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The Paradigm of Spolia

Dale Kinney

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MITTELALTERLICHE MYTHENREZEPTION

PARADIGMEN UND PARADIGMENWECHSEL

ULRICH REHM (HG.)

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The Paradigm of *spolia*

DALE KINNEY

The gods of classical mythology were kept alive by medieval artists who drew and painted them, and they also survived in their original form as *spolia*. This paper considers an instance of *spolia* in twelfth-century Rome, a set of third-century Ionic capitals bearing images of Isis and Serapis that was reused in the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere. The incorporation of these pagan capitals in the colonnades of a Christian church was enabled by a paradigm change in the twelfth century – the so-called ‘renaissance’ of that era – but the interpretation of their reuse depends on paradigms articulated eight hundred years later. Those interpretive paradigms are the subject of the first two sections of this paper.

Disjunction

For much of the twentieth century, the paradigm governing the study of myth reception in medieval art was the well-known article by Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl published in 1933.¹ Their work was itself governed by larger paradigms, including Jacob Burckhardt’s conception of the Renaissance as “the discovery both of the world and of man”, Ernst Cassirer’s view of man as a producer of symbolic meanings, and Aby Warburg’s ideas of “pathos formulas” and the *Nachleben* of classical antiquity.² As these larger paradigms would predict, Saxl and Panofsky found that the classical “idea” was “reintegrated” in the Renaissance following its disintegration in the middle ages, when a different view of the individual prevailed. In their words, “the mediaeval mind [was] incapable of realizing [...] the unity of classical form and classical subject matter”, to the extent that the image of “a classical Thisbe sitting by a classical mausoleum” would have been incomprehensible to mediaeval artists and viewers.³ The Renaissance

1 Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, *Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art*, in: *Metropolitan Museum Studies* IV, 1933, 228–280.

2 Burckhardt as quoted by Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History*, Ithaca NY/London 1984, 33.

3 Panofsky and Saxl (as in n. 1), 268.

reintegration of classical form and content was “a symptom of the general evolution which led to the rediscovery of man as a natural being stripped of his protecting cover of symbolism and conventionality”.⁴

The authors derived from their observations a “general formula” for medieval representations of classical myth, which was a corollary of Saxl’s theory of reintegration.⁵

Wherever a mythological subject was connected with antiquity by a representational tradition, its types either sank into oblivion or, through assimilation to Romanesque and Gothic forms, became unrecognizable.⁶

Panofsky later gave this formula a memorable name, the “principle of disjunction”, and in 1960 he offered a more elegant statement of its operation:

Wherever in the high and later Middle Ages a work of art borrows its form from a classical model, this form is almost invariably invested with a non-classical, normally Christian, significance; wherever in the high and later Middle Ages a work of art borrows its theme from classical poetry, legend, history or mythology, this theme is quite invariably presented in a non-classical, normally contemporary, form.⁷

Panofsky identified a few exceptions to the principle or “law” of disjunction, including “the special domain of glyptography” and medieval depictions of pagan idols. With regard to glyptics, he acknowledged that medieval lapidaries (treatises on the properties of stones) describe the mythological iconographies found on ancient gems as constituents of the stones’ beneficent powers, but he insisted that “mediaeval patrons and artists were still inclined, unknowingly or on purpose, to misinterpret the subject” of these carvings in a Christian sense. He called such misinterpretations *interpretatio christiana*.⁸ Depictions of idols were exemplified by the statue now called *Spinario* (Thorn-puller), a bronze version of which was displayed in the middle ages outside the cathedral of St. John in the Lateran in Rome (fig. 1).⁹ Panofsky took the many medieval images of thorn-pullers to be derivatives from this statue and expansions of its negative connotations.¹⁰

Resistance to Panofsky’s work emerged in the 1960s and intensified in the 1970s and 1980s in the wake of the ‘new’ art history – political, anti-institutional, and receptive to lit-

4 Ibid.

5 Katia Mazzucco, Fritz Saxl. Transformation and Reconfiguration of Pagan Gods in Medieval Art, in: *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, ed. Colum Hourihane, London/New York 2017, 89–104 (96).

6 Panofsky and Saxl (as in n. 1), 263.

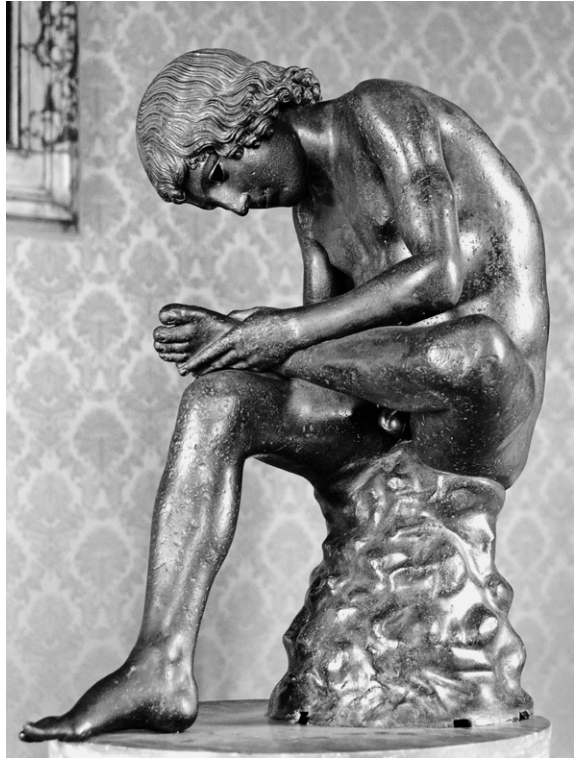
7 Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art. Text*, Stockholm 1960, 84. According to Warnke the *Disjunktionsprinzip* was first presented orally in 1927: Martin Warnke, L’histoire de l’art en tant qu’art, in: Roland Recht, Martin Warnke et al., *Relire Panofsky*, Paris 2008, 37–65, esp. 51–52.

8 Panofsky (as in n. 7), 88; cf. Dale Kinney, Interpretatio christiana, in: *Maxima debetur magistro reverentia. Essays on Rome and the Roman Tradition in Honor of Russell T. Scott*, ed. Paul B. Harvey Jr. and Catherine Conybeare, Como 2009, 117–125.

9 Richard Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton 1980), Princeton 2000, 189, 192–197; Ingo Herklotz, Der Campus Lateranensis im Mittelalter, in: *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* XXII, 1985, 1–43 (33). The statue is now in the Capitoline Museums.

10 Panofsky (as in n. 7), 89.

1 Thorn-Puller (Spinario), 1st c. CE(?),
Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori



erary, psychoanalytic, feminist, Marxist, and other extrinsic bodies of theory – and the ensuing emergence of the framework of ‘visual culture’.¹¹ Critics disliked the elite humanist (masculine) context of Panofsky’s interpretations, the bracketing of material and aesthetic considerations in the effort to separate form from content, and the rigorous systematization of his methods.¹² To some scholars the relatively unsystematic approach of Aby Warburg now seems a more relevant paradigm.¹³ Georges Didi-Huberman called Warburg the *dybbuk* of Panofsky’s art history, the ghost that had to be exorcised in order to transform the study of art into a rational system.¹⁴ He specified that it was not the person of Warburg that Panofsky

11 Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History. A critical introduction*, London/New York 2001.

12 Warnke 2008 (as in n. 7), 48–59.

13 Keith Moxey, Visual Studies and the Iconic Turn, in: *Journal of Visual Culture* VII, 2008, 131–146 (135); Colleen Becker, Aby Warburg’s *Pathosformel* as methodological paradigm, in: *Journal of Art Historiography* IX, 2013, 1–25. For a recent application of Warburg’s method see Francisco Prado-Vilar, Tragedy’s Forgotten Beauty: the Medieval Return of Orestes, in: *Life, Death and Representation. Some New Work on Roman Sarcophagi*, ed. Jas Elsner and Janet Huskinson, Berlin/New York 2011, 83–118, discussed below.

14 Georges Didi-Huberman, L’Exorciste, in: Roland Recht, Martin Warnke et al., *Relire Panofsky*, Paris 2008, 67–87. This is an expanded version of the preface to the English edition of the author’s *Devant*

had to exorcise but the essence of his conception of *Nachleben*: the power of art to haunt, to adhere to another form.

A surviving image is an image that, having lost its original use value and meaning, nonetheless comes back, like a ghost, at a particular historical moment: a moment of ‘crisis’, a moment when it demonstrates its latency, its tenacity, its vivacity, and its ‘anthropological adhesion’, so to speak.¹⁵

Thus, according to Didi-Huberman, the seminal article of 1933 opposed “survival” to “renaissance” in a hierarchical relationship: the *basse catégorie*, survival, belonged to the middle ages; the *haute catégorie* was renaissance, equated with the Renaissance, the time of reintegration. Survival entailed an “unredeemed ghost” while the Renaissance brought about a resurrection. Didi-Huberman noted that this opposition was in reality the statement of an aesthetic preference, elevated to the status of a scientific principle.¹⁶

The medievalist Michael Camille also objected that the rationalist mode of interpretation championed by Panofsky and – for the high middle ages – by Émile Mâle is inadequate to explain the potency of images and ignores the ideological frame within which all images are produced and received. In *The Gothic Idol*, published in 1989, he proposed a new paradigm for interpreting images of mythological figures in medieval (Gothic) art based on the premise that visual representations, ranging from signs like the Sacraments to statues, have power that had to be authorized or constrained, depending on their conformity or not to prevailing mores.

Pictorial representation could ... be a forceful weapon against the idols of the Other because, by re-presenting the representation of those alien cultures within its own visual value-system, the Christian Church could control and ultimately negate them by means of distortion, incompleteness, and effacement.¹⁷

Camille’s paradigm subtly shifts the agency at work in the persistence of images of the gods of classical mythology. It was not (just) a matter of the gods’ survival, but of Christians’ need to keep them alive in order to define their own images against them: “[idols] were necessary, and therefore represented, in order to assert the dominance of another set of images – those of the Christian Church.”¹⁸ Idols were thus “anti-images”, “provid[ing] self-definition for a culture in which the visible was still tied to the supernatural...”¹⁹

The Others in Camille’s account are Pagans, Saracens, and Jews. In a section called “The Gothic Anti-image” he devoted a chapter to the idols of each. After tracing the long history of the Judeo-Christian belief that “all the gods of the Gentiles are devils” (Ps. 95.5) and the medieval conviction that demons inhabited their images (Isidore of Seville: “demons substituted themselves [in images of humans] to be worshipped”), Camille argued that medieval

l’image: Confronting Images. Questioning the Ends of a Certain History of Art, trans. John Goodman, University Park PA 2005, xv–xxvi.

15 Didi-Huberman 2005 (as in n. 14), xxii; cf. Didi-Huberman 2008 (as in n. 14), 76.

16 Didi-Huberman 2008 (as in n. 14), 78–81.

17 Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol. Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge/New York etc. 1989, xxvi.

18 *Ibid.*, 71–72.

19 *Ibid.*, 72.

artists and viewers “neutralized” the power of antique images by two strategies: “allegorical reclassification” and “aesthetic appropriation”.²⁰ Nudity posed a special problem. The Genesis myth equates the sight of nakedness with sin (Gen. 3.7: “And the eyes of them both were opened: and [...] they perceived themselves to be naked”).²¹ The sight of a nude statue could activate “yet another level of power – [the] capacity to arouse [...] physical feelings”.²² Medieval depictions of naked statues evoked this power in order to combat it, but confrontation with the statues themselves could be unsettling. The *Spinario*, a naked boy described by one medieval author as having “genitals of extraordinary size”, took on “a whole culture’s perception of genital sexuality”.²³ It was for this reason, according to Camille, that it became ‘a standard sign of infamy’ and was so frequently represented in medieval art.

Camille’s paradigm affirms the “principle of disjunction” but re-values it. A disjunction of classical form from its content did occur, but viewed from the perspective of medieval rather than Renaissance ideology, the “deformation” of the pagan gods was “one of their most radical reformations”. Medieval artists “re-creat[ed] the gods in their own terms”, showing a capacity “constantly to reinvent rather than refer to meaning”. When medieval disjunctions are understood in relation to the purposes for which each separate image was produced, “form and content were very much united”. The deployment of mythological subject matter in high medieval art must be understood as effecting a “transfer of power”.²⁴

Spolia

A third paradigm for understanding the reception of mythological imagery in the middle ages was put forth in 1969 by the German historian Arnold Esch.²⁵ It has been largely ignored in iconographic scholarship because it pertains to *spolia* – antique objects physically, rather than mimetically, reused. The most common form of *spolia* was architectural, such as the Roman columns and capitals famously transported to Aachen to be reused in Charle-

20 Psalm 95.5 (“quoniam omnes dii gentium daemonia at vero Dominus caelos fecit”); quoted in the Douay-Rheims translation (><http://www.drbo.org/index.htm><; accessed 6 March 2017); Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, VIII.11 (“Simulacrorum usus exortus est, cum ex desiderio mortuorum constituerentur imagines vel effigies, tamquam in caelum receptis, pro quibus se in terris daemones colendi supposuerunt, et sibi sacrificari a deceptis et perditis persuaserunt”; ><http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/isidore.html><, accessed 6 March 2017); quoted in the translation by S. A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and O. Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, Cambridge/New York etc. 2006, 184; Camille 1989 (as in n. 17), 74.

21 Genesis 3.7 (“Et aperti sunt oculi amborum; cumque cognovissent se esse nudos, consuerunt folia ficus, et fecerunt sibi perizomata”); quoted in the Douay-Rheims translation (as in n. 20).

22 Camille (as in n. 17), 84.

23 *Magister Gregorius (12e ou 13e siècle). Narracio de mirabilibus Urbis Romae*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Leiden 1970, 18; trans. John Osborne, *Master Gregorius. The Marvels of Rome*, Toronto 1987, 23, 53–54; Camille (as in n. 17), 85–86.

24 Camille 1989 (as in n. 17), 102, 114.

25 Arnold Esch, Spolien. Zur Wiederverwendung antiker Baustücke und Skulpturen im mittelalterlichen Italien, in: *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* LI, 1969, 1–64.

magne's Chapel at Aachen (Farbabb. 32) and those of any medieval church in Rome beginning with Constantine's Lateran Cathedral. The reuse of figural *spolia* was less common. As Esch pointed out, the middle ages had little use for statues ("a statue is extremely unpractical"), and most of them were melted down (if bronze) or burned for lime (if marble).²⁶ The bronze *Spinario* survived because of an exceptional effort of preservation by one or more early medieval popes, who assembled a collection of totemic bronze objects that was displayed in a space outside the papal palace in Rome. In addition to *Spinario* this collection included the equestrian statue of 'Constantine' (Marcus Aurelius), a colossal head of Constantine, an orb, and the she-wolf who suckled Romulus and Remus.²⁷ Other exceptions to the discarding of figural antiquities were gems and mythological sarcophagi. Cameos and intaglios were avidly collected and reused regardless of their iconography. The reuse of sarcophagi, with or without mythological reliefs, began early in the middle ages and became common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Esch's paradigmatic article is neither didactic nor systematic in the style of Panofsky. It is a more lyrical set of reflections that departs from the question, where did Antiquity go if not into the ground or into museums? Answers arise in the course of a textual ramble through the countryside of Italy, as the author observes the many ways in which ancient objects turn up in medieval reuse, avoiding the fate of the unpractical statue (the "terrible transubstantiation of the ancient monument" that reduces it to raw matter).²⁸ The most common motive for reuse was practicality: *spolia* were available, convenient, and their reuse reduced costs. This motive was so common that it was not "productive" to discuss it.²⁹ The next was deliberate profanation: the display of *spolia* as a sign of triumph over pagan religion. This motive was characteristic of the early Christian era in the East. In the West, where Antiquity was more valued, reuse in this vein is better seen as a form of exorcism: "an ancient relief on the roadside might protect one from lightning and hail, but it also moaned in the night [...] one felt more secure when it was immured in the consecrated wall of a church as a *spolium*, if possible turned upside down."³⁰ Related to this motive is *interpretatio christiana*, by means of which pagan iconography was assimilated to known content ("if still in the eighteenth century shepherds in Dalmatia venerated [...] a satyr as St Roche, it was simply because they knew nothing of satyrs but everything about St Roche").³¹ By changing the meaning of pagan representations, *interpretatio christiana* made it possible to accept their seductive beauty as godly rather than demonic. Yet another reason for reuse was political legitimation, the appropriation of antiquities to demonstrate the transmission of authority. Here Esch cited Günter Bandmann's aphorism for political reuse in buildings like Charlemagne's chapel: Rome "was transferred in pieces" by *spolia*.³² The final reason for the re-employment of *spolia*

26 Ibid., 33.

27 Herklotz 1985 (as in n. 9), 17–34.

28 Esch 1969 (as in n. 25), 9.

29 Ibid., 43.

30 Ibid., 45.

31 Ibid., 46.

32 Ibid., 51, quoting Günter Bandmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger*, Berlin 1951, 145.

was aesthetic admiration, which might lead to “reuse at any price”: “the capital that had been found in the neighboring ruin was simply beautiful, and so one used it, whether it matched the diameter of the column shaft or not.”³³ The aesthetic motive was fundamental; it always accompanied the other motives to some degree, and sometimes, especially in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it predominated, pushing aside *interpretatio christiana*.

Arnold Esch’s article emerged in a liminal zone between history, art history, and archeology, and it gave rise to a new field of study.³⁴ In the terms of Thomas Kuhn, the historian had investigated an anomaly: not the imitation or transformation of antiquity on which the art historical paradigm was focused, but the re-presentation of antique artifacts in their original material form.³⁵ Esch’s results – the motives inferred from his observations – demanded a new point of view and a new interpretive approach. *Spolia* both represent and re-present. They cannot be understood simply as the products of an artist’s, a patron’s, or even an epochal intention, but must be seen as the ghost of that intention in the context of a later, sometimes much later, time and place. *Spolia* demonstrate the reception of intentions and their products by later generations. Their reception is not limited to art-producing elites, but is open to any viewer regardless of his or her knowledge of art and history: to shepherds as well as to scholars. In these and other respects the paradigm of *spolia* offered alternatives similar to those proposed by the opponents of the strictly iconographic paradigm, acknowledging, for example, the power and perceived agency of ancient images that would be emphasised twenty years later by Camille.³⁶ It also anticipated many of the ‘turns’ in art history that were to follow. The *spolia* paradigm recognises objects bearing iconography as “visual artifacts” that “[exceed] the possibilities of a semiotic interpretation”.³⁷ It foregrounds their materiality, their presence, their affect, and their performativity.³⁸

Partly because of this resonance with the terms of revisionist art history and visual culture, interest in *spolia* ballooned beginning around 1980.³⁹ Since then scholars have eagerly extended the category to include objects from cultures other than Greco-Roman antiquity and objects that are not, like many of the architectural elements observed by Esch, fragments of vanished wholes but self-sufficient, autonomous objects like gems and sarcophagi. Virtually any element reused in a context different from its original one can now be considered a *spolium*, including the Byzantine enamels and Anglo-Saxon metalwork on the Egbertschrein in Trier, the Islamic vessels on the Heinrichskanzel in Aachen, even pieces of debris from

33 Esch 1969 (as in n. 25), 55.

34 Dale Kinney, The Concept of *Spolia*, in: *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph, Malden MA/Oxford, etc. 2006, 233–252, esp. 243–244.

35 Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago 1962), 4th ed., Chicago/London 2012, 52–65.

36 Harris 2001 (as in n. 11), 175–178.

37 Moxey 2008 (as in n. 13), 132.

38 Ibid., 131–143; Janet Wolff, After Cultural Theory: The Power of Images, the Lure of Immediacy, in: *Journal of Visual Culture* XI, 2012, 3–19; Rodolphe De Koninck, The Anthropology of Images, in: *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, ed. Colum Hourihane, London/New York 2017, 175–183.

39 Kinney 2006 (as in n. 34), 244.

World War II in the facade of a 1980s building in Berlin.⁴⁰ In some circles the category of *spolia* itself has been subsumed by the more capacious one of ‘reuse’ or even ‘recycling’. The motives and effects attributed to reuse have also expanded. In 2005 Bente Küllerich counted nine lenses through which *spolia* had been interpreted: ideology, magic, exorcism, appropriation, citation, nostalgia, memory, triumphalism, and historical awareness.⁴¹ In a recent book Stephan Albrecht argued that many kinds of objects – building parts, tombs, treasury goods – could function as “recollection pieces” (*Erinnerungsstücke*) that triggered communal or collective memory. In a welcome move toward methodological rigor, however, he also argued that to do so, such objects had to be “activated” by actions (rituals) or words (inscriptions, oral propaganda). Only *spolia* that were so activated could “stage the past”.⁴²

The paradigm of *spolia* is aligned with the current “normal science” of art history: the puzzle-solving research in which “admissible solutions [are bound to] theoretical problems”.⁴³ This current research leaves some problems of the previous “normal science” unresolved, notably, for the purposes of this essay, the principle of disjunction. Neither Panofsky nor Camille considered *spolia* explicitly in relation to the medieval trans- or re-formation of mythological (pagan) subjects, but both addressed carved gems, which are *spolia* in the expanded sense of the term accepted by many (although not all) researchers.⁴⁴ As noted earlier, gems seem to defy the principle of disjunction. Panofsky acknowledged that because images of astral gods and heroes were believed to enhance the “magical” powers of the stones, medieval lapidaries preserved precise knowledge of pagan iconography (e.g., “If you find a stone, on which is Perseus with a sword in his right hand and the head of the Gorgon in his left hand, by the disposition of that god it will make you safe from lightning and storms, and from all envy of the demons ...”).⁴⁵ Nevertheless he asserted that when confronted with an actual image of this kind the medieval beholder would instinctively misinterpret it via *inter-*

40 Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen, *Spolie und Umfeld in Egberts Trier*, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* L, 1987, 305–336, and *Relics, Quotations, Spolia. Revisiting Art in Egbert's Trier*, in: *A Reservoir of Ideas. Essays in Honour of Paul Williamson*, ed. Glyn Davies and Eleanor Townsend, London 2017, 68–80; Avinoam Shalem, *Hybride und Assemblagen in mittelalterlichen Schatzkammern. Neue ästhetische Paradigmata im Hinblick auf die „Andersheit“*, in: *Le trésor au Moyen Âge. Discours, pratiques et objets*, ed. Lucas Burkart, Philippe Cordez, Pierre Alain Mariaux, and Yann Potin, Florence 2010, 297–313; Hans-Rudolf Meier, *Spolia in Contemporary Architecture: Searching for Ornament and Place*, in: *Reuse Value. Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, ed. Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney, Farnham UK 2011, 223–236, esp. 229–231.

41 Bente Küllerich, *Making Sense of the Spolia in the Little Metropolis in Athens*, in: *Arte medievale* N. S. IV, 2, 2005, 95–114 (104).

42 Stephan Albrecht, *Die Inszenierung der Vergangenheit im Mittelalter. Die Klöster von Glastonbury und Saint-Denis*, Berlin 2003, 14–15, 265–267.

43 Kuhn 2012 (as in n. 35), 39.

44 Kinney 2006 (as in n. 34), 248–249.

45 Arnoldus Saxo, *De gemmarum virtutibus*, ed. E. Stange, *Die Encyclopädie des Arnoldus Saxo, zum ersten Mal nach einem Erfurter Codex*, II, Erfurt 1906, 77 (“Si inveneris [lapidem], in quo sit Perseus habens in dextra manu ensem, in sinistra [caput] Gorgonis, ille disponente deo reddit se ferentem tutum a fulmine et tempestate et ab invidia omni demonum in cursu”), ><https://books.google.com/>< (accessed 9 March 2017). Quoted in a German translation by Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben*, Berlin/New York 2007, 252.

pretatio christiana.⁴⁶ For his part, Michael Camille adduced the fascinating example of a late antique cameo bearing the image of an emperor in military dress holding a lance and a statuette of Victory (Farbabb. 33) to show how “an image that [...] could have been seen as an idol was [...] redefined as a miracle-working object” and thereby appropriated and controlled.⁴⁷ Known in the middle ages as the Kaadman, the cameo was used to aid women in childbirth: placed between the birthing mother’s breasts and moved slowly toward her nether parts, it caused the child to flee beneath it. This extraordinary practice cannot be said to have entailed *interpretatio christiana* because Matthew Paris, who recorded it, did not claim any Christian content for the carving. He failed to identify the figure at all, describing it only as an “image”: “a certain tattered *imago*, holding in its right hand a spear on which a serpent creeps upward, and in the left hand a clothed boy holding some kind of shield on his shoulder and extending his other hand toward the *imago*.”⁴⁸ Suzanne Lewis attributed Matthew’s non-identification to a “loss of iconographical literacy”, but un-naming was a common medieval strategy for depriving pagan images of their original power.⁴⁹ Their subject matter was simply denied, allowing medieval users to focus on other qualities of the object, such as its precious material, and/or to permit an image to acquire new, more helpful powers like the Kaadman’s.⁵⁰

A reconciliation of the principle of disjunction with *spolia* was achieved by Salvatore Settis in a brilliant essay published in 1986.⁵¹ Departing from a letter of Wibald, abbot of Stavelot and Corvey (d. 1158), in which the aged abbot defended his reading of pagan authors as an attempt to reconcile authorities (*auctoritates*) and as a hunt for *spolia* (“I do not enter their camps as a deserter, but as a scout eager to take spoils”), Settis proposed that the antique sarcophagi reused and displayed throughout Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were similarly a “repository of potential citations” for artists.⁵² He identified three ways in which such artistic citations could be related to their sources: (1) pagan form and content could remain united; (2) a pagan form could be reproduced with a Christian meaning (*interpretatio christiana*); (3) a pagan form could be “reproposed”, “transmitted, without any inter-

46 Panofsky 1960 (as in n. 7), 88.

47 Camille 1989 (as in n. 17), 107.

48 *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols., VI, London 1882, 387–88 (“Insculptitur autem eidem lapidi imago quaedam pannosa, tenens in dextra hastam, quam serpens rependo ascendit, et in sinistra puerum vestitum, tenentem ad humerum quoddam ancile et aliam manum versus ipsam imaginem extendentem, prout in antecedenti pagina figuratur”).

49 Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, etc. 1987, 48.

50 Dale Kinney, Ancient Gems in the Middle Ages: Riches and Ready-mades, in: *Reuse Value. Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, ed. Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney, Farnham UK 2011, 97–120 (111).

51 Salvatore Settis, Continuità, distanza, conoscenza. Tre usi dell’antico, in: *Memoria dell’antico nell’arte italiana*, ed. Salvatore Settis, 3 vols., Turin 1986, III, 373–486.

52 Wibald of Stavelot, Ep. CXLVII, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXXIX, 1249–57 (1252) (“scias, quod ego haec castra ingredior non tanquam desertor et transfuga, sed sicut explorator et spoliolum cupidus”); Settis 1986 (as in n. 51), 383–384, 401.



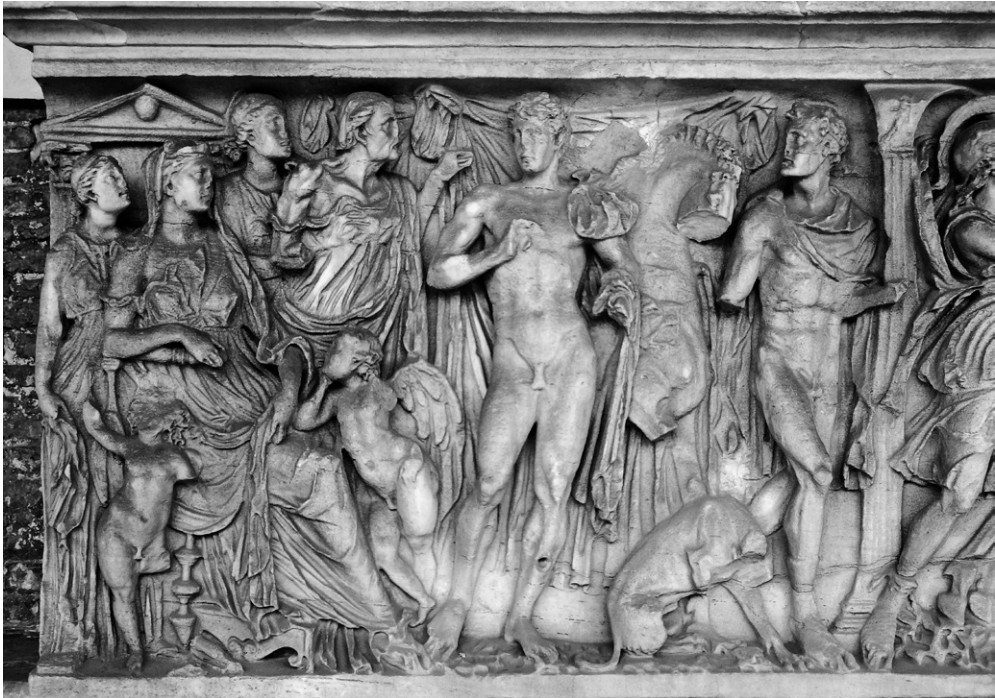
2 Winged boy with downturned torch by Wiligelmo, ca. 1099, Modena Cathedral, west façade

pretation”.⁵³ Two of these three alternatives contradict the principle of disjunction. The first, in which form and content remain united, is exemplified by types that are only loosely mythological, such as the winged boys (cupids) imitated by Wiligelmo on the façade of Modena Cathedral (fig. 2). The more substantial third category is analogous to Matthew Paris’s treatment of the Kaadman. It is represented by Nicola Pisano’s adaptation of Phaedra on the second-century sarcophagus in Pisa that was reused for the burial of Beatrice of Lorraine in 1076. The sculptor reversed the seated figure to serve as the Virgin Mary in the relief of the Adoration of the Magi that he made for the pulpit of the Baptistery of Pisa around 1260 (fig. 3; Farbabb. 34).⁵⁴ Under Panofsky’s paradigm Nicola’s imitation exemplified the principle of disjunction. Settis argued against this, maintaining that the thirteenth-century sculptor saw the antique relief not as a collection of forms to be reinterpreted but as forms with no content at all:

Leaving aside any interpretation of the ancient relief, Nicola recognized in it a nobility of form and of style that was itself conducive to reuse, and therefore could be ... repropounded in a new context, with a

53 Settis 1986 (as in n. 51), 408–409.

54 Paul Zanker and Björn Christian Ewald, *Mit Mythen leben. Die Bilderwelt der römischen Sarkophage*, Munich 2004, 16–17.



3 Sarcophagus with scenes of Phaedra and Hippolytus (detail), 2nd c. CE, Pisa, Camposanto

shift of meaning that cannot be labeled *interpretatio christiana*, but is a conscious filling with new content of a form (an iconographic scheme) handed down only as such.⁵⁵

Extrapolating from such analyses, Settis offered a compelling generalization:

Losing, through the passage of time and the profound break in culture, every precise reference to the myths and themes that once were generally known, the sarcophagus reliefs could have spoken the generic and indistinct language of a past era populated by remarkable, unnamed figures of gods and heroes, of broad dramatic gestures, of loose and flowing garments. Thus we might say that every sarcophagus wound up telling the story of Orestes or of Phaedra, since no one knew the stories anymore; but perhaps for this very reason the sarcophagus came to condense, in its moving and crowded figures, something *more than* those stories ... It tended to become, by virtue of its rarity, the indeterminacy of its meaning, and the difficulty of deciphering it, an *exemplum* capable of representing the very face of antiquity ... That empty center, the absent meaning does not impede or block the *auctoritas* of the model but, tending to shift it to the side of form, transports almost the entire figural patrimony handed down by the Ancients to the familiar field of ornament, renders it more available to study and to copying, and invites [one] to give a new meaning to the ancient figures without names.⁵⁶

55 Translated from Settis 1986 (as in n. 51), 409.

56 Ibid., 409–410; cf. Janet Huskinson, *Habent sua fata*: Writing life histories of Roman Sarcophagi, in:

Although they do not address Settis's argument explicitly, two recent contributions may be said to amplify or modify his posited alternatives to the principle of disjunction. Rita Amedick's comprehensive study of thorn-pullers in antiquity and the middle ages demonstrated a previously unrecognized continuity of form and meaning from Roman times through the fourteenth century.⁵⁷ She showed that medieval thorn-pullers were not all descended from the bronze statue at the Lateran but from a variety of ancient compositions on the same theme, which belonged to the "dionysiac-bucolic" genre and represented shepherds and other low-status people as rude rustics, "laughable and indecent".⁵⁸ The several compositional types of thorn-pullers passed directly from late antique into Christian art as images of the seasons, eventually condensing into the emblem of the month of March. Most important for the present discussion, Amedick demonstrated that the modern perception of the Lateran *Spinario* as "the idol par excellence" in the middle ages is a category mistake; it was not an idol at all. She explained the thirteenth-century description of it as a figure of Priapus with enormous genitals as a reflection of the author's familiarity with the medieval tradition of the theme and his textual knowledge of Dionysiac mythology, not of his view of it as an idol.⁵⁹ Amedick's argument provides a substantive demonstration that unity of ancient form and content not only persisted in medieval art but was perfectly comprehensible to medieval artists and viewers. It also tends to return the problematic of the *Spinario* to the realm of iconography, acknowledging its sexuality as indecent but ignoring Camille's point about the dangerous power of such imagery to provoke emotional and physical responses.

In a study of eleventh- and twelfth-century imitations of a second-century Orestes sarcophagus then in the church of Santa María de Husillos (Palencia), Francisco Prado-Vilar advanced a neo-Warburgian paradigm for understanding such imitation that differs significantly from Settis's concept of 'reproposal'.⁶⁰ Prado-Vilar rejects the premise that the content of ancient mythological forms was vacated by time and changing culture. Marrying Warburg's *Pathosformeln* with Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire*, he argued that the impetus for the initial imitation of figures on the sarcophagus – by the sculptor of a figured capital made for the Benedictine church of San Martín de Frómista (fig. 4) – was the sculptor's recognition of the emotional content of the relief's emphatic gestures ("gesture as psychic movement").⁶¹ As other sculptors continued the "reactivation" of these *Pathosformeln*, the sarcophagus became a *lieu de mémoire* "where the artistic memory of Spanish Romanesque sculpture 'crystallizes and secretes itself'".⁶² The capital in question showed two naked males on its front side, one a close copy of Orestes killing Aegisthus on the sarcophagus and the other adapted from the

Life, Death and Representation. Some New Work on Roman Sarcophagi, ed. Jas Elsner and Janet Huskinson, Berlin/New York 2011, 55–82 (esp. 56–57).

57 Rita Amedick, Dornauszieher: Bukolische und dionysische Gestalten zwischen Antike und Mittelalter, in: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* XXXII, 2005, 17–51.

58 *Ibid.*, 38.

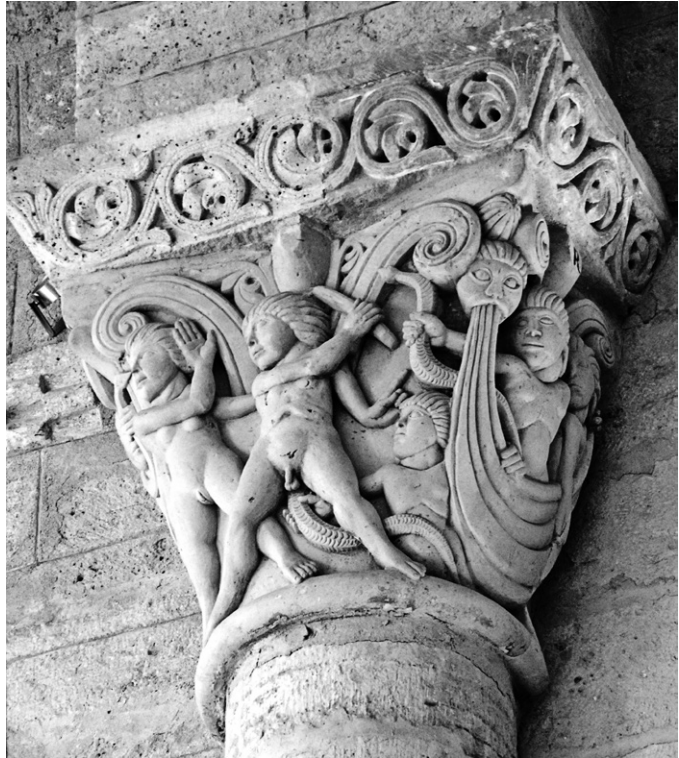
59 *Ibid.*

60 Prado-Vilar 2011 (as in n. 13).

61 *Ibid.*, 92.

62 *Ibid.*, 88 quoting Pierre Nora, Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, in: *Representations*, XXVI, 1989, 7–25, esp. 7.

4 Capital in San Martín de Frómista, late 11th c.
(Modern reconstruction)



fleeing nurse.⁶³ Prado-Vilar identified the new subject as Cain killing Abel, and the female figures on the sides of the capital as “the Furies of the sarcophagus [...] with function and meaning unchanged, as if their persecuting rage had carried them directly from mythical to biblical times”.⁶⁴ Although he implied that accurate identification of the original subject was a possibility for medieval viewers, Prado-Vilar emphasised that nearly any viewer could have grasped the “core” of the mythological story from the gestures alone, as is proven by their medieval reception:

It is no coincidence that themes of genealogy, crime and sacrifice are at the core of the iconography of the ... Romanesque works more intensely indebted to the imagery of the sarcophagus ... It is as if style and iconography, mimicking the Erinyes, were relentlessly following the trail of family blood.⁶⁵

Despite its art historical importance, the seminal capital in San Martín de Frómista was mutilated “in what seems to have been a deliberate act of censorship” while the church was

⁶³ Settis 1986 (as in n. 51), 402–403, 409. Prado-Vilar 2011 (as in n. 13), 95 sees the action as Orestes agonising over whether to kill his mother, who is shown already dead (see the much better photos in Settis 1986, figs. 369–373).

⁶⁴ Prado-Vilar 2011 (as in n. 13), 101.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 99.

being restored in the early twentieth century.⁶⁶ The nude male figures were crudely hacked off. The damaged capital is now in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial in Palencia, and a copy based on its original state is in San Martín.

The paradigms enunciated by Camille, Esch, Settis, and Prado-Vilar are complementary in some respects and incompatible in others. Today's scholars are free to choose one, to amalgamate two or more, or to create a new one with which to interpret any particular instance of mythological re-presentation. In the final section of this paper I will explore some of the possibilities of this fluid situation for the interpretation of a group of *spolia* that I first studied many years ago, before most of the revisionist publications had appeared.

A Case Study

Like all medieval churches in Rome, the twelfth-century basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere (Farbabb. 35) was built entirely of *spolia*: reused bricks, reused column shafts and capitals, even reused mosaic tesserae. The colonnades are unusual, however, in that eight of the twenty-two capitals in the colonnades bear heads of the Egyptian deities Isis and Serapis on the abaci, and six show busts of Harpocrates in the volutes.⁶⁷ The capitals were salvaged from the outer precinct of the Baths of Caracalla, where they originally decorated the colonnades fronting the libraries. The third-century planner of the ornament probably intended that the heads of Serapis and his consort would remind viewers of the Temple of Serapis (Serapeum) in Alexandria and by metonymy of the great library there. Like the cult statue in the Serapeum, the heads of Serapis on the capitals wear the *modius*, or grain measure (fig. 5). The heads of Isis are also Hellenistic in iconography, but less consistent; some have her long 'corkscrew' tresses (fig. 6), at least one had a kind of headdress, and another wore a veil. Isis's son Harpocrates makes his signature gesture of pressing the right index finger to his lips, calling for silence.

My original study of these capitals focused on their provenance, the juridical status of Roman *spolia* in the middle ages, and the decipherability of the capitals' iconography.⁶⁸ I have recently returned to the last problem in another venue and will not revisit it here.⁶⁹ Instead I will test the utility of the new paradigms, emphasising power, vacated content, aesthetic appeal, ornament, gesture, reposal, and ghosts.

The power of the pagan images can be gauged by their physical reception. As Esch observed, statues were usually destroyed. At Santa Maria in Trastevere three of the heads of deities have been obliterated and three more are damaged (fig. 7). As at San Martín de Frómista, this vandalism occurred in the early modern period and was the work of masons

66 Ibid.

67 Patrizio Pensabene, *Roma su Roma: reimpiego architettonico, recupero dell'antico e trasformazioni urbane tra il III e il XIII secolo*, Vatican City 2015, 879–880, cat. 101–108.

68 Dale Kinney, *Spolia from the Baths of Caracalla in S. Maria in Trastevere*, in: *Art Bulletin* LXVIII, 1986, 379–397.

69 Dale Kinney, *Afterlife and Improvisation at Santa Maria in Trastevere*, in: *The Lives and Afterlives of Medieval Iconography*, ed. Pamela A. Patton, College Park PA, forthcoming.



5 Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, third capital in the north colonnade with head of Serapis, 212–17 CE



6 Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, fifth capital in the south colonnade with head of Isis, 212–17 CE

charged to clean the capitals during a restoration in the 1860s.⁷⁰ It is unlikely that these pious craftsmen thought that the images contained demons. It was not fear of pagan idols that motivated their attack but a sense of decorum; ‘idols of the Other’ seemed blasphemous inside a Christian church. This nineteenth-century sense of propriety is part of our own heritage as interpreters. At some level it must be an obstacle to fully understanding the medi-

⁷⁰ Karl Baedeker, *Italie. Manuel du voyageur*, Pt. 2, *Italie centrale et Rome*, Leipzig 1877, 327.



7 Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, fifth capital in the north colonnade, destroyed head of Isis

eval – specifically twelfth-century – appreciation of classical sculpture, especially when its subject matter contains early modern taboos. The power of the little heads in Santa Maria in Trastevere was arguably greater in the nineteenth century than it was in the twelfth.

The eight pagan heads and sixteen reliefs on the capitals are not statues and could not have been regarded as idols. They are more comparable to the figures on the ancient cameos and intaglios that adorned reliquaries, book covers, antependia, liturgical implements, and the robes and fingers of bishops in the twelfth century. The images of gods and heroes carved into these stones were sometimes subjected to *interpretatio christiana*, but pace Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, who adheres strictly to Panofsky's principle of disjunction and insists that the figures were always reinterpreted, this was not necessarily so.⁷¹ Many, like the *imago* on the Kaadman, were emptied of their original content by time, as in Settis's paradigm, or by deliberate acts of un-naming that brought their craftsmanship – the noble forms – and their precious and potent materials to the fore. The capitals too were valued primarily for their material. Marble, especially marble from the city of Rome, had a powerful aura of quality and history.⁷² The builders of Santa Maria in Trastevere glorified their construction by adorning it with as much ancient marble as possible, the more elaborately carved the better. In this context the pagan heads added to the décor as one more component of the ornament, enhancing the variety of the carved surfaces. The principal motive for reusing the capitals probably was aesthetic, and they are good examples of Esch's "reuse at any price". Quite apart from any unsuitability of the figures, they are overscaled with respect to their new location

71 Zwierlein-Diehl 2007 (as in n. 45), 250–264.

72 Esch 1969 (as in n. 25), 29–30; Settis 1986 (as in n. 51), 388–389.



8 Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, fifth capital in the south colonnade, from below

and several are significantly larger in diameter than the column shafts that support them (fig. 8). They were considered too good not to reuse.

Even if the small heads and busts were empty *imagines*, however, the gesture of the figures in the volutes demanded attention. Though hardly a *Pathosformel*, the gesture of putting a finger to the lips is meaningful and easy to construe. It is directed at viewers looking up at the capitals from the nave, including the canons seated in the *schola cantorum* (Farbabb. 36). Even the simplest viewer would have understood the admonition to be silent. The builders may have intended this reaction, didactically or as a kind of joke. Readers of the classics, however, would have known that the command to silence – *favete linguis* – was associated with pagan religion. Probably only a few would have been able to connect the gesture specifically with Harpocrates, but most clerics with a classical education would have recognized the busts and heads as generically pagan.⁷³ As such they were less “the face of antiquity” (Settis) than the face of history, a providential history in which the center of pagan religion was destined to be transformed into the center of Christianity. In my view this is one of the themes of the mid-twelfth-century text known as the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, which systematically notes the locations of Rome’s ancient temples and their ruin or replacement by churches.⁷⁴ According to the *Mirabilia*, the Pantheon, rededicated to Mary, had been a temple of Cybele, and the same was true of Santa Maria Maggiore.⁷⁵ The pagan capitals in Santa

⁷³ Kinney, *Afterlife and Improvisation* (as in n. 69).

⁷⁴ Dale Kinney, *Spolia as Signifiers in Twelfth-Century Rome*, in: *Hortus artium medievalium* XVII, 2011, 151–166, esp. 156–157.

⁷⁵ *Mirabilia urbis Romae* 16, 28, ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, in: *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, 4 vols., III, Rome 1946, 34–35, 60.



9 San Lorenzo fuori le mura, Rome, capital in porch, 1216–27

Maria in Trastevere would have implied a similar providential origin for that church and thereby enhanced its prestige.

Because of their small size and location, the little heads in Santa Maria in Trastevere could not have served as formal exemplars for medieval sculptors. The Ionic capitals to which they belong, however, might be seen as a form of reproposal, in the sense that every *spolium* is re-proposed by the craftsman who re-presents it in a new work of art. Like the figure of Phaedra in Settis's paradigm, the capitals had lost their original meaning as the signifier of a distinctive 'Order' of architectural decoration defined as graceful and feminine.⁷⁶ They were re-presented simply as capitals, mixed in with Corinthian and other Ionic specimens of different types (Farbabb. 37). Nevertheless, as the most ornate and possibly the largest Ionic capitals on display in Rome at the time, they must have attracted the interest of medieval marble carvers (*marmorarii*) attempting to recreate the type on their own. Ionic capitals with disproportionately large volutes filled with foliage, like the Isis and Serapis capitals, appeared around 1180 in the porch of Santi Giovanni e Paolo and later in the porch of San Lorenzo fuori le mura (1216–27) (fig. 9).⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Vitruvius, *De architectura* IV.i.7–8.

⁷⁷ Peter Cornelius Claussen, *Magistri doctissimi romani. Die römischen Marmorkünstler des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart 1987, 32, 138–139; figs. 36, 190.



10 San Lorenzo fuori le mura, Rome, capital in south colonnade, 1216–27

The same family of sculptors who created the porch of San Lorenzo fuori le mura also made an exceptional capital in the south nave colonnade, which contains a frog in the center of one volute and a lizard in the other (fig. 10). Winckelmann mistook it for the work of the ancient Greek architects Sauras and Batrachus, who, according to Pliny, signed column bases in the Portico of Octavia with these same animals (σαύρα, lizard; βάτραχος, frog).⁷⁸ Peter Cornelius Claussen pointed out that the thirteenth-century author of the capital must have known Pliny's text as well, and like Winckelmann he misinterpreted *columnarum spiris* ("in the bases") as "in the volutes". Claussen considered the capital an attempt to "approximate an ancient model on the basis of a literary report".⁷⁹ The sculptor must have looked at real capitals as guides to his reconstruction, but Irmgard Voss denied that there was any attempt to imitate the *spolia* in Santa Maria in Trastevere or anywhere else. She argued that the thirteenth-century sculptors worked in a contemporary idiom in which antique style played "no decisive role".⁸⁰ Perhaps, then, the Isis and Serapis capitals posed a challenge rather than a formal exemplar, setting a high bar for ostentatious ornament that some medieval sculptors strove to meet on their own terms.

The *spolia* in Santa Maria in Trastevere, as in all medieval Roman churches, are tangible, material connections to Rome's great imperial past, but they also contain Rome's ghost. Rome haunted Rome throughout the middle ages. The spirit of ancient architecture resided in the column shafts and capitals that were hoisted from the ruins of one Rome and re-erected in the churches of the other. This was recognized by Giorgio Vasari, who wrote admiringly of

78 Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXVI.iv.42 ("nec Sauram atque Batrachum obliterare convenit [...] sunt certe nunc in columnarum spiris insculptae nominum eorum argumento lacerta atque rana").

79 Claussen 1987 (as in n. 77), 143.

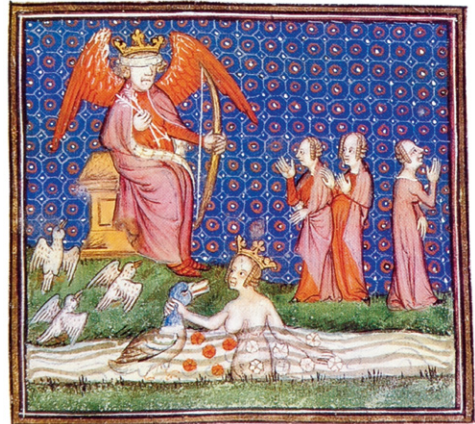
80 Irmgard Voss, Studien zu den ionischen Kapitellen von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, in: *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* XXVI, 1990, 31–86, esp. 66–68.

the *spolia* in the buildings of Constantine, especially the “columns, bases, capitals, architraves, cornices, doors and other revetments and ornaments” in St. Peter’s.⁸¹ He opined that because of *spolia*, architecture in Rome did not decline as badly in the middle ages as did sculpture and painting; “since they made the grand buildings almost entirely of *spolia*, it was easy for architects making new [buildings] to imitate in large part the old ones that they had always before their eyes”.⁸² *Spolia* kept Roman architecture from becoming truly medieval; the Romanesque and Gothic styles passed it by. At the same time they testified to the ruin and abandonment of the classical past. The ghost of that past never was “redeemed”; it persists to this day.

81 Translated from *Giorgio Vasari. Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi, II, pt. 1, Florence 1967, 15.

82 Ibid.

Bildteil



Farbabb. 1 Venus und Mars-Intaglio, 1. Jh. vor Chr., auf der Trapezplatte des Dreikönigenschreins (Anbringung bezeugt ab dem 17. Jh.), Köln, Hohe Domkirche.

Farbabb. 2 Venus, Buchmalerei, um 1390, Ovide moralisé, Vatikanstadt, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1480, fol. 218v



Farbabb. 3 Wandbild mit »schlafender Ariadne«, 2. Viertel 8. Jh., Qusayr Amra, Apodyterium



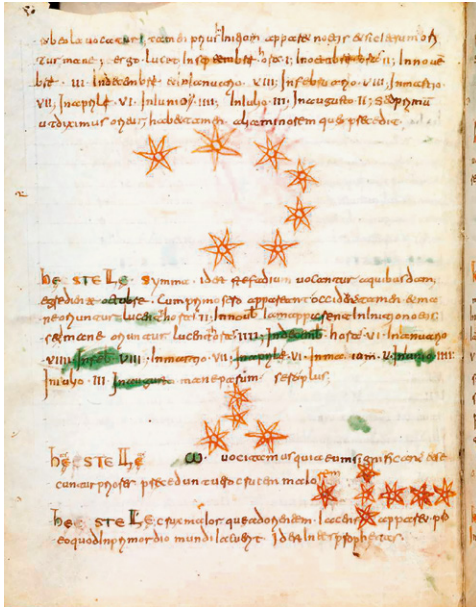
Farbabb. 4 Wandbild mit drei Badenden und einem Kleinkind, 2. Viertel 8. Jh., Qusayr Amra, Tepidarium, Südwand

Farbabb. 5 Wandbild mit Bad des Kleinkindes, 2. Viertel 8. Jh., Qusayr Amra, Tepidarium, Ostwand

Farbabb. 6 Deckengemälde, Ausschnitt mit weiblicher Büste (oben) und Büste eines alten Mannes (unten), 2. Viertel 8. Jh., Qusayr Amra, Apodyterium

Farbabb. 7 Wandbehang, 5.–7. Jh., New York, Metropolitan Museum, Acc. N. 31.9.3, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1931. Die Silensbüste ist die zweite von rechts in der untersten Reihe





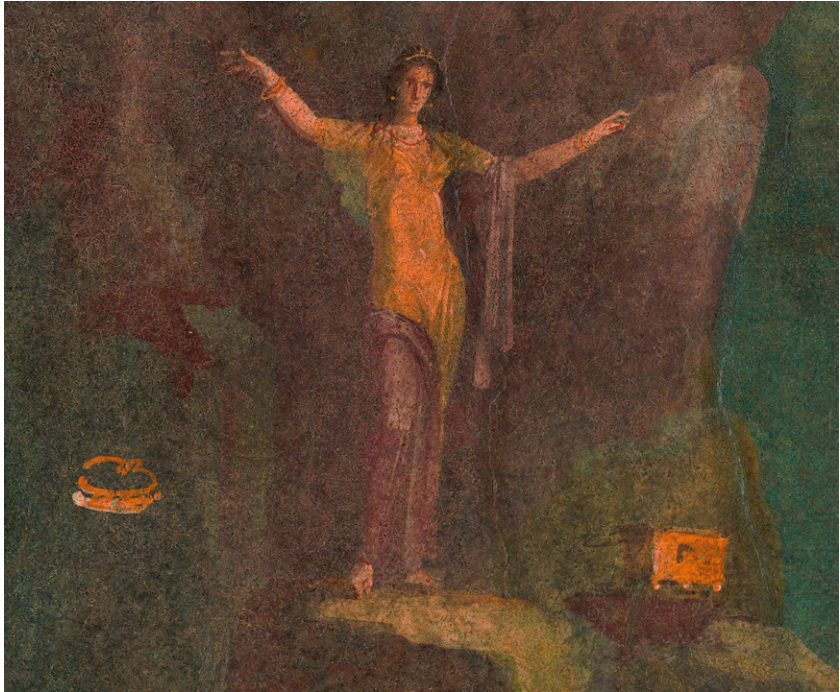
Farbabb. 8 Gregory of Tours, *De cursu stellarum*: constellations of Sigma, Omega, and Crux Maior, Southern Italy (Montecassino?), end of the 8th c., Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Patr. 61, f. 79v



Farbabb. 9 *De signis caeli*: constellation of Andromeda, Fleury, first half of the 10th c., Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. Latin 5543, fol. 163v

Farbabb. 10 Fresco from cubiculum 19 of the Roman villa at Boscotrecase (Naples): Andromeda chained to the crag, end of the 1st c. B.C. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 20.192.16

Farbabb. 11 Germanicus, Aratea: general layout and text-image relation (constellations of Virgo and Gemini), Fulda, ca. 820–830, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. AN IV 18, ff. 18v–19r

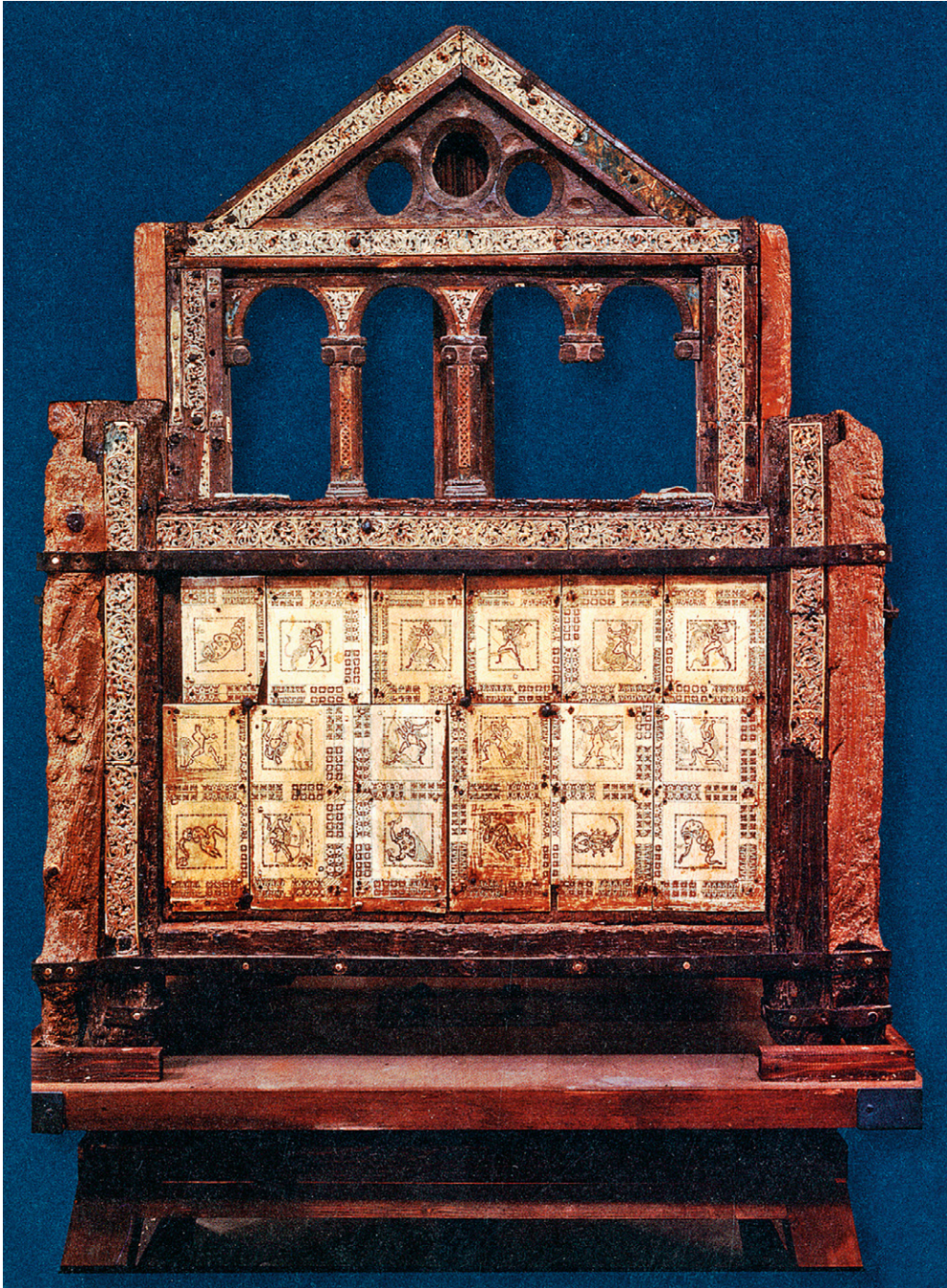


<p>ut solo silo la careatur homines caruissimam pater uirginis nomina stella arcuatur quae cum exortur spur cistinas temperatates mari terraq; efficit quod meminit sibi prubeneficio cecidit fuisse a nor talibus: canis autem carni quilibet arte pedes pendentes uirgi nis mostruif astrum cyon nominatur quam nos canstellam nomina mus quae eandem causam quae ortur summam postulantia motha libus postea uirgo figuratur stellis: xiiii. in capite obscuram nimis In singulis ueris singulas in sinistra ala obscuram inde extra ab umes & ad altera lina uocatur proter: q; dicitur in singulis cubit; singulas In singulis manibus mutatis primis in sinistra clarior quod uocatur spica in unica stella obscurae spe in singulis pedibus singulae summa xiiii.</p>  <p>Quoniam ore dia est helice subiecto non respice cance accipitis subiecto quod gemini quae posterior pes hie dicitur castor & pollux fixares maxima concor dia unica equibus cum unius occidisse in pugna qua actus fil</p>	<p>athenienses gerebant partem alteram in mox factis ac capre quos super caelo munit sideribus: geminos nomina aut quos salutare sunt appellati alic ubi line zephum & am phione esse ideo alter cytharam habet quorum prior habet stellas unum: Alter cum toribus appellatur gemini figura is qui uerita canis est in capite una clara in singulis ueris singulas clarae dextero cubito: in singulis ueris singulas singulas sunt priores ueris alter in capite: in manibus singulas sinistro cubito: in manibus ueris: in sinistra genui: In pedibus singulas sinistro pede distans ultimo: quae uocatur ipso no re: sunt: & duodecim autem signa haec sunt sed in mecho circulo & equinoctial tropici hemalis quae notia appellatur fixa sunt uelut deos & mox tharacas quorum argumentum nefas sit enumerare: praeter eos qui in ministeris praesunt Tendit castorem & pollucem & in dardas geminorum honore decoratos quod in prius pef dicitur mare totu praedonibus malis in q; pacem reddisse & quomem pore ueris gauerit cum in aone atq; hercule ad pellem in aurtam a ueris dicitur multus laboribus tempestatis q; conflictata periculorum atq; animorum & epeft; in pendio potus quam libentis nauigantes laboribus liberare studu erunt auxilium ferre praecantibus instruerunt itaq; cum ab ueris elati petierunt a pacere sibi licet a meo caelo constructi uide mortalibus auxiliantes prospicere possent quas ob res ueris ad in mortali memoria locoq; constant pleriq; mortalibus auxiliantes gratia confice tu liberantur sunt quid dicitur herculem chesbium quies sequentem memoria populum possidere in quod duo maxime dicuntur a sursim fidelitate pariq; industria</p>
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Farbabb. 12 Germanicus, Aratea: general layout and text-image relation (circumpolar constellations), Aachen, 816, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. VLQ 79, ff. 3v–4r

Farbabb. 13 Cicero, Aratea: general layout and text-image relation (constellations of Pisces and Perseus), Aachen, ca. 830–840, London, British Library, ms. Harley 647, ff. 3v–4r



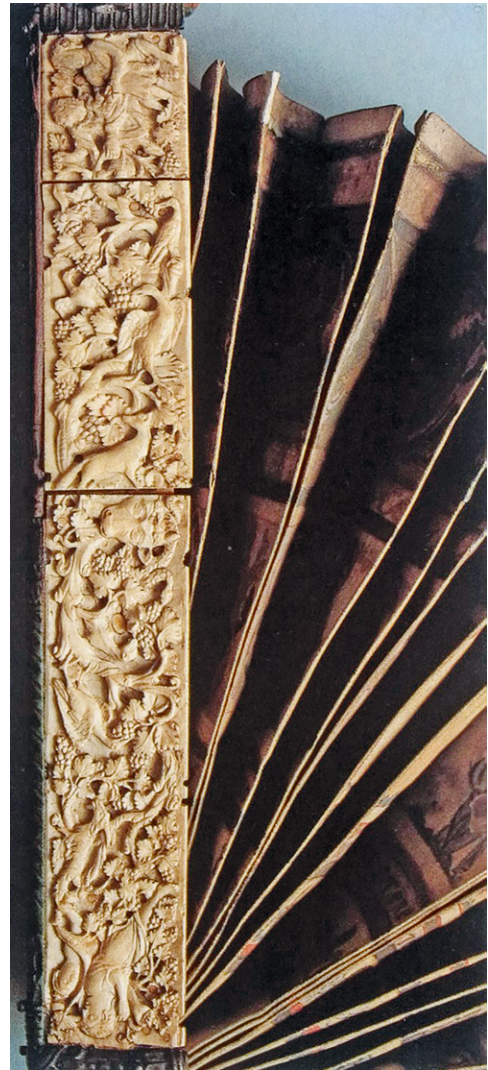
Farbabb. 14 Cathedra Petri, um 870, Rom, St. Peter



Farbabb. 15 Flabellum, um
870/75, Florenz, Museo Nazionale
del Bargello



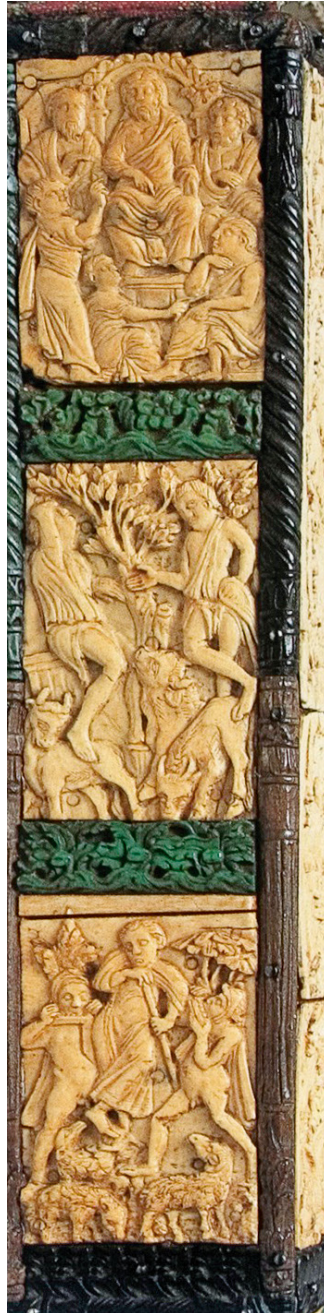
Farbabb. 16 Flabellum, Schmalseite des Etais mit Akanthusranken, um 870/75, Florenz, Museo Nazionale del Bargello



Farbabb. 17 Flabellum, Schmalseite des Etais mit Weinranken, um 870/75, Florenz, Museo Nazionale del Bargello



Farbabb. 18 Flabellum, klappbare Breitseite des Etuis mit Szenen aus den Bucolica, um 870/75, Florenz, Museo Nazionale del Bargello



Farbabb. 19 Flabellum, Breitseite des Etuis mit Szenen aus den Bucolica, um 870/75, Florenz, Museo Nazionale del Bargello



Farbabb. 20 Vergilius Romanus, Szene zur 1. Ekloge, Ende 5. Jh., Vatikanstadt, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Vat. lat. 3867, fol. 1r



Farbabb. 21 Nordafrikanisches Brunnenmosaik, Odysseus und die Sirenen, 250–270, Tunis, Musée de Bardo

Farbabb. 22 Westwerk der Klosterkirche von Corvey, Fresken oberhalb der Kämpferzone, Detail, Kampf des Odysseus gegen Skylla, rechts eine Sirene, 873–885



Farbabb. 23 Stadtrömischer Meister, Sarkophag mit Orestie, ca. 160/170 n. Chr., weißer Marmor, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional

Farbabb. 24 Meister von Frómista, Chorbogenkapitell (Kopie), Adam und Eva im Kampf gegen Schlangen, ca. 1080, Stein, Frómista, San Martín



Farbabb. 25 Gelduinus-Werkstatt, Porte Miègeville, Ende 11. Jh., Ziegel- und Haustein, Toulouse, Saint-Sernin



Farbabb. 26 Anon., Hexateuch Cotton Ms. Claudius B.IV fol. 7v, Verbergen der Stammeltern vor Gottvater in Ranken, ca. 1050, Deckfarben auf Pergament, London, British Library



Farbabb. 27 Miniaturist des Stundenbuchs Royal 17 E IV, fol. 87v, Arachne trifft auf Athene und Arachne als Spinne, 15. Jh., Deckfarben auf Pergament, London, British Library

Farbabb. 28 Anon., Zittauer Hungertuch, Adam und Eva bei der Arbeit, 1474, Leimfarben auf Leinengewebe, Zittau, Städtisches Museum



Farbabb. 29 Anon. Mosaizist, Muttergottes im Kaiserornat mit Gewebe, 5. Jh., Mosaik, Rom, Santa Maria Maggiore



Farbabb. 30 Anon., Relief, Muttergottes in Rüstung mit Spinnroggen, Elfenbein, Anfang 9. Jh., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Farbabb. 31 Anon., Tafelmalerei, Maria im Webwettstreit mit Tempeljungfrauen, 1501, Öl auf Holz, Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung



Farbabb. 32 Palatine Chapel, Aachen, ca. 795

prior de Walingesford deo & ecce sic Albani
Casto autem continent eandem gemam in non
ipso lapide ad maiorem cancelam & scien-
tiam & quam aureo circulo circumdantur.
Prout in capite huius caputuli figurat.

Ponderat autem Ser. denar. De Saphuro.
Hunc lapide p[ro]p[ri]um d[omi]ni **Hic.**
videlicet saphiri fere rotundi
et coloris remissi dedit dominus
Nicholaus auri r[ati]o de s[an]cto alba-
no orundus. deo & ecce s[an]cti. h[ic] gema
quae fuit b[e]n[e]dicti Admundi ante archiepi-
scopatu[m] uero s[an]cti Rob[erti] fuit ei. Postea uero
memorati d[omi]ni Nicholai. In libro sic d[omi]ni
castonis s[an]ctissime uite insculpuntur
ingellare. Et curu[m] cu[m] crucifixo figurat.
Ponderat autem Ser. denar. De Anulo archid[omi]ni.
Hunc anulu[m] contine[n]te aconu[m] Joh[ann]is.
Anulu[m] Saphiri orientale int[er]n[ati]o-
nalis coloris dedit huic ecce d[omi]ni Joh[ann]is
de W[est]m[on]asteria huius ecce archid[omi]ni
Quis de dono d[omi]ni Rog[er]i ecce h[ic] p[ro]p[ri]um
operauerat. In unna q[ue] parte Anuli ad
memoria[m] h[ic] notis Joh[ann]is perpetuandam
insculpit & ingellat h[ic] h[ic] q[ue] alia uero
p[ro]p[ri]um. **Ponderat autem notis den[ari] & ob. Anulo Ric[ardi].**
Hunc anulu[m] contine[n]tem Anulal.
Saphiri orientale coloris int[er]n[ati]o-
nalis dedit d[omi]ni Ric[ard]i cognom[en]to animal
deo & huic ecce. Quis de dono cui-
dam regine alienore operauerat
quia scolavel i sua iuuentute gemitato
et sodales. fuerat autem gema aurea ip[s]i
regine A. In unna q[ue] parte Anuli inscul-
pitur R. In alia. A. R. pro Ric[ard]i. A. p[ro]p[ri]um.
Ponderat autem deo den[ari]. De Anulo ep[iscop]i Joh[ann]is.
Hunc anulu[m] dedit deo cum magno
et huic ecce d[omi]ni Joh[ann]is Saphur-
e. ep[iscop]e quidam adferentis. In cui-
castone gemet saphiri q[ui]s orien-
tal[is] pulcherrim[us] mureq[ue] magnitudis
quatenus renacul[us] que uulgarit[er] p[ro]p[ri]um
dicunt c[on]sueptis. Qui dicit saphiri per
quatuor angulos i una gurgie i medio
suntate. Depuratur p[ro]p[ri]um festu-
ratib[us]. Interbrurq[ue] hoc nome[n] Joh[ann]is.
Ponderat autem xviii. den[ari].

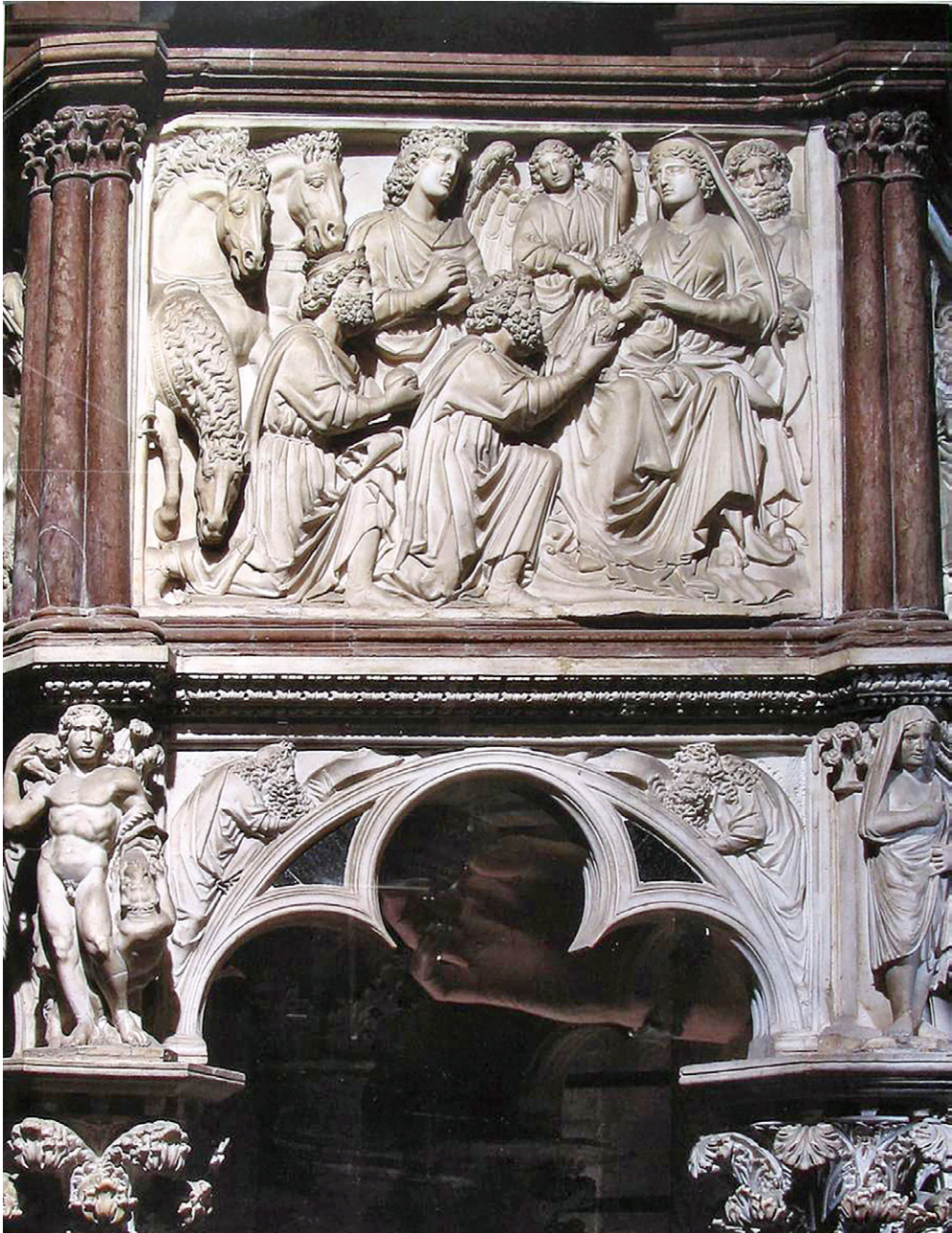
Hunc lapide in p[ro]p[ri]o de per d[omi]no
Qui uulgarit[er] d[icitur] per d[omi]no. Qui et
sib[us] uulgarit[er] coloris est. Et in cui me-
dio saphiri mure pulcherrim[us] colloca-
tur. h[ic] nome[n] Joh[ann]is uulgarit[er] inscul-
pitur: dedit d[omi]ni Joh[ann]is ep[iscop]e quidam adferentis
deo & huic ecce. P[ro]p[ri]um autem. Et uulgarit[er]
h[ic] saphiri p[ro]p[ri]um referentis. h[ic] utiq[ue]
forma fere cheuale. Et ponderat xv. den[ari].

Hunc lapide p[ro]p[ri]um De Saphuro ei.
videlicet saphiri orientale dom[ini] ep[iscop]i.
dedit deo huic ecce p[ro]p[ri]um uulgarit[er]
nisi memorat[ur] d[omi]ni Joh[ann]is ep[iscop]e quidam
adferentis. In cui castone oblongo
et fere triangulari d[omi]ni saphiri contine[n]tur.
In longu[m] & eius summate p[ro]p[ri]um.
Casto autem hac notitia figurat[ur].
Ponderat autem xv. den[ari]. Hec &aha milia
bona contine[n]t d[omi]ni ep[iscop]e huic ecce. q[ui] abili
diligent[er] p[ro]p[ri]um inuenire p[ro]p[ri]um.

Hunc anulu[m] De magno anulo
nobilitatim[us] uulgarit[er] & gema
maria & ope p[ro]p[ri]um. In cui
medio saphiri remissi colo-
ris int[er]n[ati]o-
nalis aureos floculos
collocat[ur]. & i cauteq[ue] ei octo gem-
ge. q[ui] uol. f. perle. & q[ui] uol. gnare. dedit
d[omi]ni h[ic] h[ic] h[ic] d[omi]ni Ang[eli] regi
deo & huic ecce. ad memoria[m] sui reade
p[ro]p[ri]um. s[an]cti & nome[n] d[omi]ni ceu-
lo Anuli. Assignat autem ornatum abbas
p[ro]p[ri]um festu[m] ratib[us]. **Ponderat autem xviii. den[ari].**

Hunc lapide p[ro]p[ri]um
ciolum q[ui] uidet[ur]
constat ex sar-
conice cal-
cedonio et
onic p[ro]p[ri]um
hoc q[ui] in
t[er]m[in]e la-
cedonio
ipse totu[m]
uulgarit[er]
Kadman
Sapllat[ur].
dedit deo & ecce





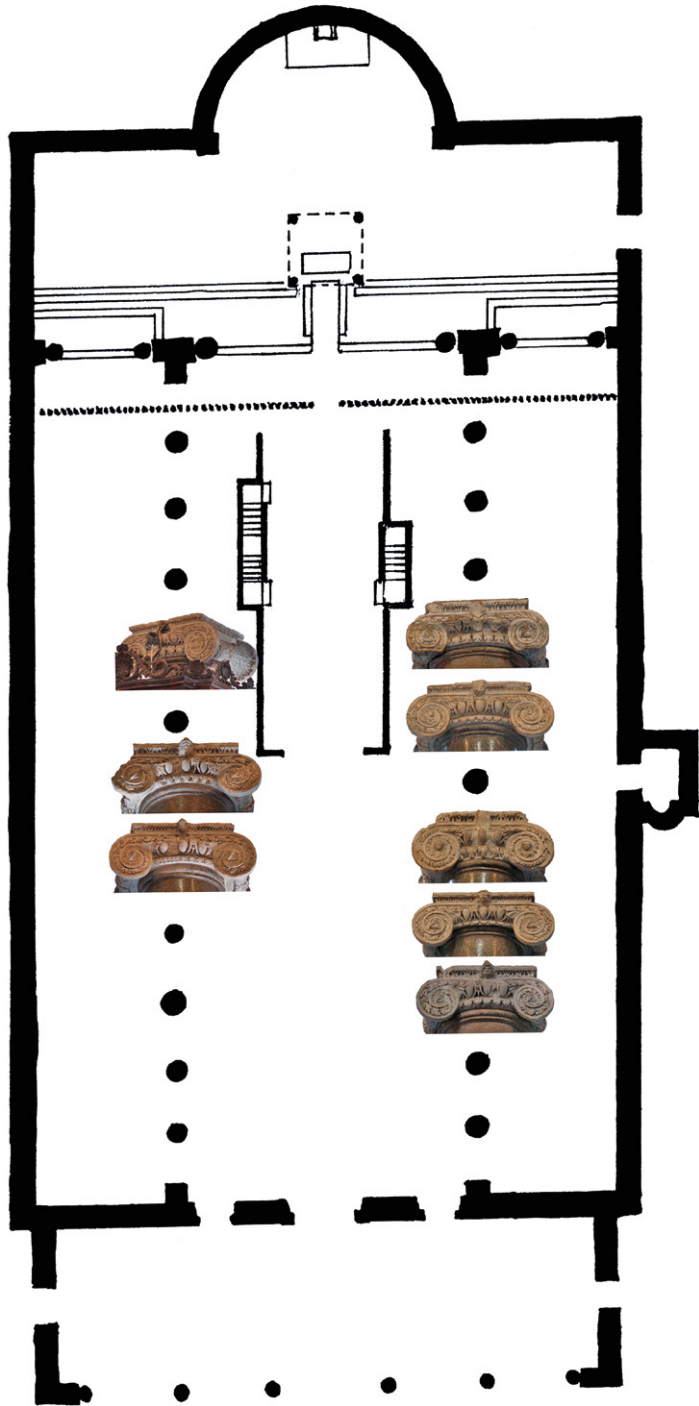
Farbabb. 33 Matthew Paris, The Kaadman, drawing, Liber Additamentorum, 1250s, London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D.I, f. 146v

Farbabb. 34 Nicola Pisano, Adoration of the Magi, ca. 1260, Pisa, Baptistery



Farbabb. 35 Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, view of nave looking west, 1139–43

Farbabb. 36 Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, plan showing locations of Isis and Serapis capitals





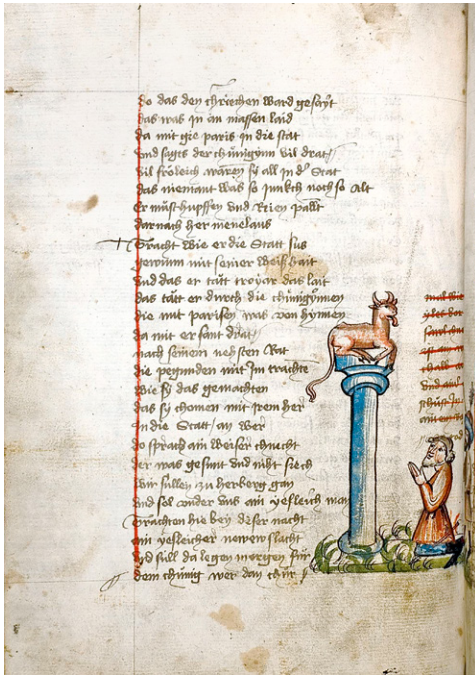
Farbabb. 37 Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, partial view of north colonnade

Farbabb. 38 Physiologus Bernensis, Reims, um 830, Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, Cod. 318, fol. 13v

Farbabb. 39 Giotto, Detail der sog. Allegorie der Keuschheit, amor carnalis, um 1320, Fresko des Vierungsgewölbes, Assisi, Chiesa inferiore

Farbabb. 40 Giotto, sog. Allegorie des Gehorsams, um 1320, Fresko des Vierungsgewölbes, Assisi, Chiesa inferiore





Farbabb. 41 Jans von Wien/Jans Enikel, Achilles' Ermordung, Weltchronik, um 1420, Passau, Cod. Pal. Germ. 336 fol. 105v, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek



Farbabb. 42 Jans von Wien/Jans Enikel, Achilles' Ermordung, Weltchronik, um 1420, Passau, Cod. Pal. Germ. 336 fol. 106r, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek