
showing liturgical pauses (Damiani 2008)

moved the pope's mitre. In S. Maria in Trastevere these last two points would have been at the entrance to the schola cantorum between the sixth and seventh pairs of columns, and between the ambo and pulpit at the level of the ninth columns (figs. 441, 466).

The questionability of applying these *ordines* to a stational church was acknowledged by Claussen: they are not scripts for a stational Mass but for special ceremonies in the papal basilicas, and some postdate the twelfth century.[622] Claussen made two significant points in response. First, regardless of how the stational Masses actually unfolded, the ceremonies in the great basilicas may have constituted an ideal that was emulated in the pavement designs of stational churches. Second, the pavement patterns themselves can be evidence of liturgical practices not mentioned in twelfth-century texts. His reasoning can be applied to the spolia in S. Maria in Trastevere, especially since the patterns observed by Damiani appeared in the pavement as well (discussed below). Moreover, the *Ordo* of Canon Benedict was commissioned by a member of Innocent II's curia in precisely the years when S. Maria in Trastevere was being built.[623]

The prominently pagan iconography of the capitals between the third and the eighth pairs of columns, and the nod to it on capital N6, suggest that liturgy was not the only referent of the spolia. Observing that the schola cantorum in other churches was sometimes adorned with ancient reliefs, Mondini speculated that the choir might have been the preferred location for objects with a lingering aura of the pagan past.[624] The figured capitals in S. Maria in Trastevere conform to this pattern. It is not impossible that learned viewers recognized Harpocrates as the son of Serapis (Osiris) and Queen Isis, and by *interpretatio christiana* related the pagan couple to the King and Queen depicted in the apse mosaic.[625] On a less recondite plane, the pagan images could be connected to local history. According to the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, the basilica was erected on the site of the *templum Ravennantium*, which itself was the site of

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622   Voss/Claussen (1991/92), p. 18.
623   The *Ordo* was commissioned by Cardinal Guido di Città di Castello during Innocent's papacy and describes ceremonies Innocent performed himself. Kinney (2007); Romano (2010).
624   Mondini, Ostentation (2016), p. 248.
625   Kinney, Spolia (1986), pp. 390–392, 394; Di Fazio/Guidone (2014), p. 230; Kinney (2021), pp. 14–20.

the *fons olei*.[626] The colonnades with their pagan capitals, evoking a temple, were a mnemonic for this history for those who knew it. Both products of the papacy of Innocent II, the basilica and the *Mirabilia* jointly express the conviction that temples were part of God's plan for the Christian city.

Entablatures

The colonnades carry entablatures comprising an architrave, frieze, and cornice, which continue across the counterfaçade (figs. 448, 449, 467–469). The architrave was assembled with reused rectangular blocks of several types of marble, each block spanning one intercolumniation (about 3.2 m measured from the center of

Fig. 467: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, modillions over columns N8–N7 (photo Kinney 2016)

the shafts). The frieze was painted in the nineteenth century with a multi-colored rinceau on a gold faux-mosaic background.[627] It had been painted previously by Cesare Rossetti († 1623), probably under Cardinal Aldobrandini.[628] The original decoration, if any, is unknown. In the cornice, the plaster cymatium above the modillions is a nineteenth-century replacement of an earlier (seventeenth-century?) one.[629] The cyma reversa below the modillions is likewise plaster; it replaced an earlier »cornice« made of wood.[630] The only molding that may be from the twelfth century is the marble one between the frieze and the architrave (cyma reversa, fillet, cyma recta).

The cornice contains the entablature's pièce de résistance: 104 modillions made by cutting smaller ancient cornices into pieces (fig. 470).[631] Although their profusion and their distance from the floor stymie precision, recent studies agree that there are at least sixteen types of cornices represented, ranging in number of examples from one to over forty, and in date from the first to the third century.[632] Pensabene's breakdown is the most exacting, comprising three categories (cornices without modillions, cornices with modillions, and modillions) subdivided into sixteen groups and types. My own study of the modillions in the 1980s, though not as archaeologically precise as Pensabene's, yielded almost exactly the same distinctions. For convenience, I will use my simple alphabetic labels in the following discussion, with references to equivalents in Pensabene's typology in the footnotes.

626 See above, n. 82.

627 Giustificazioni 1868, Filza 12-A: »22 luglio 1868 […] I Pittori Decoratori Ernesto Freguglia e Salvatore Rotani […] hanno […] condotto a termine la pittura a buon fresco nella trabeazione dell' ordine inferiore della nave media per l' intera lunghezza di uno dei lati maggiori«; also Filza 12-B.

628 Moretti, Miscellanea, Descrizione materiale: »il fregio è finto di Musaico con fogliame, e puttini, pittura di Cesare Rossetti«.

629 ACSMT, Fabbriceria. Restauro della venerabil[e] Basilica di Santa Maria in Trast[evere]: Lavoro d' arte Muraria, no. 83: »Demolita la parte superiore della trabeazione sia per variare modanatura, come per sistemar sopra il lastricato di peperino«; ACSMT, Armadio XI, Restauri di Pio IX, Consuntivo dei lavori da Stuccatore eseguiti dal Capo d' Arte Giuliano Corsini […] 1872–1873, Ristauro dell' Ordine inferiore: »L' aggetto del cornicione rabocciato in calce e quindi ricciato ed incollato a stucco.«

630 Valorosi (2), no. 84: »Smurata e calata a basso la vecchia cornice di legname che esisteva sotto i modiglioni.«

631 Damiani (2008), p. 355 fig. 2. Di Fazio/Guidone (2014), pp. 232–234 counted 106 modillions (though their catalogue contains 112 examples); Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 591 counted 121. There are 42 modillions over the south colonnade, 49 over the north colonnade, and 13 on the counterfaçade.

632 Damiani (1993/94), pp. 361–376 catalogued 14 types; Di Fazio/Guidone (2014), pp. 245–249 catalogued 17; Pensabene, Roma (2015), pp. 592–597 catalogued 16.

Fig. 468: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, modillions in cornice, south colonnade (photo Kinney 1988)

Fig. 469: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, modillions in cornice, east wall (photo Kinney 1988)

The most elaborate types, A and B, consist of segments of modillion cornices containing two modillions each (fig. 468).[633] The modillions of A are covered with an acanthus leaf; those of B are bisected by what looks like a rope. The simplest type, M, is a single bracket with plain concave and convex moldings (fig. 467).[634] Type A is the most plentiful (50 pieces), while the simpler types are represented by as few as a single example.[635] The 13 modillions on the east wall are arranged symmetrically, with 5 different types on either side of a cyma recta with bead-and-reel and acanthus leaves (fig. 469). The approach differs over the colonnades. On the north side the marble worker made an alternating pattern (ACAMAMAMAEAEA etc.) except over column N6, where five type-A modillions cluster together.[636] On the south side the pattern, while not quite random, is much less regular, sometimes alter-

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633 A = Damiani class I (Damiani [1993/94], pp. 361 f.); Di Fazio/Guidone (2014) types 12–14, pp. 236 figs. 9–11, 247 f.; Pensabene cat. 2 (with modillions)/group 2/type 3, pp. 595 f. figs. 947–953. B = Damiani class XII, pp. 373 f.; Di Fazio/Guidone (2014) type 9, pp. 235 fig. 7, 246 f.; Pensabene cat. 2/group 1/type 1, p. 594 figs. 941–944.

634 M = Di Fazio/Guidone (2014) type 3, pp. 234 fig. 3, 245; Pensabene cat. 1 (without modillions)/group 2/type 2, p. 593 figs. 935–937.

635 The count of 50 includes close variant A¹ (Pensabene cat. 2/group 2/type 3, variants 1 and 2), which appears only in the south colonnade (3 pieces), and A² (Pensabene cat. 2/group 2/type 1), which appears twice in the north colonnade.

636 C = Di Fazio/Guidone (2014) type 10, pp. 235 fig. 8, 247; Pensabene cat. 2/group 2/type 2, p. 595 fig. 946; E = Di Fazio/Guidone (2014) type 8, pp. 235 fig. 6, 246; Pensabene cat. 1/group 3/type 1, p. 594 fig. 939.

nating (BABAF) but more often displaying pairs and triplets (BBABBBFAAAF), with six type-A modillions over columns S4 to S5.[637]

From these discrepancies, it appears that neither the planning nor the allocation of the spolia was uniform. The builder of the north colonnade had 27 type A modillions but none of type B, while the builder of the south colonnade had 20 type A modillions and 14 of type B. The east wall displays two types of modillions that are not found in either colonnade (K, N).[638] Types B and F appear only on the east wall and in the south colonnade; types E, L, and M appear only in the north colonnade.[639] The commonality is type A, which was made from one or more cornices well over 25 m long.[640] Type A was the leitmotif, supplemented by B (17 pieces from a cornice over 9.6 m long). Representing two-thirds of the total number of modillions, these two showiest types create the overall impression of magnificence, which must have been the design-

Fig. 470: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, diagram showing cuts of ancient cornices for reuse (Damiani 2008)

er's goal. Beyond that, the craftsmen seem to have been left to their own devices. The builder(s) of the north and east entablatures chose their spolia with a pattern already in mind. The builder responsible for the south colonnade apparently did not. Why not? Whatever the explanation, the craftsmen had in common that they placed a burst of type-A modillions in the center of the nave, although not symmetrically.

The modillions were not only ornamental. They created a cantilever that could support more than the corona. In the fourteenth century Dominus P. Odonis donated a wooden catwalk above the columns, presumably like the balcony shown over the cornice of St. Peter's in Grimaldi's transverse section of the nave.[641] The fourteenth-century *gyrus* may have replaced an earlier one, as these walkways were useful for lighting, maintenance, and the installation of temporary drapes and other ornaments. A door giving access to this level is still open in the northeast corner of the nave (figs. 471, 472), and several others were walled up in the nineteenth century.[642] In a conflict between utility and aesthetics, the *gyrus* would have overshadowed the modillions, perhaps diminishing their effect.

The modillion cornices made the colonnades of S. Maria in Trastevere unique. Acting like a gloss on the already opulent array of spolia below them, the modillions thematize richness and variety. Nearly all spoliate
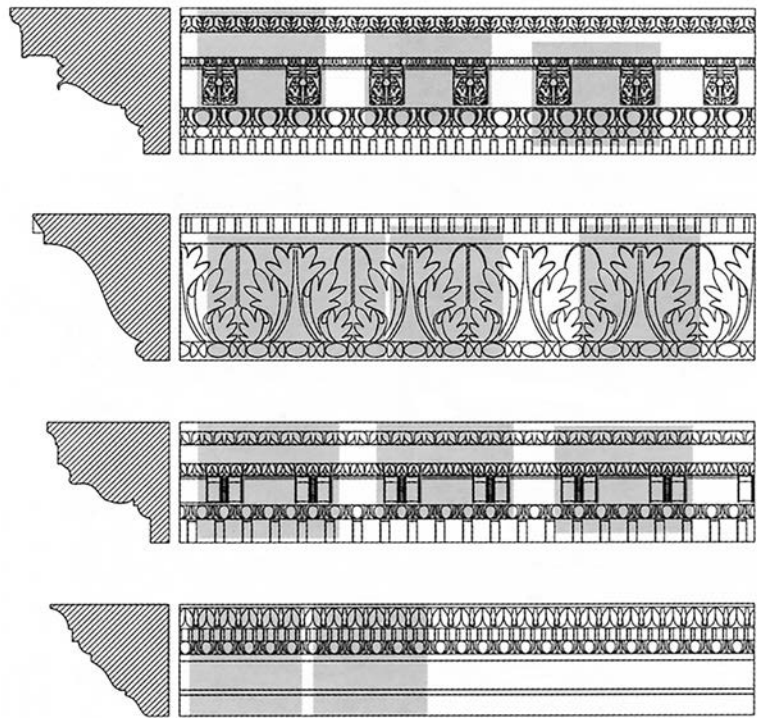
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637 F= Di Fazio/Guidone (2014) type 5, pp. 235 fig. 5, 246; Pensabene cat. 1/group 1/type 1, p. 592 fig. 931a.
638 K = Di Fazio/Guidone (2014) type 1, pp. 234 fig. 1, 245; Pensabene cat. 1/group 2/type 1, p. 593 fig. 934; N = Pensabene cat. 3 (modillions)/type 2, p. 598 fig. 958.
639 L = Di Fazio/Guidone (2014) type 4, pp. 234 fig. 4, 245 f.; Pensabene cat. 1/group 2/type 3, p. 594 fig. 938.
640 Scaffolding erected at the west end of the south colonnade in 1985 made it possible to measure eight brackets. The type A bracket is 0.495 m wide; $0.495 \times 50 = 24.75$, to which one has to add the unused segments in between the cuts (fig. 470 top). On the basis of style, Damiani associated these brackets with the jambs of the east lateral doors and the imposts of the triumphal arch, and deduced that their source was the Baths of Caracalla.
641 Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 10v: *ob. d(omi)ni p. odonis q(ui) fec(it) fieri giru(m) sup(er) colu(m)pdas ligneu(m) p(ro) ei(us) aniu(e)rsar(i)o*; Necrologi (1908), p. 91. Grimaldi, Descrizione (1972), pp. 138 f. (fols. 104v–105).
642 Valorosi (2), no. 78: »sopra il 3° intercolunnio a sinistra […] murato un vano di porta largo m. 0.67 alto m. 1.56 […]«; no. 79: »Murato altro vano simile sopra il 7° intercolunnio«; no. 80: »Sopra l'ultimo intercolunnio murato un vano come sopra.«

Fig. 471: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, northeast corner of nave, door over entablature (photo Kinney 1988)
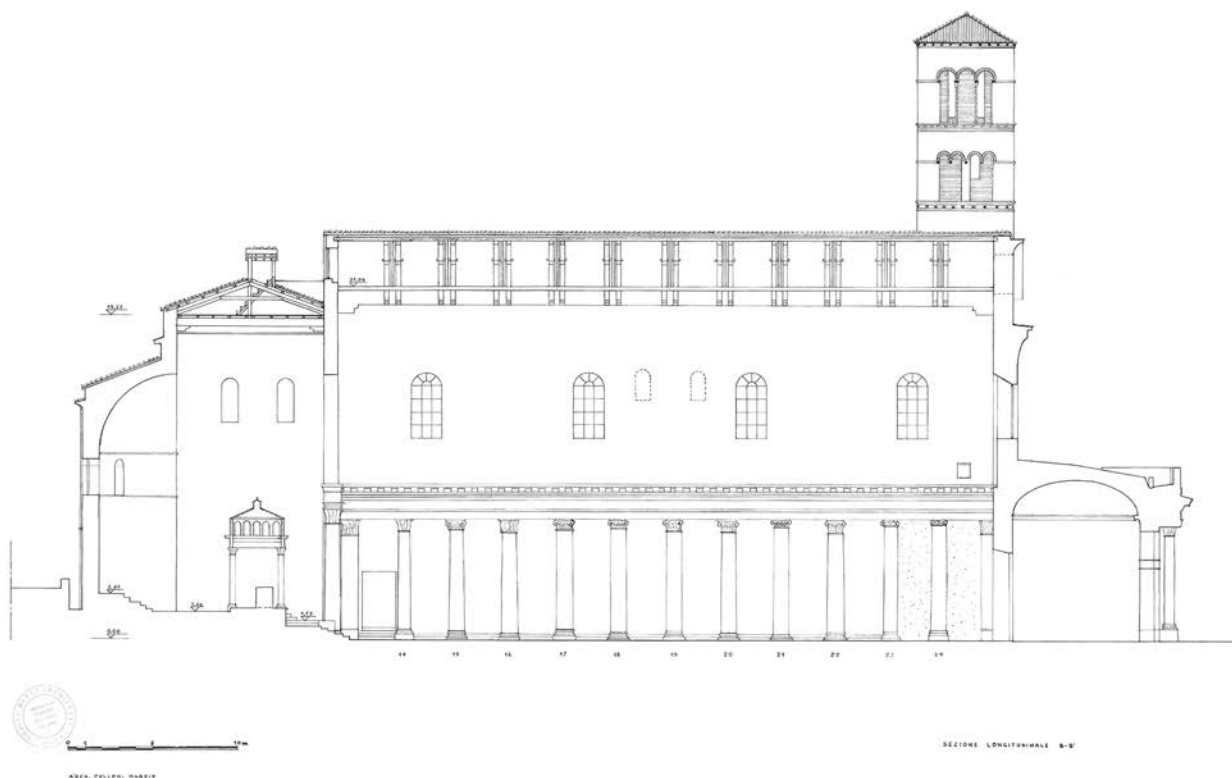

Fig. 472: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, longitudinal section through apse, transept, nave, and porch (Fulloni 1985/2016)

colonnades exhibit *varietas*, but none insists on it as strongly as these.[643] In this respect the colonnades seem to echo the apse mosaic, where the Queen sits *circumdata varietate*.[644] The nave too is wrapped in the variety of its colonnades.

Clerestory and roof

The nave wall rises 9.8 m from the top of the modillions to the present ceiling, making a total height of about 19 m from the pavement (fig. 472). The original height was somewhat less, as the wall was raised under Cardinal Aldobrandini and the pavement was lowered 0.4 m by Vespignani, but the impression of height was greater, because the view from the floor extended to the roof ridge instead of being blocked by a ceiling. Small round-headed windows, 1.9 m high and 0.9 m wide, appeared over some intercolumniations (figs. 390, 472). Their sills were about 5.4 m above the modillions. (For comparison, the present windows are about two-thirds taller [3.2 m] and twice as wide [1.8 m].) Windows in the south wall are documented by sixteenth-century complaints that they had been converted into balconies for buildings that extended from the adjoining cardinal's palace over the aisles, and consequently gave no light.[645] Even without such obstructions, the nave was appreciably dimmer than it is now. The aisles, which had little more than slit windows, were actively dark.

Vasari mentioned »very many colored things in fresco all over the church,« which he attributed to Cavallini.[646] Around the same time Bernardo Gamucci (1569) saw »ornamenti molto belli di pittura,« and the Bavarian pilgrim Jakob Rabus (1575) reported seeing »very nice« paintings in the
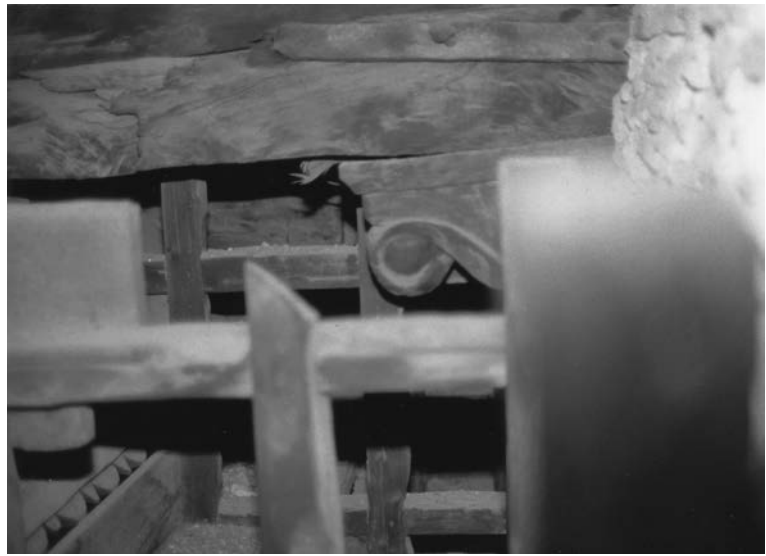

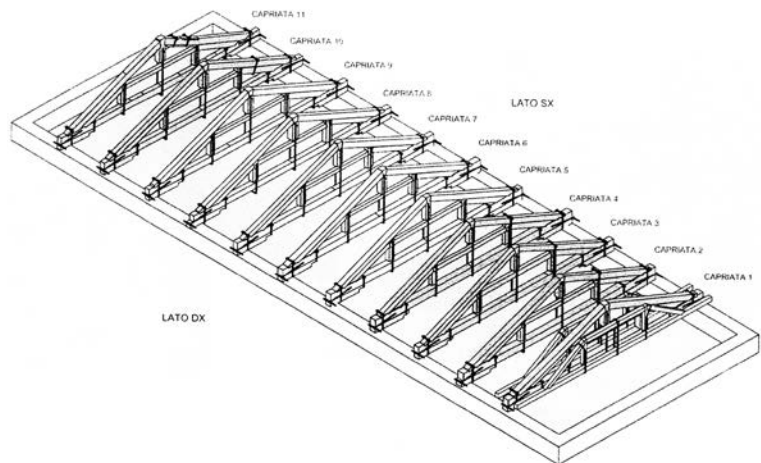*Fig. 473:* Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, space over nave ceiling, medieval bracket (photo Priester ca. 1989)

Fig. 474: Rome, S. Crisogono, truss roof (Petretto 2005)

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643 On *varietas* in the twelfth century: M. J. Carruthers, »Varietas.« A Word of Many Colours, in: Poetica 41, 2009, no. 1/2, pp. 11–32.

644 Ps. 44, 10: *Adstitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate.*

645 Moretti, De S. Callisto, pp. 314r–314v, quoting a document dated 20 April 1581: »Noi infrascritti facciamo fede […] come l'Ill(ustrissi)mo S(igno)r(e) Card(inale) Morone [1556–1560] […] fece disabitare le stanze del suo Palazzo, che sono sopra la nave piccola della chiesa di Sta Maria sopra la Madonna verso il detto Palazzo, che occupano le finestre della predetta chiesa; et fece buttare, e levar via li tramezzi, che vi erano, riducendoli a modo di Galleria.« See also above, n. 278.

646 Vita di Pietro Cavallini Romano, in: Vasari, Vite, hg. Bettarini/Barocchi 2 (1967), p. 185: »dipinse […] in S. Maria in Trastevere moltissime cose colorite per tutta la chiesa in fresco.«
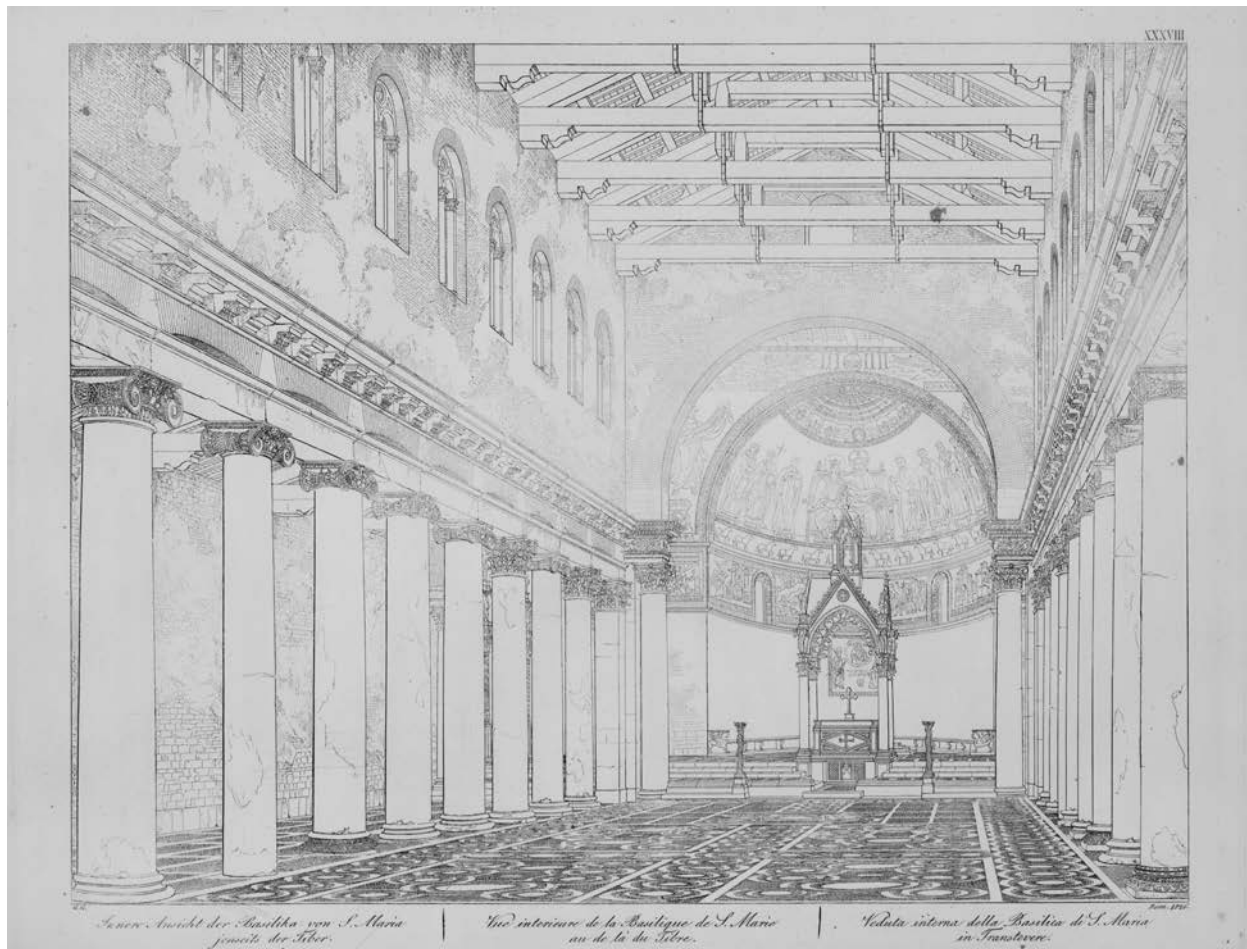
Fig. 475: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, reconstruction of medieval interior, J. G. Gutensohn, 1826, (in: Bunsen, Die Basiliken des christlichen Roms 1843)
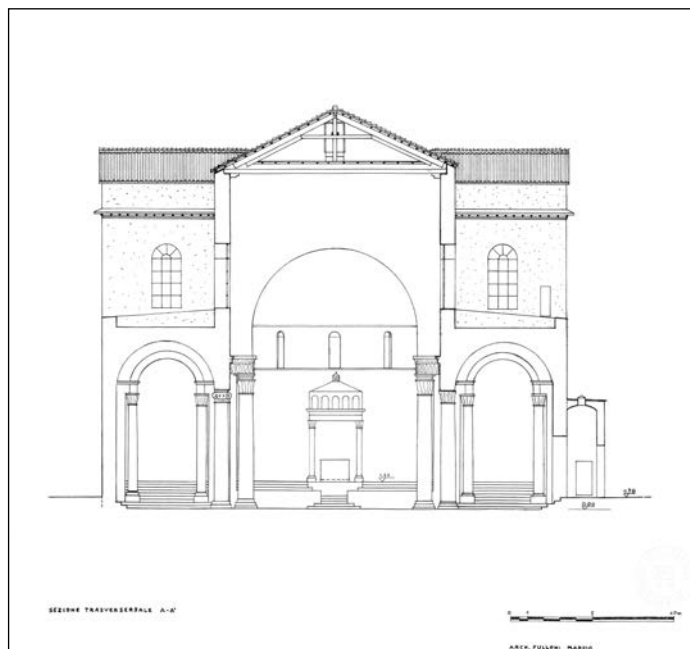

Fig. 476: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, transverse section through nave and aisles (M. Fulloni 1985/2016)

basilica.[647] There is no guarantee that these paintings were in the nave, but if they were, the recent opening of the south clerestory windows by Cardinal Morone (1556–1560) would have brought them literally to light. Both Gamucci and Rabus attributed the paintings to the eighth century, long before the time of Cavallini.[648] There is no further mention of these »ornaments,« and the earliest views of the nave show only unpainted plaster in the clerestory (figs. 362, 374). Schmitz is probably correct that, if the paintings were in the nave, they were eliminated in the restoration by Cardinal Aldobrandini.[649]

Cardinal Aldobrandini's remodeling also destroyed the original roof. His replacement has eleven double palladian trusses with intermediate king posts, one over each column (fig. 472).[650] It contains wood from the previous roof, including twelfth-century purlins and supporting brackets with polychrome decoration (fig. 473).[651] Whether the twelfth-century roof had a double-truss system like the present one is unknown. The recently restored roof of S. Crisogono, which also incorporates wood from its twelfth-century predecessor, has single palladian trusses with queen posts (fig. 474).[652] This is precisely the type of roof that Gutensohn imagined over the nave of S. Maria in

Fig. 477: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, triumphal arch and apse (photo Alinari/Art Resource)

647 Gamucci, Antichità (2nd ed. 1569), p. 168v: »Questa medesima chiesa […] si dice che da Gregorio II con più bel disegno fu rifatta, hauendola ripiena d'ornamenti molto belli di pittura, de' quali ne' tempi nostri se ne uede parte.« Rabus, Rom 1575 (1925), p. 74: »Papst Gregorius der 3. […] ließ es auch überaus schön malen, wie dann das alte Gemäl noch vor Augen ist.«

648 Rabus's attribution reflects knowledge of the Liber pontificalis. LP 1, p. 419 records the painting of the *basilicam sancti Calisti* by Pope Gregory III (731–741). This was the cemetery basilica on the via Aurelia, not the one in Trastevere.

649 Schmitz, Cavallini (2013), p. 248.

650 Valeriani, Kirchendächer (2006), pp. 31 fig. 6D₁, 32 fig. 8, 33 f., 77 f., 194–200. Her measurement of the roof span (11.1 m) is actually the distance between the ends of the secondary rafters; the total span (width between the clerestory walls) is 12.3–12.8 m. Similarly Valeriani (2003), p. 2030.

651 ACSMT, Fabbriceria Basilica e Canonica, Armadio XI, Busta no. 2, Filza: Memorie della sospensione di una prebenda Canonicale vacata per morte del Canonico della Torre per erogarne i frutti per estinzione totale dei debiti contratti nella riparazione dei tetti e soffitte della Basilica: »1 Dicembre 1893 […] molta parte del tetto è costituita da legnami che forse appartenevano all' antico tetto della basilica ad incavallature scoperte, parte è di qualità abete e parte è già stato in altri tempi in qualche modo rafforzata. [signed] L' Architetto del R[everendissi]mo Capitolo Aristide Leonori.« Cantone (1996), p. 259 n. 1: »Ancora oggi è visibile, nello spazio tra cassettonato e copertura, una serie di mensole d' appoggio delle preesistenti capriate con decorazioni policrome, testimonianze dell' origine copertura.« I am grateful to Ann Priester for sharing her photograph of one of the brackets. Ronald Malmstrom noticed the purlins on a visit to the roof space in 1972.

652 M. A. Petretto, The Wood Roofing System of the Main Nave in the S. Crisogono Church located in Trastevere, Rome, in: Conservation of Historic Wooden Structures. Proceedings of the International Conference, Florence 2005, ed. by G. Tampone, Florence 2005, vol. 1, pp. 165–175, esp. 166; Valeriani, Kirchendächer (2006), pp. 59–62.

Fig. 478: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, column base under triumphal arch, north side (photo Kinney ca. 1980)

Trastevere (fig. 475).[653] The trusses and the underside of the decking would have been painted with decorative patterns and possibly with inscriptions. In 1581 Girolamo d'Avila found the roof still in good condition and noted that it was covered with lead sheets.[654] Given Innocent II's ability to repair the lead roof of St. Peter's, it is likely that the lead covering at S. Maria in Trastevere was original.

Unlike the large mullioned windows in Gutensohn's reconstruction of the medieval interior, which are impossible for twelfth-century Rome, his view of the roof is plausible for the period, and helps to visualize Pope Innocent's nave (fig. 475). The roof was an important part of the décor, inviting the eye upward while at the same time reinforcing the orthogonal lines of the entablatures that lead westward to the view of the apse.

Transept and apse

The nave ends at the west with a view of the apse through the triumphal arch (figs. 476, 477). Under the arch are two imposing columns with matching shafts of granito del foro (H 6.43/6.44 m, ⌀ 0.97/0.96 m), matching Corinthian capitals, and matching imposts. Pensabene dated the capitals to the second century.[655] The unmatched bases stand on plinths that were buried under the pavement before Vespignani removed it (fig. 478).[656]

The imposts comprise all the parts of a Corinthian entablature: architrave (fascia, bead-and-reel, fascia, bead-and-reel, cyma reversa with hanging acanthus leaves), frieze (scrolling acanthus), and cornice (dentils, bead-and-reel, egg-and-dart, corona decorated with shells, cyma reversa with hanging acanthus leaves; figs. 479–481).[657] The acanthus-scroll frieze closely resembles the jambs of the lateral portals in the east wall (figs. 404–408). Neu compared its execution to ornament in the Baths of Caracalla, which might have been the source of the jambs as well.[658] The cornice blocks are separate from the frieze and have been dated slightly later.[659] They seem to have been made for a position like their current one, as »ressauts« over freestanding columns. The corners of the coronas are nineteenth-century restorations, but other corner elements, like the pinecones between the dentils, appear to be original (fig. 480).[660] The frieze, on the other hand, was assembled ad hoc by a medieval craftsman. An acanthus basket forms the short side, and the long sides are made of fragmentary rinceaux that grow toward the basket rather

653 Bunsen/Gutensohn/Knapp, Basiliken (1842), pl. XXXVIII, signed »G. G. Rom. 1826«.
654 Quoted by Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 249: *Est cooperta laminis plumbeis, et quamvis intus non sit suffitata, habet tamen tectum bene sarctum, et contignatum.* The lead was replaced with terracotta tiles by Cardinal Aldobrandini; ACSMT, Fabbriceria Basilica e Canonica, Busta N, item: »Si deue notare, che il Tetto della Basilica […] era tutto coperto di piombo, et doppo […] Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandino Titolare […] leuò il piombo et ui fece mettere le Tegole.«
655 Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 913 nos. 455, 456 (locations reversed).
656 Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 988 nos. 288, 289.
657 Di Fazio/Guidone (2014), p. 232; Pensabene, Roma (2015), pp. 597–599.
658 Neu (1972) p. 57; rejected by Schörner (1995), p. 94; accepted by Di Fazio/Guidone (2014), p. 241 (only for the imposts) and by Pensabene, Roma (2015), p. 599. Huelsen's proposal that the builders obtained the frieze by destroying one side of the Arco di Portogallo met no agreement; Huelsen (1917), p. 174; Stucchi (1949/50), p. 117; M. Torelli, Arco di Portogallo, in: LTUR 1, 1993, pp. 77–79.
659 Neu (1972), pp. 69 f., 177 no. 34. Guidone found the »sottocornice« more Flavian; Di Fazio/Guidone (2014), p. 232.
660 Valorosi (1), at 6930.30: »Nella cornice di marmo all'imposta dell'arcone della navata grande riprese a stucco le parti superiori mancanti, ricavandoci l'intaglio conforme a quello esistente con foglio e linea di conchiglie […] lung. M. 1.20.«

Fig. 479: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital and impost under triumphal arch, south side (photo DAI)

Fig. 480: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital and impost under triumphal arch, north side (photo DAI)

Fig. 481: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital and impost under triumphal arch, north side (photo Kinney 1988)

than away from it (figs. 480, 481).[661] The frieze and architrave break off roughly on the transept side of the piers (figs. 482, 483). It seems possible that the sixteenth-century scalpellino who needed 0.8-m-long blocks to lengthen the jambs of the portals took them from this part of the wall.

Similarly ornate entablatures can be made out in views of the transept of S. Paolo fuori le mura after it burned in 1823.[662] They are over the columns that carry the central arch in the transverse wall attributed to Anacletus II.[663] A drawing by Fra Giocondo (†1515) indicates that these entablatures had the same components as those in S. Maria in Trastevere.[664] Although the ornamental motifs were not quite identical, the spolia in both pairs of entablatures could have been taken from the same ancient site. The triumphal arch in S. Crisogono likewise has elaborate imposts, which lost their original ornament in a seventeenth-century reworking.[665]

The imposts, giant porphyry shafts, and Corinthian capitals in S. Crisogono are the earliest known instance of columns under the triumphal arch in twelfth-century Rome. Poeschke cited them, among other features, as deliberate references to the great transept basilicas of the fourth century.[666] Only S. Paolo had such columns, and they were inserted in a repair made by Pope Leo I in 440/50.[667] The columns at S. Paolo had Ionic capitals and relatively low imposts decorated with standing acanthus and water leaves. The faces of the capitals were turned toward the passageway, leaving the bolsters facing the nave. The twelfth-century versions with Corinthian capitals and full entablatures are more decorous (with fancier capitals framing the altar) and conspicuously more ornate.

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661 Neu (1972), pp. 57, 176 no. 29.
662 The most detailed rendition is by Rossini, Antichità (1823), p. 99; see also the watercolor by A. Acquaroni, Camerlenghi (2018), p. 155 fig. 5.11. I am grateful to Nicola Camerlenghi for his advice about S. Paolo.
663 H. L. Kessler, Seroux's Decadent Column Capital and other Pieces in the Puzzle of S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome, in: Arte medievale, N. S. 3, 2004, no. 1, pp. 9–34, esp. 19; Camerlenghi, Splitting (2013), pp. 130–133; Kinney, Patronage (2016), pp. 353, 359–362; Camerlenghi, St. Paul's (2018), pp. 153–159.
664 Uffizi, inv.no. Dis. Arch. 1539v; Bartoli, Mon. ant. 1 (1914), pl. XXXII, URL: https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bartoli1914bd1/0035 [25. 10. 2020]; cf. vol. 6, p. 15.
665 M. Cigola, La basilica di San Crisogono in Roma. Un rilievo critico, in: Bollettino del Centro di Studi per la Storia dell' Architettura 35, 1989, pp. 3–49, esp. 32, 38.
666 Poeschke, Kirchenbau (1988), p. 4.
667 Camerlenghi, St. Paul's (2018), pp. 94 f. fig. 3.12.

Fig. 482: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, impost of north triumphal arch column from west (photo Kinney 1979)

Fig. 483: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, juncture of transept and south aisle from west (photo Kinney 1979)

Columns under the triumphal arch also appeared in Desiderius's new basilica at Montecassino, but Poeschke rejected the possibility that the abbey church was an intermediary source for this and other aspects of the transept, preferring the theory that twelfth-century Roman builders looked directly to models in Rome.[668] They may not have been the first to do so, as at least two transept basilicas generally dated to the ninth century have columns under the triumphal arch: S. Anastasia, restored by Pope Leo III (795–816), and S. Stefano degli Abissini, also usually dated to the pontificate of Leo III.[669] The columns in S. Anastasia, mentioned by Ugonio in 1588, were subsequently moved to the apse and have been replaced by shafts of less prestigious granite.[670] The columns in S. Stefano degli Abissini are still in situ, and their capitals and imposts are preserved.[671] They reproduce exactly the arrangement in St. Paul's basilica: Ionic capitals with nave-facing bolsters and low imposts that support a second arch under the one carried by the piers. Unlike the capitals in the nave colonnades, which are spolia, the capitals and imposts of the triumphal arch in S. Stefano were purpose-made in the ninth century.[672]

The aisles of S. Maria in Trastevere open into the transept through arches under the barrel vaults installed by Cardinal Altemps (fig. 476). The columns supporting the arches originally were embedded in the steps up to the transept, where they must have carried an architrave (figs. 441,

668 Poeschke, Kirchenbau (1988), p. 16; for Montecassino: G. Carbonara, Iussu Desiderii. Montecassino e l'architettura campano-abruzzese nell'undicesimo secolo, Rome 1979, p. 59 fig. VIII. The intermediary role of Montecassino was maintained by Krautheimer, Rome (1980), pp. 178–182.

669 On the date of S. Stefano degli Abissini: Giovannoni (1934–38), pp. 9 f., 13; CBCR 4 (1970), pp. 196–198; Cecchelli (1997), p. 300; Delsere (2015), pp. 17–19. Krautheimer argued for a date in the pontificate of Leo IV (874–855), while Cecchelli argued for the twelfth century.

670 CBCR 1 (1937), pp. 42–62, pls. VII, VIII; Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), p. 70. Ugonio, Stationi (1588), p. 61v described the columns as »marmo verde Lacedemonio«; actually, they were of portasanta marble. Cerrito (2011), p. 356 n. 54. The portasanta shafts were moved to the apse in the 1680s, and the granite and faux-granite shafts seen today are eighteenth-century replacements. F. Barry, Building History. The Baroque Remodellings of S. Anastasia al Palatino, in: Storia dell' arte 95, 1999, pp. 45–102, esp. 50, 69; Cerrito (2011), pp. 357 f. My thanks to Judson Emerick for sharing his knowledge of these churches.

671 Giovannoni (1934–38), pp. 11–13, pl. I; Delsere (2015), p. 64 fig. 32.

672 Giovannoni (1934–38), p. 12.

509). Trabeated columns marking the ends of the aisles were a feature of St. Peter's basilica, which was imitated (with only one column) in S. Prassede and probably also in S. Stefano degli Abissini, where only the architraves survive.[673] The columns in S. Maria in Trastevere have shafts of granito del foro, matching Corinthian capitals, and matching bases. The shafts are more than a meter shorter than those under the triumphal arch, and half a meter shorter than the shortest shaft in the colonnades.[674] Because their astragals and at least two apophyges are intact, they must retain their original height, which matches that of the four granite shafts of the porch. The capitals and bases form four pairs: two pairs of white marble capitals and gray marble bases at the end of the south aisle, and gray capitals and white bases at the end of the north aisle. Both sets of capitals are too small for their shafts (figs. 484, 485). Pensabene dated the white capitals to the first half of the first century and the gray (»marmo bigio«) capitals to the early third century.[675] Their seemingly perfect preservation is the result of nineteenth-century plaster repairs.

The bases in the south aisle have a normal Attic profile; those in the north aisle are Composite (figs. 486, 487).[676] The attached plinths of all four bases are worn. In their original position in the middle of a short flight of steps, the bases would have endured frequent traffic, especially on the north side, where there was an entrance from the street. The passage was tight, with little more than a meter between the columns. From the pavement to the underside of the architrave the height was about 6.5 m. These relatively low openings allowed almost no view of the transept from the aisles (fig. 509).

By contrast, the triumphal arch frames a

Fig. 484: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital under arch at end of south aisle, south side (photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 485: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, capital under arch at end of north aisle, south side (photo Kinney 2016)

perfect view of the apse, calibrated to include nearly all of the twelfth-century mosaic (fig. 477). The triumphal arch and the apse are the same height, with apices 15.8–15.9 m above the present floor of the nave; the pavement of the apse is 1.66 m higher (fig. 472). The wall above the apse rises an additional 2.4 m, for a total height of 16.6 m from the floor of the transept to the ceiling (and 18.3 m above the nave pavement). The sixteenth-century ceiling seems to be close to the level of the twelfth-century roof beams, as it cuts off very little of the mosaic on the wall below it. Part of

673 Giovannoni (1934–38), p. 12 inserted new columns from the Vatican warehouse. Cecchelli (1997), pp. 294–296 called the insertion »arbitrary.«
674 The dimensions are H 5.36, ⌀ 0.57 m; H 5.33, ⌀ 0.58 m; H 5.26, ⌀ 0.61 m; H 5.26, ⌀ 0.62 m.
675 Pensabene, Roma (2015), pp. 908 f. nos. 407, 408; 924 nos. 631–632.
676 Pensabene, Roma (2015), pp. 587, 589 fig. 926, 986 nos. 199, 200. Parts of the Composite bases were replaced in the nineteenth century.

Fig. 486: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, column base at end of south aisle (photo Kinney 1979)

Fig. 487: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, column base at end of north aisle (photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 488: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, apse and surrounding wall (photo Alinari/Art Resource)
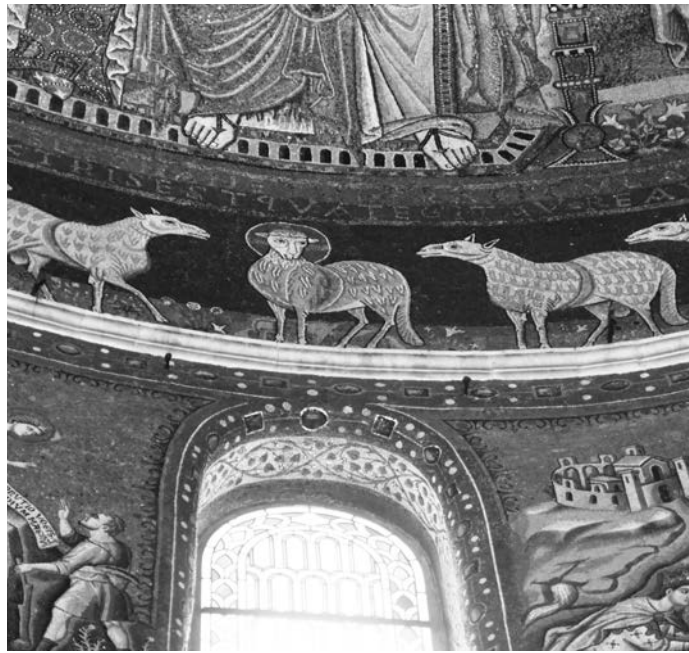
Fig. 489: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, apse wall,
cornice below twelfth-century mosaic (photo Kinney 2017)
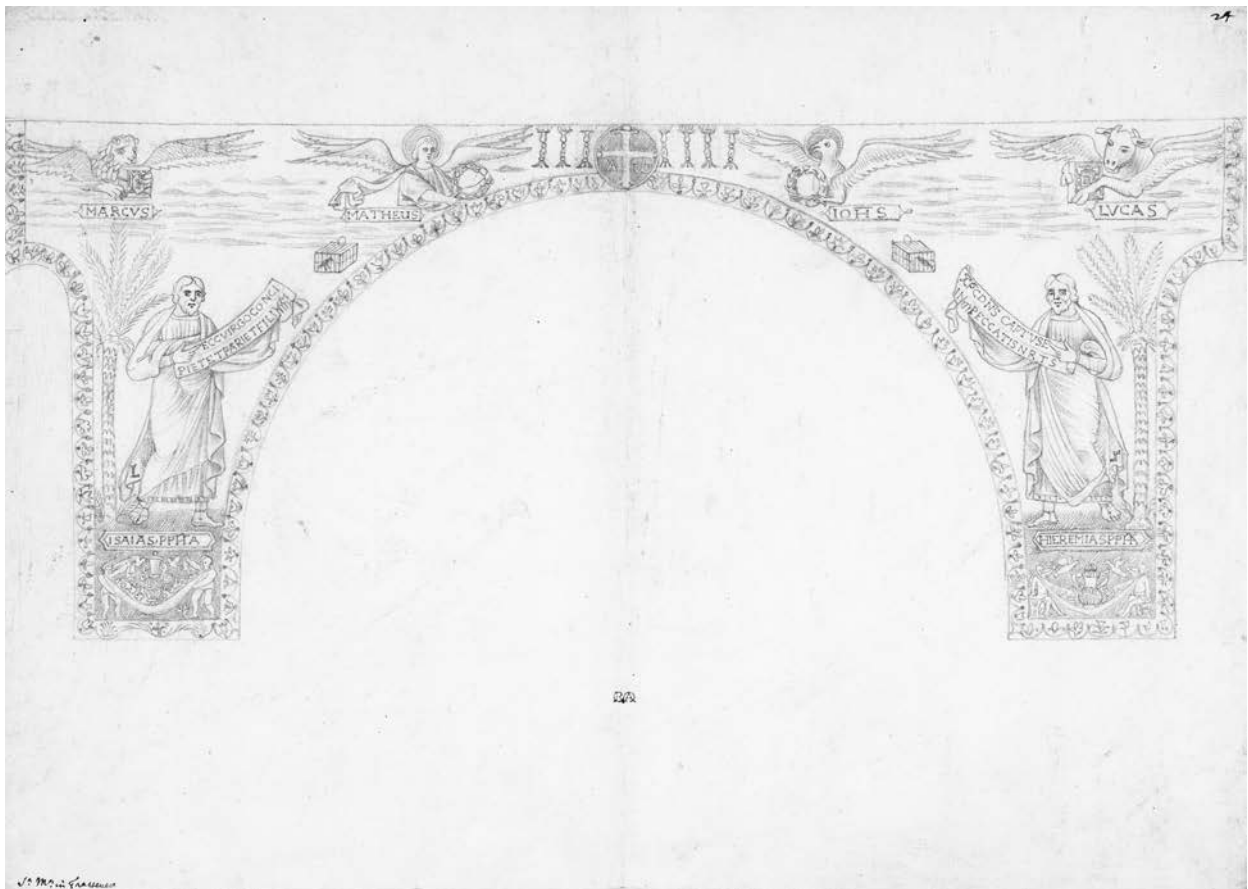

Fig. 490: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, apse and arch mosaic, anonymous 17th-century drawing (photo Edinburgh,
National Gallery of Scotland, D 1054. David Laing Bequest to the Royal Scottish Academy transferred 1910)

Fig. 491: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere,
interior view to west (photo Kinney 2009)

the original mosaic frame (a thin white line bordering a dark blue band) is visible above the symbols of John and Luke on the north side (fig. 488).

Valeriani observed that the roof beams above the ceiling are roughly hewn (»waldkantig«) and were not meant to be seen. She attributed them to an earlier ceiling of unspecified date.[677] The masonry she associated with this ceiling is not medieval, and there is no material argument for a ceiling in the twelfth century.[678] Still, it is worth noting that Gutensohn reconstructed planking over the beams in the transept (fig. 475).

The bottom of the conch mosaic is marked by a marble cornice (cavetto, cyma recta) that continues onto the adjoining wall under the border of the spandrel mosaics (figs. 488, 489). The cornice stops at the edge of the mosaics, where the mosaic border turns 90° and rises until it curves outward over what must have been a window on either side. After tracing about two-thirds of the window arch, the mosaic border shoots upward to the top of the wall, signaling the mosaic's abrupt termination (fig. 490).[679] The decoration of the rest of the walls, if any, was obviously less important.[680] The mosaic was a show for viewers standing in the nave.[681]

Medieval viewers could see the mosaic more clearly than modern ones. The transept was brighter than it is now, with windows in at least three walls: two in each short wall and one in each half of the west wall, and three more below the mosaic in the apse. There may have been windows over the aisles as well, admitting light from the east.[682] The effect upon entering the church would have been the opposite of what it is today (fig. 491). Absent electric lights, Vespignani's relatively enormous windows illuminate the nave, while the apse is a murky unknown.[683] In the twelfth century, with light suffusing the transept from every direction, the gold and colored tesserae must have shone more clearly, beckoning the viewer forward out of the gloom of the nave.

677   Valeriani, Kirchendächer (2006), pp. 79–81, 201.
678   Valeriani, Kirchendächer (2006), p. 201, caption to fig. 292. »Ostgiebel« is a mistake; it is the south gable.
679   National Gallery of Scotland, inv.no. D1054, anonymous drawing of the mosaic on the wall surrounding the conch of the apse; published by Gardner, Copies (1973), p. 584 and fig. 25.
680   The walls were bare in the sixteenth century: Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 269, quoting Avila (1581): *Parietes crucis navis ante Chorum non sunt incrustae, neque dealbatae.*
681   Kinney (2002), p. 19.
682   See above, n. 405.
683   Kinney (2002), pp. 19 f.

Liturgical furnishings
Altar and ciborium

The main altar stands on a platform at the top of the steps rising from the nave to the transept. Over it is a ciborium borne on four porphyry columns with Corinthian-izing capitals (fig. 492). Before the nine-teenth-century renovation, the columns carried an entablature (three-fascia archi-trave, frieze, and multi-part cornice) that supported a wooden balustrade surround-ing the »tempietto« of Cardinal Altemps (fig. 374).[684] Vespignani removed the en-tablature and everything above it in order to install the neo-Classical canopy seen to-day.[685] The architrave of pavonazzetto was acquired by the scalpellino.[686] Everything below the entablature – capitals, shafts, bases, and the porphyry and mosaic revet-ments around the confessio – was disman-tled in order to rebuild the foundations.[687] The porphyry shafts were taken »outside,« where they were »worked« by the scal-pellino.[688] The capitals were »stripped« (»scalzati«).[689] Nothing is said about the bases.

The »work« on the porphyry shafts – smoothing, polishing, probably some inte-gration with stucco – explains why they are so uniform and shiny. They are all exactly the same size: 2.94 m tall, 0.35 m in diame-ter. Einaudi is likely correct that they were reused in the twelfth century from the ci-borium of Pope Gregory IV.[690] Gregory in turn would have reused the precious cibo-

Fig. 492: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ciborium and altar (photo Zuccari)

684 See above, n. 283.
685 Valorosi (1): »Disfatta la cupola di legno sopra l'altare della confessione, dismessa la balaustrata cornicione di legname calato a basso […] trasporto nelle cappelle.«
686 Viti, *fin*: Vespignani deducts 330.15 lire from the amount owed as the »valuta di un paliotto, e degli architravi in paonaz-zetto della tribuna acquistati dallo scalpellino.«
687 Valorosi (1), at 8068.15: »Levati i capitelli delle colonne […] Ciascuna delle colonne calata a basso col tiro […] Smurate le quattro basi e zoccoli […] Sotto le basi delle due colonne verso la navata maggiore disfatti i piedistalli con rivestimento di lastro di porfido, ed i contro pilastri che sostengono la banchina avanti l'Altare, e demolito il muro del nucleo […] Inseguito rifatto il muro […] Messo in opera e murato lo specchio di porfido con intelaratura di marmo attorno […] e le due lastre di porfido e paonazzetto di rivestimento al vivo del contropilastro.«
688 Valorosi (1), at 8068.15: »colonne trasportate all' esterno […] dopo lavorate dallo scalpellino sonosi […] trasportate nell' in-terno, quindi […] inalzate […] e sistemate al posto.«
689 Valorosi (1), »Scalzati e sistemati in opera i quattro capitelli corinti.«
690 See above, n. 55. Similarly de Blaauw, Purpur (1991), pp. 41, 46.

Fig. 493: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, southeast ciborium column base
(photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 494: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere,
southwest ciborium capital
(photo Kinney 2016)

rium gifted to the basilica by his near predecessor Pope Leo III (795–816), which had a wooden superstructure covered with silver.[691]

The bases perfectly fit the shafts, but this may be because the apophyges were restored or remade in plaster (fig. 493). They are identical in type, ornament, and execution. All have Attic profiles decorated with a wreath on the lower torus, standing acanthus and water leaves on the scotia, and egg-and-dart on the upper torus. Compared to the antique bases under the columns at the entrance to the chapel of S. Zeno, which also have laurel wreaths on the lower torus, the carving is conspicuously shallow and two-dimensional.[692] The very low relief and the careful, but slightly questionable emulation of classical ornamental vocabulary (the egg-and-dart on the upper torus is unusual) might suggest a Carolingian date, but John Herrmann found comparable features on non-architectural sculpture from late antiquity.[693] He advocates a date for the bases in the later third or early fourth century.

The capitals, like the bases, are identical in type and style (fig. 494). They are largely the work of Vespignani's craftsmen, who scraped the surfaces and remade them in plaster.[694] Their present ornament is modeled on a common ancient type, the »lyre-form« Corinthianizing capital.[695] Whether they reproduce or even resemble the original capitals is unknown.

The principal evidence for the medieval canopy over the columns is the incidental view by Tomasz Treter (fig. 495). Panvinio and Ugonio averred that it was of marble, but for Ugonio this was only hearsay.[696] Treter drew six

691 Above, n. 31.
692 Pensabene, Roma (2015), pp. 990 f. cat. 331–332, p. 1104 figs. 1052–1053 (first half of 1st c.).
693 Kline sarcophagus from the via Appia, first half 3rd c., Museo Nazionale delle Terme di Diocleziano, inv.no. 112112; John Herrmann, personal communication 16. 05. 2020. I am grateful to John Herrmann for his generous and learned advice about the bases and capitals.
694 Damiani (1993/94), p. 261, quoting an invoice of 1873 from the scalpellino Francesco Viti: »Per il restauro dei N. 4 capitelli corinzi di marmo sopra le colonne di porfido, fatto dall' intagliatore in scagliola e messoci i perni di ottone impiegate N. 12 giornate.« Valorosi (1), at 10187.13: »Ponte […] per comodo dello stuccatore e doratore onde restaurare e dorare i capitelli.«
695 U.-W. Gans, Korinthisierende Kapitelle der römischen Kaiserzeit. Schmuckkapitelle in Italien und den nordwestlichen Provinzen, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 1992, pp. 88–121; Pensabene, Roma (2015), pp. 935–937, 1065 f. figs. 743–757; E. M. Moormann, Marble Sculpture and Architectural Elements, in: Oplontis. Villa A (»of Poppaea«) at Torre Annunziata, Italy, vol. 2: The Decorations. Painting, Stucco, Pavements, Sculptures, ed. by J. R. Clarke, N. K. Muntasser, New York 2019, ch. 16, locations 1249–1810, esp. 1627 cat. 126, 1648 cat. 134, 1650 cat. 135, etc. Again, I am indebted to John Herrmann for leading me to the appropriate bibliography.
696 Panvinio, Chiese (1570), p. 84: »l' altar maggiore, il quale [Innocenzo II] adornò d'un tabernacolo di marmo«. Ugonio, Stationi (1588), p. 138: »Il ciborio, di cui si è detto che fece già di marmo Innocentio II non vi è più.«

small columns supporting a hexagonal roof. A hexagonal canopy is otherwise unheard-of, so this may be a shortcut for an octagon. The hexagon sits directly on the architrave. This may be another shortcut, as Roman ciboria with octagonal canopies normally have a square zone of colonnettes beneath the canopy, as on the ciborium of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, dated 1148.[697] It is possible, however, that Treter's rendition is accurate on this point, and the canopy at S. Maria in Trastevere was not a standard design of the twelfth-century *magistri romani*, but something else.

The altar is a rectangular block about L 2 × W 1.25 × H 1.2 m counting the socle (fig. 496).[698] It is revetted on the front with pavonazzetto and on the rear with Proconnesian marble.[699] The north and south sides are covered only with plaster (fig. 497). Like other altars of this type, it has a richly molded marble socle and corner pilasters.[700] The pavonazzetto socle was made in four pieces, one on each side, and probably abuts a masonry core under the revetment.[701] The pilasters are nicely fashioned with triple flutes and darts on each side of the corner. They are of a piece with their plinths and architraves (fillet, torus, cyma recta, fascia). The architraves continue above the revetments on separate blocks. Over the architraves are two more elements: a second architrave of dull white marble with a relatively clumsy profile, and the mensa, a thick monolith of pavonazzetto with a strongly projecting cyma recta. The second architrave functions as a kind of cantilever for the mensa, which is considerably larger than the altar. While it is not unusual for the mensa to overhang the altar, in most examples the stone is thinner and does not require mediating blocks below it.[702]
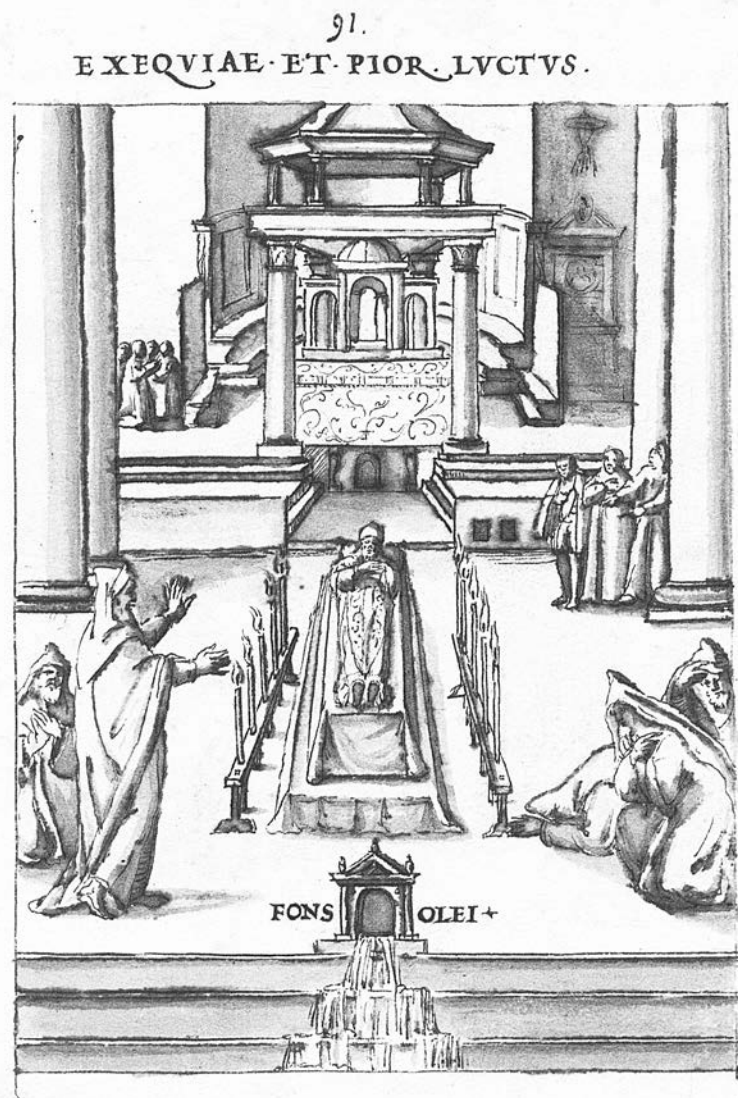
Fig. 495: Tomasz Treter, Theatrum virtutum ac meritorum D. Stanislai Hosii. Library of the Zamość Academy, Warsaw, p. 99v (photo National Library of Poland, Polona.pl)

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697 Mondini, in: Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), pp. 411–413. The upper two stories were reconstructed by Vespignani. Claussen, Magistri (1987), p. 14 raised the possibility that this type of ciborium was invented at S. Lorenzo.

698 The dimensions (L 2.02 × W 1.25 × H 1.19 m) are given by Zuccari (2021), p. 235. I am very grateful to Alessandro Zuccari for sharing his important article on the altar pre-publication, and for providing the photos in figs. 496 and 497.

699 Zuccari (2021), p. 235.

700 For the type see Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 247–249, 404 f.; Kirchen G–L (2010), pp. 51 f.

701 As at SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio: Belardi et al. (1995), p. 147 top.

702 Cf. Claussen, Magistri (1987), fig. 10 (Sant'Elia near Nepi, consecrated 1099), fig. 51 (S. Maria in Flumine in Ponzano Romano, ca. 1160); Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), p. 248 fig. 182 (S. Cecilia, 1120–1130); Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), p. 50 fig. 34 (S. Giorgio in Velabro, first half 12th c.).

Fig. 496: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, altar from east (photo Zuccari)

Fig. 497: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, altar from southeast (photo Zuccari)

Alessandro Zuccari compared the altar in S. Maria in Trastevere to that in the monastery church of SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio alle Tre Fontane, which was »restored« by Pope Innocent II in 1140.[703] Its corner pilasters also have fluting. According to Claussen, pilasters with classicizing fluting were a novelty of the years following 1130.[704] Zuccari concluded that the altar in S. Maria in Trastevere – except for the mediating blocks under the mensa – is contemporary with the altar in SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio.[705] The mensa is marked with many incised symbols and images, including a number of crosses, which Zuccari attributed to the consecration by Innocent III in 1215.[706]

Sometime before 1569, ten years before the views by Tomasz Treter, Alfonso Chacón recorded an inscription on a marble tablet »encima del altare maior.«[707] The remains of the inscribed plaque, cut or broken into three pieces, were recovered from the pavement in the nineteenth century and are now on view in the porch (fig. 498). Although addressed to Mary rather than to her son, the early medieval inscription is strikingly appropriate for an altar, as it begins with a plea to accept the gifts offered by an unworthy servant.[708] Its location »above« (encima del) the altar might be construed as pertaining to the mensa, but if the enormous tabernacle of the Sacrament that covers the mensa in Treter's views was already in place in the 1560s, Chacón could not have seen it

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703 Belardi et al. (1995), pp. 27–30.
704 Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), p. 405; previously Poeschke, Kirchenbau (1988), p. 12 n. 34, who considered the altar of S. Maria in Trastevere the earliest example.
705 Zuccari (2021), pp. 238 f. He speculated that the mediating blocks are insertions of the Quattrocento. On the altar in SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio, which was completely dismantled and rebuilt in the 1990s, see Belardi et al. (1995), pp. 143–151.
706 Zuccari (2021), pp. 236 f.
707 BAV, Chigi I, V, 167, fol. 80: »in diua maria in trastiberí encima del altare maior en una tab[la] de mar[mol].« De Rossi (1870); Recio Veganzones, Obra (2002), p. 398 no. 42.
708 BAV, Chigi I, V, 167, fol. 80v: + DIGNA LICET NEQVAEAM TVIS OFF[ER]RE PRAEMIA DONIS FAMVLI SED PROP[RII] VOTA QVAESO DOMINA LIBENS SVSCIPE; De Rossi (1870), pl. IX; F. Cabrol, H. Leclerq, Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, vol. 3,1, Paris 1913, pp. 903 f. De Rossi dated the inscription to the seventh or eighth century.
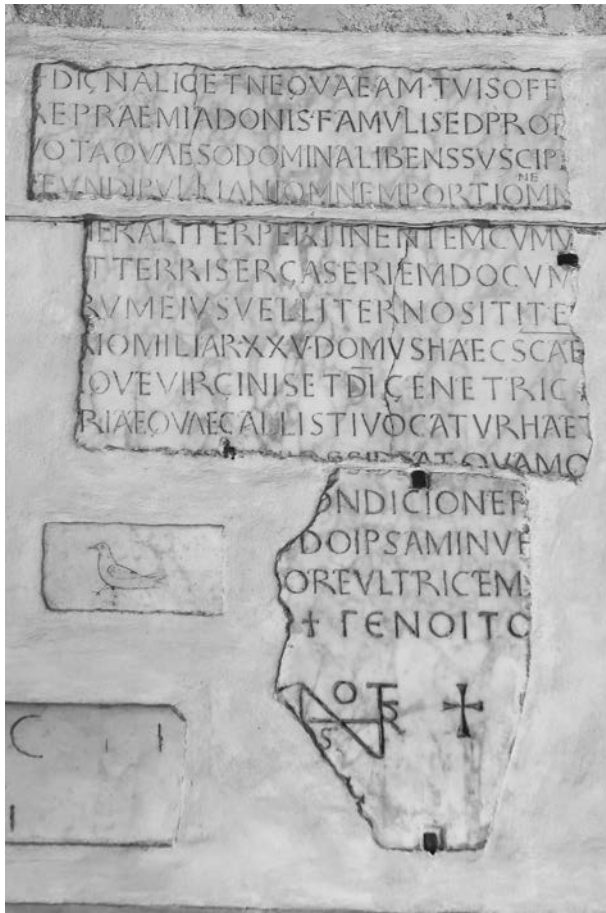
Fig. 498: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, porch,
DIGNA LICET inscription (photo Kinney 2017)

Fig. 499: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, confessio
(photo Kinney 1972)

Fig. 500: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, projections on north
side of confessio (photo Kinney 2015)

(figs. 363, 495).[709] Claussen speculated that the inscription may have been in the ciborium.[710] Its fragments have not been measured, but they appear to cover an area slightly less than one meter wide and 1.13 m tall. The width is feasible for one side of the canopy, which sat on a base measuring 3.5 m per side. In the absence of better information, we might imagine that before the canopy was destroyed in 1580, priests said Mass at the altar with the words of the early medieval offering inscription hovering directly overhead.

The confessio below the altar is covered by a single slab of Proconnesian marble. The cover is divided by molded frames into three compartments: a central arched window and two rectangular areas filled with a diaper pattern of porphyry and serpentine mosaic (figs. 492, 499).[711] On either side of this panel the altar platform steps forward twice: once between the confessio and the ciborium columns and again directly under the columns (fig. 500). This is a more elaborate arrangement than the standard one with a single projection under the columns, as in S. Giorgio in Velabro, but it is not incompatible with a twelfth-century date.[712] Both projections are revetted

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709   Moretti, De S. Callisto, pp. 263r–v, quoting Avila (1581): *mensa lapidea d.i Altaris fuit angustata super imponendo illi taber-naculum S(anctissi)mi Sacramenti, et postmodum dilatata addita tabula lignea latitudinis unius palmi a parte anteriori;* also p. 286v.
710   Personal communication, 25. 02. 2021. Inscribed stones were reused in the roof of the twelfth-century ciborium in the Cappella dell' Adorazione in S. Anastasia: Cerrito (2011), pp. 362–365; cf. Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 73–77.
711   The pattern is authentic: Glass, BAR (1980), p. 145 no. 20 (first half 12th c.), but the mosaics may have been restored.
712   Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), pp. 48 f.

Fig. 501: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, cathedra
(photo Vasari 1998)

with slabs of porphyry and pavonazzetto, which were dismounted when the platform was rebuilt in the nineteenth century and reinstalled.[713] The window of the confessio received a new door with the monogram of Pope Pius IX; prying out the hinges of the old door caused visible damage to the marble frame (fig. 499).

Throne

The papal throne, or cathedra, sits atop five steps in the deepest part of the apse, nearly a meter (95 cm) above the pavement of the transept (fig. 501). The steps predate the Altemps restoration and may be original, although their paving has been at least partly redone.[714] The throne is assembled from six pieces of several kinds of marble, of which the largest is the Proconnesian slab used to make the back. The back is structurally independent of the armrests and the seat. It has the shape of a low rectangle under a three-quarters-round circle, with small echoing circles on either side. Unlike the backs of other such thrones, this one is devoid of ornament or inscriptions.[715] The seat and the vertical panel below it are of different marbles. The seat is too thin for the slots cut into the armrests to receive it (fig. 502).[716] The armrests were fashioned from spoliate blocks, at least one of which may have originated as part of a balustrade (fig. 503). The blocks were recarved to represent winged felines whose paws rest on molded bases (figs. 504–506). The base on the north side is part of the block with the animal, but that on the south was made separately.

Gutensohn disassembled the throne in his visual reconstruction of the medieval interior, putting the armrests at opposite sides of the apse (fig. 475). This imaginative rearrangement has caused some confusion.[717] D'Aloisio's view shows that the armrests were still in their original place in the nineteenth century, but the round part of the back had been covered by the central element of the sixteenth-century choir stalls (fig. 445). The back was fully revealed when Vespignani had the choir stalls replaced in 1873. Although the ill-fitting seat could have been added at that time, it is unlikely that the nineteenth-century craftsmen would have done it so crudely. The present seat may go back to the sixteenth century or even earlier, when the first wooden choir stalls were made.

The armrests are notable works of medieval sculpture. On the long sides the carving adheres very closely to the plane of the original parapet. The wings extend straight back from the animals' shoulders, in line with their bellies and legs (figs. 504, 505). Their tails emerge from between their legs and rise vertically before curling over their haunches. Their manes are flat against their cheeks and necks. By a sleight of hand, the tensely flattened relief turns three-dimensional on the short ends, where we see the lions' faces and front legs. The front legs are freestanding (fig. 506). The faces are robustly three-dimensional, with crumpled brows and bulges around the eyes (fig. 507). The manes are decoratively treated and fan like flames above the foreheads. There are no ears. Horns

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713   Above, n. 687.
714   Five steps were seen by Panvinio before 1568: BAV, Vat. lat. 6780, p. 30: *Est ibi marmorea sedes quinque gradibus sublata.*
715   For other thrones see Gandolfo, Simbolismo (1981).
716   Gandolfo, Cattedra (1980), pp. 349 f.
717   E. g., Gandolfo, Cattedra (1980), pp. 348 f.

curved like goat horns rise from the sides of the heads. The horns indicate that the creatures are not really lions; they resemble the lion-griffin, a mythical beast that originated in the ancient Near East and was taken up by Mediterranean artists in the pre-classical period.[718] It became popular in ancient Roman decorative art.

Toesca noted the animals' classical appearance (»grifi che si direbbero antichi«) and associated them with works produced by followers of Petrus Vassallettus.[719] On the basis of style and iconography, Gandolfo argued that the reliefs were made for the consecration of S. Maria in Trastevere in 1215.[720] He explained the ugly incision in the south armrest by proposing that the chair originally was made without a seat, and the back and armrests formed a frame for a portable throne.[721] Careful observation of the wing feathers led him to distinguish more than one hand (»una collaborazione di bottega«) and a style similar to that of Jacobus Laurentii.[722] Gandolfo subsequently speculated that the reliefs were the work of Jacobus and his son Cosma.[723] Claussen was unconvinced of this attribution as well as of the date. In his opinion only Vassellettus or Drudus, both active slightly later in the century, were capable of such sculptural quality.[724] Gandolfo accepted this view in a recent publication of two reliefs in Nepi that represent lions somewhat similar to the felines in S. Maria in Trastevere. Arguing that the reliefs were made as the side

Fig. 502: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, cathedra, juncture of south armrest and seat (photo Kinney 2015)

Fig. 503: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, cathedra, top of south armrest (photo Claussen)

718 B. Goldman, The Development of the Lion-Griffin, in: A. J. A. 64, 4, 1960, pp. 319–328, figs. 17, 19. Gandolfo, Cattedra (1980), p. 344, denied any connection with lion-griffins and claimed that the beasts on the cathedra are simply lions.
719 Toesca, Il Medioevo (1927), pp. 861 f.
720 Folowed by D'Achille, Scultura (1991), pp. 160 f.
721 Gandolfo, Cattedra (1980), pp. 348–350.
722 Gandolfo, Cattedra (1980), pp. 344–346.
723 Gandolfo, Cosma (1984); followed by Bassan, Cosmati (1994).
724 Claussen, Magistri (1987), p. 81; cf. pp. 101–103 for Vassallettus, pp. 144 f. for Drudus. Creti, In marmoris (2009), pp. 184, 190 continued to follow Gandolfo. The leonine heads with goat horns bear some resemblance to the chimera on the reassembled pulpit in S. Cesareo, attributed by Claussen to »the vicinity of the Vassallettus workshop«; Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 286–289, quotation on p. 290. Thanks to Daniela Mondini for bringing the similarity to my attention.

Fig. 504: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, cathedra, south armrest, detail (photo Kinney 1972)

Fig. 505: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, cathedra, north armrest, detail (photo Kinney 1972)

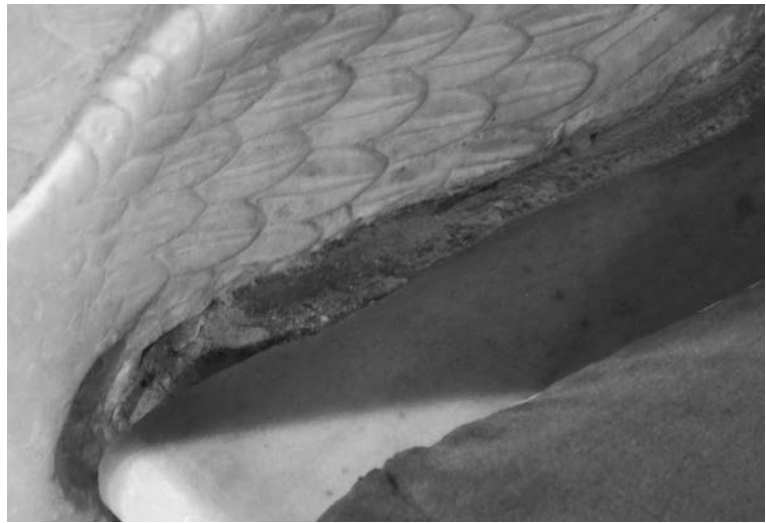*Fig. 506:* Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, cathedra, north armrest, detail (photo Kinney 1972)

Fig. 507: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, cathedra, south armrest from east, detail (photo Kinney 2015)

panels of a cathedra, he dated them to a hypothetical refurbishing of the presbytery of Nepi Cathedral in 1266, in conjunction with a documented consecration of the main altar.[725] He then proposed that the armrests in S. Maria in Trastevere were made around the same time, citing a resemblance to the lions on the throne in Anagni Cathedral, which was signed by Vassellettus ca. 1260.[726] The lion protomes in Anagni are much more conventional in style and iconography, however.

More productive is Gandolfo's observation that the armrests are in a classical tradition represented by the marble throne in S. Gregorio Magno.[727] One of four Roman copies of an archaizing Hellenistic original, the throne

725 Gandolfo (2015), pp. 43 f.
726 Gandolfo (2015), p. 44; for Anagni: Claussen, Magistri (1987), pp. 123 f.
727 Gandolfo (2015), pp. 45, 50 fig. 5.

in S. Gregorio has lion-griffins in low relief on each side of the seat.[728] Though they differ from the beasts in S. Maria in Trastevere in having coiled foliate tails rather than legs, their long upswept wings plastered to the surface of the marble could have inspired the sculptors of the medieval armrests. If they did not know this particular antiquity, they must have studied others like it.[729]

Gandolfo's original date of 1215 has the virtue of a well-documented motivating event. No such event is known to have occurred in the middle quarters of the century, but the cardinal priest of the basilica for much of that time was an ambitious patron of art, Cardinal Stefano dei Conti (1228–1254). The cardinal is not known to have made any benefactions to his title church, nor is he named in the basilica's Necrology.[730] He lived in a fortified residence at SS. Quattro Coronati, where he commissioned the frescoes recently uncovered in the »aula gotica.«[731] These remarkable paintings display an encyclopedic range of subjects reflective of the learning and intellectual curiosity of the curia of Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254).[732] Marius Hauknes has shown that the painters incorporated quotations of ancient sculptures as food for thought for their erudite viewers.[733] Even if (like many cardinals) Stefano dei Conti had no particular sense of obligation to his title church, he may have celebrated stations there, especially in the years when he was *vicarius urbis* (1245–1251).[734] If the basilica lacked a throne for such occasions he might have seen fit to supply it, and if so, it would have been in line with his other patronage if he commissioned sculptors who were students of antiquity to make it. On the other hand, the façade mosaic was begun around 1250 by the basilica's own clergy, evidently without the support of more prominent benefactors. The throne too could have been a product of local patronage. Regardless of who took the initiative, the era of Stefano dei Conti and Frederick II (1220–1250) is a promising context for the cathedra's creation.

A date in the 1240s or 1250s raises the question of where the pope sat in 1215. Did Guido de Papa persuade Pope Innocent III to consecrate the basilica without providing a throne? If so, the implausibly short timeline for planning the ceremony described in the *Legenda in consecratione* – about four weeks – could have a kernel of truth. Awkward as it seems, Pope Innocent III may have had to supply his own chair.

Schola cantorum

The foundations of the schola cantorum were discovered below the pavement of the nave in February 1865.[735] In April Canon Cressedi noted that Vespignani was drawing a plan of the finds (figs. 347, 508, light gray).[736] Eighteen months later, an excavation in the same area revealed the remains of the ninth-century *presbyterium*, and Vespignani added those discoveries to his plan (dark gray).[737] At that point, if not before, the higher light gray foundations had been demolished, since it would have been impossible to see both strata at the same time.[738]

The light gray foundations extend to a point midway between the sixth and seventh columns in the nave, a distance of 18.4 m from the edge of the transept under the triumphal arch. They break off about 5 m from the transept on the south side and 4.3 m from it on the north, a gap that probably reflects the limits of the initial excavation.

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728 G. Richter, The Marble Throne on the Akropolis and its Replicas, in: A. J. A. 58, 1954, no. 4, pp. 271–276, pls. 47–50, esp. 49.

729 The throne in S. Gregorio Magno is not documented there before the seventeenth century: Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), pp. 205 f.

730 The omission could be due to the fact that the cardinal died and was buried in Naples: Maleczek (1983).

731 Romano, Il Duecento (2012), pp. 137–176; Gardner, Roman Crucible (2013), pp. 173 f.

732 Hauknes (2016), pp. 40–42.

733 Hauknes (2016), pp. 43–46.

734 *Vicarius urbis*: Maleczek (1983).

735 Cressedi (1863–73), p. 10v: »[18 Febbraio 1865] tolte le […] transenne si sono rinvenute le mura di fondamento, che sostenevano le transenne e gli amboni, in guisa che apparisce tutta la pianta della nominata schola cantorum e degli amboni.« See also n. 44.

736 Cressedi (1863–73), p. 11: »[6 Aprile 1865] L' Architetto sta rilevando la pianta dell' antica schola cantorum, e degli amboni.«

737 Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 15–15v: »[3 Novembre 1866]: Nello sterrare presso il grande arco si sono scoperti un antico pavimento, gradini, intonachi pitturati, una base di colonna al suo posto (si credono appartenere alla Basilica, quale fù riedificata da S. Giulio, e di tutto l' Architetto ha rilevato la pianta).«
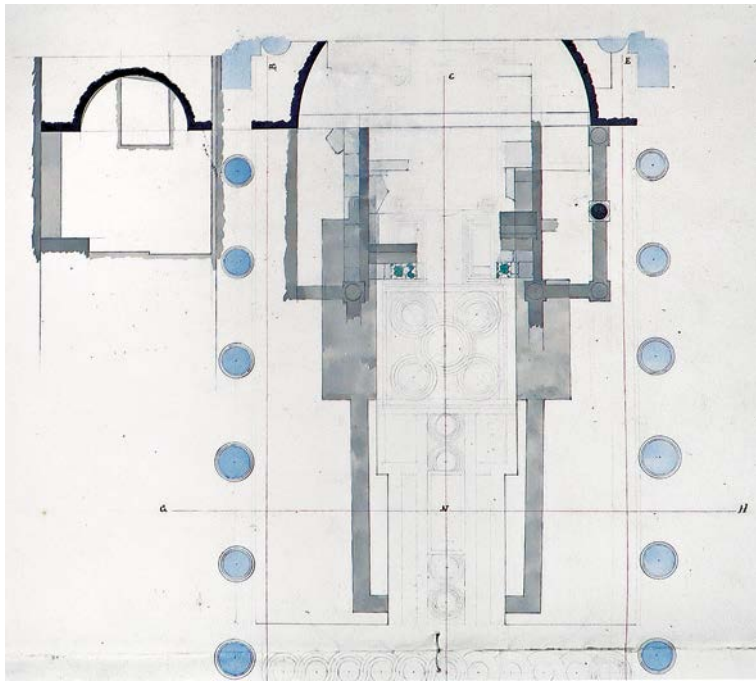
738 Kinney (1975), pp. 44–48.

Fig. 508: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan of excavation 1865–1869, V. Vespignani, detail of fig. 347
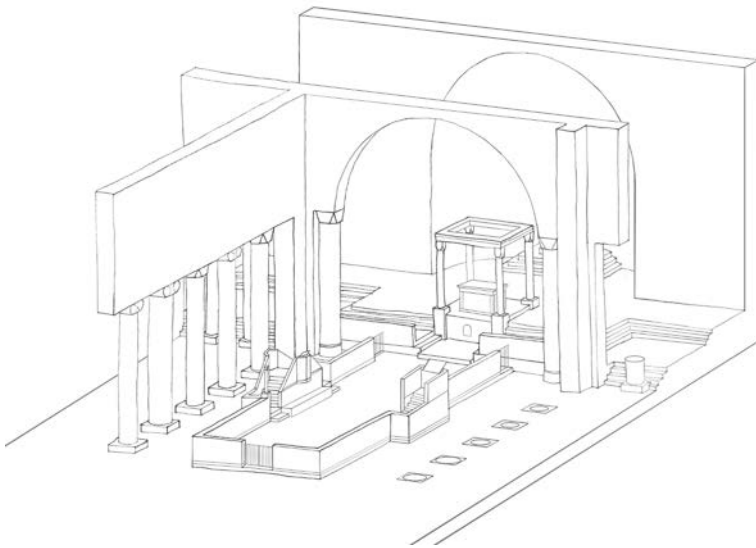

Fig. 509: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, schola cantorum and ciborium (reconstruction Cottier 2018)

About 5.8 m from the transept the south foundation doubles in width to 1.7 m, and it continues at this width for about 5.8 m. The north foundation similarly doubles in width about 8 m from the transept, and continues at that width for almost 4 m. This gives the dimensions of the ambo and the pulpit: L 5.8 × W 1.7 m and L 4 × W 1.7 m respectively. East of these structures the walls are thinner, about 0.5 m wide. They extend 6.6 m before ending in a 90° turn. The opening between the L-shaped terminations is quite wide, about 3.75 m.

Vespignani's plan allows the reconstruction of a schola cantorum very like the extant one in S. Clemente, except for the pavement (fig. 509).[739] Instead of a straight path of roundels, the plan shows roundels leading to a single quincunx, which is almost exactly aligned with the pulpit but therefore not with the ambo. The roundels are discrete, not interconnected as at S. Clemente and in most other such paths, and they do not stop at the choir entrance or even acknowledge it; one lies across the threshold. The view of the nave by Letarouilly, made before 1845 and possibly as early as the 1820s, shows a roundel path on the other side of the quincunx extending to the transept (fig. 374).[740] Flanking this extension and the quincunx are rectangles representing the marble parapets that, according to Cressedi, covered the part of the nave »next to the transept and near the columns.«[741] East of these transenne, adjoining the central quincunx, Letarouilly depicted a double quincunx on either side of the path. The quincunxes cover nearly the entire area between the roundel path and another line of roundels next to the columns. If this part of his view were ac-

739 For S. Clemente see Barclay Lloyd, The Building History (1986), pp. 38 f., fig. 78, plan I; Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 325–333.
740 On the date: Kinney, A Building's Images (2016), p. 12.
741 Above, n. 44. A. Nesbitt published images of three parapets that he saw »embedded in the pavement of the nave« shortly before Vespignani removed them: Nesbitt, Churches (1866), p. 206 and pl. XIV.

Fig. 510: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, transenna with drinking peacocks, 827–844, 1.89 m long (photo Darby 2023)

Fig. 511: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, transenna with interlocked circles and rosettes, 827–844, 1.71 m long (photo Darby 2023)

Fig. 512: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, transenna, tree with cross scrolls, 827–844, 1.29 m long (photo Darby 2023)

curate, it would indicate that there was no raised platform for the schola cantorum, as there usually was.[742] It is fanciful, however, as will be shown below in the section on pavements. An »elevation in the middle of the pavement« over the remains of the schola cantorum was documented by Filippo Mallerini.[743]

Little can be said about the rising walls of the choir, except that they employed the marble parapets now displayed in the porch and the vestibule under the campanile (figs. 369, 510–512). As at S. Clemente, the chancels were salvaged from the *presbyterium* of the preceding basilica. Einaudi calculated that the plaques originally were of three sizes, 1.9 m, 1.74 m, and 1.4 m long, but almost none is still that long today.[744] Most have been trimmed to fit their tertiary location in the porch; some have been cut into smaller pieces, and at least two were split in half in the nineteenth century so that both sides could be displayed.[745] These alterations may preclude a reconstruction of the distribution of the plaques on the walls of the choir. There seem to be no remains of the posts that held the parapets in place, nor is there any indication that the panels were embellished with mosaic or other coloristic effects.

The effect of the schola cantorum in Trastevere would have been markedly different from that in S. Clemente. In the balance, symmetry, and simplicity of their ornament, the sixth-century panels reused at S. Clemente were still fundamentally classical, or classicizing. The twelfth-century *marmorarii* improved them by sharpening details of the carving and especially by adding colored stones and gold, in emulation of the imagined »aesthetic utopia« of antiquity.[746] The parapets at S. Maria in Trastevere are not amenable to such treatment. The designs are too busy, many to the point of *horror vacui*. While they are all symmetrical in principle, symmetry is often subverted: a snake appears only on the left (fig. 510); trefoil fillers jut out in asymmetrical directions, or are randomly replaced by a rhombus (fig. 512). The patterns are remarkably heterogenous. Except for this last quality, the parapets seem out of place amid the classical spolia that dominate the aesthetic expression of the basilica. Perhaps to medieval eyes, heterogeneity bound them together. It seems to have been a positive value. The spoliate capitals, bases, and modillions are heterogenous. The avoidance of cross-axial pairing among the capitals in the nave thematizes heterogeneity and suggests that it was deliberately sought, not a collateral effect. It was a necessary feature of *varietas*, perhaps identical to it.

Paschal candlestand

The paschal candlestand was put in its present position on the north side of the altar by Vespignani (fig. 477).[747] Sarti, Letarouilly, and D' Aloisio all recorded it on a step just in front of the transept (figs. 362, 374, 445). Gutensohn showed it in the same position, echoed by a second candlestand on the south side (fig. 475). The duplication seems very unlikely, even if Rossini, whose view is in many respects quite realistic, depicted the same arrangement.[748]

In its present state the candlestand comprises a twisted column and a tall cylindrical pedestal. The pedestal is a curious construction that appears too thin for the candlestand it supports. The candlestand itself consists of a twisted shaft with an Attic base and a crocket capital (figs. 513, 514). The base has a disproportionately tall lower torus and a thin upper one. The shaft twists to the right and makes five turns. Four flutes follow its torque, each filled with a different pattern of glass and gold mosaic (fig. 515).[749] Schneider-Flagmeyer noted that the stars of one pattern re-

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742 E. g., S. Clemente, S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Anastasio in Castel Sant' Elia, S. Ambrogio in Ferentino, the Badia di S. Antimo in Nazzano, S. Maria di Castello in Tarquinia, S. Francesco in Vetralla: Glass, BAR (1980), pp. 61, 66, 73, 84, 110, 133 f., 138.

743 Mallerini (1870), p. 28v: »Dalla elevazione, che si scorgeva nel mezzo del pavimento presso il così detto tribunale apparivano le traccia della scuola dei cantori.«

744 Personal communication, 20. 11. 2017.

745 Viti: »Sotto il portico […] Vano nella parete fra la […] porticella e la porta Grande […] Nelle N. 4 transenne di marmo greco antiche […] una delle dette che va lavorata dalli due piani si è dato il taglio di sega per farne due lungo 1.72 largo 1.10 […] Parete a destra […] Nelle N. 6 transenne […] ad una delle dette che era lavorata dalli due piani si è dato il taglio di sega per farne due lungo 1.60 × 1.00.«

746 Claussen, Renovatio (1992), pp. 97 f.; Claussen, Marmo (2002), p. 151; Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 327 f.

747 Cressedi (1863–73), p. 25: »[31 Decembre 1872] La colonna vitinea con mosaici per il Cero Pasquale fù alzata di un palmo e restaurata.«

748 Rossini, Scenografia (1843), pl. XIV.

749 The patterns are: (1) six-pointed stars alternating with triangles in the shape of a saltire cross; (2) upright parallelograms containing alternately two rotated squares and four triangles; (3) gold rotated squares in a bed of triangles; (4) three rows of

Fig. 514: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, paschal candlestand, capital (photo Kinney 2016)

Fig. 513: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, paschal candlestand (photo Kinney 2017)

semble those in thirteenth-century Campanian mosaics, but he judged the capital to be later. He dated the column to the early fourteenth century.[750] Since the shaft and the capital were carved from a single block of Proconnesian marble, they must be of the same date. Compared to surviving candlestands in S. Cecilia, S. Clemente, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, and S. Maria in Cosmedin, the shaft at S. Maria in Trastevere is thinner and has a markedly wider orbit around its axis.[751] It is closer to the »drill-like« twisted shafts from Deodatus's Magdalen Altar in the Lateran Cathedral, consecrated in 1297, though those have classicizing Composite capitals.[752]

The candlestand was not necessarily made for S. Maria in Trastevere. Like the spare candlestand in S. Maria in Cosmedin, it could have been given to the church long after the middle ages.[753] The fourteenth-century context is not unpromising, however, as there is a strong record of patronage at the church during and just before the Avignon papacy. The spectacular gifts of mosaic by Bertoldo Stefaneschi and Canon de Malpiliis and the wooden walkway sponsored by P. Odonis have already been noted; in addition, A. Palomelle built a chapel, a canon donated a chalice and an iron enclosure for the altar; Jordanus, a canon of St. Peter, commissioned a bell; Maria Andreonis repaired the porch; a priest of S. Silvestro repaired three mosaic images; and Lady Stephania de Nepe left

bicolored triangles: purple and green, green and gold, white and purple. Schneider-Flagmeyer, Osterleuchter in Süditalien (1986), p. 314 described them generally as two strips of mosaic with opposing patterns in each flute.
750 Schneider-Flagmeyer, Osterleuchter in Süditalien (1986), pp. 314, 377.
751 Comparisons: Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 256f. (1240–1260), 344 (ca. 1240); Mondini, in: Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), pp. 396–400 (1230–1250); Schmitz, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), pp. 232f. (1250–1260), 234f. (1250–1275).
752 Claussen, Kirchen, S. Giovanni (2008), pp. 198–216, figs. 118, 120.
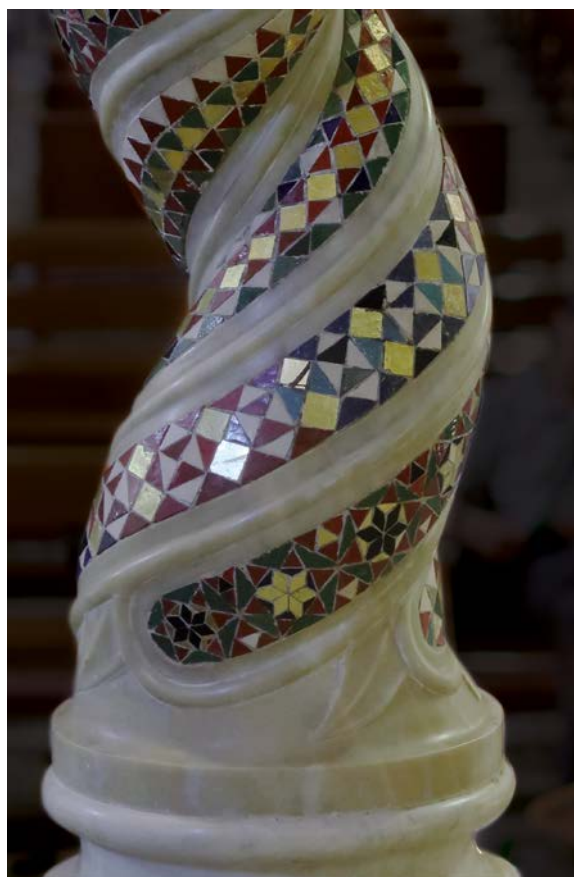753 Schmitz, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), pp. 233–235.

Fig. 515: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, paschal candle-stand, detail (photo Kinney 2017)

funds *pro candelabris*.[754] A marble candlestand would not have been beyond the means of donors like these.

The candlestand is the only surviving piece of liturgical furniture in S. Maria in Trastevere that might be called »Cosmatesque.« The altar, the papal throne, and the cathedra all lacked the glittering mosaic inlays that characterize the work of the marble-working families of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The walls of the schola cantorum likewise were plain by twelfth-century standards, unless there was contemporary ornament on the ambo and pulpit. As far as we know, only the wall around the confessio displayed the typical mosaic and porphyry plaques. The candlestand, if it indeed was made for S. Maria in Trastevere after 1300, might have seemed incongruous standing on the schola cantorum.

Pavements
Nave

Visitors to S. Maria in Trastevere before the nineteenth century admired its pavement, »entirely covered with porphyry, verde antico, and other marbles.«[755] Reports from the nineteenth-century renovation are less keen; Pius IX found it »in urgent need of repair,« Vespignani's drawing shows only patchy survivals (fig. 347), and the commission overseeing the renovation suggested that it might not be original. In July 1865, the commission reported that »the present pavement, even though it goes back five or six centuries, was made by raising the older level of the Basilica, and putting underground the bases of the columns that separate the aisles and adorn the triumphal arch.«[756] Representatives of the Commissione d' antichità sagra visited the site and determined that »the present existing pavement with its geometric patterns could be transported to [a] new [lower] level using some of the […] stones and replacing those that are broken and worn out with new ones.«[757] A plan for a new pavement »secondo l' antico disegno« was approved in 1866.[758] Visual evidence suggests that the nineteenth-century pavement does, in fact, reproduce fairly

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754 Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 7 (at 6 January): *ob. d(omi)ne Stephanie de nepe q(ui) reliq(ui)t p(ro) ca(n)delabris libr(os) xii ___ xxx p(ro) ei(us) aniuersario soll.*; (at 10 January): *ob. p(res)b(yte)r M. can(onicus) n(oste)r dedit I. calice(m) et fecit fieri feratu(m) altaris p(ro) ei(us) aniu(ersario) soll*; fol. 14v (at 3 April): *ob. Jor(danus) can(onicus) s(an)c(t)i pet(ri) q(ui) fec(it) fieri i. capana(m) p(ro) ei(us) aniu(er)sario […]*; fol. 31v (at 31 August): *Ob. Ma(ria) andreonis q(ui) fec(it) reparari porticale Ecce p(ro) ei(us) aniu(ersario) […]*; fol. 35v (at 2 October): *Ob. p(res)b(yte)r t(ituli) s(an)c(t)i siluestri q(ui) fec(it) reparari tres imagines musaicas p(ro) ei(us) aniu(er)sario soll […]*; Necrologi (1908), pp. 89, 93, 97, 99. For A. Palomelle see above, n. 257. Egidi wrongly combined the entry for Stephania de Nepe with one directly above it containing the date 1453; they are separate entries in different hands.
755 Vasi (1794), p. 574; Nibby, Roma 3 (1839), p. 493: »Il pavimento di tutte tre navi è d' opera alessandrina, e conservasi ancora dai tempi d' Innocenzo II.«
756 ACSMT, Armadio XI, Fabbriceria, Restauri di Pio IX, Relazione per l'udienza di Sua Santità 6 luglio 1865: »Ma nel disfare una parte del pavimento da ristaurarsi, si vidde che l' attuale pavimento quantunque rimonti (?) a cinque o sei secoli fa, fù pure costruito rialzando il più antico piano della Basilica, e ponendo sottoterra le basi delle colonne che dividono le navate, e che ornano l' arco trionfale.«
757 ACSMT, Armadio XI, Fabbriceria, Restauri di Pio IX, Relazione per l'udienza di Sua Santità 6 luglio 1865: »Alcuni membri della commissione d' antichità sagra invitati ad accedere sul luogo, ritenevano decorso tale lavoro, potendosi l' attuale esistente pavimento colle stip(at)e (?) figure geometriche trasportare nel nuovo piano, prevalendosi delle stip(at)e pietre, e sostituendo delle nuove a quelle trite e consunte.«
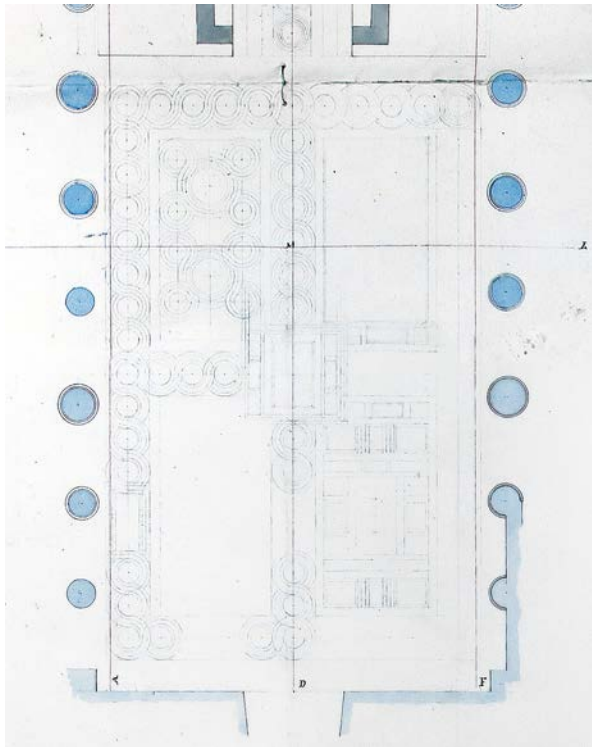758 Above, n. 356.

Fig. 516: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, plan of excavation 1865–1869, V. Vespignani, detail of fig. 347

exactly the eastern half of the previous design. The western half is an invention, as that part of the pavement had been destroyed by the insertion of the marble screens from the schola cantorum, if not before.

Cressedi wrote that the floor was higher at the west.[759] This does not seem to have been a result of laying the transenne over the medieval pavement, as the view of the nave by Letarouilly shows the floor in a single plane (fig. 374).[760] The parapets must have replaced the medieval paving. Rossini's view of the south aisle depicts the nave and aisle pavements as continuous, confirming that the covering of certain column bases was not the result of raising the floor level in only the nave (fig. 521). An alternative explanation for the elevation might be found in the ground level outside the basilica, which rises from east to west (fig. 390). Built over fourth-century foundations, the colonnades maintained the ancient ground level where the medieval level had risen, leaving the westernmost columns partly underground. The medieval craftsmen may have sought to mitigate the discrepancy by making the pavements slope upward, at the cost of burying some bases. Upward slopes were not unusual in medieval pavements; Creti attributed them to a desire »to amplify the sensation of ascent toward the […] altar.«[761] At S. Maria in Trastevere the motive would have been practical as well.

Alternatively, if the change in level was abrupt, it would have been effected by one or more steps that crossed the nave and aisles, which are not shown in any nineteenth-century plan or view. Such a hypothetical transition would have occurred between the sixth and seventh columns, where Vespignani drew a solid transverse line on either side of the schola cantorum (figs. 347, 516). The lines – which are not steps – emphasize the division of the nave pavement into distinct, almost unrelated halves. In the higher western half the decorated surface was confined to the schola cantorum. The east half contained tracts of a complicated all-over pattern of quincunxes and roundels.

Vespignani probably entered the eastern pattern on his plan as a guide to replacing the floor »according to the old design.« His drawing is not a copy but an aide-mémoire, which omits redundancies. It can be controlled and supplemented by the views of Letarouilly, Giacomo Fontana (1838), Luigi Rossini (ca. 1840), and especially the

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759 Above, n. 355.
760 Severino's digital manipulation of the image makes this clearer: Pavimenti (2012), p. 306.
761 Creti, In marmoris (2009), p. 159. The pavement in S. Maria in Cosmedin rises 0.13 m from the main door to the schola cantorum: Schmitz, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), p. 215 n. 444.

Fig. 517: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, interior view to west, Antonio Sarti, 1825,
preliminary drawing for fig. 362 (photo Istituzione Biblioteche Centri Culturali di Roma – Biblioteca A. Sarti)

preparatory drawing for Sarti's engraving of 1825, which is the most detailed (fig. 517; cf. fig. 362).[762] In addition, Recalcati described fragments of the design in a letter to the Chapter dated 1720.[763]

Vespignani's plan records a continuous band of interlocking roundels surrounding the eastern half of the pavement on the west, south, and east sides. Sarti's drawing shows that the roundels also survived on the north side between columns N4 and N6. The giant rectangle created by this continuous guilloche is subdivided into quadrants by two more bands of roundels that interlock with the frame. The dividing bands are interrupted at their intersection by a square area containing an empty rectangle, which may have been a tomb. The northeastern quadrant is filled with more rectangles, the southeastern and northwestern quadrants are empty, and the southwestern quadrant contains two tangent quincunxes.

The northeast quadrant, in front of the altar of the Crucifix, was coveted for tombs, which had largely destroyed the mosaic. Recalcati′s letter indicates that bits of the roundel border were still visible near the main door. Asked to assess the feasibility of lifting a small slab of white marble for a new burial, he objected that the slab lay between the east wall and a mosaic »arabesque« that was »made according to ancient usage […] with small differently colored stones well put together, which form a frieze like the others that are in the central pavement of the church.«[764] Since

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762 Istituzione Biblioteche Centri Culturali di Roma – Biblioteca A. Sarti, BANC r 34. Fontana, Raccolta 1 (1838), pl. XXXVIII. Rossini, Scenografia (1843), pl. XIV. The views for Rossini's publication were made between 1839 and 1843; Luigi Rossini (1982), p. 21. The pavement design is clearer in Severino′s digital manipulation of Rossini's plate: Severino, Pavimenti (2012), p. 304.

763 ACSMT, Armadio XI, Fabbriceria, Basilica e Canonica, Busta no. 2–1º.

764 ACSMT, Armadio XI, Fabbriceria, Basilica e Canonica, Busta no. 2–1º, item: »Essendo Io […] stato richiesto come Architetto dell′ Ill.mo e Rev(erendissimo) Capitolo […] à dare il mio parere se nel sito dove è una lastra di marmo bianco di fianco La Porta Maggiore […] e dirimpetto al Cornu Epistolae dell′ Altare del SS.mo Crocefisso vi si possa cauare in d.o

the frieze was »already partly broken,« moving the white slab would ruin the rest and »destroy the symmetry of the entire central pavement.« Adjoining the white marble stone on the south side was a large slab of porphyry, cracked in many places, that the architect warned also could be irrevocably damaged. Although without »figures,« this porphyry »lastrone« was »ennobled by its antiquity, the more so as it lies right at the entrance from the main door and in part on its threshold.«[765] Evidently gone by the time Vespignani made his plan, the porphyry slab would have been at the point he marked D (fig. 516).

Vespignani drew a double quincunx only in the southwestern quadrant, but the views concur in showing another opposite it on the north (figs. 374, 517). The quincunxes do not quite fill the elongated field; there is a space between them and the guilloche border. Sarti's drawing shows that these gaps were filled with small panels that probably contained mosaic. Letarouilly's idealized plan eliminates the gaps and depicts double quincunxes in both of the southern quadrants (fig. 518). No view confirms the eastern pair of quincunxes, but Letarouilly's conjecture is plausible and was accepted by Vespignani in his reproduction of the old pavement.

Letarouilly made the double quincunxes fill the quadrants by eliminating the square area at the intersection of the guilloche borders, thus altering the proportions of the fields (fig. 518; cf. fig. 516). This was a cheat, as the presence of the square at the crossing is confirmed by Sarti and Fontana.[766] Though it may have been filled by a later tomb, the square must have been part of the original design, as it explains the gap between the quincunxes and the border.

In his idealized view, Letarouilly posited two more double quincunxes in the western half of the nave (fig. 374). They are another invention; the only patterns recorded by Vespignani are in the space of the schola
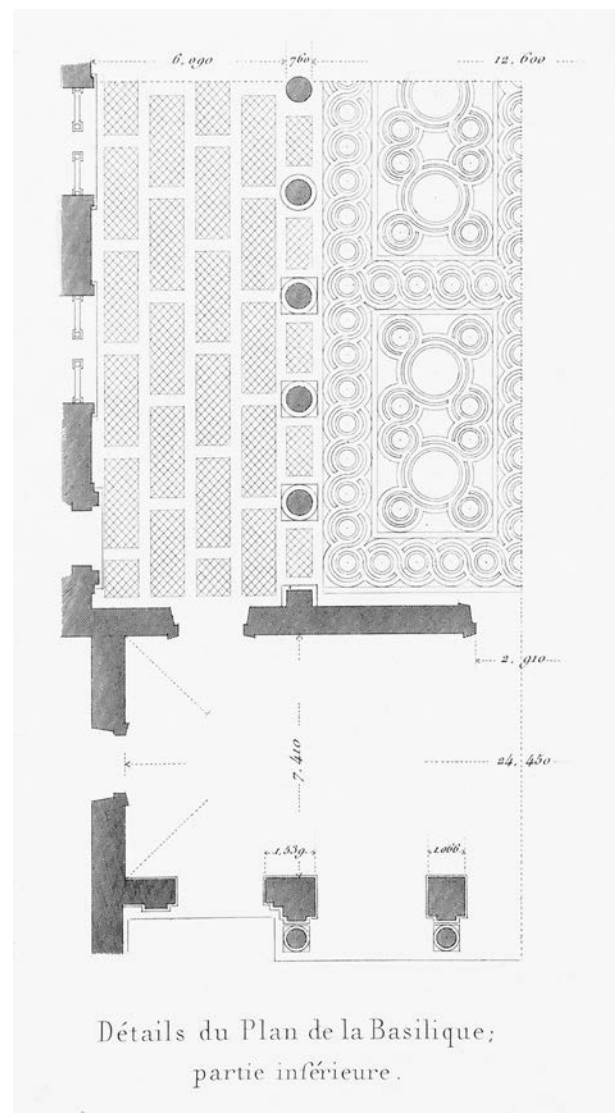

Fig. 518: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, plan of pavement in south aisle and southeast corner of nave, P. Letarouilly (in: Les édifices III 1857, pl. 327, detail)

loco e sotto d.a lastra un vano sepolcrale […] trovo trè Dificoltà la p.ma è che nella parte sinistra della medema resta un (a)rabesco di Mosaico fatto secondo l'uso antico, e consimile à molti pavimenti di altre Perinsigni Basilice […] lavorato il med(esimo) con petruccole di uari colori ben commesse che formano fregio corispondente all' altri che sono nel pavimento di mezzo di tutta d.a Chiesa, è già in parte guasto che levandosi d.a lastra si scomponerà e guasterà tutto che resta unito e murato adosso d.a lastra e si uenirà à guastare la semetria di tutto il d(etto) pavimento di mezzo, non potendosi mai rifare […] Solo trouo facile il leuar d.a lastra nella parte destra p(er)che in quella non hà dirincontro se non che il muro che fà sguinccio à d.a porta.« The letter is signed »In fede q(uesto) die 7 luglio 1720 Giacomo Honorato Recalcati.«

765   ACSMT, Armadio XI, Fabbriceria, Basilica e Canonica, Busta no. 2–1º, letter from Recalcati: »La 2a dificoltà è che nella testata di d.a lastra dà piedi u.o d.a porta grande si ritroua un Lastrone grande di Porfido crepaciato in più lochi acc.to d.a lastra quale anche questo mouendosi la sud.a lastra si scomponerà dal suo sesto […] e resterà del tutto se non in parte guasto […] in tal caso uenirebbe il pavimento […] à restar priuo di si(?) Lastrone di Porfido che benche non sia figurato p(er) la d.a antichità Lò rende nobilitato tanto più che resta situato nel p.mo Ingresso di d.a Porta grande et in parte del repiano di essa.«

766   Letarouilly's scheme shrinks the entire design, so that the guilloche border along the western side crosses the nave just past the fifth pair of columns instead of between the sixth columns.

cantorum (fig. 508). There Vespignani drew a quincunx, larger than those in the eastern half of the nave and with disks more equal in diameter, filling the area between the pulpit and part of the ambo.[767] A path from the eastern side of the quincunx to the threshold of the schola cantorum comprises four roundels interrupted by an elongated rectangle, which could have been a post-medieval tomb. The roundels do not form a guilloche but are tangent, and they are constructed differently than those in the guilloche, with four concentric bands around the central disk rather than three. The easternmost roundel lies across the sill of the schola cantorum, and the westernmost one is cut off by the frame of the quincunx. Two relatively wide, empty rectangles flank the roundels closest to the quincunx, and two long, thin, empty rectangles flank the other roundels and the presumed tomb. West of the quincunx are three more longitudinal rectangles: a central one wide enough to have enclosed more roundels, and two flanking ones framed by multiple thin bands. Following these rectangles, just beyond the west end of the ambo, Vespignani indicated a large blank area with circles at the corners, which may have been the cover of the Albergati-Ludovisi tomb.[768]

While the reconstruction of the »antico disegno« in the eastern half of the nave seems straightforward, re-construction of the western half is precluded by the destruction that accompanied the dismantling of the schola cantorum. The eastern half was a unified area surrounded by a border of continuous guilloche and divided into four rectangular fields, each containing a double quincunx. The western half could not have been the mirror image of this pattern, as posited by Letarouilly and by Vespignani in the design of the present floor, because of the schola cantorum. The mirror-image scheme leaves no space for it, necessitating the implausible explanation that the choir was an unexpected addition after the pavement was made. The simpler solution is that the west and east halves of the pavement were independent. Given the differences in design of the roundels and quincunxes, they may even have differed in date.

The design of the eastern half is without parallel among twelfth- and thirteenth-century Roman pavements, none of which is surrounded by a guilloche or has non-axial quincunxes.[769] The all-over design subverts the normal primacy of the longitudinal axial path. In other pavements the path is flanked by modestly scaled rectangles filled with geometric mosaic; however rich and colorful, the rectangles are clearly subordinate to the path. By contrast, in S. Maria in Trastevere the longitudinal guilloche was visually diminished by the larger quincunxes to either side of it. The square at the mid-point of the design may have contained yet another quincunx; if so, it was of the same size as those at the sides, reinforcing the absorption of the path into the all-over pattern of the floor. The western part of the pavement was equally unorthodox in its combination of roundels with a quincunx. Normally the pave-ment of the schola cantorum exhibited roundels (as in S. Clemente) or quincunxes (as in S. Maria in Cosmedin), not both.[770] Since neither the total length of the schola cantorum, nor the length of the segments west and east of its quincunx could have accommodated an even number of additional quincunxes, it is likely that the single quin-cunx-plus-roundels was the original arrangement.[771]

The nonconformity of its design led Dorothy Glass to doubt the pavement's authenticity. She suggested that what Vespignani recorded was not the twelfth-century pavement but »a later restoration or addition.«[772] Unde-terred, Nicola Severino found the pavement »exactly identical« in style to the work of the *marmorarii* Jacobus Laurentii and his son Cosma in the first part of the thirteenth century.[773] Severino's point of comparison was not the overall design (which he admitted is »found only in this church«), but the style of the mosaic infill in the frames and interstices of the roundels and quincunxes.[774] The only known records of these patterns are by early modern

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767   The quincunx in the schola cantorum is 3.4 m square, vs. about 2.9 m square in the nave.
768   For the tomb: above, n. 561.
769   Glass, BAR (1980), pp. 116 f.
770   Glass, BAR (1980), p. 116.
771   The length of the quincunx with its frame was 4.25 m, which would allow 4.3 quincunxes over the total length of 18.4 m, 1.88 quincunxes over the 8 m between the quincunx and the transept, and 1.46 quincunxes over the 6.2 m between the quincunx and the entrance.
772   Glass, BAR (1980), p. 117.
773   Severino, Pavimenti (2012), p. 301. On Jacobus Laurentii and Cosma: Claussen, Magistri (1987), pp. 69–100; Creti, In marmoris (2009), pp. 15–18. Creti attributed to Iacopo the pavements of the cathedrals of Civita Castellana and Ferentino, pp. 54–59, 90–95; cf. Glass, BAR (1980), pp. 63 f. Cosma made the pavements of the nave and crypt of the cathedral of Anagni; Creti, pp. 158–170.
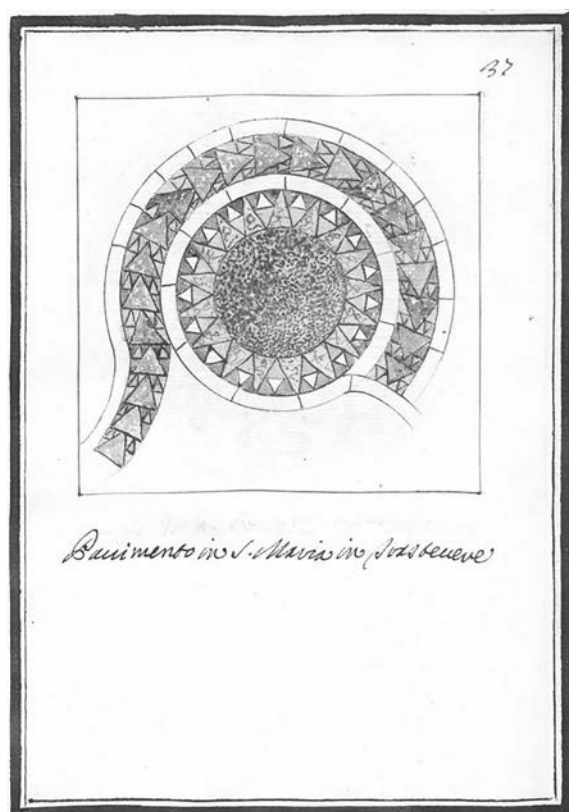774   Severino, Pavimenti (2012), p. 304.

Fig. 519: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere,
roundel in pavement, G. Lucchesi (photo Munich,
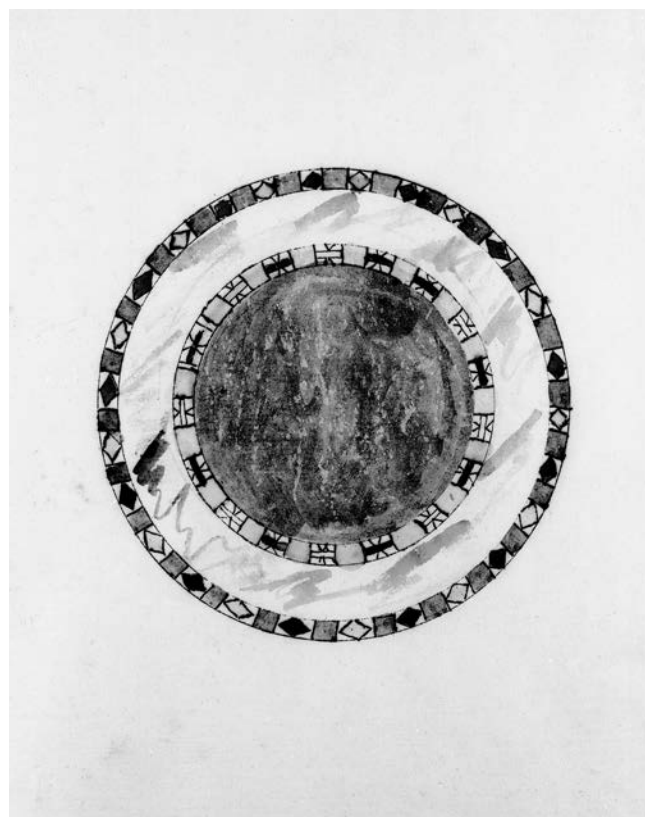Bayerische Staatsbibliothek)

Fig. 520: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere,
roundel in pavement, G. Lucchesi (photo © BAV)

enthusiasts of the decorative arts, notably Giuseppe Lucchesi and his helpers, active in the first half of the eighteenth century.[775] Copies of five patterns in S. Maria in Trastevere are found in a Lucchesi album now in Munich, and 38 more are in a volume in the Vatican Library.[776] The sketches in the Vatican codex are mostly details of diaper patterns or borders; none matches the corpus of twelfth- and thirteenth-century patterns identified by Glass.[777] There are also various roundels.[778] The Munich manuscript contains higher-quality renditions of four more roundels, one of them evidently the corner of a quincunx (fig. 519).[779] The frame of the roundel contains a pattern of large and small rectangles that Glass considered one of the »fictitious patterns attributable to restoration.«[780] Another roundel with a disk of giallo antico has a wide mosaic border that could be a variant of a twelfth-century pattern; the remaining two have proportionately small disks, which Glass considered a sign of impoverishment.[781]

Severino could find no correspondences between the patterns in Lucchesi's Munich album and the »standardized decorative strips« of the pavement existing today.[782] Yet he based his attribution on the latter, on the assumption that Vespignani's workmen copied exactly the mosaic patterns in the pavement they replaced. He proposed

775   Severino, Pavimenti (2012), p. 310 also reproduces a copy of one of the roundels of the quincunx behind the altar published by Ludwig Grun and Emil Braun in 1850, and a copy of several non-surviving rectangular panels published by Matthew Digby Wyatt in 1848.
776   Munich, BSB, cod. iconog. 207, fols. 267–271; BAV, Cod. Capponiani 225, fols. 1–38. On these volumes and Lucchesi's authorship see Claussen, Paviment Alt St. Peter (2018), pp. 367–369.
777   Glass, BAR (1980), pp. 141–149.
778   BAV, Cod. Capponiani 225, fols. 1, 2, 4, 5, 13, 38.
779   Munich, BSB, cod. iconog. 207, fol. 267; Severino, Pavimenti (2012), p. 308a.
780   Glass, BAR (1980), p. 149 no. 33.
781   Munich, BSB, cod. iconog. 207, fols. 268–270; Severino, Pavimenti (2012), p. 308b–d; Glass, BAR (1980), pp. 62, 149 no. 33.
782   Severino, Pavimenti (2012), p. 307.

that the original pavement was commissioned from Jacobus Laurentii by Pope Innocent III when he consecrated the basilica in 1203 (sic). This possibility is ruled out by the *Legenda in consecratione*, which would have mentioned the pope's benefaction had it occurred.

Severino's method may be faulty, but his thirteenth-century date cannot be summarily dismissed. There are points of comparison between the pavement of S. Maria in Trastevere and Cosma's pavement in the nave of Anagni Cathedral, made in the 1220s. The Anagni pavement exhibits a similar enthusiasm for tangent quincunxes, although they are aligned on the axis rather than laterally, and it displays the same unorthodox combination of a single quincunx and roundels in the schola cantorum.[783] Another parallel is offered by the thirteenth-century pavement of S. Nicola in Genazzano, which contains tangent roundels in the area of the schola cantorum. Although Glass believed that tangent (as opposed to interlaced) roundels were unique to this church, Vespignani's plan shows them in the schola cantorum, and several were recorded by Lucchesi (fig. 520).[784]

In Rome, the density of quincunxes in S. Maria in Trastevere can be compared to their almost delirious profusion in the mid-thirteenth-century presbytery of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura.[785] The guilloche frame was used around 1200 in the pavement of S. Maria in Capitolio, although there it did not surround the entire floor.[786] There is only one good comparison among twelfth-century pavements, and it is questionable. The nave of S. Benedetto in Piscinula exhibits a pair of tangent quincunxes bordered by a guilloche that is a perfect match for Vespignani's drawing; but despite its comfortable fit in its present location, both Glass and Claussen maintained that the guilloche does not belong with the quincunxes and was originally elsewhere.[787] A more abstract comparison can be made with the nave pavement in S. Crisogono, which was a model for S. Maria in Trastevere in plan and elevation. The S. Crisogono pavement also is conspicuously unconventional. Its central path is formed by a succession of unusual patterns, one of which is unique in Rome. Rather than question the pavement's authenticity, Claussen argued that the normal twelfth-century repertoire was inadequate to the ambition of the project, necessitating the creation of new patterns.[788] One could suppose the same of S. Maria in Trastevere.

The best twelfth-century parallels for the design in S. Maria in Trastevere are liturgical. The pavement emphasized the same liturgically significant points that Damiani found marked by the spolia: the entrance door, the »middle of the church,« the gate of the choir and its midpoint (fig. 466).[789] The large porphyry »lastrone« on the threshold of the central portal recalls the two porphyry stones in the pavement of S. Clemente, a rectangle at the entrance followed immediately by a square.[790] Claussen speculated that the rectangular plaque marked a place for the celebrant to kneel, the square one a place to say a prayer or to offer greetings.[791] The S. Clemente pavement also exhibits the transverse guilloche emphasizing the *medium ecclesiae*. This is where the pope, seated on a portable throne, received the obedience of the cardinals and lower clergy and gave them his blessing.[792] Such parallels, however suggestive, do not make the pavements contemporary, because the choreography of the papal liturgy was relatively stable. Damiani observed that the *medium ecclesiae* and the *fores chori* were still stopping points in 1379, when Pope Urban VI celebrated Mass in S. Maria in Trastevere on the Octave of Easter.[793] After finishing the Mass the pope distributed the Agnus Dei to the people while sitting in the entrance to the schola cantorum, with one foot extended through the gate so that recipients could kiss it.[794]

783   Glass, BAR (1980), pp. 57–59; Creti, In marmoris (2009), p. 162–165.
784   Glass, BAR (1980), p. 68.
785   Mondini, in: Claussen, Kirchen G–L (2010), pp. 416–419.
786   Malmstrom, S. Maria in Aracoeli (1973), pp. 198 f.; Glass, BAR (1980), p. 108; Mondini, in this volume, pp. 77–79.
787   Glass, BAR (1980), p. 80; Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 172–174.
788   Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), p. 401.
789   Above, n. 618.
790   Voss/Claussen (1991/92), fold-out plan.
791   Voss/Claussen (1991/92), p. 16.
792   Voss/Claussen (1991/92), pp. 16 f.
793   Damiani (1993/94), p. 104, quoting the *ordo* of Pietro Amelio: *Dicto Agnus Dei cooperto […] accessit circa medium ecclesiae: quem antecedebat subdiaconus cum cruce […]; Et iterum […] cum pervenit ante fores cappellae seu chori.*
794   Damiani (1993/94), p. 104, quoting the *ordo* of Pietro Amelio: *reassumptis pluviali et mitra aurifrisiata consistorialiter sedet infra cancellam cappellae, et unum pedem extra regias tenebat, et omni venienti dedit unum Agnus Dei: et quilibet osculatus est sibi unum pedem.*

In sum, the evidence for the design of the pavement in S. Maria in Trastevere neither confirms nor disproves the written testimony of the *Legenda in consecratione*, which credits a »marvelous and skillful« pavement of tiny, precious stones to Pope Innocent II.[795] Composed just 70 years after the pope's death, the *Legenda* would not have been mistaken on this point. According to the visual evidence, however, the design of the pavement in the nave did not match the conventions of the twelfth century. Although it did have points of resemblance to a few thirteenth-century pavements, attempts to associate it with the consecration in 1215 are ruled out by the *Legenda*. Hypothetically, the pavement could have been made or begun in the aftermath of the consecration, in the cardinalate of Innocent III's nephew, Stefano de Normandis dei Conti (1228–1254), or by the canons who began the façade mosaic around mid-century. The eastern half could even have been made signifi-

Fig. 521: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, view of south aisle, L. Rossini, 1843 (photo Kinney archive)

cantly later, for example, by Cardinal Condulmer. The closest match for its design is the pavement in S. Giovanni in Laterano, created under Pope Martin V (1417–1431), where the eastern half is likewise divided by guilloches into rectangular quadrants, and the western quadrants contain double quincunxes, albeit interlaced rather than tangent.[796] Claussen noted that the designers of the Lateran pavement must have studied medieval examples like those in S. Clemente and S. Crisogono; perhaps they also looked to S. Maria in Trastevere.[797] Pending better information, my inclination is to date the nave pavement to two different campaigns, one that accompanied the construction of the schola cantorum in the course of the twelfth century, and another sometime after the consecration of the church by Pope Innocent III. I will return to this question after consideration of the pavement in the transept.
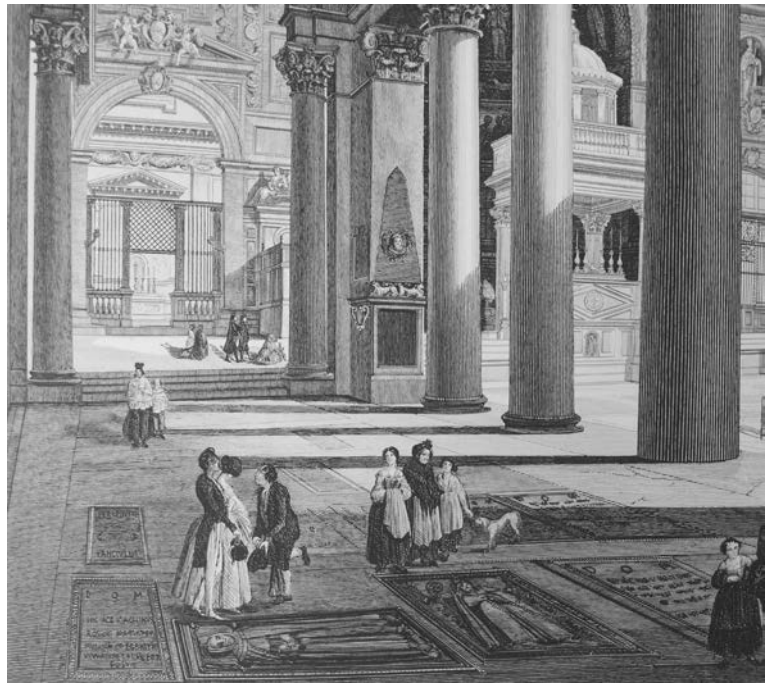
Aisles

Rossini's view of the south aisle confirms Nibby's report that the pavement of opera alessandrina was »molto guasto« in the aisles (fig. 521).[798] The foreground depicts nothing but tomb slabs; the middle ground shows only a couple of rectangles.[799] Bits of checkered bands just below the steps to the transept may be an allusion to a labyrinth »near the door of the sacristy« described by Giovanni Ciampini.[800] Notwithstanding Rossini's lack of interest, the

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795 Quoted above, n. 191.
796 Claussen, Kirchen, S. Giovanni (2008), pp. 178–194 figs. 98, 100.
797 Claussen, Kirchen, S. Giovanni (2008), p. 182.
798 Rossini, Scenografia (1843), pl. XV. The preparatory drawing is dated 1841; Luigi Rossini (1982), p. 170. Nibby, Roma 3 (1839), p. 493: »Il pavimento di tutte tre navi è d'opera alessandrina, e conservasi ancora dai tempi d'Innocenzo II, quantunque nelle navi laterali sia molto guasto, e solamente in quella di mezzo si vegga meglio mantenuto, forse perchè con più diligenza ristorato quando ve ne fu bisogno«; Severino, Pavimenti (2012), p. 300.
799 One of the tomb slabs is of a Rossini: HIC IACE(T) IOACHINVS ROSSINI MAGISTER.
800 Ciampini, Vet. Mon. 2 (1690), p. 5: *Animaduersione dignum est, Labyrinthu(m) hunc admodum varijs viarum ambagibus implicatum esse, ac similem integrum in presentiarum cerni hac in Vrbe Roma, in Ecclesia S. Marie trans Tyberim, pariter Tessellati operis in pavimento, prope sacrarij Ianuam, quod à negligente plebe minimè obseruatur.* Following Ciampini: Furietti (1752), p. 96.
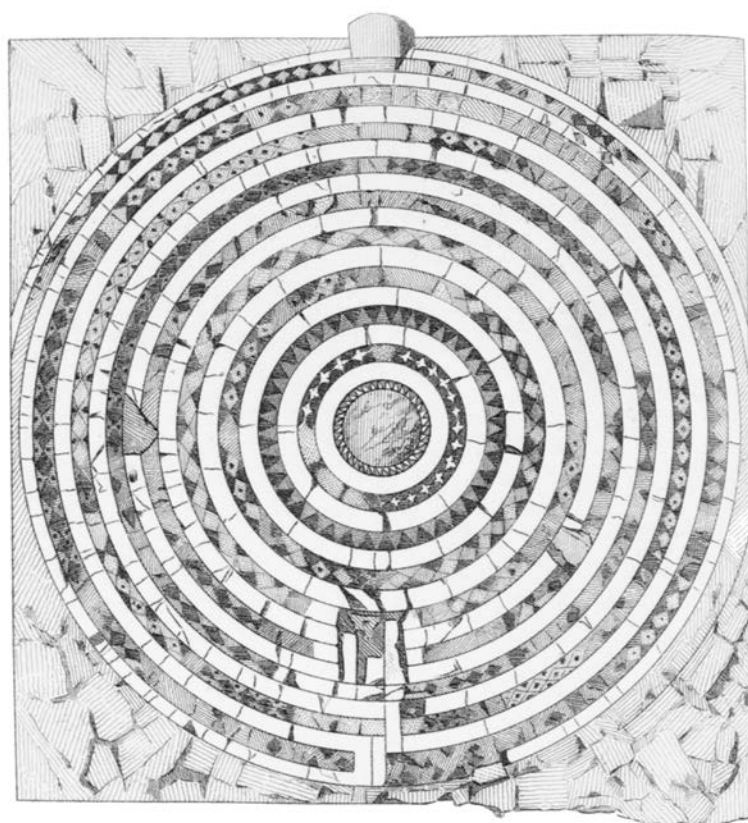
Fig. 522: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, pavement labyrinth, drawing,
Mistress Cautley (in: Durand, Pavés-mosaïques 1857, opp. p. 119, detail)

entire labyrinth survived in his time. With a diameter of 3.33 m, it would have occupied a little more than half the width of the aisle.

The only clear record of the labyrinth is an engraving after a colored drawing by the English glass painter »Mistress Cautley,« sent from Rome to Paris by Barbier de Montault in the 1850s (fig. 522).[801] The drawing showed a central porphyry roundel surrounded by bands of mosaic and white marble. Barbier observed that the circles nearest the center were »concentric« – orbits rather than paths – and he compared them to the spheres of Dante's *Paradiso*.[802] Beyond these closed circles are five more with the typical interruptions and reversals of a labyrinth, but they do not lead into the center, or even beyond the outermost circuit. Craig Wright attributed these oddities to bad restoration and considered the labyrinth an authentic product of the time of Pope Innocent II.[803] He counted it among the seven known church labyrinths in Italy, including another in Rome, in S. Maria in Aquiro, that preceded the better known thirteenth-century labyrinths in

France.[804] The Italian labyrinths all were too small to accommodate the dances and processions associated with the French ones, and they varied in size and location within the church. Wright concluded that they were apotropaic.[805]

Because of its location near the door to the vestibule of the sacristy, Wright assumed that the labyrinth played a role in the ceremony of the Agnus Dei performed in S. Maria in Trastevere by Pope Eugenius IV in 1431.[806] The door in question was not created until the late sixteenth century, however, and it leads to the 1484 Nardini sacristy, which also postdates the ceremony. Without reference to the sacristy, the labyrinth's location might be described as »at the foot of the steps to the presbytery« (fig. 441) . This was an out-of-the-way spot except during Communion, when communicants would have crossed or stood on it to receive the host. Escaping the labyrinth could be seen as a figure of the sacrament's salvific effect and the valor needed to attain it; according to an inscription in Piacenza, the labyrinth »typifies the present world […] Ensnared by this world, weighed down by sin, one can return to the doctrine of life only with difficulty.«[807] At the same time, Italian labyrinths were overtly mythological. In Piacenza and Pavia the Minotaur was depicted in the center, and in Lucca an inscription identifies the image as »the Cretan labyrinth that Daedalus built.«[808] The interpretation of the Minotaur in the »Graphia aureae urbis Romae,« composed at Montecassino in 1154/55, stresses the labyrinth's inscrutability. The text describes a labyrinth of gold and

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801   Durand, Pavés-mosaïques (1857), pl. opp. p. 119, p. 125 n. 2.
802   Durand, Pavés-mosaïques (1857), p. 127 n. 3.
803   Wright (2001), p. 33. The pavement was »adjusted« some time before the 1650s: Marangoni (1746), pp. 76 f.
804   For S. Maria in Aquiro: Claussen, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), pp. 82 f.
805   Wright (2001), pp. 36 f.
806   Wright (2001), pp. 106–109. The music was by Guillaume Dufay.
807   Transl. Wright (2001), p. 32.
808   Wright (2001), pp. 30–33, 35.

pearls on a crimson garment worn by the emperor; inside it was the Minotaur calling for silence with its finger to its mouth, a warning that »just as no one can explore the labyrinth, so also should [no one] divulge the emperor's counsel.«[809] The labyrinth, like the Eucharist, was a mystery. The coincidence of the Minotaur's gesture with that of Harpocrates on the capitals in the nave is startling, but it may not be significant, as the Minotaur seems not to have been represented at S. Maria in Trastevere and the »Graphia« had very limited circulation.[810]

Avila Chapel

Wright's intuition that the labyrinth was near the sacristy may not have been wrong. The chapel adjoining the vestibule of the present, fifteenth-century sacristy has a medieval pavement, and Mallerini's suggestion that it is of »the time of Innocent II« is not impossible.[811] Designed by Martino Longhi and ceded to Girolamo d' Avila in 1584, the chapel originally was square, as on the plan by Torriani (fig. 361). It was reconfigured in the scenographic style of Antonio Gherardi in 1680 (fig. 440).[812] The pavement remained in situ, but its east and west sides were damaged by the insertion of Gherardi's stucco architectural members and the south part was destroyed completely by the installation of a new altar and a projecting chamber behind it (figs. 440, 523, 524). The surviving mosaic comprises five fields containing two different patterns: three fields of Glass's pattern 2 (rows of rotated squares separated by smaller squares sprouting inverted triangles) and two fields of her pattern 7 (rows of hexagons again sprouting inverted triangles).[813] The three fields of pattern 2 adhere to the east, north, and west sides of the initial square and enclose the fields of pattern 7, which are separated from one another by the modern cover of a small mortuary cavity (fig. 524). According to Glass, these patterns »commonly appear in almost all Cosmatesque pavements« of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[814]

Fig. 523: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, Avila chapel, east section of pavement (photo Kinney 2023)

Fig. 524: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, Avila chapel, north section of pavement (photo Kinney 2023)

809 Graphia aureae Urbis Romae, in: Valentini/Zucchetti, Codice 3 (1946), p. 104: *Habeat et in diar(h)odino laberinthum fabrefactum ex auro et margaritis, in quo sit Minotaurus digitum ad os tenens, ex smaragdo factus, quia, sicut non valet quis laberinthum scrutare, ita non debet consilium dominatoris propalare.* My thanks to Charles Kuper for the translation.

810 The Graphia survives in only one manuscript: Valentini/Zucchetti, Codice 3 (1946), p. 67.

811 Above, n. 280.

812 Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 357 no. 1106: AVITVM SACELLVM TEMPORIS INIVRIA PENE COLLAPSVM […] PETRVS PAVLVS AVILA […] SOLIDIVS ET ELEGANTIVS RESTAVRAVIT ANNO SAL. MDCLXXX; Cecchelli (1933?), pp. 124 f.; Pickrel (1981), pp. 98–111, 126–128, 170 f., 217–228, 264 f., 319–321; Kieven (2003), pp. 71–74.

813 Glass, BAR (1980), pp. 141 no. 2, 142 no. 7.

814 Glass, BAR (1980), p. 140.

Fig. 525: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, pavement in front of confessio
(photo Claussen 2015)

Fig. 526: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, square quincunx
behind altar (photo Kinney 2015)

Pattern 7 also occurs on the landing north of the altar (fig. 528).

The site of the chapel cannot be identified with any of the altars described by Avila in his Visitor's report of 1581.[815] Mallerini speculated (»una semplice nostra congettura«) that it had been the baptistery.[816] Another possibility is the sacristy. Although the square space seems too small to have accommodated the crowd described at the discovery of the head of St. Anastasius in 1408, it could have been connected to a larger space where the vestibule is now.[817]

Transept

In the eighteenth century, Pietro Moretti wrote that the transept pavement »is almost all ancient, made like that in the nave.«[818] Only three medieval segments survive today, all on the central axis: a mosaic carpet on the landing below the confessio; a »square quincunx« (rotated square with four roundels) behind the altar; and three small rectangular fields filling the space between the quincunx and the first step of the cathedra (fig. 466). All of these segments are in situ.

The carpet below the confessio has three parts: an outer border of alternately porphyry and serpentine eight-pointed stars in six-sided frames, an intermediate band of pure porphyry, and an inner field of porphyry and serpentine hexagons and lozenges in a pattern that belongs to what Glass identified as the koiné of twelfth- and thirteenth-century mosaic floors (fig. 525).[819] A similar carpet with a different pattern covers the landing at S. Clemente.[820]

815   Above, n. 272.
816   Mallerini (1870), p. 67.
817   Above, n. 248.
818   Moretti, Miscellanea, Descrizione materiale: »Il Pavimento di essa Nave [traversa] è quasi tutto antico, lavorato come quello della Nave di mezzo.«
819   Glass, BAR (1980), p. 142 no. 8.
820   Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), p. 338 fig. 267.

The quincunx behind the altar occupies a square equal in size to the altar platform (figs. 466, 526). In the center of the rotated square is an axial square of porphyry with four frames, alternately mosaic and solid porphyry. The mosaic patterns include one from the koiné and one that Glass associated specifically with the Paulus family.[821] The pattern in the triangular fields of the rotated square is koiné; the pattern in the border that curls around the roundels of the quincunx is Paulus's; and the three patterns in the fields outside the roundels are koiné.[822] The plain strips inside the quincunx are pieced together with segments of pavonazzetto, Docimian, and other light-colored marbles and are medieval. All of the marble outside the

Fig. 527: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, pavement between quincunx and cathedra (photo Claussen 2015)

square is restoration, including the strip between it and the rectangles to the west.[823] The rectangles comprise a central block of white marble framed by a pattern of porphyry and serpentine triangles, and two fields of the same hexagon-and-lozenge pattern that was used in front of the confessio, but executed in a variety of white and brightly colored marbles (figs. 466, 527). These panels show signs of restoration and replacement. Two additional rectangles on the third step leading to the cathedra, containing a pattern of six-pointed stars within hexagons, seem to be modern.

The hexagon-and-lozenge pattern recurs again on the landings north and south of the confessio, along with other patterns in Glass's koiné (fig. 528).[824] This part of the floor was remade in the nineteenth century, apparently imitating authentic patterns but with less expensive stones.[825] The remaining floor of the transept is paved with white and gray marble slabs. Although these stones are modern, they may replace medieval predecessors.[826] One such large stone, bearing a long early Christian inscription eulogizing two dead children (VOS EQVIDEM NATI), was seen by De Rossi in the floor of the apse, partly covered by the choir, where it was also recorded by Petrus Sabinus in the fifteenth century.[827] It is now displayed in the porch.

There is no reason to doubt that the medieval parts of the transept pavement were made by Pope Innocent II. The mosaic is tight and lush, with a density of porphyry. All of the micropatterns are found in Glass's typology, and two are associated with the first half of the twelfth century in particular. Unlike the pavement in the nave, the transept pavement is entirely unsurprising for a twelfth-century floor. This returns us to the problem of dating the nave pavement.

821   Glass, BAR (1980), pp. 142 no. 5 (also 10), 144 no. 15.
822   Glass, BAR (1980), pp. 141 no. 3, 145 no. 20, 144 no. 13, 141 nos. 1 and 2.
823   Valorosi (1): »Nel pavimento dell' abside avanti i gradini del Trono Pontificale smurate con diligenza le fasce di marmo di riquadratura ai mosaici e murate quelle nuove, di M. 3.39 × 0.30 × 3.39 × 0.24.«
824   Glass, BAR (1980), pp. 142 no. 7, 144 no. 13.
825   Valorosi (1): »Nel repiano avanti l' altare della confessione disfatto il pavimento di marmo e musaici ed il masso sotto lungo M. 5.06 × 2.00 e M. 5.45 × 1.92.«
826   The paving stones were taken up and relaid in the nineteenth century; they may date from an earlier restoration. Valorosi (1), at 10515.10: »Nel pavimento si è disfatto il lastricato di marmo trasportato […] nell' interno del cemetero lungo quello a destra dell' altare della confessione M. 10.95 × 6.15 […] ed a sinistra M. 11.42 × 6.05 […] Fatto il nuovo astrico di cretoni e poste in opera le lastre di marmo ed il pavimento […] avendo trasportate tutte le lastre e lastroni nell' interno.« Cf. Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 25–26 [31 Dicembre 1872 and 23 Marzo 1873].
827   De Rossi, Inscriptiones 1 (1857), pp. 534–535, no. 1180. De Rossi opined that it came from the catacomb of S. Felicita on the via Salaria Nova.

Two possibilities are implied by incidental phrases in the *Legenda in consecratione*. The first, *vix ei simile de minutis lapidibus invenitur* – »there is hardly anything like it in mosaic to be found« – would have been literally true of the nave pavement in the twelfth century.[828] Its design was without precedent, unlike any other. Since this was also true of the pope's apse mosaic, the possibility that Innocent II sponsored a very unusual pavement in the nave cannot be ruled out. The second phrase, *sicut stat, ecclesiam complevit* – »he [the bishop of Sabina] completed the church as it stands« – is ambiguous.[829] Does *sicut stat* imply pride or resignation? If the latter, it could indicate that Innocent II's marvelous pavement was limited to the transept; he died with the nave still unpaved, and his executor failed to follow through. In that case, the dates suggested above – later twelfth century for the western part of the nave pavement, thirteenth century or later for the east – remain in play.

Fig. 528: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, pavement of landing north of confessio (photo Kinney 2023)

Mosaics
Apse arch and conch

A marble cornice above the apse windows delimits the twelfth-century mosaic decoration, which covers the conch and the wall around it (fig. 488). The arch of the conch is slightly stilted to accommodate a frieze of twelve lambs and the Agnus Dei (fig. 529). Above the lambs is the dedicatory inscription, in two lines; above the inscription, an array of seven standing prelates on either side of Christ enthroned with his queen; and above the figures, the tent of heaven with a variety of decorative and symbolic motifs, including the hand of God holding a wreath over Christ's head. Around the arch are three borders: on the intrados, columnar bouquets of fruits and flowers issue from two metal vases; on the extrados, a frieze of linked palmettes and flowers turns north and south at the marble cornice to frame the mosaic on the surrounding wall; on the convex surface in between, a band of blue oval and rectangular jewels on a red background accompanies the pattern on the extrados to the cornice. On the wall outside the conch, two prophets with unfurled scrolls continue the line of standing prelates; below them, pairs of semi-naked boys hold cloths full of fruits and a metal amphora; in the spandrels above the prophets, the Evangelist symbols flank the seven Apocalyptic lamps and a cross with pendant chi-rho over the apex of the arch (fig. 488). The background of both the wall and the conch mosaics is gold, as are Christ's mantle and the queen's dress. The predominant colors are gold, deep blue, and red.[830]

Except for Christ and the queen, every figure is identified by an inscription: the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, the Evangelists, and the standing prelates: Pope Innocent, Lawrence, Pope Calixtus, Petrus, Pope Cornelius, Pope Julius, Presbyter Calepodius.[831] The verses between the prelates and the lambs, comprising three couplets each addressed to a different audience, identify the queen as the mother of Christ and reiterate that the donor is Innocent II: »This very brilliant palace shines with the divine glory of beauty in your honor, Mother of honor / The seat remains forever in which you sit, Christ. She whom the golden robe envelops is worthy to be at your right / Since the old building was about to fall down, Pope Innocent the Second, who came from here,

828 Above, n. 191.
829 Above, n. 202.
830 For a comprehensive description see Riccioni (2021), pp. 53–73.
831 For the Latin see Romano, Riforma (2006), p. 307.

Fig. 529: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, conch of apse (photo Alinari/Art Resource)

renewed it.«[832] Quotations on the prophets' scrolls prefigure the Incarnation.[833] Mary holds up a scroll with a verse from the Song of Songs: »His left hand is under my head, and his right hand shall embrace me.«[834] On Christ's open book is a response from the liturgy of the Assumption: »Come, my chosen one, and I will place in you my throne« (fig. 531).[835]

The mosaics have undergone four known restorations: under Pope Clement XI (1700–1721), presumably by the mosaicist Pietro Paolo Cristofari; in 1824, by the mosaicists Gaetano Ruspi and Nicola Roccheggiani; by the mosaicist Pietro Palesi (who also made the nave pavement) under Vespignani; and by the restorer Rossano Pizzinelli under the direction of Vitaliano Tiberia in 1990/91.[836] More speculative but plausible is a restoration of the upper

832 HEC IN HONORE TVO PREFVLGIDA MATER HONORIS | REGIA DIVINI RVTILAT FVLGORE DECORIS | IN QVA CRISTE SEDES MANET VLTRA SECVLA SEDES | DIGNA TVIS DEXTRIS EST QVA(M) TEGIT AVREA VESTIS | CV(M) MOLES RVITVRA VETVS FORET HINC ORIVNDVS | INNOCENTIVS HANC RENOVAVIT PAPA SECVNDVS. Translation adapted from Kendall (1998), p. 31. On the multiple addressees: Kinney, Communication (2018), p. 328.
833 Romano, Riforma (2006), pp. 307 f.
834 Cc 2:6: LEVA EIVS SVB CAPITE MEO ET DEXTERA ILLIVS AMPLESABIT(UR) ME; also at 8:3.
835 VENI ELECTA MEA ET PONAM IN TE THRONVM MEVM; Corpus antiphonalium officii, ed. by R.-J. Hesbert, 6 vols., Rome 1963–1979, vol. 1 (1963), p. 284, vol. 4 (1970), p. 448.
836 Cristofari: above, n. 316. Ruspi and Roccheggiani: Giacomini, Considerazioni (2005), pp. 129 f. Palesi: Giustificazioni 1872, Filze nos. 25, 39. Pizzinelli: Tiberia (1996), p. 203 n. 8.
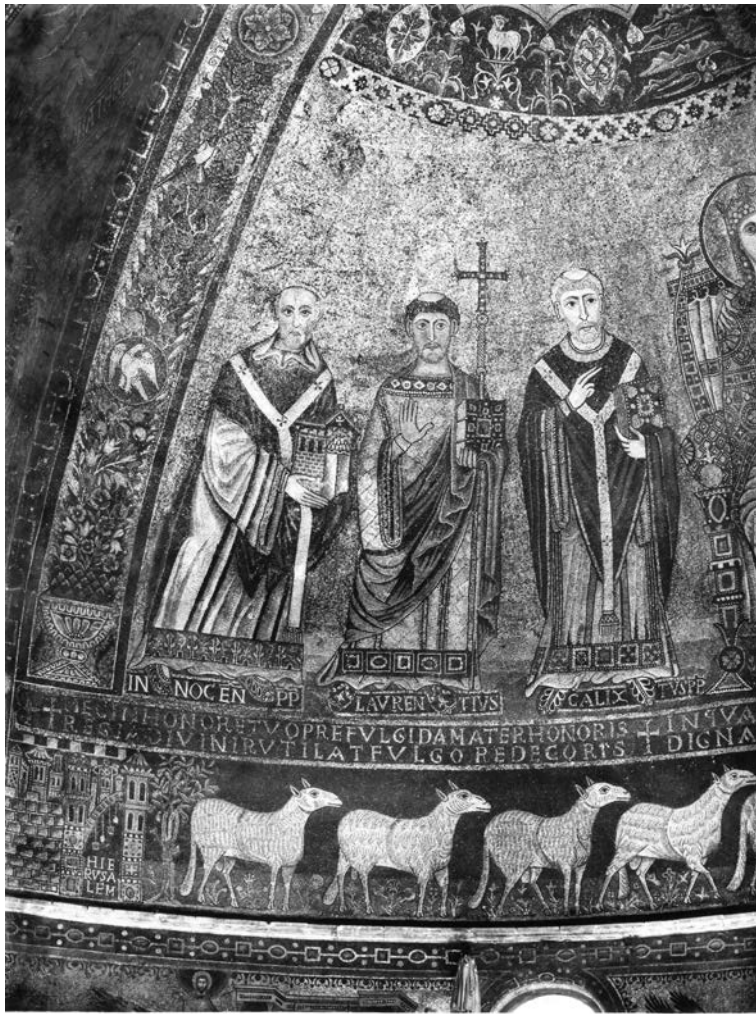
part of the wall at the end of the sixteenth century, to repair damage from the installation of the ceiling.[837] The restoration under Pope Clement XI was a substantial campaign that eventually cost one thousand scudi.[838] The mosaic was said to be »falling in pieces,« and it may have been then that the iron clamps visible all over the conch and the surrounding wall were inserted (fig. 530).[839] The nineteenth-century restorations were both of relatively brief duration and limited effect.[840] Vespignani's mosaicist focused more on the »ornati« than the figures.[841] The twentieth-century »integrations« were likewise of limited scale.[842] It seems that with obvious exceptions identifiable by style, such as the Evangelist symbols and the head and shoulders of Pope Julius, much of the mosaic surface may be original.[843]

Regrettably, the portrait of Innocent II is an exception. Vulnerable because of its location at the juncture of the apse and the Altemps chapel, where the chapel's roof spills rainwater into the joint, the portrait has been damaged and repaired repeatedly. The left side of the face was mutilated by an amateur sometime before 1640, possibly as early as the fifteenth century, when water ruined the choir.[844] The eye and the ear are too high, and the hairline and part of the mouth were obliterated (figs. 354, 530). Innocent's robes

Fig. 530: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, apse mosaic, detail with Pope Innocent II, St. Lawrence, and Pope Calixtus I (photo Alinari/Art Resource)

also show signs of alterations, albeit by more skillful craftsmen. According to the »Beschreibung der Stadt Rom«, the entire figure, excepting the head, had disintegrated and was remade in the seventeenth century.[845] A »retouching« in the nineteenth century altered the folds of the chasuble, making it more voluminous and three-dimension-

837 Matthiae, Mosaici (1967), p. 421; Croisier, in: Romano, Riforma (2006), p. 311.
838 Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 94v: »16 Decembre (d.o an(no) 1714) […] detto Pontefice negli anni passati aveva spesi nella chiesa per i mosaici raggiustati mille scudi.«
839 Tiberia (1996), pp. 191–194 figs. 90, 91. Tiberia attributed the clamps to the nineteenth century. Decohesion is still a pressing danger, especially for the figures of Popes Innocent II and Cornelius: Tiberia, p. 185 fig. 73.
840 Giacomini, Considerazioni (2005), p. 130, corrected Matthiae's erroneous impression of the scope of the first campaign and its date (1824, not 1819). Matthiae, Mosaici (1967), pp. 399 f., 421 f.; followed by Tiberia (1996), p. 187.
841 Giustificazioni 1872, Filza no. 25: 2.65 m² of the gold ground and figures, and 6.78 m² of the *ornati* were restored, and the whole surface was washed.
842 Tiberia (1996), p. 192 fig. 84, 195 fig. 93.
843 Tiberia (1996), p. 190 fig. 83 and pl. IV. Riccioni (2021), p. 51 notes that the gesture of Julius also was altered.
844 Martucci (2003), pp. 45 f.
845 Platner et al., Beschreibung 3,3 (1842), p. 668: »Die Figur des Papstes Innocenz II., die mit Ausnahme des Kopfes zu Grunde gegangen war, wurde im 17. Jahrhundert wieder hergestellt.«

ally modeled than those of the other popes.[846] The zig-zag fold over the right shoulder is a restorer's mistake; the garment falls properly in the copies by Eclissi (fig. 355). The oddity of the church model has been discussed. The inexplicable band of red under its roof and the absence of masonry on the apse wall are both suspect. In short, the figure has been largely remade. On the basis of what survives, one can say only that the pope was depicted like his predecessors except for his white ruffled collar and the absence of a tonsure; he carried a miniature church; and he was gray-haired and bearded, with a receding hairline.[847]

The »collar« is actually a fanon, a circular piece of cloth that goes over the alb and spills onto the chasuble. Innocent II is the first pope to be shown wearing it.[848] Because the fanon was part of the pope's funeral attire, Gandolfo maintained that Innocent was dead when the portrait was made.[849] The fanon was also worn to say Mass, however.[850] All of the prelates in the apse are dressed for Mass. For popes this meant fancy boots (*sandalia*), an amice on the neck and shoulders, a belted alb, a full-sleeved dalmatic, a chasuble, and the scarf-like pallium.[851] Only Innocent wears the fanon, but this may be because it would have been historically inaccurate for the earlier popes. Funerary dress was more elaborate than this. Pope Clement II (1046–1047) was buried in an imperial red mantle, and the tomb portrait of Pope Lucius III († 1185) includes a tiara.[852]

The absence of a square halo, also cited by Gandolfo, is a stronger reason to suspect that the portrait is posthumous.[853] The convention was in use in the first half of the twelfth century, and it probably appeared in Pope Benedict III's mosaic in the first basilica.[854] On the other hand, there are no square haloes in the great megalographic mosaics of the fourth through sixth centuries to which the designer of Pope Innocent's mosaic looked for his composition. The argument is thus inconclusive, but the completion of the transept pavement in Innocent's lifetime makes it very unlikely that the mosaic was still unfinished when he died in September 1143.

The iconography of the conch mosaic has been the subject of abundant research, ably summarized by Croisier (2006) and Riccioni (2010/11).[855] More recent contributions, culminating in Riccioni's monograph of 2021, have focused on the rhetoric of the image and its inscriptions, its color symbolism, the origin of the *synthronos* of Christ and his queen in commentaries on the Song of Songs and the liturgy of the Assumption, the polysemy of the queenly figure as Mary/Church/Bride/intercessor, and the possible reception of this kaleidoscopic iconography by clergy and layfolk.[856] The inspiration for the Song of Songs imagery is often attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, but this is an oversimplification.[857] Bernard was one of many commentators on the »Song of Songs« – including, according to Oldoinus, Pope Innocent II himself – whose ideas about the allegory circulated in the curia.[858] The cardinal priest Guido di Città di Castello, who owned two commentaries on the »Song«, one by Origen, may well

846 Mallerini (1870), p. 34: »Si avverta che la Pianeta di cui nel Mosaico è rivestito Innocenzo fu ritoccata dai Pittori, nel restauro, i quali la formarono ad uso più moderno dei tempi di quel Pontefice, e perciò più aperto del dovere. Che poi a tutti è noto che in antico le Pianete […] non erano aperte lateralmente.«

847 Riccioni called him »old and bald«; in: Romano, Riforma (2006), p. 306.

848 Ladner, Papstbildnisse 2 (1970), p. 11. Riccioni (2021), p. 96 argued that it is not a fanon but a cowl that identifies Innocent II as a canon.

849 Gandolfo, Ritratto (2002), pp. 141 f. Previously suggested by Matthiae, Mosaici (1967), p. 313.

850 Miller (2014), p. 11; cf. p. 250.

851 Miller (2014), p. 41; cf. pp. 247–251.

852 Miller (2014), pp. 191–194; Gardner, Tomb and Tiara (1992), pp. 29 f., fig. 12.

853 Gandolfo (2017), p. 30. Mallerini (1870), p. 35v, speculated that the halo might have been removed by a restorer.

854 Twelfth century: the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran Palace; above, n. 116. The previous apse: above, n. 57. Apparently unaware of the mention of Benedict III's apse in the LP, Wilpert proposed that the pre-twelfth-century mosaic was a sixth-century revision of a fourth-century original, depicting a donor, Calixtus, and Mary on Christ's right and Peter, Cornelius, Julius, and Calepodius on his left. The donor would have been the sixth-century pope responsible for rededicating the titulus to Mary: Wilpert, Mosaiken 3,2 (3rd ed. 1924), pp. 1166 f.

855 Croisier, in: Romano, Riforma (2006), pp. 308–311; Riccioni (2010/11), pp. 344–346.

856 Riccioni (2011), pp. 105–131; Kinney, A Building's Images (2016), pp. 20–22, 27 f.; Kinney, Patronage (2016), pp. 374–380; Lavin (2016), pp. 9–21; Gandolfo (2017), pp. 29–32; Kinney, Communication (2018), pp. 323–329; Riccioni (2021), pp. 63–78.

857 Tiberia (1996), pp. 23 f., 74–90; Riccioni (2011), pp. 116–131 (positing the influence of Bernard and Bruno of Segni); Lavin (2016), pp. 16 f.

858 Oldoinus, in Ciacconio, Vitae 1 (1677), col. 980: *Scripsit Innocentius in Cantica Canticorum commentaria, quae teste Posseuino [Antonio Possevino, † 1611] asseruantur M. SS. In Bibliotheca Monasterij S. Galli apud Heluetios.* I am not aware of any other testimony to the existence of these commentaries. On other commentaries: E. A. Matter, The Voice of My Beloved. The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity, Philadelphia 1990.

Fig. 531: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, apse mosaic, detail (photo Kinney 2014)

have taken an interest in the iconography.[859] Moreover, the »Song« is only one theme in a remarkably multi-layered program. The synthesis of these strands must have been the work of a highly skilled concepteur, evidently a theologian, who worked in close proximity to the pope.[860] The concepteur collaborated with a *pictor* familiar with Roman iconographic traditions to devise a suitable visual formula for his ideas.[861] In the case of S. Maria in Trastevere, the core of this formula may have been found in an illustrated manuscript, but more likely it was invented ad hoc.[862] The concepteur also worked with a versifier, who composed the dedicatory inscription, and a calligrapher who wrote it out for the mosaicists.[863]

859   On Guido's books: A. Wilmart, Les livres légués par Célestin II a Città-di-Castello, in: Revue bénédictine 35, 1923, pp. 98–102, esp. 101.

860   For the concepteur: B. Brenk, Le texte et l'image dans la »Vie des saints« au Moyen Âge. Rôle du concepteur et rôle du peintre, in: Texte et image, Actes du colloque international, Chantilly 1982, Paris 1984, pp. 31–39.

861   The visualizer is sometimes called the *pictor imaginarius*: M. Andaloro, I mosaici del Sancta Sanctorum, in: Sancta Sanctorum, Milan 1995, pp. 129–191, esp. 162–169; Paniccia (2017), pp. 47, 50.

862   The same composition appears in the frontispiece of a manuscript of the commentary on the Song by Honorius Augustodunensis (†1154) now in Munich, BSB, Cod. Lat. 4550, fol. 1v: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00012889?page=6,7 [18. 10. 2023]. The manuscript is usually dated after the mosaic, ca. 1165–1175: Klemm (1988), pp. 139 f. no. 196. The connection was observed by Cecchelli (1946), p. 95 (wrongly locating the manuscript in Vienna); followed by Wellen (1966).

863   C. Kendall judged that the versifier »was eager to show off his skill,« as indicated by such unusual features as a mixture of disyllabic end rhyme with disyllabic leonine rhyme, and a feminine caesura (personal communication 09. 01. 1991). In addition to the calligrapher, there would have been an *ordinator* who positioned the letters on the wall: M. R. Menna,

N e la Facciata della Chiesa.

Fig. 532: Antonio Eclissi, façade mosaic of S. Maria in Trastevere. BAV, Vat. lat. 4404, fol. 1v (photo © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

Less has been written about the style of the mosaics.[864] They usually are described as a product of the »Roman school,« in the tradition of the mosaics made 25 years earlier in S. Clemente, but more graphic, flat, rigid, and inert.[865] To some extent these judgements reflect the unkind glare of electric lighting; in natural light, the figures and their background are mutually unfixed (fig. 531). In a rare appreciation, Adolfo Venturi opined that »the mosaicist knew how to instill in the figures a regal appearance […] To recognize [his] profound ability […] it is enough to observe the disposition of the folds, the knot formed by the fabric of the mantle on the knees of the most noble Virgin.«[866]

The drapery is an index to the mosaicists' training. The artist of the central pair was in his element with the Virgin's gold dress (fig. 531). His strength was bright color fields modulated by rhythmic linear repetition. The white mantle draped over her knees makes no sense as a three-dimensional garment, but its graceful pattern segregates the knees and brings them forward, so the body does not seem wholly flat. The treatment of the seated Christ is less happy. His himation covers one lower leg and loops over the other, dropping an ungainly ball of fabric from the lap. This is not the formula of early Roman exemplars (S. Costanza, S. Pudenziana), in which the himation covers both legs and a loose end falls between them. The mosaicists of S. Clemente reproduced this ancient formula.[867] The different solution at S. Maria in Trastevere has parallels in images of Christ in Majesty from the orbit of Montecassino, and matches almost exactly the pattern of Christ's garment in the dome of the Martorana in Palermo of 1148.[868] These similarities recall Ursula Nilgen's observation that the *synthronos* in S. Maria in Trastevere could have been inspired by Montecassino, where there was an image in the chapter house showing Christ enthroned with his mother on the judgement seat.[869] The ultimately Byzantine style of Montecassino may have influenced the *pictor* at S. Maria in Trastevere, but it was uncongenial to the mosaicists who executed his design, some of whom

Scribi, pittori e mosaicisti nel cantiere medievale, in: Medioevo. Le Officine. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma 2009, ed. by A. C. Quintavalle, Milan 2010, pp. 224–234, esp. 227–231.

864   The most extended analysis is by Matthiae, Mosaici (1967), pp. 311–313.

865   Parlato/Romano, Roma (2001), p. 73; Romano, Riforma (2006), p. 168; Croisier, in: Romano, Riforma (2006), p. 311.

866   Venturi (1926), pp. 37 f.

867   S. Clemente: Romano, Riforma (2006), p. 213 fig. 10.

868   E. Kitzinger, The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral in Palermo, Washington 1990, p. 269 and pl. I; Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale, cat. Montecassino 1994, ed. by G. Cavallo, G. Orofino, O. Pecere, Rome 1994, p. 392 (Montecassino, Exultet 2, 1105–1110); cf. pp. 395 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 710, ca. 1136), 436 (Troia, Archivio Capitolare, Exultet 3, second half of the twelfth century), 253 (London, British Library, Add. 30337, second half of the eleventh century).

869   Leo von Ostia, Chronik (1980), p. 605: *raptus in spiritu iudiciarias Domino unacum matre considente sedes in absida ipsius capituli, ut attenus [hactenus] in pictura cernitur, ordinatas esse conspexit.* Nilgen, Maria Regina (1981), p. 28.
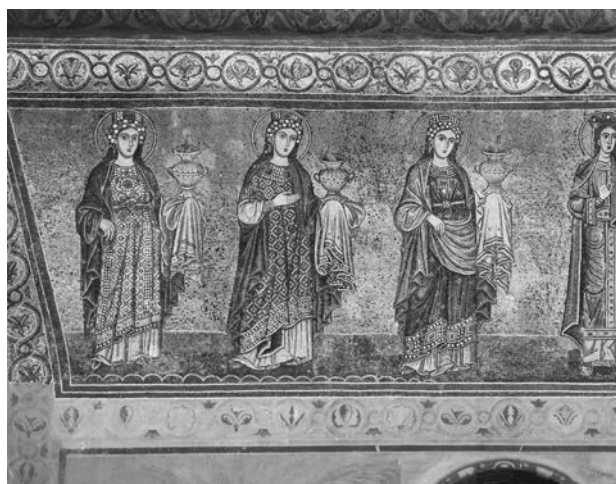
Fig. 533: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, facade mosaic, detail, south side (photo Pace 2012)

Fig. 534: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, facade mosaic, detail, center (photo Pace 2012)

seem to have been trained in a style of lines and planes. Perhaps craftsmen of diverse backgrounds were assembled specifically for this project. Parlato and Romano observed that the mosaic is a singleton that »does not suggest a workshop of long duration.«[870]

Façade

The mosaic covering the cavetto depicts the nursing Virgin (Galaktotrophousa, Virgo lactans, Madonna del latte) enthroned, with two tonsured males in tunics and chasubles kneeling in prayer at the base of her seat (figs. 532–535). Five women carrying lamps process toward her from either side. The five on the south side and three of the five on the north stand upright and wear jeweled and patterned garments and crowns; their lamps are lit. By contrast, the two women nearest to Mary on her left walk with their heads bowed and wear striped headcloths rather than crowns; their lamps are spent. All of the women have haloes. They stand in a strip of green, above which the background is gold. The mosaic is framed on three sides by a broad band of interlocked circles enclosing three-petaled fleurons, which is itself framed by narrower bands of blue and red. On the central axis, the blue and red bands interrupt the fleurons to encircle a prancing lamb holding a long-stemmed cross with its right front leg. The head and halo of Mary overlap this circle as if they were in front of it. The fleuron frame breaks off at the base of the cavetto and has done so at least since Eclissi's copy of 1640 (fig. 532). The lower bodies of the kneeling clerics also were already damaged or missing at that time (figs. 536, 537). The base of the throne has been crudely remade.

The first documented restoration of the mosaics may have been in the fourteenth century, when an entry in the Necrology commemorated an unnamed »priest of the *titulus* of San Silvestro who had three mosaic images repaired.«[871] Another restoration was undertaken (or at least planned) by the canons in 1603.[872] Again in 1706, the mosaics were restored under the supervision of the first director of the Vatican Mosaic Studio, Pietro Paolo Crist-ofari, following Fontana's remodeling of the façade.[873] Matthiae claimed a »vastissimo rifacimento« in 1819 (recte

870   Parlato/Romano, Roma (2001), p. 73.
871   Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 35v (at 2 October): *p(res)b(yte)r t(ituli) s(an)c(t)i siluestri q(ui) fec(it) reparari tres imagines musaicas p(ro) ei(us) aniu(er)sario soll*; Necrologi (1908), p. 99.
872   Moretti, De S. Callisto, p. 57v: *11 Augusti (d[etto] a[nno] 1603). In questo capitulo fu ordinato […] che si ristorasse musivum in facie Ecclesiae.*
873   See above, n. 316. Cantone discovered a document mentioning the mosaicist Tommaso de Rossi, who may have done the work: Cantone (1992), pp. 229 f., 236 f.

Fig. 535: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, facade mosaic, detail, north side
(photo Pace 2012)

1824).[874] According to Cressedi, »Musaicisti della Fabbrica Vaticana« restored the mosaics in 1869, but no further archival documentation of this campaign has been found.[875] In 1987, an emergency intervention to address a large structural crack led to the discovery of bulges and decohesion in the mosaic surface.[876] The mosaics were consolidated and cleaned, and losses were repaired with colored stucco under the supervision of Rosalba Cantone.[877]

Cantone's diagram of previous restorations is not easy to read (fig. 538). It identifies the strip under the figures' feet as nineteenth-century work. Otherwise, it outlines significant areas of restoration without dating them, including the entire body of the southern supplicant, the head of the woman farthest south and the heads and lamps of the two women next to her, the body of the woman fourth from the Virgin on the north side, and the lamp of the fifth woman.[878] No restorations are indicated in the central group of the Virgo lactans and the four women nearest to her. The diagram confirms that this group belongs to a single phase of execution (A).[879] It does not seem to support Oakeshott's assertion that the two kneeling figures were »late additions.«[880]

Regardless of restoration, the lifelike, voluminously robed women of the third phase (C) share a distinctive style that recalls the work of Jacopo Torriti (fig. 533).[881] They are likely to be the »three mosaic images of virgins above the doors« made by Canon de Malpiliis in the fourteenth century.[882] The three women of phase B are more complicated (fig. 535). The two nearest Mary share the flatness of the women of phase A, while the third is more like the women of phase C. Karina Queijo proposed that all three are replacements made by the unnamed priest »who had three mosaic images repaired,« but her date for this restoration – ca. 1220/40 – seems too early for the hand of the notice, which is similar to that of the obit of Canon de Malpiliis.[883] Arguing that the northernmost figure was then remade a second time, Queijo dated it ca. 1270/80.[884]

The origin of the mosaic presumably lies with the two men kneeling on either side of the Virgo lactans (figs. 536, 537). In the nineteenth century they were identified as Popes Innocent II and – probably because of the date 1148 in Innocent's tomb inscription – Eugenius III (1145–1153).[885] The men have no papal regalia, however; their

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874 Matthiae, Mosaici (1967), p. 422; but see above n. 840.
875 Cressedi (1863–73), pp. 18v–19: »[20 Giugno 1869] In pari tempo si và restaurando dai Musaicisti della Fabbrica Vaticana l'antico mosaico delle dodici Vergini con Maria.« Cantone (1992), p. 233.
876 Degni/Cajano (1992), p. 228.
877 Cantone (1992), pp. 233–236.
878 Cantone (1992), p. 232. The red chasuble of the southern donor is not missing in Eclissi's copy, as she claimed.
879 See above, n. 230.
880 Oakeshott, Mosaics (1967), pp. 245, 247; followed by Gandolfo in: Matthiae/Gandolfo (1988), p. 303.
881 Tomei admitted only a distant relationship: Torriti (1990), pp. 139 f. For the historiography see Queijo, in: Romano, Il Duecento (2012), p. 73 and in: Romano, Apogeo (2017), pp. 183 f.
882 Above, n. 231.
883 Above, n. 754; Cecchelli (1933?), pp. 38 f.; Queijo, in: Romano, Il Duecento (2012), pp. 75 f.
884 Queijo, in: Romano, Il Duecento (2012), p. 311.
885 Platner et al., Beschreibung 3,3 (1842), pp. 662 f. The authors cited Malvasia (C. C. Malvasia, Felsina pittrice. Vite de pittori bolognesi, vol. 1, Bologna 1678, p. 10): »Tanti Musaici poi [in Roma], come quello delle Vergini prudenti in S. Maria in Trasteuere sotto Eugenio secondo (sic) del 1148.« Similarly De Rossi, Musaici (1899), text to pl. XXXI. For the tomb inscription see above n. 183.

Fig. 536: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, façade mosaic, south kneeling donor (photo Kinney 1985)

Fig. 537: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, façade mosaic, north kneeling donor (photo Kinney 1985)

Fasi esecutive   ☐ Fase A
                  ☐ Fase B
                  ☐ Fase C

Fig. 538: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, facade mosaic, phases of execution and restorations (in: Cantone 1992)

tonsures and simple clerical dress suggest that they may have been canons, like the donor of the mosaics of phase C.[886] Dissociating the mosaic from Pope Innocent II, twentieth-century scholars tended to follow van Marle, who proposed that the mosaic was among the »extensive restorations« carried out by Pope Innocent III.[887] No such restorations are known to have occurred, and the notion that the ambitious project could have been executed, or even initiated, in preparation for the 1215 consecration is implausible.[888]

The date of the first phase of the project must be deduced from style (figs. 534, 540). Queijo compared the Virgo lactans to a mosaic icon in S. Paolo fuori le mura, one of the few other Roman mosaics that exhibits chrysography; but the drapery in the icon falls in straight lines, not in the multi-directional, angular patterns seen on the façade.[889] The best comparisons are panel paintings, especially the Byzantinizing icons made for Latin patrons in the Holy Land.[890] It was in these works, according to Jaroslav Folda, that chrysography was added to the garments of Mary in images of the full-length Virgin and Child.[891] One of the earliest examples, an icon dated ca. 1260 by Folda, helps

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886 Ladner, Papstbildnisse 3 (1984), pp. 117 f.
887 Van Marle (1923), pp. 417 f.; Gandolfo in: Matthiae/Gandolfo (1988), p. 303; Romano, Il Duecento (2012), p. 15; Queijo, in: Romano, Il Duecento (2012), pp. 72–74; Riccioni (2021), p. 80. Adhering to the twelfth-century date: Oakeshott, Mosaics (1967), pp. 246 f.; Piazza, Mosaïques (2010), p. 128. For a fuller account of the historiography: Queijo, p. 73.
888 Pistilli, L'architettura (1991), p. 30.
889 Queijo, in: Romano, Il Duecento (2012), pp. 73 f., 88.
890 On this category (»Crusader icons«) see Folda (2015), pp. 61 f.
891 Folda (2015), pp. 13 f. Unlike their imitators, Byzantine artists reserved chrysography for the Child when mother and child were shown together.

to visualize the mosaicist's likely model (fig. 539).[892] The differences are instructive as well. The drapery patterns in the mosaic are harshly simplified. The chrysography is rendered with continuous lines of gold along the folds of the robes and splashes on protrusions like the knees, as on the icon, but rather than the comb-like rays that emanate from splashes in Byzantine chrysography, the mosaicist made concentric flat arcs (fig. 540).[893] To him the gold rays signifying divinity were just patterns, which he and his collaborators also applied to the highlights on the garments of the women on either side of the throne, transforming them into decorative motifs only coincidentally related to the anatomy of the bodies under the cloth (figs. 534).

Like chrysography, the subject of the Virgo lactans was rare in thirteenth-century Rome; the only other example is the icon called the »Madonna della Catena« in S. Silvestro al Quirinale, datable ca. 1225–1250.[894] Despite its long history in Syria and Egypt, the nursing Virgin was nearly unknown in Italian art before the late twelfth century, when its diffusion has been attributed to the movement of artists and images occasioned by the Crusades and the fall of Constantinople in 1204.[895] Thirteenth-century Italian versions, including the Madonna della Catena, tend to display their Byzantine roots in the dress and attributes of the protagonists, while conforming to local conventions in the Virgin's strictly frontal presentation and symmetrical silhou-

Fig. 539: Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, icon of Virgin Panakranta with Angels (photo Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mt. Sinai)

ette.[896] The mosaic at S. Maria in Trastevere is of a different type, in which the child sits on one thigh (or one arm) of the mother, who turns her head in his direction. A modern version of this late antique type could be seen in a twelfth-century painting on a column shaft in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, attributed by Kühnel to a south Italian artist emulating Byzantine examples.[897] Presumably one or more such artists brought the type to Italy, where it is found in the crypt of Anagni Cathedral (1230–1250) and on an altarpiece by the Magdalen Master (ca. 1270–1310) now in the Yale University Art Gallery.[898] The same compositional formula was used for images of St. Anne nursing the infant Mary, as on the scapular of Pope Gregory X, dated 1276.[899] None of these examples

892 Virgin and Child Hodegetria on a lyre-backed throne, St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai; Folda (2015), pp. xiii, 14 f., 91 f., pl. 16.
893 For the terminology of splashes and rays: Folda (2015), pp. 44 f.
894 A. Iacobini, La pittura e le arti suntuarie da Innocenzo III a Innocenzo IV (1198–1254), in: Roma nel Duecento (1991), pp. 237–319, esp. 294–297; S. Leggio, in: Romano, Il Duecento (2012), pp. 125–127.
895 Moi/Picone (2019), p. 44. A nearly illegible fresco in S. Adriano, dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century by Bordi, is evidence of an earlier presence of the theme in Rome: G. Bordi, Committenza laica nella chiesa di Sant' Adriano al Foro romano nell' alto Medioevo, in: Medioevo: I committenti. Atti del Convegno Nazionale di Studi, Parma 2010, ed. by C. A. Quintavalle, Milan 2011, pp. 421–433, esp. 429–430.
896 Examples in Vittorini (2019), figs. 1–3.
897 G. Kühnel, Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Berlin 1988, pp. 22–26, 139 f. (with a date before 1169), pls. VII–VIII; J. Folda, The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land 1098–1187, Cambridge 1995, pp. 91–97 (dating around 1130), 163–165 figs. 6.14a–b.
898 Anagni: L. Cappelletti, Gli affreschi della cripta anagnina. Iconologia, Rome 2002, pp. 236 f., 348 fig. 87. Magdalen Master: E. Sandberg Vavalà, L'iconografia della Madonna col Bambino nella pittura italiana del Dugento, Siena 1934, p. 55 no. 162, pl. XXVB, URL: https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/286 [20. 01. 22].
899 Gardner, Roman Crucible (2013), p. 210.

Fig. 540: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, facade mosaic, detail, body of the Virgin (photo Kinney 1985)

has chrysography, which – if it was not an innovation of the mosaicist – must have come from an otherwise unknown source of the mid-thirteenth century. Such a date is not incompatible with the flat, elongated virgins flanking the throne, which can be compared to standing figures in the narrative scenes in the S. Silvestro chapel at SS. Quattro Coronati of 1246–1254.[900]

There is no precedent for combining the iconic Galaktotrophousa with the Wise and Foolish Virgins of Matthew 25. It is clear that this was the original plan because the burning and empty lamps of the four virgins flanking the throne are well preserved (fig. 534). Nevertheless, some scholars have proposed a model in the procession of female saints bearing crowns in a Carolingian mosaic once on the wall above the apse of S. Cecilia.[901] Wollesen argued that the crowns were replaced by oil lamps at S. Maria in Trastevere to advertise the presence of the *fons olei*.[902] His idea was endorsed by Queijo, who claimed that an inscription in the voice of the *taberna meritoria* was seen directly under the mosaic in the nineteenth century.[903] This cannot be correct, as Fontana's treatment of the façade left no place for an inscription (fig. 368). Alveri saw the verses inside the church, on the counterfaçade over the central portal, where they remained until Vespignani replaced them with an inscription commemorating the renovation by Pope Pius IX.[904] The older inscription pertained to the site and to the basilica, not to the mosaic.

The combination of the Wise and Foolish Virgins with the Virgo lactans recapitulates the subject of the apse mosaic, not only in the focus on another intimate encounter of Mother and Son.[905] Like the bride of the Song of Songs, the nursing Virgin was understood to represent the life-giving Church.[906] The virgins with their lamps take the place of the presumably virginal clerics who surround the Bride and Bridegroom in the apse. The virgins seek salvation from the infant Bridegroom, but unlike the clerics, they are not guaranteed success. Some of them will be excluded. This message was familiar in monumental decoration elsewhere in Italy and in Europe, but it was unusual for Rome. The canons evidently reconsidered it after the first phase of the frieze had been completed, as the donor(s) of phase 2 altered the subject by giving their virgins burning lamps. Perhaps they worried about the visual implication that the Virgin, not Christ, would be passing judgement, or perhaps the original message seemed too harsh.

To summarize, the façade mosaic was a collective project, sponsored by a succession of donors over roughly half a century beginning around 1250. The original program, centered on a Byzantinizing image of the Galakto-

900 Romano, Il Duecento (2012), pp. 194 fig. 7, 199 fig. 16.
901 Summarized by Queijo, in: Romano, Il Duecento (2012), pp. 74. For the mosaic: Osborne/Claridge, Antiquity 1 (1996), pp. 78–80.
902 Wollesen, Pictures (1998), pp. 91–96.
903 Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 347 no. 1072: DVM TENET EMERITVS MILES SVM MAGNA TABERNA | SED DVM VIRGO TENET ME MAIOR NVNCVPOR ET SVM | TVNC OLEVM FLVO SIGNANS MAGNAM PIETATEM | CHRISTI NASCENTIS NVNC TRADO PETENTIBVS IPSAM. Queijo, in: Romano, Il Duecento (2012), p. 74.
904 Alveri, Della Roma 2 (1664), p. 339; ACSMT, Armadio XI. Fabbriceria. Restauri di Pio IX: *Haec vetus Inscriptio Ante Instaurationem Basilicae Anni MDCCCLXXI, Intra Ecclesiam In Media Parete Orientali Supra Coronam Litteris Deauratis Exarata.*
905 So also Riccioni (2021), p. 79.
906 L. Hodne, The Virginity of the Virgin. A Study in Marian Iconography, Rome 2012, p. 107.

trophousa, was a provocative restatement of the apse mosaic. Its message was diluted as the frieze was completed.[907]

Apse window zone

Bertoldo Stefaneschi commissioned a suite of six scenes from the life of Mary in the window zone of the apse below the conch mosaic; his portrait appears in a seventh panel under the middle window (figs. 359, 488). The colorful narratives (Birth of Mary, Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Dormition) are set in landscapes or architectural settings on gold backgrounds.[908] Each scene contains a three-line hexametrical inscription, skillfully executed in two strips of black letters on white ground separated by a strip of gold letters on dark blue ground (fig. 358).[909] In Bertoldo's panel, the hexameters appear in the middle of the field, above his coat of arms (fig. 359).[910] A continuous band of square and oval gems on a red ground, modeled on the twelfth-century border along the arch of the conch, surrounds all seven panels and also forms the vertical frames between them.[911]

The hexameters were composed by Bertoldo's brother Giacomo Gaetani Stefaneschi, a prolific poet, noted liturgist, and discerning patron of art, who was made cardinal by Pope Boniface VIII in 1295.[912] Paul Hetherington discovered that the verses recur in a fragmentary parchment gathering written for the cardinal in Avignon around 1320/30, where they appear as antiphons for Marian feasts.[913] A marginal note explains that *hincque* in the verse for the Nativity refers to S. Maria in Trastevere, proving that the hexameters were conceived initially for the basilica.[914] Presumably the verses were composed sometime before the cardinal moved to Avignon with the papal court in 1309.[915] In her recent analysis of the relationship of the mosaic verses to the images, Marilyn Lavin concluded that »painter and poet must have worked closely together.«[916] She also demonstrated the poet's concern to echo and explicate the subject of the twelfth-century mosaic in the conch.[917]

Seventeenth-century copies by Eclissi and an anonymous draftsman whose drawings are now in Edinburgh show the mosaics virtually intact.[918] They seem to have had little subsequent restoration.[919] The laying of the tesserae is so regular that Tiberia attributed everything except the backgrounds to a single mosaicist.[920] Only the donor panel seems to have been altered. Eclissi's drawings show a fragmentary inscription in the lower frame (fig. 541).[921] The letters VS appear under the foot of St. Paul, followed by IT PETRVS under the escutcheon and the kneeling figure of Bertoldo. Sebastiano Vannini recorded the same letters – possibly on the basis of Eclissi's sketch – in his contemporary biography of Cardinal Pietro Stefaneschi (1642).[922] No other source mentions the inscription, and except for a kind of monogram in the left corner (P inside a circle topped by a cross), the border recorded

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907 This essay was already in press when an article by Simone Piazza arguing that the mosaic was never intended to represent the Wise and Foolish Virgins, but only virginal saints, became available. See Piazza (2023) and Kinney (2023).

908 See the extended descriptions in Lavin (2016), pp. 30–42.

909 The texts are quoted by Lavin (2016), pp. 32, 34, 36, 38, 40; also in: Romano, Apogeo (2017), pp. 171–175.

910 Romano, Apogeo (2017), p. 175.

911 Lavin (2016), p. 29.

912 Condello (1987), pp. 23–25; Gardner, Roman Crucible (2013), pp. 31–34, 204–207.

913 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5931, fols. 101v–102; Hetherington (1970), pp. 89 f.; Condello (1989), pp. 211–213; Lavin (2016), pp. 43–45, figs. 41–42.

914 Hetherington, Cavallini (1979), p. 27: *Quia fons olei largo rivo die nativitatis Christi eruit a taberna meritoria […] Sancta Maria in Transtiberim usque ad Tiberim fluxit.*

915 Tomei, Cavallini (2000), p. 34.

916 Lavin (2016), p. 29.

917 Lavin (2016), pp. 30–42.

918 Eclissi: Waetzoldt, Kopien (1964), p. 53 cat. 539–545, figs. 299–303, 306; Osborne/Claridge, Antiquity 1 (1996), pp. 244–251 cat. 103–108. Edinburgh: Gardner, Copies (1973), p. 584, fig. 26.

919 Matthiae, Mosaici (1967), p. 422: »quanto in essi [mosaici] […] risulta rifatto ha […] estensione limitatissima«.

920 Tiberia (1996), pp. 168 f.

921 Royal Collection Trust, inv.no. RCIN 909041, a preliminary sketch for BAV, Barb. lat. 4404, fol. 23. Osborne/Claridge, Antiquity 1 (1996), pp. 250 f.; Waetzoldt, Kopien (1964), p. 53 cat. 545, fig. 306.

922 De Benedictis (1976), p. 964: »Il nome di Pietro […] rimasto fin hora nell' estremità del musaico della Basilica Transtiberina, sotto la Vergine […] tra gl' Apostoli San Pietro, e San Paolo nel mezzo della tribuna in tal modo ›[…] us […] it Petrus […]‹«. Vannini belonged to the circle of Eclissi's patron Cardinal Francesco Barberini (pp. 955 f.).
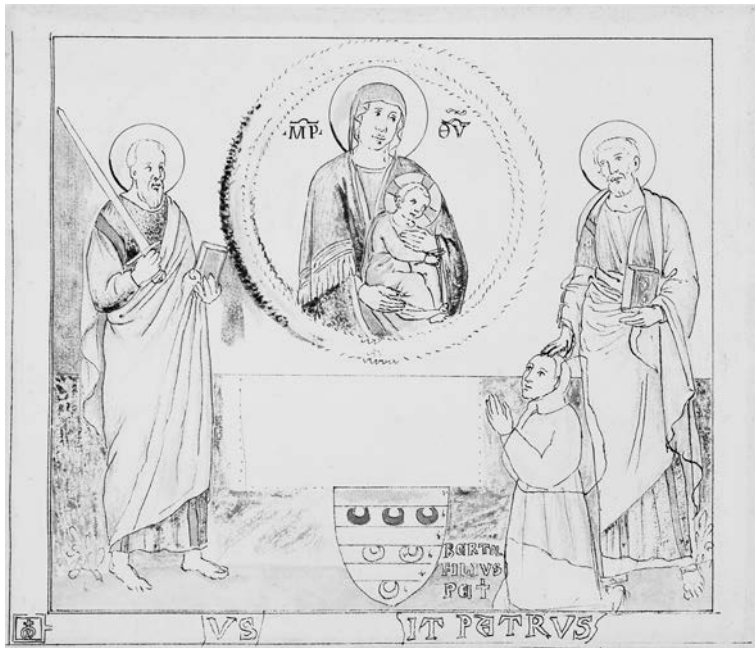
Fig. 541: Antonio Eclissi, donor portrait of Bertoldo Stefaneschi,
S. Maria in Trastevere, before 1640 (photo Royal Collection Trust/
© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020)

by Eclissi disappeared. In 1872/73 a new border was made of painted plaster; it is visible in photos made before 1990, when it was replaced by new mosaic (fig. 542).[923]

Vannini assumed that the inscription referred to the subject of his biography, Bertoldo's father, and reconstructed it to read: (Hoc op)VS (fieri fec)IT PETRVS (filius Stephani).[924] Modern art historians believe it refers to Pietro Cavallini, following an attribution that goes back to Lorenzo Ghiberti (1447–1455).[925] Most have accepted the reconstruction by Charles Rufus Morey: (Hoc op)VS (musivum fec)IT PETRVS (pictor).[926] The monogram surviving in the left corner is thought to be the painter's signature.[927]

In 1857, Henri Barbet de Jouy published a description of the mosaics in which he claimed to have read the numerals MCCLCI below the verses under the scene of the Nativity. He interpreted the date as 1351 (sic).[928] De Rossi could find no trace of the numerals, but he was unwilling to doubt Barbet de Jouy. Instead, he emended the reading to MCCXCI.[929] Although it has been frequently debunked, the date 1291 is still sometimes repeated in the literature on Cavallini. A brief examination of the setting reveals that the numerals could only have been in the gemmed red-ground frame that runs under the scene of the Nativity and continues below the window, where it becomes the upper border of the panel with Bertoldo (figs. 358, 359). Tiberia, who misconstrued the location and thought that the numerals were in the lower frame with the PETRVS inscription, had nothing to say about the upper border, but one of his diagrams may indicate that it was a mosaic repair (i. e., not medieval).[930] If so, the diagram confirms Matthiae's observation that »the zone [where Barbet saw the numerals]

923   ACSMT, Armadio XI. Restauri di Pio IX. Consuntivo dei lavori di Pittore e Verniciaro eseguiti da Capo d' Arte Caterina Egidi Vedova Ojetti […] negli Anni 1872 e 1873: »no. 69 [Abside]: Sotto il musaico nella parte media dipinta una fascia rosso scuro decorata di tanti quadratini ed ovali col fondo turchino scuro chiaroscurati come fossero genuini […] altri tondini chiari ad imitazione del restante vero mosaico e ritoccato il campo verde del medesimo musaico.« My thanks to Julian Gardner for sharing the photo in fig. 542. The painted pattern of »quadratini ed ovali« is visible in ICCD N34027. For the new mosaic: Tiberia (1996), pp. 195 fig. 94, 197.
924   De Benedictis (1976), p. 964.
925   Ghiberti, Commentarii II.ii (1998), p. 87: »fece istorie sono in santa Maria in Trestevere di musayco molto egregiamente, nella capella maggiore 6 istorie. Ardirei a dire in muro non avere veduto di quella materia lavorare mai meglio.« For the subsequent historiography: Tomei, Cavallini (2000), pp. 11–21; Schmitz, Cavallini (2013), pp. 20–42.
926   Morey, Lost Mosaics (1915), pp. 52–54, emending a reading proposed by De Rossi, Musaici (1899), text to pl. XXXVIII: (HOC OP)VS (FEC)IT PETRVS. Cf. Schmitz, Cavallini (2013), p. 19; Romano, Apogeo (2017), pp. 176 f.
927   Schmitz, Cavallini (2013), pp. 19 f.; Romano, Apogeo (2017), p. 176.
928   Barbet de Jouy (1857), p. 127.
929   De Rossi, Musaici (1899), text to pl. XXXVIII: »In vano io ho appuntato gli occhi armati di buone lenti per trovare queste cifre preziose.« D. Gioseffi, Giotto architetto, Milan, 1963, pp. 109 f. later proposed MCCVCI; see Schmitz, Cavallini (2013), pp. 18 f.
930   Tiberia (1996), p. 204 n. 13; pp. 192 fig. 86, 195 fig. 94. The mosaic was replaced with new tesserae in Tiberia's restoration. Tiberia's diagrams consistently omit the continuation of the mosaic border under the windows; thus the upper frame of Bertoldo's panel wrongly appears as a separate strip and too low on the wall. Cf. Giacomini, Considerazioni (2005), p. 135 n. 37: »grafici – deludenti per la verità.«

had been remade in mosaic.«[931] He dated the repair to the campaign of 1819 (recte 1824), which would mean that any letters seen by Barbet de Jouy were modern. On the other hand, De Rossi suspected that the repair was Vespignani's.[932] In that case, Barbet could have seen something pre-modern in the frame below the Nativity, but there is no way of verifying what it was.

Scholars have found other means of dating the mosaics, which tend to move them closer to the end of the century.[933] Joachim Poeschke posited a terminus post quem of 1296 because of the similarity of Bertoldo's panel to the mosaic on the tomb of Boniface VIII in St. Peter's.[934] William Tronzo made the case that Cavallini's strip of narrative scenes must have been a response to Jacopo Torriti's decoration of the apse of S. Maria Maggiore, completed in 1296.[935] Michael Schmitz likewise maintained that Cavallini's mosaics must have been made after 1296, following Torriti's campaign and in

Fig. 542: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, apse, donor portait of Bertoldo Stefaneschi, detail showing plaster in lower border (photo Gardner).

anticipation of the Jubilee; that is, around 1297/98, close to the date previously proposed by Marc Dykmans for Giacomo Gaetani's verse inscriptions.[936]

Any date for the mosaics should take account of the circumstances of Bertoldo's life. His heyday seems to have been in the late 1270s, when he was in the court of the Orsini pope Nicholas III. The last mention of him is from 1287, when he was podestà of Florence.[937] No one, it seems, would entertain a date as early as the late 1270s for the mosaics; although Cavallini seems to have been well established by then, Giacomo Gaetani probably was too young to compose the inscriptions.[938] A likelier time would be around 1290, when Bertoldo presumably was in Rome and Giacomo Gaetani had recently returned from the university of Paris.[939] Neither context fits the thesis that Cavallini's narrative scenes were conceived after those by Torriti in S. Maria Maggiore, however.[940] If Bertoldo's mosaics were not begun until after 1296, there is no indication that he was alive when they were completed. The compositional resemblance of the donor panel to the tomb mosaic of Boniface VIII has suggested to some that he was, in fact, deceased.[941] The image was not associated with a grave.[942] Bertoldo's tombstone was recorded in the seventeenth century in the pavement of the north aisle, not far from the original location of the tomb of the fifteenth-century

931 Matthiae, Mosaici (1967), p. 422.
932 De Rossi, Musaici (1899), text to pl. XXXVIII: »sospetto che per i recenti restauri queste cifre sieno perite.«
933 Hetherington, Cavallini (1979), pp. 132 f.; Ragionieri (1981); Tiberia (1996), pp. 129–131.
934 Poeschke (1983), countered by Tomei (2000), p. 51, but followed by Giesser, in: Romano, Apogeo (2017), p. 178.
935 Tronzo, Apse Decoration (1989), pp. 170–172, 191–193; followed by Giesser, in: Romano, Apogeo (2017), p. 178. The case was previously made by Cecchelli (1933?), pp. 39 f., and on different grounds by Ragionieri (1981), pp. 460 f.
936 Dykmans (1981), pp. 27 f.; Schmitz, Cavallini (2013), pp. 174–176, 191. Hetherington (1970), pp. 91 f. also argued for a date around 1298, partly on the basis of costume.
937 Carocci, Baroni (1993), p. 430; A. Zorzi, I rettori di Firenze. Reclutamento, flussi, scambi (1193–1313), in: I podestà dell' Italia comunale, vol. 1: Reclutamento e circolazione degli ufficiali forestieri (fine XII sec.–metà XIV sec.), ed. by J.-C. Maire Vigueur, Rome 2000, pp. 453–594, esp. 565 f. Gandolfo dated the mosaics around this time (1285–1289): Matthiae/Gandolfo, Pittura (1988), pp. 330–332.
938 Tomei, Cavallini (2000), pp. 11–13. Giacomo Gaetani was born around 1261: Dykmans (1981), p. 25; cf. Frugoni (1954/91), p. 73; Iacopo Stefaneschi (2001), p. VIII.
939 Dykmans (1981), p. 26.
940 On the date of Torriti's mosaics: Romano, Apogeo (2017), pp. 119 n. 11, 121 f.
941 Gandolfo (2004), pp. 43 f.; Gandolfo (2006), p. 286; Schmitz, Cavallini (2013), pp. 245 f.; Giesser, in: Romano, Apogeo (2017), p. 178.
942 As suggested by Gardner, rev. Hetherington (1980), p. 256.

Dale Kinney

Cardinal Pietro Stefaneschi.[943] There may have been other Stefaneschi tombs in that aisle, since the family's houses were on the same side of the basilica and the door into the north transept was likely their normal means of entry.

The lack of a physical connection with the grave does not preclude a commemorative function for the image in the apse. If posthumous, the donor panel necessarily was commissioned by someone else. Schmitz proposed Giacomo Gaetani.[944] The cardinal surely was involved, if only as author of the hexametrical inscription. The inscription naming PETRVS offers another possibility. The paterfamilias Petrus Stephani (Pietro Stefaneschi) lived at least until 1302.[945] Vannini's hunch that PETRVS referred to him, not to the mosaicist, cannot be ruled out: »(Hoc op)VS (fieri fec)IT PETRVS (filius Stephani).«

The mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore and S. Maria in Trastevere are often associated with the rivalry of the Colonna and the Orsini, two families who dominated the contemporary realm of Roman »Klientelismus« and competed in the »benefice market« of the curia.[946] The Colonna played a role in the mosaic decoration of S. Maria Maggiore.[947] The Stefaneschi were clients of the Orsini.[948] Yet it might be more precise to speak of a rivalry of churches than of families.[949] S. Maria in Trastevere had personal significance for the Stefaneschi, whose houses were next to it in the area of the present Piazza di S. Egidio.[950] Bertoldo's immediate relatives were generous benefactors: Petrus Stephani (his father) bequeathed 80 pounds to the community; Paulus Petri Stephani (a brother) bequeathed 40 pounds; Jacoba, the wife of Franciscus Stephani (a nephew) left real estate; and Cardinal Giacomo Gaetani left valuable vestments and a dossal for the altar.[951] The cardinal drew attention to his family's ties to S. Maria in Trastevere in his treatise on the Jubilee (1302): »When the indulgence was decreed I was staying in Trastevere near the church of the Mother of God, formerly called *taberna meritoria*, from where, upon the birth of our Savior, a well of oil is said to have flowed in a wide stream to the Tiber; [this is] the place of my birth and of the origin of my father's family.«[952]

It is not implausible that Bertoldo and Giacomo Gaetani were loath to see the church with which they so strongly identified be outshone by the lavish renovation and adornment of S. Maria Maggiore. Torriti's conch mosaic made its counterpart in S. Maria in Trastevere seem archaic. To recuperate the old mosaic by adding modern imagery and interpretive verses below it could have been an act of family pride. This would explain the prominence

943   Alveri, Della Roma 2 (1664), p. 340: just west of the Cappella del Presepio. For Cardinal Pietro's tomb: Kinney (2016), pp. 339 f.
944   Schmitz, Cavallini (2013), p. 247.
945   Carocci (1993), p. 429. He may have died the following year: Dykmans (1981), p. 46.
946   *Klientelismus*: A. Esch, Rom vom Mittelalter zur Renaissance 1378–1484, Munich 2016, p. 19. Benefice market: Rehberg, Kirche und Macht (1999), pp. 307–316.
947   Giesser, in: Romano, Apogeo (2017), p. 122.
948   Dykmans (1981), pp. 29–31. For Orsini contributions to S. Maria in Trastevere see above, nn. 225–226.
949   Pace, Tradizione (2002), pp. 77–79.
950   Iacopo Stefaneschi (2001), pp. 8–10; Vannini, in: De Benedictis (1976), pp. 963 f.; Navone (1878), p. 226; Schmitz, Cavallini (2013), p. 188.
951   Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 17v (at 5 May): *Ob. d(ominu)s p(etri) steph(a)ni q(ui) rel(iquit) libr(as) LXXX expensas i(n) pastinando Montem Viridem, pro (eius) aniuersario soll xxiiij*; fol. 13v (at 22 March): *ob. p(aulus) d(omi)ni p(e)tr(i) steph(an)i q(ui) rel(iquit) libr(as) XL d(e) q(ui)b(u)s e(m)ta e(st) medietas dom(us) posita i(n) parochia n(ost)ra p(ro)p(e) fu(r)nu(m) p(ro) ei(us) aniuer(sario) soll*; fol. 27v (at 29 July): *Ob. d(omi)na Jacoba yxor quo(n)da(m) francisci d(omi)ni stephanj que reliq(ui)d Ecc(lesi)e Unu(m) palatiu(m) et Una(m) pedic(a)m t(er)re po(s)ita(m) in campo salinj et iura que habebat i(n) domibus platee sce Marie p(ro) a(n)i(m)a sua et parentu(m) suor(um) et tenemur sac(r)am(en)to facere om(n)i anno aniuersarium*; fol. 23v (at 23 June): *Ob. d(omi)nus Jacobus Gaytan(us) s georgij diacon(us) Card(inalis) q(ui) ha(n)c Ecc(lesi)am h(ab)uit i(n) commenda(m) et donauit Ecc(lesi)ae p(u)lcerima pa(ra)m(en)ta S(cilicet) planeta(m) dalmatica(m) et tunicella(m) d(e) dyasporo albo et unu(m) dossale p(ro) altari p(ro) ei(us) aniu(er)s(ar)io*. Necrologi (1908), pp. 91, 93, 97, 95. Informed of an erasure in the entry for 22 March, Egidi reconstructed the name »Franciscus,« but the entry clearly begins with »p.« For Paulus see Carocci, Baroni (1993), p. 430.
952   Iacopo Stefaneschi (2001), pp. 8–10: *Concessa quidem indulgentia cum trans Tiberim iuxta ecclesiam Dei Genitricis, unde in Salvatoris nostri nativitate largo rivo olei fons usque Tiberim scaturisse peribetur, iam dudum Tabernam meritoriam dictam, undeque nobis native ac paterne originis orsus moram traheremus*. Translation adapted from P. G. Schmidt, Das römische Jubeljahr 1300, mit einer Übersetzung von Jacopo Gaetani Stefaneschis De anno iubileo, Stuttgart 2000, p. 19 and Placanica, in: Iacopo Stefaneschi (2001), pp. 9–11.

of the Stefaneschi coat of arms in the panel with the portrait of Bertoldo, a display of heraldry unparalleled in other Roman apse decoration.[953]

Disiecta membra

Among the hundreds of whole and fragmentary objects installed in the porch by Vespignani, three fall within the purview of this Corpus. A marble casket decorated with an image of a striding lion is part of the »Monument of the Five Cardinals« against the south wall, on the west side of the nineteenth-century door (figs. 369, 543). A small tabernacle for the Sacrament (ambry) is over the door (fig. 544). The frame of a marble »cappella« bearing the name Romanus Papareschi is walled into the second masonry pier from the south, under the ancient cinerary chest once used to hold the remains of his Papareschi ancestor, Pope Innocent II (fig. 369, second pier from the right, and fig. 545).[954]

The Five Cardinals' Monument contains the remains of prelates originally buried inside the basilica whose tomb inscriptions were missing or worn away. It consists of a marble-revetted podium inscribed with the cardinals' names and the circumstances of their reburial, and above it, the casket with the lion in relief (fig. 543).[955] Vespignani acquired the casket from the Palazzo Ruffo in Piazza SS. Apostoli in 1868.[956] It was restored at S. Maria in Trastevere by the marble worker Francesco Viti, who found the surface around the lion »irregular with various holes.«[957] He planed it smooth, but the area under the lion's tail is still pitted with small depressions, as is its body. Viti also reworked the recesses that shelter the colonnettes at the corners, and he made the lid.[958] The left side of the box is pierced by two large circular holes, now plugged with marble disks, which may indicate a non-funerary reuse. Its shape is that of an ancient winepress.[959]

The lion strides to the right, leading with its right front paw. Its tail curls up in a simple circle, and the tuft of fur at the end of it is barely indicated with straight etched lines. The relief is fairly flat and much of the animal's musculature also is defined by chiseled lines. A circular or spherical ornament below the beast's chin must be hanging around its neck, although there is no indication of a strap. Jutta Stroszek identified a similar ornament on an ancient lion as a bulla, positing that it denoted an association with the amphitheater.[960]

Cecchelli described the lion as a heraldic motif (»leone passante«) and tentatively assigned it to the fourteenth century. He speculated that the sculptor reused an ancient slab of marble, scraping away the surface around the lion.[961] Hans Wentzel considered the »dignified, magnificent« lion an exceptional example of twelfth- and thirteenth-century »Antiken-Imitation«, and claimed that only the corner colonnettes show that the relief is medieval rather than a genuine antiquity.[962] Claussen too stressed the lion's classicizing and heraldic character, dating it to

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953 Pace, Committenza (1998), repr. in: Pace, Arte a Roma (2000), p. 193.
954 On the cinerary chest: above n. 181.
955 Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 377 no. 1169: QVORVM CORPORA IN HAC IPSA BASILICA REQVIESCVNT | PRAEFECTI NOVOR. OPER. CVM SACRA AEDES REFICERETVR | SEPVLCRORVM TITVLIS AVT NON EXSTANTIBVS AVT VETVSTATE DETRITIS | MEMORIAE HONORISQVE CAVSSA PON. CVR. A. MDCCCLXVIII. See Kinney (2016), p. 344. The Five Cardinals' Monument is confused with the monument of the Campeggi cardinals, in: Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler 2 (1994), p. 3. The Campeggi monument is on the other side of the door; Cecchelli (1933?), p. 79.
956 Giustificazioni 1868, Filza 14: »Il sottos(critto) Architetto Direttore dei Lavori […] proponeva l' acquisto di un' antico sarcofago in marmo con scultura di un leone sulla fronte, esistente nel cortile del Palazzo posto sulla Piazza de' SS. Apostoli di proprietà dell'Ecc(ellentissim)a Prelatura Ruffo come adatto ad essere applicato al d(ett)o restauro.« Palazzo Ruffo, now called Guglielmi Gori, was built for a member of the Cybo family in the sixteenth century.
957 Viti (after 7,067): »Sotto il portico nella parte a sinistra Monumento dei cinque cardinali […] Ridotto il sarcofagro (sic) di marmo greco che riposa sopra il […] zoccolo […] Nel prospetto avanti, essendoci un Lione in basso rilievo, ed essendo il piano che forma fondo irregolare con varii buchi, si è fatto di nuovo ad' intraguardo in pelle piana lunga raguagliata pel defalco di quella che occupa il Leone 1.60 […] più fatto di nuovo le due gusci che uniscono alle colonne in angolo.«
958 Viti (after 7,067): »Per aver fatto col marmo greco rustico della Chiesa il coperchio che cuopre la detta urna.«
959 Stroszek (1998), pp. 15–24, 26 f., 31 fig. 2.
960 Stroszek (1998), p. 36, pl. 27,2.
961 Cecchelli (1933?), p. 79.
962 Wentzel, Antiken-Imitationen (1955), pp. 38 fig. 8, 41.

Fig. 543: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, porch, lion sarcophagus against south wall (photo Kinney 2016)

the thirteenth century and comparing it to the image on a late-thirteenth-century silver coin issued by the senate.[963] Gardner emphatically assigned the relief to the early part of the same century.[964]

Despite its classicizing character, ancient comparisons for the sarcophagus are few. The genre of »Lion sarcophagi« made between about 250 and 310 is predominantly adorned with beasts attacking prey; when striding lions appear, they are wrapped around the ends of tub-shaped containers.[965] Their maws gape ferociously and their manes are agitated by running drill work. Sometimes, »thirsty lions« symmetrically posed on either side of a cantharus were carved on the rear of sarcophagi with non-leonine subjects on the front, such as the third-century Muse sarcophagus seen in the fifteenth century in S. Paolo fuori le mura.[966] Two features of the Muse sarcophagus suggest that the medieval sculptor may have studied it: the relief of the lions is unfinished, and there are columns at the corners.[967] The rough state of the model could explain both the linear articulation of the lion in Trastevere and the failure to remove the marble inside its maw, which diminishes the effect of the fangs.

Outside this corpus is a magnificent solitary striding lion made for a second-century tomb seen in Tivoli in the sixteenth century, which, according to Pirro Ligorio, comprised a marble sarcophagus atop a chamber of

963 Claussen, Magistri (1987), p. 124 n. 702; followed by Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler 2 (1994), pp. 3 f. For the coin: Pietrangeli, Rione X, 2 (1976), p. 45.
964 Gardner, Roman Crucible (2013), p. 117.
965 Stroszek (1998), pp. 34–36, 128–131, pls. 22–27. My thanks to Ann Kuttner and Brian Rose for their expert advice about ancient sarcophagi.
966 Wegner (1966), pp. 50–52 no. 128, pls. 87–89; Le Sculture (1985), pp. 51–57 no. II,2; Stroszek (1998), p. 34. The sarcophagus is now in the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme; I am grateful to Daniela Mondini and Giorgia Pollio for bringing it to my attention.
967 Wegner (1966), p. 51: »ganz grob in Bossen angelegt.«

squared travertine blocks.[968] Just as in Trastevere, the right-striding lion commanded one side of the sarcophagus. Its pose is not quite the same, however, so the medieval sculptor may have known another example of the same type, perhaps a non-funerary one, as indicated by the bulla.[969] Claussen's comparison with coinage also is apt; beginning with the »grosso romanino« introduced by Brancaleone degli Andalò between 1252 and 1258, left-striding lions consistently occupied the obverse of silver coins issued by the Roman senate.[970] Pursuit of these and other such resemblances might clarify the date, function, and significance of the sarcophagus from Palazzo Ruffo.

The ambry (fig. 544) is of a well-known type represented by other examples in SS. Cosma e Damiano, S. Crisogono, and S. Maria Egiziaca.[971] Claussen dated them to the first half of the thirteenth century.[972] Like the others, the ambry at S. Maria in Trastevere is an aedicula with a pedimented front. The pediment is borne by two stout columns with double Attic bases, spiral flutes, and Corinthianizing capitals. The columns stand on a low stylobate and support a simple architrave. As at SS. Cosma e Damiano, the pediment sits directly on the architrave, without the intervening sculpted cornice seen at S. Crisogono and

Fig. 544: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, porch, ambry in south wall
(photo Kinney 2009)

S. Maria Egiziaca. Between the columns is the rectangular frame of a doorway into a rectangular recess. The door is gone but parts of its metal hinges remain. Like its mates, the ambry originally was encrusted with mosaic. The stylobate, architrave, pediment, column shafts, and door frame all contain hollows to receive mosaic inlay. Mosaic also

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968   G. Conti, Disegni dall' antico agli Uffizi »Architettura 6875–7135«, in: RIASA ser. 3, 5, 1982, pp. 5–129, pls. I–CXXII, esp. 82 n. 263, quoting Cod. Taurinensis XXII: »è un gran Pilo del marmo pario sopraposto ad un gran Casamento di sassi quadrati Tiburtini, onde di mezzo rilieuo si uede un gran Leone scolpito di mirabil maestria«; P. S. Bartoli, Gli antichi sepolcri ovvero mausolei romani, ed etruschi, Trovati in Roma & in altri luoghi celebri […], Rome 1704, p. XI no. 49, pl. 49; H. von Hesberg, Römische Grabbauten, Darmstadt 1992, pp. 178 f.; P. Laubscher, Ein griechisches Grabrelief als Ruhmesdenkmal der Barberini, in: Römische Mitteilungen DAI 100, 1993, pp. 43–57, pls. 1–6, esp. 56 f., pl. 6,3. The tomb was dismantled in the 1630s and the relief is now in the stairwell of Palazzo Barberini: Magnanimi (1983), pp. 127–131.
969   The right hind leg of the Tivoli lion is forward rather than back, and its tail curls down around its leg rather than up.
970   A. M. Stahl, Rome during Avignon. The Silver Coinage of Rome in the Fourteenth Century, in: I ritrovamenti monetali e i processi inflativi nel mondo antico e medievale. Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica e di Storia Monetaria, Padua 2007, ed. by M. Asolati, G. Gorini, Padua 2008, pp. 151–169, esp. 152, 160.
971   SS. Cosma e Damiano: Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 371 f.; S. Crisogono: Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 407 f.; S. Maria Egiziaca: Yorck von Wartenburg, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), pp. 289 f. There is a fourth example at S. Sabina.
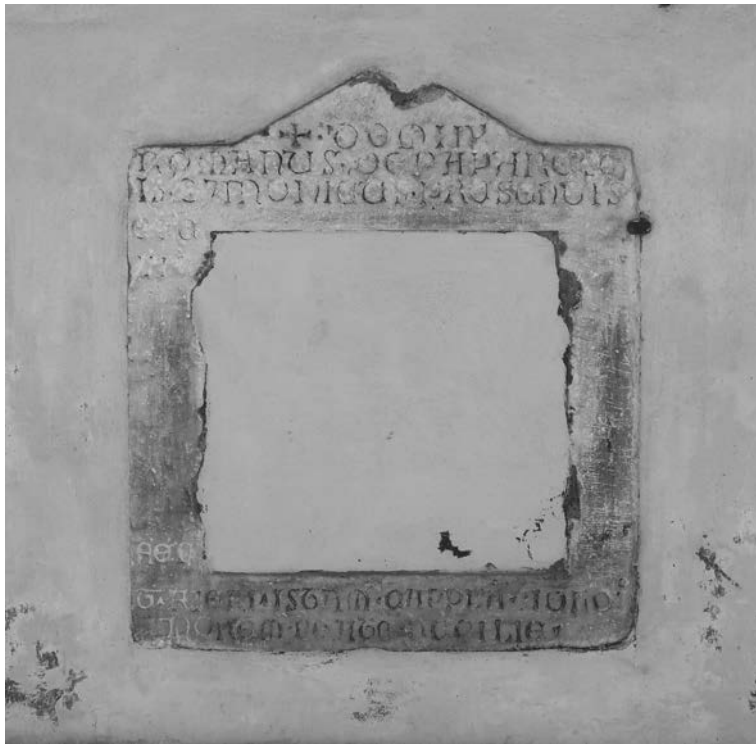972   Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), p. 407 n. 106.

Fig. 545: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, porch, »cappella« of Romanus Papareschi (photo Kinney 2023)

may have covered the outer sides of the box and perhaps the interior walls of the cavity. Not a tessera remains; all have been deliberately picked out.

The tabernacles are thought to have been a response to the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) that the chrism and the Eucharist should be kept in a secure container with keys, to prevent profane hands from touching them.[973] The only ambry still in its original location, at S. Clemente (1299), is just out of reach on the wall adjoining the apse.[974] The equivalent location in S. Maria in Trastevere is behind the tomb of Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz, who died in 1579 (fig. 477). Because of its relatively small size, the large scale of S. Maria in Trastevere, and the intervening transept, the tabernacle would have been all but invisible in this position had it been there. Perhaps it was made for a chapel. Wherever it was, it probably was displaced in or before the fifteenth century. The handsome tabernacle inscribed »Opus Mini,« made around 1460 and now on the wall below the campanile, exemplifies a trend that made the medieval ambries obsolete.[975]

The third object appears to be the frame of a square window or niche (fig. 545). The inner edges of the uprights are jagged, suggesting that something inside the niche was roughly chipped out. The upper frame is abraded, damaging the inscription that begins there and is completed on the bottom, with two words (ECCLIE and FECI) spilling onto the left upright: »Lord Romanus de Papareschis, canon of the present church, had this chapel made in honor of Blessed Cecilia.«[976] Forcella assigned the inscription to the twelfth century, and Di Carpegna Falconieri identified the donor with the »presbyter Romanus« commemorated in a twelfth-century hand on 25 October of the Martyrology.[977] Neither this Romanus nor three others named in the Necrology is designated Papareschi, and there is no other record of a chapel of S. Cecilia in S. Maria in Trastevere.[978] Nor is it clear what form this »cappella« may have taken.

973   Quoted by Boyle, Ambry (1978), p. 37 n. 2; Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), p. 344 n. 181.

974   The ambry is 1.7 m above the pavement: Boyle, Ambry (1978), p. 37. Cf. Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), p. 338 fig. 267.

975   Cecchelli (1933?), pp. 104 f.; Zuraw (1993), pp. 532–545; it was later used to house holy oil. The tabernacle was acquired from S. Maria sopra Minerva in the eighteenth century: F. Caglioti, Altari eucaristici scolpiti del primo Rinascimento. Qualche caso maggiore, in: Lo Spazio e il culto. Relazioni tra edificio ecclesiale e uso liturgico dal XV al XVI secolo, ed. by J. Stabenow, Venice 2006, pp. 53–89, esp. 54; cf. F. Baldinucci Fiorentino, Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua, ed. by G. Piacenza, vol. 2, Turin 1770, p. 157. Baldinucci saw it in the vestibule to the sacristy of S. Maria in Trastevere, where it remained until Vespignani moved it to its present location.

976   Forcella, Iscrizioni 2 (1873), p. 338 no. 1037: + DOMIN(VS) | ROMANVS DE PAPARESC|IS CANONICVS PRESENTIS | ECC|L(ES)IE FECI|T FIERI ISTAM CAPPEL(L)A(M) AD HONº|NOREM (sic) BEATE CECILIE.

977   Di Carpegna Falconieri, Clero (2002), p. 127 n. 92; Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 37v: *Romanus p(res)-b(ite)r obiit*; Necrologi (1908), p. 100.

978   Martyrologium, British Library, Add MS 14801, fol. 11 (at 22 February): *p(res)b(iter) Roman(us) f(rate)r n(oster)* (dated by Egidi to the thirteenth century: Necrologi [1908], pp. 90–91); fol. 22v (at 17 June): *Roman(us) archip(res)b(ite)r* (omitted by Egidi); fol. 44v (at 26 December): *Romanus f(rate)r n(oste)r obiit*. Necrologi (1908), p. 102.

CONCLUSION

S. Maria in Trastevere was erected by Pope Innocent II between 1140 and 24 September 1143, when he died. The building, the apse mosaic, and the paving of the transept were completed in his lifetime, and he consecrated the altar of the *praesepium*. Work stalled after his death. The main altar was consecrated by Pope Innocent III in 1215, and even then the nave pavement and some of the liturgical furniture may have been lacking. Stylistic features indicate that the cathedra was made around 1240/50, and the east half of the nave pavement could have been designed around the same time. The addition of a figural mosaic to the façade spanned the second half of the thirteenth century, concluding around the time Pietro Cavallini added a suite of brilliant new mosaics to the apse. As far as we know, none of the thirteenth-century embellishments was initiated by a pope or cardinal. The spectacular consecration at the beginning of the century seems to have spurred the patronage of the basilica's local constituencies, canons and *populus*. The façade mosaics were sponsored by a succession of canons and parishioners, and Cavallini's work was commissioned by a member of the region's dominant family, Bertoldo Stefaneschi.

The twelfth-century basilica is considered the consummate architectural expression of its era in Rome, the »most important« transept basilica of the twelfth century, with an apse mosaic that is the »apex of Gregorian art.«[979] Befitting its status as a papal foundation, it is a grander and more lavish version of a type that had originated not long before at nearby S. Crisogono, as it was reconstructed by Cardinal John of Crema immediately after the Concordat of Worms (1123–1129).[980] The thinking behind this design would have been known to Innocent II, because John of Crema was his longtime colleague in the cardinalate and a member of his curia until he died in the early 1130s.[981] The distinctive features of the type are the non-projecting transept, the columns under the triumphal arch, the trabeated colonnades with granite shafts and Ionic capitals in the nave, and the trabeated porch (fig. 441).[982]

The trabeated porch was a new form introduced at S. Crisogono.[983] The other features echo Rome's Constantinian basilicas: St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and St. John Lateran.[984] Although de Blaauw suggested that the transept may have been inspired by the Lateran, its broad proportions clearly echo St. Paul's, where the depth of the transept equaled the width of the nave.[985] The reuse of the Pauline transept was not a new idea. It had occurred in the ninth century at S. Stefano degli Abissini, complete with the signature columns under the triumphal arch. In the eleventh century a similarly deep transept (without the columns) was part of the small church of S. Maria in Portico, whose altar was consecrated by Pope Gregory VII in 1073.[986] Barclay Lloyd traced the transept of S. Maria in Portico to the recently rebuilt abbey church of Montecassino, calling it the »missing link« between Montecassino and the architectural revival of early Christian models in eleventh- and twelfth-century Rome.[987]

The design of S. Crisogono made more complicated use of early Christian models, combining the Pauline transept with a trabeated nave elevation and a reference to St. Peter's in the number of columns in the colonnades (11 per side, half the 22 of St. Peter's). The builders of S. Maria in Trastevere made the Petrine allusion more explicit by adding columns at the ends of the aisles. In their material and the Ionic order the nave colonnades may have looked

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979   Poeschke, Kirchenbau (1988), p. 21; Claussen, Renovatio (1992), p. 117; Riccioni (2011), p. 88.

980   Poeschke, Kirchenbau (1988), pp. 14–18; Claussen, Renovatio (1992), pp. 99–118; Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 408 f.

981   John of Crema is last documented on 8 March 1132; he was surely dead by January 1137: S. Freund, Giovanni da Crema, in: DBI, vol. 55 (2001), URL: https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-da-crema_(Dizionario-Biografico)/ [30. 04. 2021].

982   Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), p. 388 fig. 311.

983   Poeschke, Kirchenbau (1988), pp. 18 f.; Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 394–396.

984   Although the basilica known to twelfth-century observers was a work of the late fourth century, St. Paul's was considered Constantinian because Constantine was its first founder; Camerlenghi, St. Paul's (2018), pp. 32–35.

985   De Blaauw, Reception (2011), p. 162. De Blaauw posited a transept inserted into the cathedral by Anacletus II. If it existed, it would have been narrow: P. C. Claussen, The Remodelling of San Giovanni in Laterano by Pope Nicholas IV. Transept, Apse and Façade, in: Saint John Lateran (2020), pp. 318–344, esp. 335–337. On the proportions of St. Paul's transept: Camerlenghi, St. Paul's (2018), pp. 56–58.

986   Barclay Lloyd, S. Maria in Portico (1981), pls. 1–2.

987   Barclay Lloyd, S. Maria in Portico (1981), pp. 104–106; followed by Poeschke, Kirchenbau (1988), pp. 5 f.; Claussen, Renovatio (1992), pp. 88–94; Claussen, in: Kirchen Roms 4 (2020), p. 387.

to the Lateran Cathedral, which, according to the latest reconstruction, had granite shafts and Ionic capitals.[988] These features distinguished the Lateran from St. Peter's, where the colonnades had variegated shafts, and from St. Paul's, where the shafts were of white and pavonazzetto marble and the colonnades carried arches. Although the evidence for the Lateran's all-Ionic capitals is not robust, the twelfth-century parallels support it.[989] Only S. Maria Maggiore offered an alternative model for Ionic colonnades, and its shafts are white.

Despite the number of ingredients, the design is not a pastiche. It synthesizes patriarchal exemplars to create an ideal form of titular church, with a grand, antique-looking interior perfectly suited to the medieval stational liturgy. The relatively deep transept could accommodate a large number of clergy celebrating *versus populum*, easily visible from the nave on its elevated pavement. The evocation of patriarchal precedents intimated conformity with papal ceremony and magnified the authority of any celebrant who processed through the nave.

Claussen brought out another aspect of this architectural type when he observed that the orthogonal effect of its trabeated colonnades creates »a column-lined triumphal way leading through the triumphal arch to the altar and the papal throne.«[990] Contextualized in the aftermath of the Concordat of Worms, the design appears to be the architectural expression of the political triumph of the papacy over secular control.[991] At S. Maria in Trastevere the design must have evoked a new triumph over the internal menace of schism. According to the *Legenda in consecratione*, the basilica was a thank-offering made by Pope Innocent II in gratitude for God's favor in this combat. The apse mosaic visualizes his victory as the triumph of the Church restored to the embrace of her Spouse. This is how the canons who inhabited the basilica, reading the Legendary year after year, were taught to perceive it.

The profusion of antique spolia at S. Maria in Trastevere is commonly understood as an expression of the »imperial papacy,« of which Innocent II is held to have been a prime exponent.[992] Again the *Legenda* suggests a somewhat different interpretation: the »glorious columns and glorious capitals« were »befitting the glorious Virgin Mary Mother of God« as well as the honor of the papacy.[993] In the terms of the apse mosaic, the spolia adorned the »brilliant palace« (*regia*) that the pope erected for the Mother of Christ.[994] In that sense the architectural ornaments were regal rather than imperial, Biblical rather than political.[995] Even in their historical dimension the spolia may not have had specifically imperial connotations. The *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, which identified S. Maria in Trastevere as the successor of the *Templum Ravennantium*, described the temples and palaces of ancient Rome as belonging to »emperors, consuls, senators, and prefects of the time of the pagans.«[996] For this author, who wrote for a member of Innocent's curia, the spolia would have brought to mind »the time of the pagans« as much as the men who dwelt in the palaces.

The closing words of the *Mirabilia* extol the lost ancient buildings for their beauty »of gold and silver, bronze and ivory and precious stones.«[997] Claussen observed that such twelfth-century aesthetic preferences were folded into Rome's image of her own antiquity, inspiring medieval patrons and craftsmen seeking an art of *renovatio*.[998] The realization of this dream aesthetic can be found in the art of the Roman *marmorarii*. The patron and builders

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988 Granite shafts: Bosman, Constantine's Spolia (2020), esp. 174–180, 193 fig. 9.13; L. Bosman, P. Liverani, I. Peverett, I. P. Haynes, Visualising the Constantinian Basilica, in: Saint John Lateran (2020), pp. 134–167, esp. 148 f., fig. 8.8. Previous reconstructions generally posited capitals of mixed orders, e. g., Brandenburg, Kirchen (2004), pl. II.9.

989 The only evidence for Ionic (rather than mixed-order) colonnades is an anonymous description from the time of Pope Alexander VII (1655–1667) published by Lauer, Latran (1911), p. 585: »La Basilica era distinta in cinq: navi, e quella di mezzo […] con mura sostenute da trenta colonne d'ordine ionico.« Claussen, Kirchen, S. Giovanni (2008), pp. 167 f. considered the notice insufficient to support a reconstruction.

990 Claussen, Renovatio (1992), p. 99.

991 Claussen, Renovatio (1992), pp. 99–118; Claussen, Kirchen A–F (2002), pp. 408 f. For the »school« of Roman churches inspired by S. Crisogono see Poeschke, Kirchenbau (1988), pp. 16–22.

992 Kinney, Patronage (2016), p. 388.

993 Above, n. 191.

994 Above, n. 832.

995 On the distinction between regal and imperial see Kinney (2012), pp. 14 f.

996 Mirabilia Urbis Romae, in: Valentini/Zucchetti, Codice 3 (1946), p. 65: *templa et palatia imperatorum, consulum, senatorum, praefectorumque tempore paganorum in hac Romana urbe.*

997 Mirabilia Urbis Romae, in: Valentini/Zucchetti, Codice 3 (1946), p. 65: *Quantae etiam essent pulchritudinis auri et argenti, aeris et eboris pretiosorumque lapidum.*

998 Claussen, Marmo (2002), pp. 151 f.; Claussen, Kirchen, S. Giovanni (2008), p. 89.

of S. Maria in Trastevere operated in a different mode, creating the revival of the past with real antiquities. The absence of contemporary ornament attributable to the marble-working families is striking; not a single signature has been recorded. This raises the question of who was responsible for the marble spolia.

Once they arrived at the building site, the spolia had to be adapted for reuse. The long frieze was sectioned to serve as door jambs and entablatures, and many cornices were cut into pieces to serve as modillions. The heights of some capitals were adjusted, and elements of the niche on the north transept wall had to be reworked. These adaptations required skill, but as in the nineteenth century, they could have been made by a scalpellino – an expert marble carver lacking the status of an artist. There must have been many such artisans active in the »cantieri« of the first half of the twelfth century, at S. Clemente, S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Crisogono, lesser churches, and secular buildings. The decorative marblework of chancels, door frames, and liturgical furniture seems to have been a separate enterprise, which arose around 1100 and was executed by craftsmen who signed their work. Claussen noted a change in the signatures around mid-century, when the sons of the *opifex* Paulus began calling themselves *marmorarii* and *magistri*.[999] By the end of the twelfth century *marmorarii* were active as builders. The first was Paulus's grandson Nicolaus Angeli, who signed the porch of the Lateran Cathedral (1180–1200). The porch had a tall spoliate colonnade with ancient Corinthian capitals.[1000]

The twelfth-century capitals in S. Maria in Trastevere (figs. 451–454) suggest a bridge between the two phases of production by the *marmorarii*. Made at least a decade before the capitals at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, they are of the same type and similar facture.[1001] They indicate a phase of cross-over, when *marmorarii* like Nicolaus Angeli learned to work on a monumental scale by collaborating with scalpellini and builders, and/or ambitious scalpellini began to undertake original carving on the model of the *marmorarii*. As a site of such opportunities, S. Maria in Trastevere was both the culmination of the spolia-aesthetic of the first half of the twelfth century and a site of its incipient transformation.

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999 Claussen, Magistri (1987), pp. 13 f.
1000 Claussen, Magistri (1987), pp. 19–28; Claussen, Kirchen, S. Giovanni (2008), pp. 63–77; A. M. De Strobel, N. Bernacchio, The Medieval Portico of Saint John Lateran, in: Saint John Lateran (2020), pp. 276–293. The same artist signed the lowest story of the cathedral tower in Gaeta.
1001 Above, n. 595.
1002 ACSMT = Archivio Capitolare di S. Maria in Trastevere, ASD, Rome.

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