Perceiving monumentality

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Finding consensus

In addition to the question of what monumentality is and whether it can be deduced from a particular size of built structure, participants in the 'Size-Matters' forum were concerned with the comparability of monumental structures across the various disciplines. At first glance it is not obvious why Early Iron Age burial mounds in the Eurasian steppe and French gothic cathedrals should be included in a category of monumentality. However, on closer consideration participants repeatedly encountered terminology and methodological tools related to the question of monumentality that recurred in the most dissimilar disciplines. In a closing session, these terms were named, discussed, and ordered by the participants, and finally presented as a kind of guideline or *Biography of Monumentality*. This list and the naming of the same as a biography allowed the academics from archaeological, philological, and art-historical disciplines to reach a consensus before parting.[1]

The *Biography of Monumentality* is divided into three periods/ages[2] beginning with the *process* of discovery and implementation, followed by the *outcome*, and ending with *perception* in the afterlife of the structure concerned. Numerous terms that can refer to monumentality, either individually or in groups, are categorized in each period. Under the term *process*, the researchers included:

1 Both during and after the workshop, there was intensive discussion about the terminology used in this article. We agreed on the vocabulary used so as to render the processes and considerations transparent and universally accessible, as those involved in the workshop and this publication represent a wide range of archaeological disciplines and diverse academic traditions from around the world.

2 For the term periods or ages we adopt Kopytoff's vocabulary: "What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its 'status' and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized 'ages' or periods in the thing's 'life'?" (Kopytoff 1986: 66).

> Motivation and Approach, Agency (negation), Energetics (resources, manpower, know-how, organization), Labor, Impact, Perception of Process, Representation of Process and Timespan (dynamics and tempo; linear and cyclical time or trajectory).

The next period begins after a 'turnkey moment', after the building phase has been completed. The following terms were grouped under *outcome*:

> Perception of Outcome, Structure and Form, Divergence from Intention of Process e. g. Failure, Impact, Decline, Abandonment, Redefinition, Destruction, Maintenance (linked to process, post-turnkey).

And finally, the following terms were listed under the last point *perception*:

> Form, Materiality, Judgment (audience, value attribution), Reception and Appropriation, and finally Reproduction and Authenticity.

In the following we as authors have struggled greatly with the term and concept 'biography'. Should it be possible to ascribe a biography to the monumentality of a building? How can the start- and endpoints of a biography of a building be defined, if architecture is seen as an object? Our attempt to apply the *Biography of Monumentality* with its allocated parameters to a monument by way of example was a complete failure. Closer consideration quickly led us to recognize that no monument could fulfill the extensive conditions of the biography construct. Even the most rewarding objects that initially promised to provide an exemplary and diverse biography, such as the Cathedral of Syracuse or the Temple of Athena (Bayliss 2001: 228–232; Gruben 2001: 285–294; Sgariglia 2009), had to be excluded from the investigation. The heterogeneous nature of the sources and the insufficient data – a situation that applies even to contemporary and well-documented monuments – do not permit a description of all the stages between the idea and the afterlife of a monument as a *Biography of Monumentality*.

This discussion makes clear why the attempt was bound to fail: the idea of the biography is attractive but it ignores the fact that there cannot be one valid, final biography for each built monument. In this vein, Igor Kopytoff explains in his groundbreaking essay *Cultural Biography of Things* that each person and each thing has many different biographies. These biographies are *per se* incomplete, as they are always viewed with a different focus, which then only takes a few details of the life story into consideration while blocking out others (cf. 1986: 67–68). Accordingly, what we here term a *Biography of Monumentality* can be designated as one more biography in the innumerable plethora of biographies of an object, albeit with a focus on built monumentality. In its diversity and subjectivity, the term biography thus has similarities with the term monumentality, the

wide spectrum of which has been demonstrated by Levenson (see Levenson in this volume).

We further argue that, in contrast to objects that can be removed from their cycle of thing-human relations by being museumized or by disappearing, architectures remain present, even when they are no longer visible. This is because architectures consist in part of material and in part of 'ideas, thoughts, emotions, desires' and, to put it another way, monumental buildings are 'larger-scale phenomena' (cf. Olsen 2003; Hodder 2016: 9).

In this volume we are concerned with monumentality that derives from architectures. In the following we therefore use the terms architecture, monument, and built structure/areas, but also mention the term objects, which is then used synonymously.

So as not to blindly fixate on the term biography, which is frequently the subject of critical discussion (see, for instance, the comments on this text), the term *Thesaurus of Monumentality* was also discussed against the background of the aforementioned list of terms. The treasury (Lat. *thesaurus*) of the entirety of terms relevant to a topic is, in line with its original meaning, rather to be found in the comprehensive chapter on *Research Approaches and Methodology* in this volume by Federico Buccellati.

At this point we want to discuss the perception of monumentality from two perspectives in order to do justice to the interdisciplinarity of the discussion forum. Firstly, Sebastian Hageneuer tackles the question of the perception of the monumentality of a building. He thereby sheds light on the building process using the methodological tools of an archaeologist. Sylva van der Heyden focuses on the reception of architecture and asks – as an art historian – whether monumentality can also be displayed and perceived through reproductions. We are fortunate to be able to refer here to the two introductory chapters by Levenson and Buccellati and, equipped with the aforementioned terms, will clarify and carve out two views of the term monumentality by way of example.

Perceiving monumentality through the process of building

From an archaeological stance, we document the remains of buildings with a constant interest in the process by which they emerged. We want to understand not only what we have in front of us, but also what value the architecture had at the time of its planning, existence, and afterlife. As archaeologists it is not uncommon for us to stand in front of the results of our excavations and to ask ourselves whether the ancient builders felt something similar (in whatever sense). In the case of monumental architecture technical questions concerning the planning, execution, resources, or maintenance are supplemented by conceptual questions

inquiring into contemporary intention, perception, reception, and meaning, especially in comparison or contrast to our own. This section of a so-called object biography (cf. Kopytoff 1986: 66–68) thus largely describes what happened before and during the creation of a monument, but it also to some extent relates to an immediate perception in the afterlife of the building. The final consensus of the forum was to distinguish between *process* and *outcome*, although several cases were cited in which monuments never reached a 'finished' status but were nonetheless used. Examples here include the Temple of Jupiter in Baalbek/Lebanon (Lohmann 2018) and Cologne Cathedral, which was 632 years in the building (Hardering 2014: 125).

In the following I attempt to describe the concepts and examples of monumentality in three steps. First, before building we find a planning and conceptual phase when the motivation of the actors plays a particularly significant role. Second, this is followed by the phase during building, that is, the concrete implementation and organization of such a project. Finally, I discuss the phase after building and describe the use and also the afterlife of the architecture.

Before the building

Before a monument exists it has to come into existence in the mind, be planned for, and its construction organized. Here questions arise concerning actors and their motivation. Were the buildings discussed here deliberately created in a way that we today term monumental and why was this actually necessary?

A very early example of a monumental building is the Göbekli Tepe complex in Turkey, which was possibly the result of collective effort and dates from the 10th millennium BCE (pre-pottery Neolithic) (Schmidt 2000; 2001; 2009). More than ten circular compounds have been discovered, structured with elaborately designed, T-shaped pillars in stone up to 4 m in height. The engravings depict diverse human forms and animals. The excavators interpret the form of the stone pillars as suggesting that they are anthropomorphic statues rather than buttresses (Notroff/Dietrich/Schmidt 2014: 87–88). This building work could only have been erected as a collaborative project. No other comparative complex has yet been found and dating reveals that it is certainly one of the oldest monumental buildings of human history. The population of the time lived as hunters and gatherers and in which numbers they were present at the creation of this circular compound is as yet unclear. However, it has been suggested that various groups met for this 'collective work event', motivated by the desire for regular social exchange and joint celebrations (Notroff/Dietrich/Schmidt 2014: 93–99). These building projects thus started in the community and it is assumed that they were common in the Neolithic (e. g. Mischka 2012: 141), especially as it is not possible to exactly classify and define a hierarchy or form of political leadership for this time. The motivation behind the building thus seems to have been the consolidation of communities.

If Notroff, Dietrich, and Schmidt (2014) are right, then monumentality may have developed from a sense of community in the pre-pottery Neolithic in Turkey, and could therefore have been a by-product.

The creation in later times of complexes that are termed monumental is usually attributed only to more highly organized groups (elites, royalty, religious organizations) (Trigger 2007: 564), even though – as just discussed – contrasting examples have recently been identified. Nonetheless the emerging complexity of political entities seems to be associated with the creation of such monuments. Furholt, Hinz, and Mischka go so far as to state that the creation of monumental buildings was not the result of a complex society but was the process of establishing such a society (2012: 13–15); they thus find themselves in complete contradiction to Notroff, Dietrich, and Schmidt. For example, we link the emergence of the first monumental structures in the 4th millennium BCE in Sumerian Uruk (Late Uruk Period) with the apparently simultaneous hierarchisation of society and the associated leading elite, whatever form they took (Hageneuer/Levenson 2018: 110–111, Pollock 2013). According to Furholt, Hinz, and Mischka the creation of the monumental buildings discovered in Uruk could also have been constitutive for the establishment of state structures and increased hierarchization (2012: 15).

A thousand years later, in the 3rd millennium BCE, so-called ziggurats emerged throughout Mesopotamia (Trigger 2007: 572). These monumental high temples dedicated to the gods were a tradition preserved until the 1st millennium BCE and culminated in the famous Tower of Babel. The creation, maintenance, and restoration of these buildings, truly monumental in size, were always in the hands of the king. This responsibility could serve to legitimize his monarchy and was therefore his duty. In this way, traditionally operating leaders were rendered responsible for the creation of monumental objects, for instance the Pyramid of Khufu or Gilgamesh's town-walls (also see Levenson in this volume: External Motivation).

There is evidence to show that large-scale projects such as the construction of the Egyptian pyramids and the Mesopotamian ziggurats of the 3rd millennium BCE were built under strict direction and supervision (Trigger 2007: 570–571). The leading ruler was undoubtedly diversely motivated. On the one hand, the buildings served as a very visible sign of rulership and a clear demonstration of power. On the other hand, through the construction of the immense buildings a link between the worldly and godly spheres was created. The focus here was not so much on collaborative building, but rather on the creation of monuments linked to individuals, serving their own legitimation or commemoration with clearly defined goals and expectations. Trevor Watkins adds that "the role of collective memory is generally said to be vital for maintaining the community's sense of common identity". These monuments were thus necessary for the formation of a shared identity (2012: 37).

Whoever (agency) for whatever reason (motivation) in whatever way (approach) erected a monument must have been confronted with logistical and material problems. Monumental projects need not be physically large (cf. Hageneuer/Levenson 2018) but they do need to contrast with the norm, which must have required considerable effort and a vast amount of resources and organization (cf. Bukowiecki/Wulf-Rheidt 2018). We thus have to think right through the process of constructing monumental buildings and ask how it was practically possible.

During the building

The method of architectural energetics can help us to grasp monumentality in numbers (Buccellati 2016: 173–175; 196–198). Here the specific elements of the construction process of a building or complex are determined and subdivided into groups. For instance, the construction of a typical central hall of the Uruk era is broken down into the elements: mud bricks, mud plaster, wood (window and roof material, doors) and reeds (roof and window covering). This makes it possible not only to determine the individual building processes, but also to calculate the energy expended (cf. Hageneuer/Schmidt in this volume; Buccellati 2016; Hageneuer/Levenson 2018). This can be undertaken using contemporary texts, ethnographic parallels, or other archaeological sources (Buccellati 2016: 83–85; 173). The focus is not only on the individual elements of the building but also on the process of obtaining raw materials, transport, and processing, right up to the payment of the individual workers on a building site (cf. Brunke 2018). This entire interlinked process is also termed a *chaîne opératoire* (Buccellati 2016: 79–83), describing a course of occurrences that captures the total building process. Once this *chaîne opératoire* is established, then the energy expenditure for the materials, transport, processing, and maintenance of an individual project can be added together and the corresponding projects can be given an 'energetic cost'. These results clarify the effort and scope of the projects, but also help with direct comparisons.

The construction of the Flavian Palace of Emperor Domitian on the Palatine Hill in Rome serves as an example illustrating the immense effort involved in a brick building. E. Bukowiecki and U. Wulf-Rheidt have shown that over 1.8 million bricks of various sizes were used just for the shell of the building (2018: 55). This vast number of bricks had to be carefully organized and brought to the building site in a relatively short construction period. Calculations suggest that the bricks had to be transported from a distance of up to 80 km; this was also true of the wood required at the building site. The authors believe that for economic reasons the wood required was used to make floats, which were then also used to deliver the mud bricks (Bukowiecki/Wulf-Rheidt 2018: 56).

Apart from the transport of materials from the vicinity to Rome, the organization of the building site itself was a challenge. The authors have calculated that

within the ten-year construction period at least 34,250 ox carts must have been required to cover the 1 km distance from the landing stage on the Tiber up to the building site of the palace (Bukowiecki/Wulf-Rheidt 2018: 57). As space on the building site was also limited, the transport of materials to Rome, their delivery to the building site and their further processing needed to be smoothly and efficiently organized by those in charge of the building. The organization of the building site was also determined by regulations governing specific cases, as shown by S. Prignitz who discusses a building contract regulation from Tegea in Arcadia on the Peloponnese (2018). This demonstrates that the organizational effort could become multi-layered and complex. It can be surmised that this influenced contemporary builders and observers considerably.

The creation of monumental buildings cannot have escaped the notice of the observers of such building sites and works, as it can be assumed that these projects were always organized and carried out in large groups. They must therefore have exercised an enormous influence on society and the economy (see also Mogetta in this volume). As D. Lohmann (2018) has been able to demonstrate, for example, the construction of the Temple of Jupiter in Baalbek/Lebanon was an immense economic factor that promoted the development of what had been a small peripheral fortress in the Hellenistic period to a Roman town. The building work lasted at least two centuries and provided constant and reliable jobs, which in turn clearly brought increased prosperity and community to the town (also see Levenson in this volume: Internal Motivation). The author even suggests that certain extensions to the building plans and the conspicuous and prolonged unfinished state of the building may have been deliberate (Lohmann 2018: 150).

Another interesting point about the Temple of Jupiter in Baalbek concerns the presentation of the temple itself. The architectural survey reveals that the walls and podium were made of solid monumental stone blocks (Lohmann 2018: 157–160). Amazingly, the size of the stone blocks increased towards the top in order to create a monumental effect by deliberately disrupting normal visual habits (Lohmann 2018: 160). Monuments can thus create impacts and generate feelings, and they not only do this to us but also did so during the lifetimes of those who built them and contemporary beholders (see Delitz/Levenson in this volume).

The impact on viewers of such creations was particularly intensive if the building remained 'unfinished' over decades or centuries. If the unfinished state of the architecture was not intended, then this was initially perceived as a flaw and the building project and those in charge of it were negatively connoted. However, if the work was then completed, they ascended to monumental fame. A well-documented example from the post-antiquity era is the building of Cologne Cathedral, where an unfinished building dominated the townscape for almost 300 years between the first and second phases of construction. Numerous pictorial records show the state in which the building remained for generations

after construction work stopped in 1559. The half-built South Tower of the cathedral with an enormous, abandoned crane on its upper floor was testimony to the incompleteness of the building, and also became a landmark of the city. This was a sight that caused Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) to be conscious of 'apprehension'[3], the unfinished building reminded him "of the inadequacy of man, as soon as he ventures to want to achieve something outsized" (Goethe 1998b: 180). In 1842 the foundation stone of the second construction phase of Cologne Cathedral was laid and within 38 years, by 1880, the building was completed. The resumption of building occurred under the protection of the Prussian king and Cologne Cathedral was thus rededicated and became a national monument to commemorate the French occupation of the Rhineland in 1813 (cf. Nipperdey 1981). Today it appears in every architectural guide as a leading example of the Gothic in Germany.

Post-Construction

What happens with a monument that has been built and can now be used? As described above, it is not actually necessary for the building work to be completed, but from a certain point the functions of the monument – as determined by those in charge of the building – begin. These functions can be diverse and may change again over time.

Furholt, Hinz, and Mischka state that "there seems to be a broad consensus on the importance of monuments as a stage for the transmission of socially relevant meanings, of social memories" (2012: 13). Monumental architecture can thus serve as the cultural memory of a society, some examples of which we still marvel at (the Pyramid of Khufu) or talk about today (the Tower of Babylon). The permanence of monuments clearly plays an important role (e. g. Mischka 2012), even though the significance and function of the buildings can change over time (Furholt/Hinz/Mischka 2012: 16). The aforementioned example of Cologne Cathedral demonstrates the way in which permanence can play a role. Even though it was unfinished, the cathedral with the crane was a landmark of the city for almost 300 years. Today the cathedral is still constantly subject to building work, a situation that continues to conjure weary smiles from the people of Cologne.

If monuments or monumental places are deserted (abandonment), no longer maintained (decline) and are in this way, or indeed deliberately, destroyed (destruction), then this represents an abrupt break in the life history of the monument – both positively and negatively. If one chooses destruction and artificial

3 The term *apprehension* can have two different meanings: firstly, the perception of an object through the senses; secondly, as Goethe uses the term, a spontaneous, negative but not aggressive reaction to things, people, and experiences (cf. Herwig 1978: 778–779).

decomposition as something that brings an architecture's biography to an end, then it is right to talk of a physical end. However, this can only be putatively valid. Academic reappraisal, techniques, and methods are particularly suitable for bringing the forgotten back into the light of day and public awareness, as has been the case, for instance, with the Tower of Babel (Schmid 1995; Wullen/Schauerte 2008). After its destruction the monument was forgotten, so that at the beginning of the 20th century the Tower of Babel was only familiar thanks to the bible and the writings of Herodotus. It was not until 1912 that Robert Koldewey (1855–1925) excavated the actual remains of the monument; ever since there has been an unending series of proposals for reconstructions (Minkowski 1959; Schmid 1995). Thus even an absent monument can be present just through the reception of the disappeared architecture (cf. Lindemann 2008).

Clearly, destruction need not be the end of the lifespan of a monument providing that after a timeout (however this may be defined) a revival of the monument is possible; this may be based on visible built elements, excavated architectural findings, discolourations in the soil, or written and pictorial sources (see Autenrieth/van Boekel in this volume).

Even a redefinition of the purpose or specific character of a monument, which initially brings its original function to an end, can actually signify the rescue or revival of endangered architecture. Here the Cathedral of Syracuse or the Temple of Athena can be illustrative. The Temple of Athena, built in 480 BCE in Doric style, was not only used as a central argument in the evidence brought against Verres by Cicero (Cicero 1995: 393–394, In Verrem II.4.122), but also happened to be converted into a Christian place of worship. At the naming of the building as the Cathedral of Santa Maria delle Colonne in 640 CE its conversion from a temple to a three-nave basilica had been completed. Temple conversions were not uncommon at this time in the Mediterranean area, although not as widely spread as the building of new churches and chapels on the ruins of temples, as Bayliss shows (2001: 230).

It is significant that the modern built structures did not hide the ancient temple but the different structural elements rather existed in visible juxtaposition, almost like an archaeological window (Figure 1).

Thus visitors could and can easily reconstruct the antique building for themselves. The Prussian architect Heinrich Gentz (1766–1811), for instance, made a detailed recording in his diary of his visit on 9 May 1792 to the "Cathedral-church, the former Temple of Minerva", meticulously describing and reconstructing the existing and former architecture (cf. Gentz 2004: 104–105).

Of course the aspects described here can only illustrate a small part of what monumentality means or may have meant. Similar résumés can be found in Furholt, Hinz, and Mischka (2012: 13–20), Osborne (2014: 1–19), or Brunke et al. (2016: 250–254). All attempt to summarize and order the archaeological view of

Figure 1: Cathedral of Syracuse, Sicily, detail of the side aisle (Photo by Sylva van der Heyden)

monumentality.[4] Monumentality is initially perceived in an unconsciously emotional fashion. All the senses contribute to the manner of unconscious perception (see Buccellati in this volume). In the attempt to define monumentality we thus also unavoidably interpret an entire history of research. The question therefore arises as to how and in what way we receive monumentality. To again draw on Kopytoff and make use of the image of the biography of an object, we should not stop at the (putative) end of the life of a monument but should inquire into the form in which monumentality has survived into modern times and how it has been received and changed.

Perceiving monumentality through reproduction

Fundamentals

Monumentality is ascribed to objects, an ascription that is generated by the perception of a beholder. There are therefore an infinite number of monumentalities and no objective definition of them (see Levenson in this volume). The situation is clearer with objects that are produced and constructed as monuments. They have the task, e. g. as with a memorial – and now we return to built space – of transporting memoria, and thus act as an agent of something that can be perceived as monumentality. One possible way in which this monumentality is manifested is in the reception of a built monument through reproducing it, perceiving the reproduction, and discussing its authenticity.

With his essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*,[5] Walter Benjamin has for decades dominated the discourse on the concept of reproduction (1993). In this text Benjamin states that every artwork is reproducible but that the unique being of the original cannot be reproduced (cf. Benjamin 1993: 10–11) because the "here and now of the original underlies the concept of its authenticity" (Benjamin 1993: 12; translation: Jennings et al. 2002: 103). Benjamin postulates two kinds of reproduction, a manual and a technical.[6] It proves positive for the beholder that technical reproductions "can place the copy of the original in sit-

4 To look into monumentality in other fields besides archaeology and architecture see for example: Rehding, A. (2009): Music and monumentality. Commemoration and wonderment in the nineteenth-century Germany, Oxford: Oxford University Press; Garval, M. D. (2004): A dream of stone. Fame, vision and monumentality in nineteenth-century French literary culture, Newark: University of Delaware Press; Hung, W. (1995): Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

5 *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit*.

6 Benjamin uses the term manual reproduction to refer to the copying by hand of an artwork, whereby the original retains its authority in the face of the reproduction. With the term technical

uations which the original itself cannot attain. Above all it enables the original to meet the recipient halfway […]" (Benjamin 1993: 12–13; translation: Jennings et al. 2002: 103). At the same time, however, the technical reproduction devalues the artwork in its here and now, in its authenticity, and jeopardizes its historical testimony. Benjamin links "the authenticity of an artwork not with an ascription of authenticity but with its materiality which has experienced the unfolding of time itself" (Mager 2017: 31). Materiality in this context means the tangible matter and its erosion, the light that is reflected differently on different materials, the echo that can be perceived in different ways by the viewer (see Buccellati in this volume).

Monumentality can thus be generated from historical testimony and from materiality (see Levenson in this volume). If a technical reproduction lacks these two important aspects, then further questions must be posed. Can reproductions of monuments give a perception of monumentality? Can a copy of Trajan's Column transport monumentality in the same way as Trajan's Column itself?

Hypothesis

One possible way to perceive monumentality is to create or possess an image, a copy, a reproduction of the original monument and to enter into an exchange, as Osborne puts it, "an ongoing, constantly renegotiated relationship between thing and person" (2014: 3). Is this possible and if so, how? This idea was the subject of critical discussion in the workshop, as it seems that the limits of the imagination are quickly exceeded if the reproduction of a monument is not true to scale. To what extent is it then possible to refer to monumentality if the physical size or architectural scale of a Trajan's Column is not mirrored? If the reproduction is much smaller than the original monument? Does size matter? What parameters should be applied to monumentality if physical size is not an argument? What happens in the perception of a monument if the original three-dimensionality of a built object becomes two-dimensional in the course of a reproduction?

On 5 September 1786, Johann Wolfgang Goethe made a note in his diary about a visit to the Hofgarten Gallery in Munich, where he stopped on his way to Italy and saw "the Colonna Trajani as a model" with "the figures gilded silver on lapis lazuli" (Goethe 1976: 17–18) (Figure 2).

In Munich Goethe encountered a reproduction of the column monument, which he described as "a beautiful piece of work" (Goethe 1976: 17–18) and which produced a visual imprint and impression. However, his contact with the monument in Rome was far more multifaceted. Here Goethe also had a bodily expe-

reproduction Benjamin refers to all techniques that allow mass replication: casting, embossing, woodcuts, copperplate, etching, lithography and photography.

Figure 2:
Luigi Valadier, Bartholomäus Hecher, Peter Ramoser, Trajan's Column, 1774–1780, 203 cm high, marble, bronze, guilded silver, lapis lazuli (Inv. Res.Mü.Sch. 1221, Residenzmuseum München, © Bayerische Schlösserverwaltung)

rience of the monumentality of Trajan's Column. On 23 July 1787 he climbed the steps to the top and abandoned himself to the inestimable view of Rome to be had from the 30 m high platform (cf. Goethe 1998: 371). In retrospect he actually only reports on the view that he enjoyed from Trajan's Column, he records no reception of the monument itself. Why this was probably not possible is clarified by the following facts.

The location of the 35 m high monument has not changed since its construction in 113 CE in the Forum of Trajan, in a narrow courtyard bookended by two library buildings. As viewers of the monument have to look up at a very sharp angle from ground level, the view of the column is limited and only the lower portions of the frieze can be seen. After the complex was completed it was possible to examine the frieze in sections from the terraces of the libraries. If these elevated locations had not existed a reception of the historical frieze would have been completely impossible (cf. Hölscher 2017: 32–33). This limited but, according to Hölscher, functional method of reading is aided by the fact that the figures on the frieze increase in size from the bottom to the top (see Baalbek and the stone blocks that get bigger towards the top). Hölscher suggests that Trajan's Column is a complex message with limited perceptibility (Hölscher 2017: 33) and it is therefore possible to adopt new forms of perception. A "macro-perspective" allows the entire monument, including the aesthetic message, to be appreciated, without it being possible or necessary to recognize the details. A "micro-perspective" allows a view of details or individual scenes of the frieze. This partial perception is supplemented by integrative extrapolation and a conviction of completeness with which the observer can assume that the entire frieze is equally detailed, convincing, and complete as the few, easily visible scenes at the bottom end of Trajan's Column (cf. Hölscher 2017: 34–35).

A constant motif running through history is the longing to possess something more than just the memory of the object. Something that helps to preserve the image of the monument and the impression of the monumentality that, e. g., the beholder of Trajan's Column has assimilated. Beyond that, diverse motivations for possessing an image of the monument – in the period constituted by the examples, from about 1770 to 1830 – are: reminders (souvenirs), scientific objects for collections or study, didactic models, vehicles to influence the development of taste, and symbolic appropriation.[7]

7 Transferred to the present day these can be supplemented with gain or pecuniary interest through (illegal) art dealing.

Trajan's Column by Valadier

The monument Trajan's Column and the monumentality of Trajan's Column were honored with a range of technical reproductions.[8] In Rome between 1774 and 1780, Luigi Valadier (1726–1785), Bartholomäus Hecher (around 1729–1807), and Peter Ramoser (1722–1802) completed an almost 2 m high Trajan's Column made of bronze and gilded silver, and decorated with lapis lazuli (cf. Galinier 1999: 203). On a much reduced scale but with pinpoint accuracy, every detail of the frieze was transferred to the copy[9] and much appreciated by contemporaries such as Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz (1741–1812):

> All the figures and objects that this wonderful memorial contains, without exception, can be seen meticulously imitated on a small scale in this model, whereby not even the slightest detail has been forgotten. […] This small model is, without reckoning the valuable materials, most estimable because one has an overview of the whole in one go and can easily follow the curvatures of the line. (von Archenholz 1785: 265–266)

Valadier's copy of Trajan's Column is only 2 m high as opposed to 35 m, but it does not appear less monumental than the original in view of the skill of the craftsmanship, the time it took to produce, and the precious materials used.[10] The entirety of the monument can be much more comprehensively perceived in this reduced form. Here no cognitive supplementation or 'extrapolation' is required. In 1783 the column was acquired by the Bavarian Elector Karl Theodor (1724–1799) in Rome and moved to Munich. There it was initially placed in the recently completed Hofgarten Gallery, where Goethe noticed it, before being moved to its present location in the treasury of the residence. The Hofgarten Gallery built by Karl Theodor is considered to be one of the first public art galleries; here the foremost idea was clearly to make this scaled-back Trajan's Column accessible to the public. In addition to this didactic and encyclopedic aspiration, the focus seems also to have been on the dynastic legitimization of the ruling line through the representative monument (cf. Granzow 2015: 524–548).

8 Further details about the intentions behind the creation of reproductions and their function are not discussed here. See on this subject the Ph. D. project by Sylva van der Heyden at the Technische Universität Berlin under the working title *Die Medialisierung von Monumentalität. Die Darstellung der Größe Roms im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert in zwei- und dreidimensionalen Medien.*

9 According to copperplates by Pietro Santi Bartoli (publ. 1672).

10 See on down-scaled monumentality and materiality J. Osborne in the introduction to the conference paper (2014) and Geoffroy-Schneiter, B. (2015): Micromonumentality – A Tribute to Miniature Works of African Art, Milan: 5 Continents Editions.

Casts of the frieze of Trajan's Column

The reproduction of Trajan's Column was also motivated by other aspirations, as revealed by consideration of the casts made of the column. The casts of the entire frieze made at the same scale as the original do most justice to the notion that monumentality can only be perceived, received, and interpreted through an equally large copy.[11] The best known of these casts are exhibited in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London and in the National Museum of Romanian History in Bucharest.[12] (Figure 3 & 4)

The casts were prepared piece by piece, which involved erecting scaffolding around the entire column, an undertaking that was only possible for and by the elite. Monarchical, imperial, and national interests were always behind the reproductions. The first casts were commissioned in 1540 by Francis I of France (1494–1547); this was followed in 1665–1671 by a commission by Louis XIV of France (1638–1715). A turning point and new dimension in the reception of Trajan's Column was achieved in 1797 when Napoleon (1769–1821) attempted to move the entire column to Paris. As this proved impossible without destroying it, in 1810 a new, higher column was erected in Place Vendôme in the style of Trajan's Column, intended as a memorial to Napoleon's victorious activities (Battle of Austerlitz). "Linked inextricably to Napoleon's display of power and his preoccupation with France's past was an element of demonstrating the First Empire's preeminence over Imperial Rome." (Rowell 2012: 59) In 1833 a statue of Napoleon was placed on top of the Vendôme Column, thus copying the appearance of Trajan's Column in the early centuries after its construction.[13] The hegemonic interests expressed in the struggle over Trajan's Column and the possession of as complete an iconographic program as possible are also demonstrated in the following centuries. In 1861–62 a cast of the frieze was made for Napoleon III (1808–1873), in 1938 Mussolini (1883–1945) commissioned a cast, and in the 1960s a cast was taken to Bucharest[14] under orders from Nicolae Ceaușescu (1918–1989) (Galinier 1999: 201–202; Galinier 2017: 234–235; Hölscher 2017: 17).

11 I am not dealing with the preparation, use and dissemination of the partial casts of the frieze in museums and university collections.

12 The casts in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum are presented as dissected parts of the column and were made c. 1864 in Paris. The casts of the frieze in Bucharest are cut into 125 pieces and are arranged on the walls of a court surrounding a copy of the base of Trajan's Column. Other casts of the complete frieze are found in Rome (Museo della Civiltà Romana) and Saint-Germain-en-Laye (Musée des Antiquités Nationales).

13 At its construction, a statue of Trajan was placed on the top of Trajan's Column; this was lost at some point and in 1588 was replaced by a statue of St. Peter.

14 Other sources date the order for the replica in 1939, suggesting it was finished in 1943. Due to World War II the casts came to Romania only in 1967 (cf. Museteanu 2004: 35).

Figure 3: The West Court (The Ruddock Family Cast Court) at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, with the Trajan's Column in two parts (Photo by Sylva van der Heyden)

Figure 4: Casts of Trajan's Column at the Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, Bucharest (Photo cc/by Jorge Láscar)

In all these cases, knowledge about the monument, the reason for its construction, and the idea of the memoria is necessary to achieve reception – in particular if viewers get closer to the frieze than was envisaged in the original context.

Trajan's Column by Piranesi

A change of medium: how can a 35 m high antique monument, covered with reliefs, be appropriately and accurately reproduced in a two-dimensional medium? Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) found a simple but ingenious answer to this problem: *Trofeo o sia magnifica colonna coclide di marmo […]*, an etching that presents a reproduction of Trajan's Column on a kind of over-dimensional, monumental folding panel, an impressive 3 m in length (Figure 5). Piranesi etched Trajan's Column from the base to the crowning figure on six separate plates; other panels show architectural and sculptural details of the column. This truly imposing reproduction of the column demands particular attentiveness from the beholder. To view and consume this 3 m version one requires an especially large table or the use of the floor. Moving around this image or crouching down next to it is a bodily experience, and the monumentality of the work has a perceptible impact. In this example the reproduction is also, despite the reduction in size, monumental. This observation raises new questions: Does Piranesi appropriate the monumentality of the column for himself by making his work monumental as well, even as a copy?

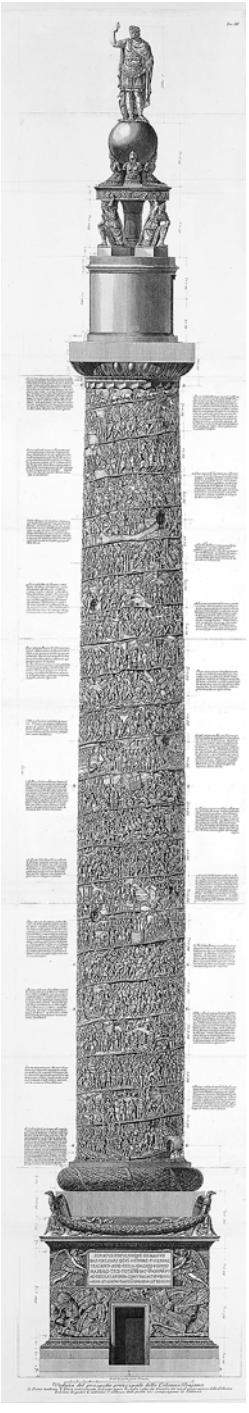

Figure 5: Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Veduta del prospetto principale della Colonna Trajana, assembled from six plates printed on six sheets [in: Trofeo o sia magnifica colonna coclide di marmo composta di grossi macigni ove si veggono scolpite le due guerre daciche fatte da Traiano], 1774–1779, 285.5 × 47.0 cm, etching (Inv. 1926,0511.35, Collection, British Museum, © Trustees of the British Museum)

Calling this print monumental relates to the technical term that is used for prints that were created in the Renaissance era and gives credit to the sheer size of the assembled panels.[15]

The medium furthermore permits particularly intensive and comparative study of the frieze and thus awakens fresh amazement at the skilled craftsmanship revealed in the sculptures of Trajan's Column. Monumentality can thus be perceived through observation of both the pictorial object and the pictorial medium.

Synthesis of the chapter

Reception, judgment, and appropriation are processes that cannot be thought of without each other. They occur during and after the first contact with a monument. By accepting monumentality it can be consciously perceived, accepted, or rejected. The reproduction of a monument cannot occur without prior appropriation, just as the appropriation can only occur after observation and judgment.

Considering these processes individually, judgment is a significant factor for the 'survival' of the monument. If viewers decide against the monument, perhaps for political or hegemonic reasons, these architectural structures will be rejected, rededicated, converted, built over, or destroyed (see Delitz/Levenson and Autenrieth/van Boekel in this volume). On the other hand, it has only been possible to investigate certain monumental architectures because over the centuries relevant actors judged them in a way that permitted appropriation. In addition to Trajan's Column, considered in such detail above, the Pantheon in Rome provides another striking example, regarded among scholars of antiquity as the epitome of Roman architecture (Hirt 1822: 283) and as a perfect representation of the "transformation of associations linked with it, both formally aesthetic and functional" (Martini 2006: 8). The Pantheon was built under Emperor Hadrian between 118 and 126 CE as a rotunda. In the 7th century it was granted to Pope Boniface and dedicated as a Christian church to Mary and the Martyrs. The Catholic Church took over the building in a visible fashion by removing statues and inscriptions and erecting altars in the interior. The rotunda is viewed as unique and influential in the history of architecture and there are many examples of its reception.[16] The diverse history on the one hand and the unusual cupola architecture on the other guarantee a pronounced and sustained reception.

15 Cf. Silver, L./Wyckoff, E. (eds.) (2008): Grand Scale: Monumental Prints in the Age of Dürer and Titian, New Haven: Yale University Press.

16 E. g. Villa Rotunda in Vicenza by Andrea Palladio, 1566–1569; St. Hedwig's Cathedral in Berlin by Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff and J. L. Legeay, 1747–1773; Cenotaph for Newton by Étienne-Louis Boullée, 1784; Rotunda of the University of Virginia by Thomas Jefferson, 1822–1826; Rotunda of the Altes Museum in Berlin by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, 1825–1830.

The monumental character of the building is especially highlighted in its reception. In his novel *Titan*, the poet and writer Jean Paul (1763–1825) has his protagonist enter the Pantheon and wonder:

> there reared itself around them a holy, simple, free world structure with its heavenly arches soaring and striving upward, an odium of the tones of the sphere-music, a world in the world! And overhead the eye-socket of the light and of the sky gleamed down, and the distant rack of clouds seemed to touch the lofty arch over which it shot along! And round about them stood nothing but the temple-bearers, the columns! The temple of all gods endured and concealed the diminutive altars of the later ones. (Paul 1803: 40; translation: Paul 1877: 198)

Remarkably, despite his impressive depiction of an experience of the Pantheon's interior, Jean Paul never visited Rome. Jean Paul provides an "example of a poetic reception of antique architecture without actual beholding" (Heres 1977: 205) and must have drawn on pictorial templates based on engravings by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Giuseppe Vasi (1710–1782), or Jean Barbault (1718–1762) for his descriptions (Heres 1977: 199). The reception of monumentality – and precisely that is what Jean Paul conveys in the scene in the Pantheon – must thus have occurred via technical reproductions.

We know that the situation was similar with Herodot's description of the Tower of Babel (Feix 1963: 181). The ancient historian describes the composition and structure of the tower right down to the smallest detail. Later archaeologists such as Victor Place (1818–1875) or Leonard Woolley (1880–1960) attempted to adhere to Herodot's descriptions in their reconstructions of the ziggurats that they found during their excavations; however they discovered that it was almost impossible to harmonize the descriptions with what was physically achievable (Hageneuer 2016: 363–366). In 1994 Stephanie Dalley published an article in which she demonstrated that Herodot most probably never visited Babylon and that his descriptions were probably based on local sources (Dalley 1994: 45). With these two examples, the Pantheon and the Tower of Babel, it again becomes clear that an incessant reception of existing and no longer existing monuments through very different mediums can displace direct perception. The idea of monumentality survives all forms of the biography of its (initial) carrier and can be perceived and received with the help of very differently characterized mediums.

Returning to the three-way division of the biography of monumentality as drawn up by the participants of the workshop (*process*, *outcome*, and *perception*), the analogy to Kopytoff's object biography was obvious but only applies to the extent that there is not *the* one biography of monumentality. However, as long as the monumental is also seen as an object this approach makes sense because it is a reminder of the different stages in which monumentality can be perceived and researched.

Our dual view on the topic has demonstrated that there are points of agreement on the part of both archaeology and art history in approaching and using the concept of monumentality. During the writing process the focus of the article repeatedly shifted. We discovered that our own sections often required the perspective of the other and thus represent, at least in part, an intersection of views. As Levenson describes in his terminology chapter, our article also demonstrates that there is more than one definition of monumentality and there is more than one subjective approach to the topic. Ultimately, that is exactly what this volume wishes to reflect. Starting with this introductory chapter and the corresponding critical comments, we would like to draw attention to the problematic nature of the term monumentality. The following case studies are then intended to demonstrate the broad range of examples investigated under monumentality.

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