England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages

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England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages

Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics

Edited by

Francesca Tinti

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FRANCESCA TINTI
San Sebastián, April 2013

Abbreviations

Bede, *HE* Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Bertam Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969)

Chronicle of John of Worcester
The Chronicle of John of Worcester, II: *The Annals from 450 to 1066*, ed. and trans. by R. R. Darlington, P. McGurk, and Jennifer Bray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995)

Councils and Synods
Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, I: *A.D. 871–1204*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, Martin Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) (cited by volume and page number)

EHD *English Historical Documents*, I: *c. 500–1042*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn (London: Eyre Methuen, 1979)

ICUR *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores, nova series*, ed. by Angelo Silvagni and others, 10 vols (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1922–92)

Jaffé, *RP* Philipp Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Leipzig: Veit, 1885–88; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1956)

LP *Le 'Liber Pontificalis': texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. by Louis Duchesne, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Paris: de Boccard, 1955–57)

Sawyer P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 5 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968) (cited by charter number) (available in an electronic and updated form at <http://www.esawyer.org.uk>)

Introduction: Anglo-Saxon England and Rome

Francesca Tinti

Scholarship pertaining to Anglo-Saxon England is noticeably less insular today than it used to be a few decades ago, and this is thanks to the many efforts which have been made in recent studies to place its history and culture in a wider framework, thus permitting one to appreciate the importance of its connections with other regions, societies, and cultures. In this context the special relation that linked England to Rome in the early Middle Ages is often referred to as one of the most influential. The fame of Sts Peter and Paul, both martyred and buried in Rome, gave the city and its bishop a unique role in the Christian West. The Anglo-Saxons also had a clear awareness of Rome as the source of their own Christianity, which further contributed to making it a place of special affection and devotion. In fact, the influence of Rome on so many aspects of Anglo-Saxon history and culture began to be acknowledged long before early medieval studies adopted the broad and comparative framework which characterizes recent scholarship. Ultimately, one might argue, it all goes back to Bede and the importance that the Gregorian missions were given in his narration, not just for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity but also for the creation of an 'English' identity capable of overcoming the political divisions of the time.[1]

[1] See Wormald, 'The Venerable Bede and the "Church of the English"'; Brooks, *Bede and the English*. See also Brooks, 'Canterbury, Rome and the Construction of English Identity', and Brooks, 'English Identity from Bede to the Millennium'.

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Many aspects of the relations between England and Rome in the early Middle Ages have been analysed by modern scholarship: from the above-mentioned Gregorian missions to the impact of Archbishop Theodore's organization of the English church;[2] from the frequent trips of such figures as Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid to the more general theme of pilgrimage to Rome;[3] from the relations between the papacy and the Anglo-Saxon missionaries to the Continent to the presence of papal legates in England;[4] from the origins of the annual payments to the papacy, which later came to be called 'Peter's Pence', to the foundation and function of the *schola Saxonum*;[5] from the idea of Rome at the time of King Alfred to the detailed record kept by Archbishop Sigeric during his journey of 990.[6] The list could go on, though as it is, it already serves to demonstrate the intensity and frequency of the relations of the Anglo-Saxons with Rome.

Although the importance of these relations has been acknowledged by several generations of scholars, it must be stressed that approaches have varied in the course of time. In many respects Wilhelm Levison's Ford Lectures, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, delivered at Oxford in 1943, opened the way to all the later efforts made to place England's history in a wider picture,[7] even though, as has been recently noted by Conrad Leyser, the impact of Levison's work was initially stronger on the Continent than in England, where it took much longer for its implications to be properly acknowledged and fruitfully developed.[8] Although certain aspects of Levison's take on the theme have been superseded, especially his tendency to see the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon missionaries and their dealings with Rome as the source of salvation from the barbarism exemplified by the Continental pagan Germanic peo-

[2] See, for instance, Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity*, and Lapidge, *Archbishop Theodore*. On all the topics listed the literature is extensive, and only a few bibliographical references can be provided here.

[3] See, e.g., Colgrave, 'Pilgrimages to Rome', and Thacker, 'In Search of Saints'.

[4] See Levison, *England and the Continent*, passim, and Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, pp. 153–90.

[5] See Loyn, 'Peter's Pence', and Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum*.

[6] Irvine, 'The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the Idea of Rome', and Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990'.

[7] On the reasons why and the ways in which 'Levison's main arguments in *England and the Continent* have stood the test of time', see Nelson, 'England and the Continent in the Eighth Century', p. 115. See also Nelson, 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century'.

[8] Leyser, 'Introduction: England and the Continent'.

ples, who were eventually converted thanks to those missionizing efforts,[9] his work remains pioneering. His treatment of England and Rome mainly focused on the organization of the Anglo-Saxon church, especially the origins of the metropolitan sees; on the papal granting of monastic privileges; on saints' cults; and on pilgrimage to Rome. The latter two topics are undoubtedly those which have been most successful and probably those which are still most enthusiastically explored by modern scholars, as is also apparent in this volume.[10]

The main developments since Levison's time go well beyond the noticeable increase in the number of studies and publications which have dealt with the connections between England and the Continent in general, and Rome in particular. From the identification of the actual contacts, mainly exemplified by journeys in both directions of people as well as material objects, including books, letters, coins, and relics, more recently the attention has moved on to consider what Rome represented for the Anglo-Saxons, both those who travelled there and those who remained at home.[11] In other words, perceptions of Rome are becoming nearly as important as actual visits to the Eternal City, and efforts are also being made to identify the impact that such experiences of Rome may have had on the perceptions of Britain's Roman past. In fact, while the Anglo-Saxons were mostly attracted to Rome for religious reasons, it should not be forgotten that Rome's classical past also contributed to the creation of a

[9] Leyser, 'Introduction: England and the Continent', p. 3. On possible relations between Levison's personal circumstances and his interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries' activities on the Continent, see also Hen, 'Wilhelm Levison's Willibrord and Echternach', pp. 197–98.

[10] The list of publications which have focused on these themes would be too long to be reproduced here, though many references can be found in the essays by Alan Thacker, Luisa Izzi, David A. E. Pelteret, and Veronica Ortenberg West-Harling contained in this volume. By contrast, privileges granted by the papacy to Anglo-Saxon monasteries still need to be properly analysed by modern scholars following Levison's and others' pioneering work. The task is particularly hard because the great majority of these documents have been preserved through later copies which are often interpolated. Significant advances are being made thanks to the publication of the volumes in the British Academy Anglo-Saxon Charters series, although the body of the material which has survived would also need to be studied as a whole through constant reference to and comparison with the contemporary production of the papal chancery.

[11] Among those who stayed at home but developed significant and influential views of what Rome represented, Bede obviously takes pride of place; on Bede and Rome, see, for instance, Ó Carragáin, *The City of Rome and the World of Bede*, and, more recently, Moorhead, 'Bede and the Papacy'. On Rome as an 'idea' or a 'mental' place, see Bolgia, 'Introduction'; see also Giardina and Vauchez, *Il mito di Roma*, esp. pp. 3–34.

multifaceted concept of *romanitas* which exerted varying degrees of influence on Anglo-Saxon England.[12]

The increase in multidisciplinary approaches, including, for instance, artistic, archaeological, liturgical, as well as historical studies, has proved to be particularly fruitful in making one appreciate how rich and varied any experience of early medieval Rome could be. Our knowledge and understanding of the city in that period have also benefited from the results of some important archaeological excavations which have been carried out in recent decades, especially those at the Crypta Balbi, which began in 1981, and the more recent ones in the area of the imperial fora.[13] These excavations have allowed scholars to become more aware of many social, economic, and cultural aspects of the city in the early Middle Ages, aspects which had traditionally been overlooked by those who tended to concentrate on the institutional and papal history of Rome.[14] The early medieval city has thus emerged from the dark corner into which it had long been confined, presumably also because of its being chronologically sandwiched between the classical period and the Gregorian reform.[15] At the same time, many national (i.e., Italian) and international conferences have provided unique opportunities for scholars to meet and share knowledge from their respective areas of expertise, and the numerous miscellaneous vol-

[12] It has been maintained, for instance, that in the late Anglo-Saxon period 'the *romanitas* of British or English territory was no longer insisted upon', in contrast with Bede's time when 'the romanizing effect of this past still left its mark on the territory and on its inhabitants': Coz, 'The Image of Roman History', p. 551. For examples of the English's interest in Rome's great imperial monuments and for references to Roman remains in Britain found, for instance, in the *Lives of Cuthbert*, see Thacker's contribution to this volume. For an example of reuse of Roman materials in Anglo-Saxon England, see Bidwell, 'Wilfrid at Hexham'.

[13] For a useful survey of the topography of early medieval Rome in the light of recent archaeological findings, see Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'altomedieovo*. The Crypta Balbi excavations have generated what seemed to be an almost unstoppable flow of publications, mostly sponsored by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma; among the most significant ones, see Manacorda, *Crypta Balbi*; Arena and others, *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*; and Paroli and Vendittelli, *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo II*. On the fora area, see Meneghini, *I Fori Imperiali e i Mercati di Traiano*, in particular pp. 197–220, devoted to the early medieval period.

[14] The emergence of such new interests is perhaps first attested in Paroli and Delogu, *La storia economica di Roma*.

[15] For similar observations which concern the whole medieval period but cast important light on Rome in the earlier Middle Ages, see Vauchez, 'Introduzione', pp. viii–xiv. See also Andrews, 'Introduction: Rome and *Romanitas*'.

umes on (early) medieval Rome which have been published in the last twenty years or so bear witness to the importance of such intellectual exchanges.[16] In other words, if we can approach the theme of the relations between England and Rome in the early Middle Ages with more confidence, it is mostly because, thanks to such initiatives, we now know and share much more about early medieval Rome than we used to.

This volume is a witness to the significant developments which have been just mentioned, in that it relies on the important findings which have led to a firmer knowledge of the early medieval city, its sites and its political, cultural, and religious significance, while bringing together both young and well-established scholars from different countries and different disciplines, including history, archaeology, art history, literature, and numismatics.[17] At the same time, however, it constitutes a significant new contribution to the study of the connections between England and Rome in the early Middle Ages. Although it does not claim to be comprehensive, it certainly represents the first attempt to explore the theme in a publication of this size; in fact, various miscellaneous volumes which have been published in recent years have investigated the relations between England and the Continent, but none of them has focused,

[16] The number of recent relevant conferences and miscellaneous publications is too high for this note to be comprehensive. Some have already been mentioned in previous notes, as in the case of Smith, *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, which gathers the papers delivered at an international conference held at St Andrews in June 1998 to celebrate the seventieth birthday of Donald Bullough. Two successive Spoleto *Settimane*, held at the turn of the millennium, also dealt with early medieval Rome (*Roma nell'alto Medioevo* and *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente*, published respectively in 2001 (48) and 2002 (49)). In 2002 another international conference, focusing on what the *Liber Pontificalis* reveals about 'material culture', i.e., mainly the topography and buildings of the early medieval city, was held at the Netherlands Institute in Rome; its proceedings have been published as Geertman, *Atti del colloquio internazionale*. Between 2003 and 2005 three more scholarly gatherings held at Kalamazoo, Leeds, and Miami focused on medieval Rome, and papers there presented were published in Ó Carragáin and Neuman de Vegvar, *Roma Felix*. Another conference, held in Cambridge in 2008, considered Rome as both a physical and a 'mental' place throughout the Middle Ages; this led to the publication of Bolgia, McKitterick, and Osborne, *Rome across Time and Space*. Also worth mentioning is a conference held in March 2010 at the British School in Rome, which focused on Old St Peter's and brought together some of the leading experts on the history, architecture and archaeology of the old basilica. Its proceedings have been published in McKitterick and others, *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*. For a fuller list of relevant publications on early medieval Rome, focusing especially on archaeology, topography, and architecture, see Paroli, 'Roma dal V al IX secolo', p. 35 nn. 15–18.

[17] Some of the essays gathered here, namely those by Pelteret, Thacker, Rory Naismith, and Francesca Tinti were first delivered at the International Medieval Congress held in Leeds in 2010.

as this volume does, specifically on England and Rome.[18] It should be stressed, however, that while focusing on this specific relation, several essays in the volume, like those by Marios Costambeys, Thomas F. X. Noble, and Elaine Treharne, try to place it in a wider context, bearing in mind the important role played by England's connections with other cultures and societies, especially the Carolingian and post-Carolingian world.

From the chronological point of view the volume roughly covers the Anglo-Saxon period, from the time of the conversion to Christianity onwards, although in various cases it has been necessary to take into account earlier events as well as later developments. Incursions into earlier times are particularly evident in Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani's paper, which provides a useful study of the ways in which foreigners were hosted in late antique and early medieval Rome, clearly showing that solutions began to be sought long before the arrival of numerous English pilgrims. In their turn, later developments can be found in those essays which mostly rely on literary evidence, as in the case of Lucia Sinisi's and Elaine Treharne's, thus allowing the reader to follow the impact that early medieval pilgrimages had on later medieval writers. It must be acknowledged, however, that the book reflects the general trend which has led scholars working on these topics to focus much more intensely on the earlier part of the period under investigation, so that the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries tend to be explored more frequently than the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century. This seems to be the case both for Rome and the relations between England and Rome. In both cases the lack of balance in the distribution of surviving written evidence certainly plays a crucial role. For instance, the *Liber Pontificalis* (that is, the collection of papal biographies which provides so much information on papal and Roman history in the period up to the ninth century) stopped being compiled during Stephen V's pontificate (885–91), and a detailed recording only began again in the twelfth century.[19] For the intervening period all we have is just schematic information on the popes' origins and the duration of their pontificates. Moreover, it is probably fair to note that the tradition of a 'bad press', which characterized most accounts of the papacy in

[18] Since the publication of Ortenberg, *The English Church*, the topic has witnessed a renewed interest thanks to the organization of international conferences which have led to the publication of such volumes as Rollason, Leyser, and Williams, *England and the Continent*, and Sauer and Story, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*. Similar interests also emerge from such monographs as those by Story, *Carolingian Connections*, and Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World*.

[19] See Vauchez, 'Introduzione', p. ix, and Tinti, 'England and the Papacy', pp. 166–68.

the tenth and first half of the eleventh century, has continued to affect research: even though such terms as 'pornocracy' or 'century of iron' have long ceased to be employed, this period is still perceived as in between the much more 'significant' time of the Carolingians and that of the Gregorian reform.[20] Studies on the relations between England and Rome have also tended to concentrate on the earlier times, for which sources seem to be much more telling.[21] Although this volume undoubtedly reflects that trend, in that it contains only two essays (mine and Elaine Treharne's) focusing on the later period, several others (as in the case of David A. E. Pelteret, Lucia Sinisi, Veronica Ortenberg West-Harling, and Rory Naismith) allow the reader to appreciate how connections with Rome continued to be important and actively sought for through the later Anglo-Saxon period.

The eleven contributions which are gathered here explore — in different combinations — three main aspects of the relations between England and Rome in the early Middle Ages, namely pilgrimage, artistic connections, and (ecclesiastical) politics, but also cast important new light on other related topics, such as saints' cults, liturgy, correspondence, and, more generally, cultural exchange. Pilgrimage, possibly the principal source of direct contact between the Anglo-Saxons and Rome, is dealt with in most, if not all, essays; in spite of its having been already explored by several generations of scholars, the papers in this volume offer new approaches. David A. E. Pelteret reconstructs the various routes that the Anglo-Saxons took to go to Rome and examines possible reasons — geographical, political, military, and economic — behind the different choices that were made between the seventh and the eleventh centuries. This gives him the opportunity to dwell occasionally also on the people with whom the English interacted on their way to Rome. Moreover, Pelteret points out that one should not necessarily assume that Rome was always the ultimate destination of English travellers and refers to Mount Gargano in southern Italy as another important pilgrimage site that Anglo-Saxon travellers are known to have visited. This is further explored by Lucia Sinisi, who reconstructs the origins of the cult of the archangel Michael in a natural cave at the top of Mount Gargano while pointing out the central role that this region came to assume for all those pilgrims who were on their way to Jerusalem. The popularity of the

[20] For a description of the tenth century as 'Cinderella', if compared to 'her sisters, the ninth and the eleventh centuries', see Leyser, 'Introduction: England and the Continent', p. 10. For an important study of Rome covering the period from the tenth century to the mid-twelfth (published while this volume was in proof), see Wickham, *Roma medievale*.

[21] See Tinti, 'England and the Papacy', pp. 163–64.

site between the second half of the seventh and the mid-ninth century, which is confirmed by a large number of *graffiti* discovered in the cave in 1974 (including some by Anglo-Saxon pilgrims), serves as a useful reminder that Rome was not the only reason to travel south and provides interesting possibilities of comparison with what pilgrims experienced in the Eternal City, especially those who visited the catacombs and similarly wrote their names on the walls, a practice which is duly explored in Luisa Izzi's essay.

Pilgrimage is also at the heart of the above-mentioned contribution by Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, who follows the development of the ways in which foreigners were hosted in late antique and early medieval Rome and discusses the evidence for the siting, origins, and functions of the *scholae peregrinorum*. Although such functions are not easy to pin down, as the meaning of the term *schola* fluctuated to indicate in turn the physical structure, the institution, or the area where foreign residents in the city belonging to the same ethnic group lived, Santangeli Valenzani interestingly notes that the *schola Saxonum* is the *schola peregrinorum* about which we have most information.

The following essay by Alan Thacker allows one to move from the institutions which provided accommodation for foreign pilgrims on to the principal sites that they would have visited while in Rome, including both the intramural and extramural ones. His focus is on the seventh century, the time when Rome's 'pilgrim potential' came to be fully developed but many of the sites mentioned continued to be popular in the following centuries. Through a useful discussion of the settlement, viability, use of ancient buildings, as well as the investments made by the seventh-century popes in the creation of churches, Thacker provides a detailed reconstruction of the city, paying special attention to the cult sites by which the pilgrims of the time, and the English in particular, were most attracted.

Though also clearly based on the experience of pilgrimage, the essays by Luisa Izzi and Veronica Ortenberg West-Harling consider cultural transmission as an important consequence of the Anglo-Saxons' journeys to Rome, especially the impact that the many artistic works which pilgrims saw there had on the art produced in England. Izzi focuses on catacomb art, in particular that found at the sites where the Anglo-Saxons are known to have been thanks to the *graffiti* that they left there, and goes on to suggest possible ways in which the pictorial decoration of the catacombs may have influenced Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture. Ortenberg West-Harling considers two other sites: John VII's early eighth-century chapel at St Peter's, dedicated to the Virgin, and the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran. The former's decorative scheme contained scenes which were shortly afterwards reproduced in Anglo-Saxon sculpture and which would seem to have continued to influence English art throughout

the Anglo-Saxon period. For the papal chapel in the Lateran palace, the author provides a detailed description of its former contents, including relics, icons, artefacts, and other decorations, identifies English visitors who may have been shown the chapel, and comments on possible influences on liturgy, saints cults, and artistic production in Anglo-Saxon England.

The monetary links between England and Rome, discussed in detail in Rory Naismith's essay, provide evidence on travel, alms, trade, economics, and political connections, but also on cultural influence and transmission. Naismith identifies the main periods when the circulation of Anglo-Saxon coins flourished in Rome and points out that at least until the later tenth century, 'Anglo-Saxon coins seem to have come to Rome in large quantity; larger [...] than contemporary Frankish, German, and possibly even north Italian coins'. In some cases they can be found mixed with local currency, thus indicating that some Anglo-Saxon coins could also be used for general purposes and not just for alms or large-scale formal payments, such as that of Peter's Pence. Moreover, the influence of coin-design can be shown to have worked in both directions: in England the influence of papal coinage was particularly strong at Canterbury, whereas in Italy English pennies appear to have inspired monetary production at Lucca in the eighth century and at Rome in the tenth century.

The essays by Marios Costambeys and Thomas F. X. Noble take us to the more strictly political section of the book. They both deal with the period between the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth; that is, a time in which to study the connections between England and Rome, it is necessary to take into account a third party, namely, the Carolingian court. As is very well known, one of the most influential people there was the Englishman Alcuin, whose role in the development of the Carolingian attitudes towards Rome and the papacy is discussed in Costambeys's essay; this starts off by considering an apparently minor issue in the relations between Charlemagne and Pope Leo III, namely, the so-called *causa sancti Pauli*, but goes on to demonstrate that Alcuin's interest in the monastery at St Paul's (that is, the basilica at S. Paolo fuori le mura) had strong connections with Charlemagne's imperial coronation. The long tradition of northerners' (especially Anglo-Saxons') physical presence in Rome, as well as their interest in Roman relics and properties in the city, appears to have been at the base of Alcuin's attitude towards this project, which, it would seem, was met with papal opposition, possibly because Leo III was worried about Frankish intrusion into areas that the Pope considered as his own. Such opposition may be part of the reasons why Leo himself was perceived with some uneasiness by several of Charlemagne's advisers, including Alcuin. This essay shows that although the Anglo-Saxons could

be very enthusiastic about Rome, its churches, and its relics, they could also have reservations about specific popes and some aspects of the city itself, as is apparent in the tension emerging from some of Alcuin's writings dealing with Rome's physical degradation or the uncertainties of its politics.

Relations with the papacy form the core of Thomas Noble's essay, whose main aim is to consider within a wider perspective the events between the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth that saw the rise and rapid fall of a third archbishopric in England (at Lichfield), paying special attention to the role played by the main parties involved in these events: the papacy, the Mercian Kings Offa and Coenwulf, and the Carolingian court, where, as mentioned above, Alcuin was among Charlemagne's chief advisers. By doing so, Noble provides a complementary picture to the one described by Costambeys in the preceding essay, which deals with exactly the same period: while Charlemagne was making his presence in Rome increasingly stronger, Leo III had to deal with a series of delicate issues, such as the instability of the political situation in Rome and the pressure coming from England, where King Coenwulf, Offa's successor, wanted papal approval to suppress Lichfield and revert to Gregory the Great's original plan, which envisaged one only southern metropolitan based not at Canterbury but at London, a city by then securely under Mercian control. Noble goes on to note that Offa had clearly tried to imitate Charlemagne when he created for his kingdom a metropolitan see at Lichfield, but he also observes that the same policy was followed by many other early medieval kings: royal-episcopal cooperation was essential for all of them, as was the possibility to control the people who held the key positions within the system, that is, the archbishops.

Noble's short excursus on early medieval metropolitan sees across Europe ties in very well with the following essay on the role of the archiepiscopal pallium in late Anglo-Saxon England, in which I explore the reasons and the circumstances that may have led so many English archbishops (especially those of Canterbury) to travel all the way to Rome in the tenth and eleventh centuries to fetch their pallia from the pope at a time when such a practice was not compulsory, as this important insignia of archiepiscopal status would have normally been sent. As well as providing and discussing further evidence on late Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage to Rome, this essay looks in detail at the liturgical rite for the conferment of the pallium by examining the manuscripts which preserve the rite as performed in Rome as well as those which demonstrate how the same rite was adapted for use in England when it was not yet common practice to go to Rome in person to fetch the archiepiscopal pallium. It is interesting that this 'adapted' rite continued to be copied in various late Anglo-Saxon pontifi-

cals even though, by the early eleventh century, the practice to go to Rome was well established, at least at Canterbury. Only in the mid-eleventh century is it possible to ascertain the impact that the practice finally had on liturgy and liturgical manuscripts, thanks to the survival of two Canterbury pontificals (of which one is, however, fragmentary) containing provisions for the enthronement of an archbishop and referring to his having come back from Rome with the pallium. The creation of specific liturgical provisions thus attests that what had begun as a voluntary practice had now become such a constant feature as to require a brand new rite.

The essay also deals with differences between Canterbury and York. Whereas the archbishops of the former see appear to have embraced the practice of the journey to Rome rather enthusiastically, the archbishops of York started later to go to fetch the pallium in person and did so more intermittently. Moreover, in one case, that of Wulfstan the Homilist, who was archbishop of York from 1002 to 1023, it is possible to identify explicit opposition to the journey as well as open criticism to the papacy aroused by the payments which were normally associated with the delivery of the pallium. This essay thus provides further examples of different Anglo-Saxon attitudes to Rome and the papacy, including tensions, which are particularly evident in the field of ecclesiastical politics.

The last essay, by Elaine Treharne, deals with another important journey to Rome, that made by King Cnut in 1027 for the coronation of Conrad II as emperor by Pope John XIX. The main aim of the journey may have been political, but Treharne's discussion of several different sources that report it highlights the emphasis put on the penitential nature of what is described as a pilgrimage rather than just a journey, and she considers how this may have affected the King's image in the final part of his reign. Cnut's journey to Rome allows for a number of considerations on the importance of his relations with the Emperor, also testified by the marriage in 1036 of Cnut's daughter, Gunhilde, to Conrad's son, the future emperor Henry III, for which negotiations may have started in Rome. Moreover, Cnut's desire to be described as close to the Emperor is indicative of his political ambitions, and his attempts to imitate Conrad are also reminiscent, *mutatis mutandis*, of Offa's attitude towards Charlemagne a few centuries earlier, as discussed in Noble's paper. Another important aspect of this journey, attested in the letter that the King wrote to the English people in 1027, were his negotiations with the other European rulers whom he met in Rome to obtain free passage for all his subjects on their way to the Eternal City, so that they could more easily embark on the same pilgrimage in imitation of their King. We also learn of Cnut's generosity towards the many churches he visited in Rome and on the way to or from Rome; these gifts may

have included English artefacts, and the sites that Cnut and his retinue visited may have had some visual influence on late Anglo-Saxon artistic production, for which Treharne provides some interesting examples. The last essay in the volume thus touches upon all the main themes of this book (pilgrimage, art, and politics) and demonstrates how relations with Rome remained important and were actively fostered in the later Anglo-Saxon period, continuing to provide opportunities for significant manifestations of cultural transmission.

As was mentioned above, this collection of essays does not claim to be exhaustive in its treatment of the relations between England and Rome from the seventh to the eleventh century, but it certainly aims at providing an opportunity to draw further attention to the importance of such connections. Readers will note that various essays point out the quantitative significance of these relations: the *Liber Pontificalis* contains more information about the *schola Saxonum* than any of the other early medieval *scholae* in Rome (Santangeli Valenzani); in the periods *c*. 780–850 and *c*. 920–70, Anglo-Saxon coin-finds in Rome are more numerous than any other coinage (Naismith); and *graffiti* left in the catacombs would seem to indicate that the Anglo-Saxons were the largest 'ethnic' group of foreign visitors to the catacombs (Izzi). But, beyond these extremely interesting data (which must, however, be treated with caution, because, as in the case of coins, they may depend on chance findings), the essays in this volume show the continuity of the Anglo-Saxon relations with Rome as well as the ways in which, with the passing of time, these adapted to different circumstances. They also show that artistic exchange and, more generally, cultural transmission could work in both directions and that we should not be thinking of Anglo-Saxon England as just a passive recipient of influential cultural trends, but rather as an important component of a multifaceted early medieval world in which Rome, by now the papal city, kept its centrality as a source of spiritual and political power. Though geographically quite distant from the Eternal City, or perhaps because of that very distance, the Anglo-Saxons never doubted Rome's centrality,[22] but in their dealings with the papacy showed that they could certainly distinguish between the institution and the individual popes with whom, when necessary, they were prepared to negotiate in the pursuit of their own interests.

[22] On the crucial role played by the Atlantic Islands of Britain and Ireland, seen as peripheries, in reinterpreting what they found 'in the centre', i.e., at Rome, see Ó Carragáin, 'The Periphery Rethinks the Centre'. On the centrality of Rome in Anglo-Saxon England, see also Howe, 'Rome: Capital of Anglo-Saxon England'.

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Not All Roads Lead to Rome

David A. E. Pelteret

When Augustine preached Christianity in Canterbury in AD 597 at the behest of Pope Gregory the Great, he established a relationship between England and Rome that was to last throughout the Anglo-Saxon era. In this study some of the factors that determined the routes taken by various Anglo-Saxon travellers who set out from England with the aim of reaching Italy will be examined, factors that in several instances brought their journeys to an untimely end. Most travellers were eager to reach Rome, the home of the papacy and the place where numerous Christian saints and martyrs were buried, but as will be seen, for various reasons their journeys may have included other destinations in Italy.

Having reached the English coast, Anglo-Saxon travellers would have to start their journey with a sea voyage. The fact is so obvious that it barely seems worth mentioning, and, indeed, most sources fail to report this leg of the journey completely. With the vagaries of the English weather, however, this initial stage of the journey must have been terminal for many over the centuries — and likewise for those travelling home, as Cnut perhaps came close to experiencing on his return from a journey to Rome.[1] After the Viking incursions into

* My thanks to Dr Tineke Looijenga, who asked me why Anglo-Saxon travellers crossed the Alps rather than taking seemingly simpler routes; to the University of Birmingham Libraries, for permitting me to look for answers in their wide-ranging collections; and to Dr Francesca Tinti, for inviting me to present my initial findings at the Leeds International Medieval Congress in 2010. I am grateful to Mr Philip Stickler of the Department of Geography, University of Cambridge, for the map.

[1] The word 'perhaps' is necessary because the account was written by Goscelin in his *Translatio S. Mildrethae* some seventy years after it supposedly occurred. The account of the

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Britain started at the end of the eighth century, an encounter with marauding pirates will have been added to the potential hazards of the voyage.

There is another factor that may have shaped people's routes in the seventh and eighth centuries: the nature of Anglo-Saxon ships. The precise structure of early Anglo-Saxon ships remains a matter of unresolved controversy, principally over whether they carried sails. Katrin Thier has argued on philological grounds that the West Germanic languages accepted the word 'sail' early into the lexicon.[2] Nevertheless, the archaeological record remains stubbornly silent on the existence of such sails, so the presumption must remain that they were not yet in use — though this of necessity is an *argumentum e silentio* because the survival of any ships from the early medieval period is a rarity. Even if there were sails, the technology may well have been primitive, if one can judge from King Alfred the Great's willingness to develop new nautical designs in the face of the onslaughts on his kingdom in the latter half of the ninth century by Scandinavian maritime raiders evidently possessed of superior ships.[3] Thus, while there is clear archaeological evidence that into the seventh century ships bearing ceramic wares from North Africa managed to sail up the west coast of Britain (albeit infrequently)[4] and there is evidence of migration of Celtic speakers from the West Country to Brittany in the fifth and sixth centuries,[5] one cannot assume that Anglo-Saxon voyagers sought to explore the south-central coast of France during these early centuries of the Anglo-Saxon settlement.

In fact, it is far more likely that Anglo-Saxon sailors chose the shortest possible routes across the English Channel. Thus, when Benedict Biscop decided

storm has a strong whiff of Vergil about it, and the journey, which allegedly took place according to Goscelin in 1035, has probably been confused with the trip Cnut made to Rome in 1027, which will be discussed below, a journey where he, in fact, intended to travel on to Denmark. Nevertheless, even if Goscelin has concocted a good story, it shows that at least one medieval writer well understood the hazards posed by what Goscelin calls the 'English ocean' (*Anglicum oceanum*). For an edition of the text of the *Translatio*, see Rollason, 'Goscelin of Canterbury's Account', esp. pp. 167–70, chaps x–xi, and nn. 76 and 83 (on the Vergilian influences). Frank Barlow doubts that there is any sound evidence for Cnut's making a second pilgrimage to Rome: see Barlow, 'Two Notes', pp. 650–51, repr. pp. 50–51.

[2] Thier, 'Language and Technology', with further bibliography cited therein.

[3] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. III: MS A*, ed. by Bateley, *s.a.* 896, p. 60 (text); *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. and trans. by Swanton, p. 90 (translation).

[4] The evidence is admirably presented in Campbell, *Continental and Mediterranean Imports*.

[5] For the *status questionis* on Celtic settlement of Brittany, see Brett, 'Soldiers, Saints, and States?'.

Map 1. Some place-names, rivers, regions, and kingdoms especially relevant when identifying routes between England, Rome, and beyond in the Anglo-Saxon period. Reproduced with permission from Philip Stickler.

that he wished to go to Rome in the middle of the seventh century, he did not set sail from a port such as Jarrow or Whitby in the Anglo-Saxon north-east; he journeyed instead down to Canterbury in Kent, where he was joined by another Northumbrian, the teenaged Wilfrid, who was equally desirous of travelling to Rome.[6] In that early period a ship's captain would probably hope to beach his vessel at eventide rather than rowing through the night and, even if he possessed a sail, would look for a favourable westerly breeze to facilitate the journey. The Straits of Dover offered the shortest crossing; landfall could be made anywhere between present-day Calais and Boulogne, and if the ultimate destination was a trading port such as *Quentovic*, on the Canche near Étaples, the ship could always be beached and the voyage southwards undertaken the next day.[7] Though the vessels carrying late Roman trading goods may possibly have set sail for the Irish Sea from Bordeaux (the former Roman regional capital

[6] *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 8 (text) and 9 (translation).

[7] For the location of *Quentovic*, see Hill and others, 'Quentovic Defined', and Hill and others, 'The Definition of the Early Medieval Site of Quentovic'.

Burdigala), I regard it as highly improbable that early Anglo-Saxon ships would have risked the lengthy voyage round the Breton peninsula and through the Bay of Biscay with its variable winds (not to say gales) in order to reach that port.

This nautical perspective is relevant, for if one considers what is now France from a topographical point of view, at first sight the best route for a medieval traveller wishing to go from England to Italy would have been to travel from a port on the southern English coastline and, having crossed the sea, to voyage round Brittany to Bordeaux. The traveller could then follow the river valley of the Garonne south-eastwards to Toulouse and thereafter journey along another river valley to Narbonne, which in the early Middle Ages still had access to the Mediterranean (see Map 1). The journey would be eased by the 250-mile Roman road, the Via Aquitania running from Bordeaux to Narbonne, part of the 13,000-mile network of roads that the Romans had built in Gaul.[8] From Narbonne it required only another sea-voyage south-east to Ostia, the port of Rome. The winds could be tricky, especially if the mistral (the strong north to north-west wind that blew down the Rhône valley) was at full force, but local navigators would have had millennia of navigational experience to draw on.[9] The problem is that this direct route became closed in late antiquity because of changing political circumstances, with the watershed between the Garonne to the north and the Aude to the south becoming a boundary.[10]

Aside from nautical considerations, the suggestion that the Bordeaux–Narbonne route was the most expeditious is in any case simple-minded because it assumes that travellers would always want to take the most direct route to their destination. As will be seen, politics, diplomacy, and trade considerations could influence the itinerary — and eventually routes established by custom as well as practical considerations such as the availability of accommodation could also play their part.

[8] For Roman roads in general, see Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, I, maps 14 and 25. Vol. I of this work contains the atlas; vols II and III the map-by-map directory, which provide for each map a brief introduction, a list of the nearest modern place-names, and a bibliography. On Narbonne, see Riess, *Narbonne and its Territory*, which was published too recently to be consulted for this essay.

[9] For maps of the currents and prevailing winds in the Mediterranean, see Abulafia, *The Great Sea*, pp. xxiv–xxv, and Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, p. 14. For the especial complexity posed by the currents and winds in the western Mediterranean, see Lewis, 'Northern European Sea Power', pp. 140–41.

[10] James, *The Merovingian Archaeology of South-West Gaul*, I, 220. He observes, 'There are no historical references to the use of this route after the fifth century.'

If travellers crossed by way of the Straits of Dover, another less daring route opened up. Once landfall had been made, they could then go overland via modern-day Abbeville (see Map 1) to the Via Agrippa. This would take them through Amiens steadily south-east down to Dijon, whence they could travel southwards to Lyons.[11] The Rhône River valley then lay before them. From Vienne, a Roman road ran along each bank of the Rhône. The eastern road led on to Avignon and thence to Arles, with Marseilles just to the east.[12] Travellers then could choose a sea voyage or, if land-lubbers at heart, could follow the route of the old Roman road, the Via Julia Augusta, along the coast by way of a relatively gentle pass to modern-day Genoa,[13] and thence by various roads down to Rome.

This is likely to have been the route followed in about AD 653, at least as far as Lyons, by the young Wilfrid (*c.* 640–*c.* 710), and his guide and mentor, the avid book-collector Benedict Biscop (d. 689). Wilfrid, seduced by the seventh-century equivalent of the bright lights, dallied in Lyons, with its stone-built churches and its monasteries, while Biscop impatiently hurried on to Rome.[14] Although a natural geographic route, the Rhône valley suffered various vicissitudes over the centuries, but in the sixth and seventh centuries it flourished.[15] Since Benedict was in a hurry, we may assume that he followed the Rhône route along the course of one of the old Roman roads. With that maddening lack of interest shown by medieval writers in the questions that a twenty-first-century historian wants to ask, Wilfrid's biographer, Stephen of Ripon, fails to mention what route Wilfrid himself followed from Lyons to Rome.

Had Wilfrid decided to enter Italy by scaling the Alps, he might well have done so via the Mont Cenis route. This pass over the Alps is not directly attested in written sources before the early eighth century, but in 574 Guntram, king of the Burgundians, had detached this area from the see of Turin and from the control of the Lombards down as far as Susa in present-day Italy and incorporated it into the see of Maurienne, with its bishop as a suffragan of Vienne.[16] This suggests that the pass was already in use, but there seems to be no compelling reason for Wilfrid to have scaled these Alpine heights (the summit lies at

[11] Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, I, maps 11 and 18.

[12] Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, I, maps 17 and 15.

[13] Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, I, maps 16 and 39.

[14] For Lyons at this period, see Reynaud, *Lugdunum Christianum*.

[15] Lewis, 'The Rhone Valley Route'.

[16] Longnon, *Géographie de la Gaule*, pp. 430–31, 442 (*recte* 432).

2083 m (6834 ft)) when he could avoid the arduous climb by simply following the Rhône down to the Mediterranean coast.

Barely a quarter of a century later, Wilfrid's personal ecclesiastical journey had followed a parabolic course: rising from priest and spokesman for the Roman cause at the Synod of Whitby in 664, he had been elevated to the episcopacy at York, only to be deprived of his see by Theodore, the reforming archbishop of Canterbury. In 679 he felt that the only way to defend his right to the bishopric was by making a direct appeal to the pope.[17]

But the route Wilfrid had taken on his first trip to Rome was no longer open to him. With that uncanny knack he had of putting the backs up of those in power, he had riled the Neustrian mayor of the palace, Ebroin.[18] He thus decided instead to make his way via Frisia and Austrasia. From Austrasia his likely itinerary would have included the valley of the Rhine (see Map 1), and then southwestwards through present-day Berne and Fribourg to the Great St Bernard Pass, an ancient Alpine crossing rising to 2469 m (8100 ft); the Romans had built a road along the route. Wilfrid's itinerary is thus likely to have been dictated by the need for personal security arising out of the political circumstances obtaining in the Merovingian kingdoms. Wilfrid's biographer, Stephen of Ripon, makes it clear that he had a valid concern for his own safety because another bishop with the very similar name of Wynfrith was waylaid on a trip to Rome and beaten up by Ebroin's minions acting in the mistaken belief that he was Wilfrid.[19] Wynfrith illustrated that the straightforward land route through Neustria and thence south to the Mediterranean was not necessarily the best one.

Political factors of a different kind may have shaped the itinerary of another early Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical traveller: also called Wynfrith (*c.* 675–754), he was to become better known by his adopted name of Boniface.[20] The first *Life of St Boniface* was composed *c.* 760 by a younger contemporary, Willibald of Mainz; though his biographer did not know him personally, his sources probably included Boniface's companion, Lull, to whom Willibald dedicated the *Life*.[21]

[17] On Wilfrid, see Kirby, *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham*; see also Higham, *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint*.

[18] On Ebroin, see Fouracre, 'The Character of Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace', and Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, esp. pp. 221–38.

[19] *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, pp. 50 (text) and 51 (translation).

[20] On his change of name, see Levison, 'Wann und weshalb wurde Wynfreth Bonifatius genannt?', pp. 525–30, repr. pp. 337–41. To avoid ambiguity he will henceforth be referred to as Boniface, though he only adopted the name in 719.

[21] Willibald, 'Vita Bonifatii', ed. by Levison, pp. 1–57 (text); Willibald, 'The Life of Saint Boniface', trans. by Talbot, pp. 109–40 (translation).

Willibald makes clear that Boniface had shown early promise of diplomatic skills. After what is described as a 'rebellion' in Ine's kingdom in Wessex, he was chosen to lead an embassy to the archbishop of Canterbury, Berhtwald. On his first trip abroad he travelled to *Dorestad* (now Wijk bij Duurstede) in what was then Frisia in order to spread the Christian gospel. To further the Christian cause he sought an audience with Radbod, king of the Frisians. This event took place in AD 716. It was a very fraught period in the politics of the region. Willibrord, Boniface's Northumbrian contemporary, had withdrawn from Frisia at this time to his monastery in Echternach.[22] In Austrasia Charles Martel was in the course of making his bid for power, a quest that a few years later was to be successful. It is difficult to believe that Boniface, with his evident diplomatic skills, did not make contact with Willibrord and Charles to consult on his intervention in Frisian religious affairs.

It is into such a diplomatic maelstrom that we should see Boniface's subsequent departure in 718 from London, having paid for a passage on a boat that took him to *Quentovic* which, like *Dorestad*, was to become an important trading post. This was not a trip that was casually undertaken: he took care to obtain letters of introduction from Daniel, the bishop of the West Saxons. With his companions he pitched camp[23] in *Quentovic* until others joined him; evidently accommodation in a monastery was not available. Once everyone had assembled, they set out with winter fast approaching.

> Many a church they visited on their way to pray that by the help of Almighty God they might cross in safety the snowy peaks of the Alps, *find greater kindness at the hands of the Lombards* and escape with impunity from the savage ferocity of the undisciplined soldiery.[24]

[22] For a survey of studies on Willibrord in the latter part of the twentieth century, see Honée, 'St Willibrord in Recent Historiography'. More recent studies include Howlett, 'Wilbrord's Autobiographical Note'; Hen, 'Wilhelm Levison's Willibrord and Echternach'; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord, and the Letters of Pope Honorius I'; and Pelteret, 'Diplomatic Elements in Willibrord's Autobiography'.

[23] 'castra metati sunt' (they pitched their camp): Willibald, 'Vita Bonifatii', ed. by Levison, p. 20 (text); Willibald, 'The Life of Saint Boniface', trans. by Talbot, p. 120 (translation).

[24] '[M]ultas [...] sanctorum ecclesias orando adierunt, ut tutius, opitulante altithrono, Alpina nivium iuga transcenderent *Langobardorumque erga illos humanitatem mitius sentirent* militumque malitiosam superbiae ferocitatem facilius evaderunt' (my emphasis): Willibald, 'Vita Bonifatii', ed. by Levison, p. 20 (text); Willibald, 'The Life of Saint Boniface', trans. by Talbot, p. 120 (translation).

As Theodor Schieffer suggests, Boniface's route was most likely via the old Roman Mons Jovis pass, the later Great St Bernard, a route that he was to follow again in 722.[25] Assuming that at least the course of the old Roman roads still survived at this period, if not the roads themselves, one may plausibly suggest that his route took him via Brimeux (south-east of *Quentovic* in the Canche valley) to Amiens, Soissons, Reims, Langres, and Besançon, and then on to Lausanne (see Map 1). From there he would have traversed the Great St Bernard, which would have led him on to Aosta, Ivrea, and Vercelli, and thence to Pavia, the Lombard capital.[26]

Mention of the Lombards suggests a possible reason for Boniface's risky venture over the Alps rather than following the Rhône valley. (Though there was trouble in southern Gaul, as will be seen, the route along the eastern bank of the Rhône should have posed no especial hazards in 718, a situation that may have been very different only a decade later.) The Lombards under their king, Liutprand, were a potential source of danger to the papacy, while in the following decades Liutprand was to become an ally of Charles Martel. It is possible (though this is only a conjecture) that Boniface had travelled to Lombardy because Willibrord (who himself had twice visited Rome and had acquired his archiepiscopal pallium there from Pope Sergius I in 695) had intimated to him that the Lombards were a problematic presence to the papacy.[27] Another possibility is that Charles Martel, who had yet to establish his ascendancy over the Merovingian realms, may have wanted to initiate a diplomatic link with the Lombard king. Boniface had in effect supported Martel by opposing Radbod and so could be trusted.

Throughout the lifetimes of Wilfrid, Willibrord, and Boniface, a seismic shift in power had been taking place in the eastern Mediterranean. East Rome, exhausted by its centuries-long struggle with Persia that concluded with victory in 632, was suddenly presented with an irruption of people out of the Arabian Peninsula, impelled by a fervour aroused by a new religious leader, Mahomed. In 711, the year after Wilfrid's death, the Moors invaded the Iberian Peninsula

[25] Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas*, pp. 112 and 143. More recent studies on Boniface include von Padberg, *Bonifatius* (which was unavailable to me), and Felten, Jarnut, and von Padberg, *Bonifatius – Leben und Nachwirken*.

[26] On the Great St Bernard in the Roman period, see Hunt, '*Summus Poeninus* on the Grand St Bernard Pass'.

[27] Under their king, Liutprand, they were still a problem when Boniface paid his third visit to Rome in 737–38. On Boniface's possible role in assisting Pope Gregory III in the fraught politics at that time, see Becher, 'Eine Reise nach Rom'.

and conquered the kingdom of the Visigoths. Less than a decade later they crossed over into Septimania (modern-day southern France west of the Rhône), seizing Narbonne in 719 and Toulouse two years later. Potentially all of Gaul lay open to them. Nîmes was taken in 726 and a series of Moorish forts was established northwards up the Rhône valley.[28]

But in 732 (or possibly 733) they overreached themselves, with a contingent of Moors being soundly beaten by Charles Martel in the vicinity of Poitiers.[29] Although this battle has been seen by some modern historians to be highly significant, the defeat did not end the Moorish occupation of southern Gaul. The Franks eventually took the Rhône valley with much attendant destruction, but not until 759 did Narbonne finally fall.

The Moorish willingness to acquire slaves, together with conflicting local rivalries and the expansionist ambitions of the Franks, would have deterred all but the most foolhardy Anglo-Saxon travellers from trying to reach Rome via the Rhône valley at this time. It is reasonable to assume that reports of the upheavals in southern Gaul reached England. A letter from Boniface illustrates how far information could travel. Sometime before 738 Bugga, an English abbess, had written to him, asking his advice about making a pilgrimage to Rome. By now he had been appointed by the pope to be a bishop among the Germans. Bugga's letter is no longer extant, but Boniface's reply is instructive in the insight it gives into the network of correspondence that existed at this time, not to speak of the couriers and travellers that must have carried these letters to their recipients:

> [Withburg] has written me that she has found at the shrine of St Peter the kind of quiet life which she had long ago sought in vain. With regard to your wishes, she sent me word, since I had written to her about you, that you would do better to wait until the rebellious assaults and threats of the Saracens who have recently appeared about Rome should have subsided. God willing, she will then send you an invitation.[30]

[28] For the primary sources on the political developments in the seventh century in the eastern Mediterranean and the Arabian Peninsula, see Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis*. Clare Stancliffe has adduced compelling evidence that Wilfrid died on 24 April 710: see Stancliffe, 'Dating Wilfrid's Death and Stephen's *Life*', pp. 17–22. For the fall of Narbonne, see Riess, *Narbonne and its Territory*, pp. 221–30.

[29] Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel*, pp. 86–88 and cf. pp. 145–50.

[30] 'Quae mihi per suas litteras intimavit, quod talem vitam quietem invenisset iuxta limina sancti Petri, qualem longum tempus desiderando quaesivit. De isto autem tuo desiderio illa mihi mandavit, quia de te ad illam scripsi, ut expectes, donec rebelliones et temptationes et minae

Thus Bugga in England and Withburg in Rome had written to Boniface in Germany; he had been in correspondence with both of them, conveying to England information received from Italy, with the expectation that his Rome correspondent in due course would contact his English one directly.[31]

The Anglo-Saxon connection with southern Gaul was re-established for a time, presumably in the 760s or 770s, though we know this only because of an obituary notice *sub anno* 790 in the *Annales Petaviani*, which reports the death of a bishop of Tours, Audegar, whose father we are told was an Anglo-Saxon trader in Marseilles.[32] The latter's name was Bottus, a latinized form of the name Bot(t)a found in two Kentish charters of *c*. 700 and the core text of the Durham *Liber Vitae*, which dates from the first half of the ninth century, evidence supporting the reliability of the *Annales* entry.[33]

By that time most Anglo-Saxon travellers to Rome will have decided to take an Alpine route to Italy in the interests of personal safety. We should not, however, assume that all successfully made their way through the mountains. I am alluding here not to the natural dangers of the Alps — untimely blizzards and engulfing avalanches — nor to the reality of human mortality but to an annoyance that a modern traveller still has to face: the need for documentation and the payment of tolls.[34]

One tends to think of passports as a product of the First World War, but an examination of early medieval sources shows that it was important to carry a

Sarracenorum, quae apud Romanos nuper emerserunt, conquieverint et quoad usque illa Deo volente suas litteras invitatorias ad te dirigat': Boniface, *Epistolae*, ed. by Tangl, no. 27, p. 48 (text); *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, trans. by Emerton, no. XIX [27], p. 56 (translation).

[31] A social network analysis of the correspondence between Anglo-Saxons and their foreign contacts would probably be very revealing, especially with its implications for travel, but the task of assembling the data from letters that now often survive only as passing allusions in a wide range of primary sources would be very time-consuming and not free from ambiguity (for instance, did Withburg first write to Boniface or did he initiate the correspondence by mentioning Bugga to her?)

[32] 'Annales Petaviani', ed. by Pertz, *s.a.* 790, p. 17. For the spelling of the name of the Bishop of Tours, see 'Ad Annales Petavianos. Mon. T. I. p. 9–18', ed. by Pertz, *s.a.* 790. (Perhaps it is useful to mention that the *Annales Petaviani* are not named after a place but instead take their title from Alexander Petau, the former owner of one of the manuscripts.)

[33] Sawyer, nos 19 and 21; for the Durham *Liber Vitae*, see *The Durham 'Liber Vitae'*, ed. by Rollason and Rollason, I, 6 (date) and II, 11 (Bota). See also Redin, 'Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names', p. 45, *s.v.* Bot(t)a.

[34] Middleton, 'Early Medieval Port Customs, Tolls and Controls', provides a useful introduction to tolls and, on pp. 319–20, briefly discusses safe-conduct letters.

letter as a *laissez-passer*. Letters of introduction can be found in Alcuin's letter collection, for instance.[35] These documents could also be more formal in nature. Karl Zeumer's edition of Merovingian and Carolingian formularies contains a template of a document that could be prepared for merchants and other models that could be furnished to those intending to travel as pilgrims.[36]

The *Life of St Boniface* illustrates the importance of carrying appropriate documentation, in this case for presentation to the pope, rather than to a border official. Several days after his arrival in Rome in 718 following his journey from London, Boniface sought an audience with Pope Gregory II. In the *Life* Willibald tells us:

> The saintly Pope, suddenly turning his gaze upon him, inquired with cheerful countenance and smiling eyes whether he carried any letters of recommendation from his Bishop. Boniface, coming to himself, drew back his cloak and produced both a parchment folded in the customary fashion and other letters, which he gave to that admirable man of holy memory.[37]

The importance of such documentation is evident when one considers the matter of tolls. Before doing so, some background information may be helpful. The routes over the western Alps had a number of pinch points, defiles where barriers to travel could easily be established and defended. These dated back to Roman times and were known as *clusae*, a word derived from the Latin verb *claudere*, 'to shut or close'. A number of words arose that related to their function including *exclusaticum*, a toll levied at a *clusa*, and *clusarius*, a person who collected such a toll. Of course, they were not the only places where tolls might be imposed: imposts might also be exacted at bridges, roads, and towns.[38]

Once the Franks had asserted control over southern Gaul and quelled — at least for a time — the Moorish menace, Pippin published in 754–55 a capitu-

[35] For example, Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 100, pp. 145–46.

[36] *Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. by Zeumer, no. 37, pp. 314–15 (merchants); no. 49, pp. 104–05, no. 9, p. 180, no. 11, p. 217, no. 16, p. 234, no. 17, pp. 278–79, and nos 1–2, pp. 439–40 (pilgrims).

[37] 'Sanctus itaque papa, repente hilari vultu adridentibusue oculis intuitus in eum, inquisivit, an litteras ab episcopo suo commendaticias detulisset. At ille etiam concitus exempto pallio cartam ex more involutam litterasque protulit deditque mirabili sanctae recordationis viro': Willibald, 'Vita Bonifatii', ed. by Levison, p. 21 (text); Willibald, 'The Life of Saint Boniface', trans. by Talbot, pp. 120–21 (translation).

[38] Duparc, 'Les Cluses et la frontière des Alpes'.

lary that exempted pilgrims from the payment of such taxes.[39] Some evidently took rank advantage of this concession. In 796 Charlemagne felt constrained to write a letter of remonstration and warning to Offa, king of the Mercians:

> Concerning pilgrims, who for the love of God and the salvation of their souls desire to reach the thresholds of the blessed Apostles, as we granted formerly, they may go in peace free from all molestation, bearing with them the necessities for their journey. But we have discovered that certain persons fraudulently mingle with them for the sake of commerce, seeking gain, not serving religion. If such are found among them, they are to pay the established toll at the proper places; the others may go in peace, immune from toll.[40]

One can now see how appropriate documentation, for pilgrims at least, could prevent them from being subject to such exactions. Charlemagne's mention of the necessities for the journey reminds us that pilgrims also needed to carry specie of some kind to support themselves; not a few must have had to turn back or resort to begging if they had been too profligate or had been robbed en route.[41]

It would take us too far afield, both literally and figuratively, to consider in detail central Alpine routes followed by some Anglo-Saxon travellers. Central Alpine passes included the Septimer, which leads down from modern-day Chur in Switzerland to Chiavenna in Italy, and the Brenner Pass, south of Innsbruck (see Map 1). The latter route Boniface probably followed after he left Rome in 719 and likewise Willibald, when fulfilling the papal mandate to join Boniface in his missionary work. Anglo-Saxon names appear in the confraternity books of Sankt Gallen and Reichenau, reflecting a visit of Bishop

[39] *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. by Boretius, I, no. 13, p. 32.

[40] 'De peregrinis vero, qui pro amore Dei et salute animarum suarum beatorum limina apostolorum adire desiderant, sicut olim, perdonavimus, cum pace sine omni perturbatione ut vadant suo itinere, secum necessaria portantes. Sed probavimus quosdam fraudolenter negociandi causa se intermiscere, lucra sectantes, non religioni servientes. Si tales inter eos inveniantur, locis oportunis statuta solvant telonea. Ceteri absoluti vadant in pace': Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 100, p. 145 (text); *EHD*, no. 197, p. 848 (translation).

[41] Asser mentions that Eadburg, the widow of Beorhtric, king of the West Saxons, died a beggar in Pavia: *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, chap. 15, in *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. by Stevenson, pp. 14 (text) and 208–09. Through indigence and misfortune some women travelling abroad may also have felt compelled to form sexual liaisons to support themselves: Boniface's claim about the prevalence of Anglo-Saxon adulteresses and prostitutes in towns in Lombardy, Francia, and Gaul can be viewed as misogynistic exaggeration but may yet have contained a kernel of truth: Boniface, *Epistolae*, ed. by Tangl, no. 98, p. 169, ll. 22–25 (text); *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, trans. by Emerton, no. 62, p. 140 (translation).

Cenwald in 929, though it is unknown whether he explored the Alpine passes; on the other hand, mention of Archbishop Oda in the Pfäfers confraternity book may reflect a journey made by him sometime between 941 and 946, possibly when journeying over the central Alps to or from Rome to collect his pallium, as Simon Keynes has suggested.[42] It should thus be borne in mind that some Anglo-Saxons will have gained a wider knowledge of the Alps than just the western passes.[43]

Travel by sea through the western Mediterranean remained a hazard because of Saracen marauders in the latter part of the eighth century and during the ninth,[44] so the passes over Mont Cenis and the Great St Bernard probably remained the customary routes for Anglo-Saxons at this time. From the 840s a new hazard, however, presented itself: the incursions of Scandinavian sailors along the coasts and rivers of France. Even after Rollo was granted permanent territory in what was to become known as Normandy in 911, one may assume that some Anglo-Saxon travellers had their journeys impeded or terminated by these new marauders before they even entered France, let alone approached the Alps. As late as 926 Flodoard records that tax from Francia and Burgundy was paid to the northmen.[45]

Then around 889 yet another hazard made its appearance, though its long-term implications for Anglo-Saxon travellers are not immediately apparent in the sources. In about that year, according to Liutprand of Cremona, some twenty Saracen freebooters occupied the settlement of *Fraxinetum* on the Mediterranean coast.[46] Usually assumed to be La Garde-Freinet because of the similarity of the modern place-name, this identification has now been questioned. Philippe Sénac has suggested that, in fact, *Fraxinetum* was located on the St-Tropez peninsula.[47] *Fraxinus* is an ash-tree (*frêne* in French), and the

[42] For the records, see Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', pp. 198–201 and pls 13–16. All three houses looked to St Pirmin as their founder, so Oda could have learnt about Pfäfers by word of mouth from Cenwald or his entourage. Oral communication between experienced and aspirant travellers about routes, suitable accommodation, and hazards to be avoided was as likely in the Anglo-Saxon centuries as it is today.

[43] Though old, Tyler, *The Alpine Passes*, and Hyde, *Roman Alpine Routes*, remain useful.

[44] Arab sailors did not feel constrained by the traditional sailing seasons: see Kreutz, 'Ships, Shipping, and the Implications of Change', p. 97.

[45] *Les Annales de Flodoard*, ed. by Lauer, pp. 34–35.

[46] 'Antapodosis', I. 1–4, in *Liudprandi Cremonensis Antapodosis*, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 6–7 (text); *The Complete Works of Liudprand*, trans. by Squatriti, pp. 45–47 (translation).

[47] Sénac, 'Le Califat de Cordoue'; 'Discussion', in Martin, *Castrum 7*, pp. 205–07.

possibilities the area afforded for providing timber for ships may have been its main attraction. Remarkably, no less than four wrecks of tenth-century Arab ships have been located along the coast here, from Marseilles to just east of St-Tropez. Unfortunately the detailed report of the most important of these wrecks was published only in 2007, over thirty years after its discovery, and so the full implications have still to be pondered by French scholars.[48] But the boats do appear to have been used for trading purposes. This is consonant with the Arabic evidence, which suggests that the area came under Cordoban influence and was a useful link for trade between Muslim Spain and the Christian areas of the western Mediterranean.[49]

Nevertheless, it would be perverse to ignore the evidence of the contemporary tenth-century Latin sources, notably the *Annales* of Flodoard of Reims, which assign a more baleful role to the Saracens. These portray the latter as people who skilfully adapted to the Alps, which to my mind suggests that the settlers may have included Berbers from the Atlas mountains.[50] One can readily understand why they scaled the Alps: it must have been a source of rich pickings for these predators. Flodoard reports that in 921 '[m]any English set out for Rome and were killed by stones in the defiles of the Alps by the Saracens', and two years later he again records that '[a] large number of English, who were seeking the tomb of St Peter for the sake of prayer, were slaughtered in the Alps by the Saracens'. People of various origins 'were seized and killed by the Saracens' en route to Rome in 939, and in the following year '[a] group of people from across the sea [*transmarini*, presumably Anglo-Saxons] and from Gaul were returning from Rome, and the Saracens prevented them from crossing the Alps, killing many of them'. In 951 the Saracens changed tack by becoming toll collectors.[51]

[48] See Ximènés, 'Étude préliminaire de l'Épave sarrasine'; Jézégou, Joncheray, and Joncheray, 'Les Épaves sarrasines d'Agay et de Cannes'; Joncheray, 'L'Épave sarrasine (Haut Moyen-Âge)'; Joncheray, 'L'Épave sarrasine (xe siècle ap. J.-C.)'; and Joncheray, 'L'Épave sarrasine Agay A'.

[49] Sénac, 'Le Califat de Cordoue'.

[50] Although there is no evidence of the use of the Berber language in Spain, there seems little doubt that they were centrally involved in the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula and continued to be an influence in Moorish Spain: see Penny, 'Early Medieval Iberia', and Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, esp. pp. 164–66.

[51] 'Anglorum Romam proficiscentium plurimi inter angustias Alpium lapidibus a Sarracenis sunt obruti' (*s.a.* 921); '[m]ultitudo Anglorum limina sancti Petri orationis gratia petentium inter Alpes a Sarracenis trucidatur' (*s.a.* 923); 'a Sarracenis pervasa et interempta est' (*s.a.* 939); '[c]ollecta Transmarinorum sed et Gallorum quae Romam petebat, revertitur, occisis eorum nonnullis a Sarracenis' (*s.a.* 940); 'Sarraceni meatum Alpium obsidentes, a viatoribus Romam petentibus tributum accipiunt, et sic eos transire permittunt.' (*s.a.* 951): *Les Annales de Flodoard*,

From the point of view of Anglo-Saxon travellers, the assaults by the Saracens on monasteries must have been just as serious because of the accommodation and food the latter could offer pilgrims. In 940 the environs of Saint-Maurice-en-Valois on the Great St Bernard route were ravaged, thus preventing pilgrims from crossing into Italy.[52]

Finally the Saracens went too far. The abbot of Cluny was returning from ecclesiastical business in Rome in July 972 via the Great St Bernard when he was seized and only freed following the payment of a substantial ransom by the abbey.[53] This event aroused the ire of Count William of Provence, who brought the attacks to a halt by destroying *Fraxinetum* itself, permitting travellers to Rome thereafter to have greater assurance of arriving at their destination.

The northmen and the Saracens were not the only hazards to travel in the tenth century. A further threat to personal safety lay in the periodic incursions of Magyars into western Europe, including Italy, southern Germany, and France.[54] Flodoard of Reims has numerous references to them, starting with an incursion into Italy in 919 recorded in his first annal. In 935 '[t]he Magyars attacked throughout Burgundy, raging with plundering, fires and murder', after which they moved on into Italy. Two years later 'there was an invasion of Francia by the Magyars [...], with *villae* and fields laid waste, houses and basilicas burned, and large number[s] of captives led away'. Flodoard records an attack on Aquitaine in 951 and another on Francia and Burgundy in 954.[55] The Magyars seem, however, to have been only occasional raiders, whereas

ed. by Lauer, pp. 5, 19, 74, 79, and 132 (texts); *The Annals of Flodoard*, ed. and trans. by Fanning and Bachrach, pp. 5 [3B], 10 [5M], 32 [21G], 34 [22H], and 56 [33I] (translations). The 951 entry is the last mention of the Saracens in Flodoard's annals.

[52] 'Sarracenos qui vicum monasterii Sancti Mauricii occupaverant': Flodoard of Reims, *Les Annales*, ed. by Lauer, p. 79 (text); 'The Saracens had occupied the *vicus* of the monastery of St-Maurice-en-Valois': *The Annals of Flodoard*, ed. and trans. by Fanning and Bachrach, p. 34 [22H] (translation). The monastery is also known as Saint-Maurice d'Agaune.

[53] Amargier, 'La Capture de Saint Maieul de Cluny'.

[54] Meanwhile trade nevertheless continued across the English Channel: see Lebecq and Gautier, 'Routeways between England and the Continent'.

[55] 'Hungari per Burgundiam diffunditur, praedisque incendiis ac caedibus' (*s.a.* 935); 'Hungarorum persecutio [...] per Franciam insecuta est, qua villae et agri depopulati, domus basilicaeque conflagratae, captivorum abducta multitudo' (*s.a.* 937): *Les Annales de Flodoard*, ed. by Lauer, pp. 61 and 65–66 (texts); and cf. also pp. 1 (*s.a.* 919), 131 (*s.a.* 951), and 137–38 (*s.a.* 954); *The Annals of Flodoard*, ed. and trans. by Fanning and Bachrach, pp. 26 [17B] and 29 [19C] (translations) and cf. pp. 1 [1C], 56 [33E], and 60 [36A].

the Saracens remained a continuous menace as long as they held their base in *Fraxinetum* as they could at any time launch incursions into the Alps.

Once the scourge of the Saracens had been removed, however, travel to Rome must have taken place with greater frequency. Traversing the Alps remained attractive because of the easy access they afforded to the north Italian cities. The Great St Bernard must have been especially appealing because it led on to such cities as Vercelli and Pavia. To this day Vercelli retains a memento of an Anglo-Saxon traveller. One of the four great codices of Anglo-Saxon poetry, the *Vercelli Book*, remains in the city's cathedral library. The circumstances of its arrival there are unrecoverable; we cannot even be certain when it arrived, though one may presume that as the English language was undergoing spelling changes in the twelfth century revealing underlying linguistic change, the book was probably left there in the course of the eleventh century — though in which direction the traveller was going we know not.

Pavia had continued to draw travellers after the seventh and eighth centuries, when Wilfrid and Boniface visited it. The latters' motivations were probably political and diplomatic, whereas some later travellers were attracted by its commercial possibilities.[56] This is disclosed by an agreement known as the *Honorantie civitatis Papie*, which probably dates from *c*. 900.[57] The text reveals that unnamed Anglo-Saxon and Lombard kings agreed that Anglo-Saxon merchants could be exempt from tolls provided a triennial payment was made to the Lombard treasury and its officials.[58] Pavia evidently had high quality goods for sale: Theodred, bishop of London (906×926–951×953) left in his will a yellow chasuble that he had bought there.[59] We must at least entertain the possibility that there were Anglo-Saxon merchants who were satisfied enough by what they had gained from trading in Pavia that their road never went on to Rome. From the end of the seventh century, a tradition grew up of holding ecclesiastical councils in the city,[60] and so it became something of an ecclesiastical centre, which might explain Theodred's visit there. For a few churchmen it may even have been their final destination: the city had played host to Pope

[56] On the commercial and financial importance of Pavia, see Majocchi, *Pavia città regia*, esp. p. 52. Francesca Tinti kindly drew my attention to this volume.

[57] *Die 'Honorantie civitatis Papie'*, ed. by Brühl and Violante.

[58] On the agreement and the possible identity of the Anglo-Saxon King, see Middleton, 'Early Medieval Port Customs, Tolls and Controls', p. 325 and n. 54.

[59] *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. and trans. by Whitelock, no. 1, pp. 4–5 (text and translation).

[60] Majocchi, *Pavia città regia*, pp. 51–52.

Gregory V when he had been forced to leave Rome in the autumn of 996, and Francesca Tinti has raised the possibility that Ælfric, on becoming archbishop of Canterbury, may have collected his pallium from Gregory in Pavia rather than Rome in 997.[61]

Nor should we presuppose that Rome was the *ultimate* destination of English pilgrims, though it is hard to believe that they would not have visited the city of St Peter. In the case of at least one deaf and mute Englishman his interests certainly seem to have lain beyond Rome. Having visited 'the shrines of the apostles' (which is a frequent way of describing a pilgrimage to Rome), he turned up in about 787 at the shrine of St Benedict at Montecassino (where on being healed he proved to be bilingual in Latin and Old English!).[62] For him and his companions their final destination was not Rome but Gargano on the Adriatic coast, where there was a cave church dedicated to St Michael the Archangel. If the deaf-mute was following the old Roman roads, Montecassino, south-east of Rome, was a natural stop along the way.[63] This early textual reference to the pilgrimage site of Gargano is supplemented by epigraphic evidence of Anglo-Saxon visitors to the shrine itself, which has on its stones several names carved in runic script. These date from no later than the eighth century, so one might have assumed that the site ceased to be an object of veneration after the great efflorescence of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage in the seventh to ninth centuries.[64]

Yet Gargano did not lose its allure for Anglo-Saxons and with the resumption of pilgrimage to Italy from the late tenth century onwards the terminus of the road to Italy for some pilgrims could have been Gargano rather than Rome.

[61] See Tinti's essay in this volume at p. 371.

[62] 'ad limina venit apostolorum': *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, ed. by Hoffmann, pp. 48–49.

[63] It is one of the places appearing on the Peutinger Map (*Tabula Peutlingeriana*), as is Manfredonia (ancient *Siponto*), just south of Monte Sant'Angelo on the Gargano peninsula. One can trace the man's possible route from Rome by using the interactive website of the Peutinger Map compiled by René Voorburg, who has drawn on Talbert, *Rome's World*. If one types in 'ROMA' (TPPlace1277) and 'Siponto' (TPPlace1203) at <www.omnesviae.org> [accessed 22 October 2011], it will show the Roman roads superimposed on a modern map of Italy, though rather than travelling to Manfredonia, after *Teanum Appulum* (near S. Paolo di Civitate) pilgrims are likely to have turned off at *Ergitium* (Brancia?) and taken a secondary road that led down to the River Carbonara and so on to Sant'Angelo, the site of the shrine. See further Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, maps 44 and 45.

[64] Pelteret, 'Travel between England and Italy', pp. 260–64. On pilgrimage to Gargano, see also Lucia Sinisi's essay in this volume.

The great Anglo-Saxon homilist Ælfric has as the opening words of a sermon he composed for the dedication of a church to St Michael, 'To many is known that holy place of St Michael on the mountain that is called "Garganus"'.[65] Malcolm R. Godden, the most recent scholar to describe the sources of Ælfric's homily, observes that the claim the site is known to many 'is unprompted by anything in his source'.[66] Yet what was common knowledge in the England of Ælfric's day has left no written memorial in England earlier than this one, a measure of the knowledge about the Anglo-Saxon past that has been lost over the centuries.

Nor was the popularity of Gargano restricted to the late tenth century. An overlooked source suggests that it continued to be held in reverence by Anglo-Saxons into the eleventh century. By now trips to Rome were again in full swing. In 1027 Cnut, king of England and Denmark, went there, with results he reports on in a letter to the English, presumably originally written in Old English. There is an oddly contemporary feel about the document, which was recorded by William of Malmesbury and also by John of Worcester.[67] Cnut intended to go to Denmark after his Rome visit, so he sent his letter back to England through the eleventh-century equivalent of a press officer, Lyfing, then abbot of Tavistock.[68] The visit as reported in the document has something of the spirit of a modern trade mission about it: Cnut negotiates a remission of tolls and a reduction in the costs incurred by Anglo-Saxon archbishops, who quite frequently now travelled to Rome to receive a pallium from the pope as a mark of their office. Cnut wishes his readers to know that his trip to Rome was, of course, motivated by spiritual intentions, intentions that had hitherto been thwarted by pressure of his state commitments. But like any modern political

[65] 'Manegum is cuþ se halige stow sancte michaeles in þære dune þe is gehaten garganus.' The sermon goes on to identify the exact geographic location of Gargano, which suggests that Ælfric was drawing on a written source. For the text of the homily, see *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, ed. by Clemoes, no. 23, pp. 465–75. I owe the reference to Professor Joyce Hill.

[66] For a discussion of the text, see *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, ed. by Godden, pp. 281–82.

[67] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 324–31 (text and translation). William together with John of Worcester and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (MSS DEF) all report the visit as taking place in 1031, but it seems certainly to have occurred in 1027, even though this latter date is not completely devoid of difficulty. See further Thomson's commentary in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, II, 173–74 and Elaine Treharne's essay in this volume.

[68] On Lyfing, see the *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, <www.pase.ac.uk> [accessed 30 August 2011], *s.v.* Lyfing 15.

leader, he is keen that his readers should realise how important he is, and so he shamelessly drops names and titles:

> I would have you know that there was a great gathering of nobles there at the Easter solemnity with our lord Pope John and the Emperor Conrad, to wit, all the princes of the peoples from Mount Gargano to this nearest sea, who all gave me a respectful welcome and honoured me with magnificent gifts.[69]

Clearly Cnut expected his English readers to be impressed at the breadth of his contacts. Why should he specifically mention Gargano unless it was going to resonate with the recipients of his letter? Obviously it remained a destination for English travellers — though they might not have had the status that could win them a meeting with the local ruler.

In fact, Gargano did not have a prince. Southern Italy had long been a region contested by Lombards, Byzantines, and Muslims. In the 1020s the peninsula of Gargano lay just within the principality of Benevento. The principality had been briefly conquered by the Holy Roman Emperor Henry II in 1022. Though its local rulers retained power, in 1027 it was probably then within the papal sphere of influence, which would explain why a Beneventan prince was attending a papal gathering in Rome.[70] The primary ruler of Benevento at this time was Landulf V, who ruled until his death in 1033 in concert with his son, Pandulf III. Cnut might have been referring to either (or both) of these men. The site of the shrine was on the side of the peninsula that faced southwards towards Apulia, a territory that had remained subject to the Byzantines, led by Basil III Boioannes (known as Bugiano to Italians), who was *catapan* of Italy (i.e. ruler of Byzantine Italy, then comprising Apulia and Calabria) from 1017 to 1027.[71] On balance his presence at a papal religious ceremony is unlikely.

The proximity of Gargano to Byzantine territory is something that historians of Anglo-Saxon England have not considered.[72] The focus of this paper has been on Anglo-Saxons travelling *to* Italy; it should not blind one to the possibility that there were those living in Italy who might have joined Anglo-

[69] 'Sit autem uobis notum quia magna congregatio nobilium in ipsa Paschali sollemnitate ibi cum domno papa Iohanne et imperatore Conrado erat, scilicet omnes principes gentium a Monte Gargano usque ad istud proximum mare; qui omnes me et honorifice suscepere et magnificis donis honorauere': William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 326–27 (text and translation).

[70] Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin*, p. 409.

[71] Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin*, pp. 415–29.

[72] On the border, see Martin, 'Une frontière artificielle'.

Saxon pilgrims returning to England. The *Liber Eliensis* mentions the presence in Ely at some point in the reign of Edgar, king of England (959–75), of one Sigedwoldus, 'a bishop who was Greek', about whom nothing else is known.[73] How and why he came to be in England is unlikely ever to be discovered, but it is conceivable that he was from Apulia and chose, perhaps because of some ecclesiastical dispute, to join a group of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims and seek his fortune in their homeland.

Anglo-Saxon travellers faced many impediments that militated against their succeeding in reaching Rome or any other destination in Italy. No wonder that the East Anglian thegn Ketel, prior to travelling to the Eternal City with his stepdaughter, made provision in his will composed sometime between 1052 and 1066 for the settling of his estate 'if death befall us both on the way to Rome'.[74] One can only marvel at the power of piety and the desire for making a profit, those two human forces that motivated so many Anglo-Saxons to face the hazards of a road to a foreign land so far away.

[73] 'episcopus natione Graecus': *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, p. 73, and see also pp. xvii, 396, and 401.

[74] 'gif vnc ban fordsith sceot on Rome weye': *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. and trans. by Whitelock, no. XXXIV, pp. 88–91 (pp. 90 and 91) (text and translation).

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Beyond Rome: The Cult of the Archangel Michael and the Pilgrimage to Apulia

Lucia Sinisi

The mountainous Gargano peninsula, which lies in the northern part of Apulia, reaching 852 m above sea-level, is a natural balcony overlooking the Adriatic Sea. Somehow secluded from motorways and busy life, it has preserved ancient rites and lifestyles. It has also been, since time immemorial, a place where popular devotions for various saints have flourished. One of the oldest cult sites, dating back to at least the fifth century, can be found in a place called 'Monte Sant'Angelo' (literally Mount Saint Angel), which hosts a shrine dedicated to the archangel Michael.

In 1974 as a consequence of some restoration works on the western façade of the entrance to the shrine, when a wall dating back to the seventeenth century was pulled down, a large number of inscriptions were discovered. They are mainly names, sometimes followed by a *signum crucis*, sometimes just a *signum crucis* and the pronoun *ego*, without a name. Most of them are in the Latin alphabet and testify to an intense flux of pilgrims visiting the shrine.[1] Some of them are of Latin origin, some are clearly Lombard, some are Frankish, or Jewish; one of them is particularly remarkable: 'Eadrihd saxso v(ir) h(onestus)', the only indisputably English anthroponym among them written in Latin alphabet. What is more remarkable, though, is that on the moulded impost

[1] Carletti, 'Iscrizioni murali'; for a study of Germanic anthroponyms among the inscriptions at San Michele on the Gargano, see Arcamone, 'Antroponimia altomedievale'.

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supporting the arch of the doorway, on the right, at a height of about 1.70 m, three inscriptions stand out because they are carved in runic writing: they are the southernmost runic inscriptions in Europe. They have been interpreted as 'Hereberehct', 'Wigfus', and 'Herræd', anthroponyms which, not without some initial disagreement, have been attributed to the Anglo-Saxon linguistic area.[2] Although it is very difficult to establish an exact dating for the carvings, they have been ascribed to a time roughly between the late seventh and the middle of the ninth century.[3] A few years later a fourth runic inscription was detected: this one had not been carved on the impost of the doorway like the others but inside the sanctuary, on a pillar. It was first analysed by Maria Giovanna Arcamone,[4] and later, in the same year, by René Derolez and Ute Schwab.[5] Its interpretation, 'Leofwini', testifies to another Anglo-Saxon pilgrim visiting the Michaeline shrine. Although it was the last one to be discovered, it is the first in terms of chronology, at least according to Arcamone.

This immediately raises the question of what English pilgrims were doing in this mountainous area of southern Italy from such an early date. Evidently, the cult of St Michael was already well known in Anglo-Saxon England. In this chapter I attempt to retrace the origins of the Michaeline cult in western Europe in order to provide the context within which the Anglo-Saxons' journey to the heel of Italy should be placed and understood. In doing so, this chapter will also provide an important reminder of the fact that Anglo-Saxon pilgrims to Italy could and did go beyond Rome.

From the Eastern Empire to the Gargano Promontory: The Origins of the Michaeline Cult

Although initially opposed by the church, the cult of angels had developed as early as the second century in the eastern part of the Empire, and among all the angels belonging to the celestial hierarchies the archangel Michael soon became the most venerated. The Michaeline cult, in particular, originated in Phrygia

[2] Mastrelli, 'Le iscrizioni runiche'; Arcamone, 'Le iscrizioni runiche di Monte Sant'Angelo'; Derolez and Schwab, 'The Runic Inscriptions of Monte S. Angelo (Gargano)', pp. 103–07 and 125–30.

[3] Derolez and Schwab, 'The Runic Inscriptions of Monte S. Angelo (Gargano)', p. 113.

[4] Arcamone, 'Una nuova iscrizione runica da Monte Sant'Angelo'. After the publication of Arcamone's article, Ray Page, confirming her interpretation of the inscription, gave the news of the discovery to the English-speaking world: Page, 'English Runes Imported into the Continent'.

[5] Derolez and Schwab, 'More Runes at Monte Sant'Angelo'.

and Psidia,[6] where two of the most ancient shrines dedicated to the archangel are attested: one was in *Chonae* (present-day Honaz in Turkey), a Byzantine town which rose near the ancient site of *Colossae*, and the other in *Chairotopa* (present-day Kayadibi, or Karahayit, also in Turkey), which boasted a miraculous spring that had the power of healing diseases.[7]

According to Giorgio Otranto the popularity of the devotion for the angels is explicable when one considers that these celestial beings were perceived as intermediaries between men and God: in numerous passages of Genesis (16. 7–13; 21. 17–18; 22. 11–18; 31. 11–13) the angel is presented in a way that might identify him with God. In the Christian world this conception gave rise to confusion of roles and an overlapping between the angel, or the angels, and Christ, whom orthodox theologians considered the only proper intermediary between men and God. As a result, ascetic deviations and extreme manifestations developed and, as at *Colossae*, the belief in the efficacy of the angels threatened to supplant supplication to Christ by believers.[8]

St Paul directed stern warnings against these dangerous deviations in many of his epistles; for example, he openly censures the worship of the angels in his epistle to the Colossians.[9] But even though a formal prohibition was issued in canon 35 of the Council of Laodicea in AD 336, the cult of angels, and the archangel Michael in particular, rapidly spread throughout Asia Minor and Thrace,[10] where another group of shrines dedicated to the archangel Michael is to be found in the area around the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara. One of the most renowned in those days was the shrine that Emperor Constantine had built on an ancient pagan site called *Sosthenion* at Anaplous,[11] but many others were erected, like the famous *Michaelion* at *Hestiae* (present-day Arnavutköy, on the European side of the Bosphorus, not far from Constantinople). A reference to the latter is to be found in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Sozomen (II. 3, 7–13),

[6] Saxer, 'Jalons pour servir à l'histoire', pp. 382–402.

[7] Not far from these sites stood the town of *Germia* (present-day Germa/Yürme/Yërme) with its baths, called *Myriangeloi* in the sixth century, after a nearby church dedicated to Michael and the Holy Angels: Jones, 'Constantine's Legacy', pp. 330–33.

[8] Otranto, 'Il culto di San Michele', p. 72.

[9] Colossians 2. 18: 'Let no one disqualify you, insisting on asceticism and worship of angels, going on in detail about visions, puffed up without reason by his sensuous mind.'

[10] Piccirillo, 'Il culto degli Angeli in Palestina'; Cardini, *San Michele*, pp. 9–24.

[11] On the meaning of the name *Sosthenion* (literally, 'sustaining') and the legend of the origin of the shrine reported by the Greek historian Ioannes Malalas (*c.* 491–578), see Jones, 'Constantine's Legacy', p. 334, and Johnson, *Saint Michael the Archangel*, p. 34.

written at the beginning of the fifth century, where its foundation is again attributed to the emperor Constantine. According to the Palestinian historian it was called *Michaelion* because the archangel Michael once appeared on its precinct, and there — Sozomen maintains — healing powers manifested themselves on many occasions and he himself received great benefit from them.[12]

In this shrine the ancient rite of *incubatio*,[13] of pagan origin, was practised and it was also thought that the miraculous water flowing there could cure feverish attacks.[14] The new capital of the Roman Empire could also boast a church dedicated to the archangel Michael which stood near the thermal baths of the emperor Arcadius.[15] The religious character of thermal baths have long been known to scholars, who have underlined the connection between ritual bathing and the sacredness of spring water, an aspect that justifies the therapeutic properties often attributed to springs and the link which is established between them and the deity.[16] The association of Michael with springs and thermal waters added the attribute of a healer (thaumaturge) who miraculously cures the infirm of their diseases to the archangel, whose main role had originally been that of prince and leader of the celestial armies (*princeps celestis militiae*) as described in the Scriptures.[17] This development is not surprising, particularly if we bear in mind that these fountains and hot springs were already sacred places, where in pre-Christian times people had gone in order to be healed.[18] The archangel was also seen as *psychopompos* (leading the souls to the abode of the dead), and *psychagogos* (guide or evoker of souls).[19]

[12] *Sozomenus Kirchengeschichte*, ed. by Bidez and Hansen, pp. 52–54; *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen*, trans. by Walford, pp. 54–55.

[13] *Incubatio* consisted of spending the night in the precincts of the shrine, sleeping on the ground in absolute solitude, in the hope of having a vision from the interpretation of which priests could draw a diagnostic and therapeutic clue, valid for the cure of the ill pilgrim: see Lechat, 'Incubatio'. See also Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient,* pp. 224–29.

[14] Otranto, 'Note sulla tipologia', p. 386.

[15] Jones, 'Constantine's Legacy', p. 335.

[16] Lambrinoudakis and Balty, *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*, IV: *Cult Places, Representations of Cult Places* (2005), 196.

[17] Daniel, 10. 13 and 21; 12. 1; Revelation, 12. 7–9.

[18] For the development of the attribution of healing powers to St Michael, see Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael, Arzt und Feldherr*; Otranto, 'San Michele nella Bibbia', p. 5; Johnson, *Saint Michael the Archangel*, p. 33. For the association of St Michael and healing powers in England, see Jones, 'The Cult of Michael the Archangel'.

[19] Hence the representation of the archangel Michael with a scale in his hands, weighing

From eastern Christendom the cult reached the Gargano promontory in Apulia.[20] The region, which had been Christianized in the third or fourth century, still played an important role as a bridge between East and West,[21] also thanks to its road system which included the Via Traiana as an alternative route to the more ancient Via Appia.[22] The Via Traiana, named after the emperor Trajan who had built it, started from *Beneventum* and, following a route which led to *Aecae* (Troia), *Herdonia* (Ordona), *Canusium* (Canosa), *Bituntum* (Bitonto), and *Egnatia* (Egnazia), linked Rome to the port of *Brundisium* (Brindisi). Beyond the Adriatic Sea, the Via Egnatia constituted its virtual prolongation in a west-east direction, from the towns of *Dyrrachium* (Dürres) and *Apollonia* reaching as far as Thrace and Anatolia.[23] It is not surprising, therefore, that the cult of the archangel was exported to a region so geographically exposed to eastern influences. Through these roads and through the Apulian ports pilgrims travelling from the north of Europe could reach Jerusalem, as is attested in the fourth century AD by the *Itinerarium burdigalense*, the well-known travel itinerary written by an anonymous pilgrim from *Burdigala* (Bordeaux) who, coming back from the Holy Land, crossed the Adriatic Sea at *Aulona* (Valona) and landed at *Hydrontum* (Otranto), near Brindisi. From Brindisi he took the Via Traiana going up the Apulia region to Benevento. After reaching Capua he headed towards Rome; from Rome, crossing the Apennines, he went to Rimini, then Milan, and from there he returned home following in reverse order the same route he had taken on the outbound journey.[24]

souls. On the role of St Michael as psychopompos and psychagogos, see Meinardus, 'Der Erzengel Michael als Psychopompos', and Mach, 'Michael'.

[20] Petrucci, 'Aspetti del culto e del pellegrinaggio'.

[21] Cardini, *San Michele*, p. 44.

[22] The Via Traiana was built at the beginning of the second century AD as ordered by Emperor Trajan. In Benevento there is still a triumphal arch (Trajan's arch) erected between AD 114 and 117 to commemorate the opening of the new road. The old Via Appia, *regina longarum viarum*, was built at the beginning of the fourth century BC under the rule of the censor Appius Claudius Caecus, with the aim of linking Rome to the rich town of Capua; however, following the expansion of the Roman territories, it was extended to *Beneventum* (Benevento), and subsequently up to *Venusium* (Venosa), *Tarentum* (Taranto), ending at *Brundisium* (Brindisi).

[23] The Via Egnatia was named after the proconsul of Macedonia, Gnaeus Egnatius, who had it built in the second century BC: Fasolo, *La via Egnatia*.

[24] 'Itinerarium a Bordigala Hierolymam usque (333)', ed. by Tobler and Molinier. On the way to Jerusalem the anonymous pilgrim took the Via Domizia from Toulouse to Arles, crossing the Alps up to the Mont Cenis pass; from there, following the road which passes through Turin, Milan, Bergamo, and Verona, he chose the landlocked route through the Balkans heading to the Holy Land.

After the fourth century, with the invasions of the so-called 'barbarians' and the crisis of the western Roman Empire, the Continental road through the Balkans, the Via Diagonalis, which was preferred by pilgrims going to Jerusalem from the north of Europe, became more and more insecure, so travellers opted for maritime routes, or for shorter routes by land which were necessary to reach the Italian ports.[25] It is in this geo-historical context that the Apulia region came to assume central importance in the framework of pilgrimages to holy places in the early Middle Ages. With the pilgrims new ideas and renewed religious fervour travelled as well.

But how was it that the isolated area of the Gargano promontory, in the northern part of Apulia, came to be affected by all this? The reason could lie in the fact that the mountain was already suffused with an aura of sanctity, due to the well-attested presence of a stream (the waters of which were supposed to heal cattle diseases) and two ancient pagan shrines — one devoted to the cult of Calchas,[26] at the top of the mountain, and the other to Podaleirius, allegedly the son of Asclepius,[27] at the foot of it, as was reported by Strabo in his *Geography* around the beginning of the first century AD:

> Two heroa or shrines are shown on a hill of Daunia, called Drium, one on the very brow of the hill sacred to Calchas (those who are about to inquire of the oracle offer a black ram to him, and sleep upon the fleece), the other below near the foot of the hill is dedicated to Podalirius; it is about a hundred stadia distant from the sea. From this hill also flows a stream, which is a potent cure for all manner of diseases among cattle. The promontory of Garganum running into the sea, juts out from this bay about 300 stadia. As you turn the point you perceive the town of Urium, while off the headland are seen the Diomedean islands.[28]

The temples and the rites of the *incubatio* had a common origin: they were rooted in the widespread belief that Mother Earth always sends signs to human beings. Caves were considered the best places for a closer contact with the deity

[25] At the end of the tenth century land routes to Jerusalem began to be used again, especially by pilgrims from central European countries, both because the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Phocas had reconquered Antioch from the Arabs, making pilgrims' roads through Syria safer, and because of the conversion to Christianity of Duke Geza of Hungary in 985: Stopani, 'La Francigena dei Balcani', pp. 10–11.

[26] On the identity of Calchas, see Sirago, 'Santuari antichi sul Gargano'.

[27] But see Sirago, 'Santuari antichi sul Gargano', p. 82.

[28] The English translation, with slight modifications, is from *The Geography of Strabo*, trans. by Hamilton and Falconer, available at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0239:book=6:chapter=3:section=9> [accessed 29 April 2013].

of the Earth; not surprisingly, therefore, *incubatio* rites were performed on Mount Gargano, where the entrance to a natural cave gapes on its summit.[29] It is also unsurprising that, after the Christianization of the Apulian people, the renowned holy site was transformed into a Christian shrine where people would continue to entrust to the new divine being their wishes and hopes of a healthy and prosperous life. There, in that cave located on the top of a mountain, the cult of the archangel took root and spread, and the place of worship devoted to him became the most renowned Michaeline shrine between late antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[30]

Its foundation-myth is contained in the *Liber de apparitione sancti Michaelis in monte Gargano*, where the holy site is thus described:

> It is situated at the summit of a high mountain, from whose rocky mass the church is revealed to have been hollowed out in the likeness of a cave. On the borders of Campania, where the city of Siponto is situated between an arm of the Adriatic Sea and Mount Gargano, twelve miles from the city walls, and on the very summit of the mountain, is the place where the church of the blessed Archangel, mentioned earlier, is located [...]. This church with its portico seemed capable of holding about 500 men; it contains a venerable altar covered with a red altar cloth near the middle of the south wall [...]. As for the exterior of the mountain top, it is partly covered with cornel forest, partly with verdant fields [...]. From the rock which covers the sacred sanctuary, to the north of the altar runs sweet-tasting and exceedingly clear water, which the inhabitants call 'the drip'. And on account of this, a glass vessel for collecting the liquid is suspended by a silver chain, and it is the custom of the local people after partaking each one of communion to go up the steps to the vessel and taste the gift of this heavenly fluid. In fact it is pleasant to taste and salutary to the touch. And thereafter many were restored to good health, after suffering for a long time the flames of fever they were immediately refreshed through the drinking of this drop. Also many people are healed there of innumerable and various ailments, and many miracles are attested there, which could only have been performed through the Angel's power.[31]

[29] Sirago, 'Santuari antichi sul Gargano', p. 85.

[30] Otranto, 'Il culto di San Michele', p. 74.

[31] 'Vertice siquidem montis excelsi posita, de corpore eiusdem saxi speluncae instar precavata ostenditur. Est autem locus in Campaniae finibus, ubi inter sinum Adriaticum et montem Garganum civitas Sepontus posita est, qui a moenibus civitatis ad 12 milia passum preerectus, in cacumine suppremo beati archangeli, quam prefatus sum, gestat ecclesiam [...]. Haec cum ipso porticu suo quingentos fere homines capere videbatur, altare venerandum rubroque contectum palliolo prope medium parietis meridiani ostendens [...]. Vertex vero montis extrinsecus partim cornea silva tegitur, partim virenti planitiae dilatatur [...]. Ex ipso autem saxo, quo sacra contegitur aedis, ad aquilonem altaris dulcis et nimium lucida guttatim aqua delabitur, quam incolae stillam

The *Liber de apparitione sancti Michaelis in monte Gargano*, in all probability, originated at the end of the sixth century in the context of the newly established Lombard duchy of Benevento, but it is extant in manuscripts generally ascribed to the beginning of the ninth century.[32] It narrates the legend of the eponymous shepherd Gargano from the town of Siponto who lost a bull while his cattle were grazing in the mountain fields. After having searched for it everywhere with the help of his servants, he finally found it on top of the mountain, in front of the cave. In an outburst of anger, he shot a poisoned arrow at it, but the arrow inexplicably came back and struck the shepherd instead. When the bishop of Siponto came to hear about the episode, he decreed three days of fasting, after which the archangel Michael, in an apparition, told him:

> You have done well in seeking from God the mystery that was concealed from men; that is to say, a man struck by his own weapon. For you should know that this was done by my own will. For I am Michael the archangel, who always stands in contemplation of the Lord. And in deciding to guard this place and its inhabitants in this country, I wish to demonstrate by this sign that I'm watching over and guarding the place and everything that happens there.[33]

We are clearly dealing here with an episode of *exauguratio*, which symbolizes the transformation of the cave where pagan rites were officiated into a sacred

vocant. Ob hoc et vitreum vas eiusdem receptui preparatum argentea pendit catena suspensum, morisque est populo communicato singulos ad hoc vasculum ascendere per gradus donumque caelestis degustare liquoris. Nam et gustu suavis est et tactu salubris. Denique nonnulli post longas foebrium flammas hac austa stilla celeri confestim refrigerio potiuntur salutis. Innumeris quoque et aliis modis ibi et crebri sanantur aegroti, et multa quae angelicae tantum licet potestati geri miracula comprobantur'. The text is from 'Liber de apparitione sancti Michaelis', ed. by Waitz, pp. 541–43, and the translation is from Johnson, *Saint Michael the Archangel*, pp. 111–15.

[32] According to Nicholas Everett, the composition of the *Liber* is related to the annexation of the Michaeline sanctuary on the Gargano to the church of Benevento by the Lombard duke Romuald I and, in any case, would not be later than the eighth century: Everett, 'The *Liber de apparitione*'. For a résumé of the various dates proposed for the composition of the *Liber de apparitione*, see Johnson, *Saint Michael the Archangel*, p. 37, and Sivo, 'Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta'. A reference to an earlier, now lost, version is to be found in the same extant text, where it is said: 'Hanc mortalibus hoc modo cognitam libellus in eadem ecclesia positus indicat' (A little book placed in that very church relates that it was revealed to mortal men in the following way).

[33] 'Iam bene fecisti, quod homines latebat a Deo quaerundum; misterium videlicet hominem suo telo percussit, ut sciatis, hoc mea gestum voluntate. Ego enim sum Michael archangelus, qui in conspectu Domini semper adsisto. Locumque hunc in terra incolasque sevare instituens, hoc volui probare inditio omnium quae ibi geruntur ipsiusque loci esse inspectorem atque custodem': from 'Liber de apparitione sancti Michaelis', ed. by Waitz, p. 541.

Christian place.[34] Until the first half of the sixth century it was mainly visited by local people, whereas from the second half of the sixth century it started to become a supranational sanctuary, as is attested by the pilgrimage made by a young noble Byzantine woman, Arthelais, who, after praying at the archangel's altar, donated three hundred golden coins to be used for works to be done to the church.[35] As is narrated in her *Vita*, she had travelled from Byzantium along the Via Egnatia to *Aulona*, in Albania, sailing from there to the Apulian coast, where she followed the Via Traiana up to Siponto. The reference to her pilgrimage is all the more remarkable because her journey took place while the Gothic wars (535–53) were raging throughout Apulia.

If ever one might think that the Michaeline shrine on the Gargano mountain was only a devotional stop on the long journey from Rome to the Apulian ports in order to take the sea route to reach Jerusalem (or vice versa only a detour between Jerusalem and Rome), the pilgrimage of Arthelais, who travelled in the opposite direction, from east to west, with the aim of visiting and worshipping the archangel's sanctuary, testifies to the renown achieved by the venerated cave on the summit of the mountain: the cult of the archangel Michael at Gargano had flourished to such an extent that the shrine itself had become a major destination for pilgrims on a par with Rome and Jerusalem.

After the arrival of the Lombards in southern Italy in 570, and their progressive conquest of vast areas of Campania and Apulia,[36] one of their major enterprises was to fight the Byzantines in order to annex the territory where the Michaeline shrine stood. This came about in AD 650. There were many reasons for this: first of all, the sacred mountain had become very popular and influential over the years; the archangel Michael, leader of the celestial ranks, appealed to their war-like feelings; by taking control of that area overlooking the Adriatic coast, they could keep an eye on Byzantine manoeuvres; but above all, by transforming the cult of the archangel into a powerful *instrumentum regni*, they could legitimize their power over southern Italy.[37]

[34] Otranto, *Italia meridionale*, pp. 194–95.

[35] Otranto, 'Il culto di San Michele', p. 75. The reference to Arthelais's pilgrimage to Monte Sant'Angelo is in *Vita sanctae Arthellaidis*, ed. by Bolland and others; see Bertelli, 'Pellegrinaggi femminili'.

[36] By the year 605, when a treaty was signed between the Lombard duke of Benevento, Arechis I (*c.* 590–640), and the Byzantines, most of the Apulian territories were in the hands of the Lombards: Anthropos, *L'età longobarda a Pavia, a Benevento, in Puglia*, p. 319.

[37] Otranto, 'Per una metodologia'. After the eighth century the political situation changed: while the Lombard kingdom collapsed under the strong attack by the Franks of Charlemagne

As Carlo Carletti points out,[38] the high point for the Monte Sant'Angelo shrine in terms of fame and supranational interest can be placed between two major events which deeply affected the history of the sanctuary: the intense practice of euergetism followed by the Lombard dukes of Benevento (Grimoald I, Romuald I and Romuald II), who extended and monumentalized the site from about the second half of the seventh to the beginning of the eighth century, and its plunder in 869 by the Saracens who had settled in Bari (847–71).[39] The pillage is described by Hincmar of Reims, according to whose report, they 'rode all the way to the church of St-Michael on Mount Gargano. They plundered the clergy of that church and many other people who had gathered there on pilgrimage, and then they made off back to Bari with great spoils'.[40]

It is therefore very likely that the flow of pilgrims from all over Europe who visited the Gargano shrine peaked between the second half of the seventh century and 869. In those years many high-ranking political and religious figures visited the sacred mountain, such as Aubert, bishop of Avranches, at the beginning of the eighth century, who, according to the legend, was also, like the bishop of Siponto, the recipient of an apparition of the archangel instructing him to build what is now the church of Saint-Michel au péril de la mer. In 722 the founder of the monastery of Saint Michael in Verdun, Count Wolfandus, was there, while Magdalveus, bishop of Verdun, climbed the Gargano in 765 in order to be comforted at night 'by angelical consolations and divine revelations'.[41] It was visited by Bernardus, a monk whose provenance is not ascertained (probably a

(775), the south of Italy, where the defeated Lombards took refuge, managed to defy the centripetal force of the Carolingians. From a northern European perspective, early medieval Continental Europe is often seen as being divided between two major powers: the Carolingian and the Byzantine. It can escape people's notice that the greater part of southern Italy was dominated by the *gens Longobardorum*, albeit with changing fortunes, for as long as five hundred years. In this political context a synergic process took place between the Latin substratum and the Germanic newcomers, which led to a cultural syncretism with markedly original traits. Here local juridical customs developed and were accepted, and a new form of written script was produced — the *littera langobardisca*, nowadays known as Beneventan script, in opposition to the Carolingian script — as a symbol of national unity.

[38] Carletti, '"Gargania rupes venerabilis antri", p. 64.

[39] For the presence of an emirate in Bari, see Musca, *L'emirato di Bari*, pp. 103–04.

[40] 'ad ecclesiam sancti Michahelis in monte Gargano perrexerunt, et clericos eiusdem ecclesiae multosque alios qui ad orationem illuc convenerant depraedantes, cum multa spolia ad sua redierunt': *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. by Waitz, p. 106. The translation is from *Annals of St-Bertin*, trans. by Nelson, p. 162. On Hincmar's authorship of this section of the *Annals of St-Bertin*, see pp. 9–13.

[41] Fonseca, '"In cacumine supremo beati Arcangeli"', p. 177.

Frank),[42] on his way to Jerusalem *in devotione caritatis*, who travelled between 867 and 870 with two other monks, Theudemundus and the Iberian Stephanus. His itinerary is full of topographical details: probably travelling along the Via Appia Traiana, having reached the town of *Aecae*, he took the spur road to the port of Siponto, from where he started his ascent to the Gargano:

> Travelling from there, we reached the Mount Gargano where, below a rock on which acorn-bearing oak-trees grow, there is the church of St Michael, which they say the Archangel himself dedicated to his cult. The entrance to the church, which can admit sixty people, is from the north. Inside it, on the eastern side, there is the image of the Angel; on the southern side there is the altar, on which the Sacrifice is celebrated and no donation is to be left on it. But in front of the altar, and also near the other altars, there is a suspended vessel in which donations are placed.[43]

Having descended the Mount Gargano, he took the same route back to *Aecae*, and following the Via Appia Traiana southwards he reached Bari, which in those times was under Saracen rule. His ultimate destination was Palestine, the land of the Saviour, of which he offers a detailed description, but he must have felt a particular veneration for the archangel Michael, because on his way back by sea, after a sixty-day-long journey during which the ship was pounded by very strong winds,[44] he landed in some southern Italian port on the Tyrrhenian coast in order to reach the sanctuary of San Michele ad Olevano sul Tusciano, on the summit of Mount Raione:[45] 'we reached Mons Aureus, where there is a

[42] In his travel account Bernardus declares that he is from France ('Francia vero est nativitatis meae locus'), but some scholars have questioned his origin; see Infante, *I cammini dell'angelo*, p. 69.

[43] 'Inde progressi venimus ad montem Garganum, in quo est ecclesia Sancti Michaelis sub uno lapide, super quem sunt quercus glandiferae, quam videlicet archangelus ipse dicitur dedicasse. Cujus introitus est ab aquilone, & ipsa sexaginta homines potest recipere in se. Intrinsecus ergo ad orientem ipsius angeli habet imaginem; ad meridiem vero est altare, super quod sacrificium offertur, & preter id nullum munus ibi ponitur. Est autem ante ipsum altare vas quoddam suspensum, in quo mittuntur donaria, quod etiam juxta se alia habet altaria': Infante, *I cammini dell'angelo*, p. 73. The English translation is mine.

[44] 'Revertentes igitur ab Ierusalem civitate sancta, venimus in mare. Intrantes autem in mare, navigavimus LX dies cum angustia magna valde, non habentes ventum serenum' (After we had left Jerusalem, the Holy City, we put out to sea and sailed for sixty days with great distress, because we did not have favourable wind). The text is from Infante, *I cammini dell'angelo*, p. 74; the translation is mine.

[45] The Raione mountain, or *Mons Aureus*, as it was called in medieval texts, is part of the mountain range of Monti Picentini, in the Campanian Apennines, not far from the Tyrrhenian coast. On its summit, facing west, a wide cave hides inside as many as seven chapels. The very steep

crypt containing seven altars, which has a great forest above it; because of the darkness, no one can enter this crypt, unless one has lighted lamps.'[46]

The altars and chapels inside the Olevano cave are still decorated with frescoes; among these there is one in which three monks are portrayed in the act of venerating the archangel Michael; they have been identified by some as Bernardus and his fellow pilgrims, Theudemundus and Stephanus.[47] Bernardus and his travel companions separated in Rome but, after some time, he left for the shrine of St Michael *ad duas tumbas*, that is, Mont Saint-Michel au péril de la mer, where his travel itinerary ends.[48]

After the attack by the Saracens the *ecclesia santi Michaelis* on Mount Gargano appears to have become *deserta et ruinosa*, as one can read in a diploma written either in 871 or 875.[49] Notwithstanding the severe blow inflicted by the Saracens, and their subsequent attacks in 910 and 952, the flow of pilgrims continued unabated and the fame of the Gargano sanctuary does not seem to have diminished; on the contrary, its influence spread so extensively that many major historical figures, both religious and lay, undertook the gruelling journey to the southern Italian shrine. Between 940 and 965 two great abbots of two celebrated abbeys, Odo of Cluny and John of Gorze, braved the steep climb in order to worship the archangel, while Flodoard of Reims included a memory of his pilgrimage in his *Opuscola metrica*. In 999 Emperor Otto III was induced to climb the sacred mountain by Abbot Romuald, founder of the monastery of Camaldoli, *causa penitentie*.[50]

Thanks to the fame of the Gargano shrine and the popularity of the cult of St Michael throughout Europe, other sanctuaries were founded *ad instar*, that is, after its model, provided they satisfied the following conditions: they had to stand on a steep site that was difficult to reach, where there was a constant

mule track which leads to it through thick woods makes the pilgrim's walk very demanding, but the sight at the end of it contributes to create an atmosphere of utmost fascination. It was active as a Michaeline church from as early as the ninth century; Otranto, 'Note sulla tipologia', p. 390.

[46] 'venimus ad montem Aureum ubi est cripta habens VII altaria, habens etiam supra se silvam magnam. In quam criptam nemo potest pro obscuritate intrare, nisi cum accensis luminibus': Infante, *I cammini dell'angelo*, p. 74.

[47] The fresco came to light only in 2003; it is thus not dealt with in the study on the frescoes of S. Michele ad Olevano by Rosalba Zuccaro, published in 1977: Zuccaro, *Gli affreschi*; on this particular fresco, see Otranto, 'Note sulla tipologia', pp. 390–91 and n. 36.

[48] Infante, *I cammini dell'angelo*, p. 74.

[49] Carletti, '"Gargania rupes venerabilis antri"', pp. 64–65.

[50] Fonseca, '"In cacumine supremo beati Arcangeli"', pp. 177–78.

flow of water and the presence of a vast natural cave. Many exemplars are still to be found in southern Italy,[51] one of the most famous being the shrine of San Michele ad Olevano sul Tusciano, visited — as we have seen — by the monk Bernardus in the second half of the ninth century.

Ad instar were founded the now more famous shrine of Mont Saint-Michel au péril de la mer, in Normandy, which was erected at the beginning of the eighth century (708 or 709) and the Sacra di S. Michele in Piedmont (west of Turin in the Alps) at the end of the tenth century.[52] For the founding of the former the bishop of Avranches, Aubert, sent envoys to the Gargano shrine in order to get some *pignora*,[53] such as a piece of the *palliolum* left by the archangel on the altar in the Gargano cave, and a fragment of a large stone where he sat during his *apparitio*. According to the legend of the foundation of Mont Saint-Michel au péril de la mer, while the bishop of Avranches was sleeping, an angelical manifestation had exhorted him to erect on that sacred place a church dedicated to the archangel Michael, so that on that sea St Michael could be celebrated with as much rejoicing as he was celebrated on the Gargano mountain. Without delay the bishop set about building the church, which resembled a vast domed crypt, like the one on the Gargano. The church was consecrated on 16 October, and immediately after its consecration a spring of therapeutic water, particularly suited for curing feverish attacks, just as on the Gargano, began to flow in its vicinity.[54]

The English and the Michaeline Cult

Although Richard F. Johnson warns that the evidence of pre-Conquest church dedications to the archangel is scant, the fame of Monte Sant'Angelo must have reached England much earlier than the founding of Mont St-Michel au péril

[51] According to Avril and Gaborit more than two hundred shrines dedicated to the archangel Michael are present in southern Italy, though the list they provide is incomplete: Avril and Gaborit, '*L'Itinerarium Bernardi Monachi*', pp. 288–89. For a study of the popularity of the Michaeline cult and of the sanctuaries dedicated to the archangel in southern Italy in the Middle Ages, see Campione, 'Culto e santuari micaelici'.

[52] As attested in a chronicle of the sanctuary written in the eleventh century by a certain monk Willelmus: *Libellus narrationis*, ed. by Provana, cols 249–56.

[53] The immaterial substance of angels determined the impossibility for pilgrims to obtain relics or *brandea*.

[54] Otranto and Carletti, *Il Santuario di S. Michele Arcangelo*, p. 66. See also Giovetti, *Le vie dell'arcangelo*, pp. 66–67.

de la mer.[55] Only four pre-ninth-century churches dedicated to St Michael are listed by Wilhelm Levison,[56] and these are discussed in detail by Graham Jones.[57] The first is a retreat with an oratory established *c*. 690 by Bishop John of Hexham, probably at Warden hillfort on the north bank of the River Tyne opposite Hexham; the second is the church of St Michael at Malmesbury where Aldhelm was buried in 709. In 765 King Ealdwulf of the South Saxons granted lands to another church of St Michael, which he had founded at South Malling, in East Sussex, while King Offa gave land for the refoundation of the church and monastery of St Michael at *Clife* (Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire), as is attested by a charter issued between 768 and 779.[58] In any case, as Graham Jones points out,

> Michael's arrival in Britain was undoubtedly aided, if not instituted, as a result of the crediting of Michael by Gregory the Great, the pope responsible for the Augustinian mission to England, with saving Rome from pestilence. Gregory had a vision of the Archangel sheathing a bloody sword on Hadrian's Mausoleum, since known as Castel Sant'Angelo.[59]

It is worth underlining, moreover, that this monument, which was not far from the old *schola Saxonum*, the Anglo-Saxon enclave in Rome, constituted a source of inspiration for many English churches dedicated to the archangel,[60] and one wonders whether the same monument may have inspired the English living in or visiting Rome to embark on a pilgrimage to Gargano, that is, the principal site of the Michaeline cult.

We know of many Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics who went to Rome to get books, ornaments for their newly founded churches, and especially saints' relics or at least some *brandea*, that is, pieces of cloth or parchment that pilgrims used to put near the tombs of their venerated saints, so that these were 'impregnated' with the sanctity of the holy men, and worked as 'personal' relics,[61] as was the

[55] Johnson, *Saint Michael the Archangel*, p. 1.

[56] Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 33–36 and 259–65.

[57] Jones, 'The Cult of Michael the Archangel', pp. 149–52.

[58] Sawyer, no. 141.

[59] Jones, 'Constantine's Legacy', p. 342.

[60] At least according to Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 36. I am indebted to Francesca Tinti for bringing this to my attention.

[61] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. 24; on relics, see also Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient*, pp. 233–41.

case for Benedict Biscop, who travelled to Rome at least six times, once, in 665, with his friends Acca and Wilfrid. Willibrord, Wilfrid's pupil, went to Rome twice, in 690 and in 695; on the latter occasion he was consecrated archbishop of the Frisians by Pope Sergius. Boniface, who ended his life at Dokkum in 754, had been to Rome in 718, 732, and 737/38. Occasionally, before the tenth century, some archbishops also went to Rome to fetch the pallium, the venerable strip of wool symbol of their office, directly from the pope. The oldest attested case dates back to 667 or 668, when, according to Bede, Wighard, archbishop of Canterbury, went to Rome to receive the pallium and died there; however, the practice became much more common in the late Anglo-Saxon period.[62]

More and more people were prepared to go to Rome to pray where St Peter had been martyred. Many kings took the highly destabilizing choice of abandoning their secular duties to go to the capital of the Christian religion, as Caedwalla, king of Wessex, did in 668. Then there is the case of Caedwalla's successor, Ine, who, after a pilgrimage to Rome, stayed there until his death (726), not to mention Cenred, king of Mercia, and Offa, the son of the king of Essex. The precious *Codex Amiatinus*, now preserved in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatinus 1), testifies to an intense exchange of goods and artefacts and — as a consequence — of ideas, between England and Italy. The *Codex* was a present that Ceolfrith, abbot of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow (688–716), intended to give to the pope, but he was too old when he started his long journey and died at Langres, Burgundy.[63] Possibly these people were the ones who spread the news that there was a sanctuary in Apulia which had been directly founded by the archangel Michael.

Travels to Rome increased after the Nicean Council (787), when it was established that relics were fundamental to the consecration of new churches, and as a result flocks of ecclesiastics from northern France, England, and Germany — places where there was not a long tradition of martyrs and saints — were prepared to undertake a very tiring and dangerous journey in order to procure

[62] Bede, *HE*, II. 29. For the practice of going to Rome in order to fetch the pallium in person, see Tinti's essay in this volume.

[63] The standard study about English travellers to Italy is still Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy*. For the Anglo-Saxon period, see Levison, *England and the Continent*; Mazzuoli Porru, 'I rapporti fra Italia e Inghilterra'; Matthews, *The Road to Rome*; Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum*; Colgrave, 'Pilgrimages to Rome'; Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*; Pelteret, 'Travel between England and Italy'. See also the articles by David Pelteret and Luisa Izzi in this volume.

the relics of any saint for their newly built churches.[64] The only extant narrative of an Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage is the account of the journey to Palestine of Willibald, brother of St Walburga, written by the Anglo-Saxon nun Hygeburg, of the monastery of Heidenheim (Baden-Württemberg).[65] With his father and his brother Wynnebald, Willibald headed towards Rome in 721. After leaving Rouen they visited the shrines of saints and prayed there along their route. Eventually they reached Lucca, where their father died. After travelling to Rome, where they worshipped at the shrine of St Peter, Willibald was determined to complete his penitential tour by going further, as far as Jerusalem. He did not travel there by any kind of direct route, stopping at Gaeta, Naples, and Reggio Calabria, after which he embarked on a ship for Catania, where he spent three weeks. In that city he had the opportunity to visit the shrine in which the body of St Agatha was preserved. He then embarked from the port of Siracusa to his final destination, Jerusalem. From the account of Willibald's journey, it comes to light that although Jerusalem had been for centuries the most longed-for destination of all pilgrims, because they could retrace Christ's steps and visit the sites mentioned in the Gospels, they used to break up their journeys in whichever place could boast the presence of saints' relics, as is the case with Willibald's route after Rouen and also with his visit to the shrine of St Agatha at Catania.[66]

As the *via sacra Langobardorum*, that is the road from Benevento to Mount Gargano, had become, also from a symbolic point of view, a privileged and direct way of linking the *gens Langobardorum* and St Michael's shrine on the Gargano, it was endowed with various *hospitalia* and *xenodochia*, which were built in order to alleviate the fatigue of the pilgrims' journey.[67] The well-known epitaph on the tomb of Ansa, the wife of the last Lombard king, Desiderius, which has been attributed to Paul the Deacon, the great Lombard historian, suggests that Queen Ansa was responsible for the building of some of these *xenodochia* on the road to Monte Sant'Angelo:

[64] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. 27.

[65] Hygeburg, 'Vita Willibaldi', translated in Huneberc of Heidenheim, 'The Hodoeporicon of Saint Willibald'.

[66] The fame of St Agatha had reached England no later than the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, as is attested by some lines in her honour written by Aldhelm in his *Carmen de virginitate*, beginning 'Siciliae tellus, quam vallant caerula ponti'. See the edition in Aldhelm, 'Carmen de virginitate', ed. by Ehwald, p. 425. See also Donovan, *Women Saints Lives*, p. 37.

[67] Fonseca, '"In cacumine supremo beati Arcangeli"', p. 176.

Securus iam carpe viam, peregrinus ab oris
Occiduis quisquis venerandi culmina Petri
Garganiamque petis rupem venerabilis antri.
Huius ab auxilio tutus non tela latronis,
Frigora vel nimbos furva sub nocte timebis:
Ampla simul nam tecta tibi pastumque paravit.[68]

(Now you feel you are safe, start your journey, whoever you are, pilgrim from the western countries, to the heights of the venerable Peter and the Gargano cliff of the venerable cave. Thanks to her intervention, you need not be frightened by the arrows of thieves or by the cold, or by the clouds of the dark night. She has provided you with spacious refuges and food).

As is attested in various sources, from the second half of the eighth century onwards many pilgrims visited the sacred shrine on Mount Gargano: some are well known because of their ecclesiastical or imperial ranks, but some were anonymous pilgrims, as in documents of the time individuals are often referred to as 'vir quidam'. The *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* for the year 787 reports that a 'vir quidam de gente Anglorum mutus et surdus' went to Rome with some pilgrim friends and from there they intended to head 'ad memoriam beati Michaelis que in monte Gargano sita est', but some monks of the Benedictine abbey in Montecassino prevented them from reaching the Apulian shrine of St Michael, probably envious of its influence.[69]

While this specific pilgrim did not manage to reach Monte Sant'Angelo, we do know for sure that some other Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, that is, those who left their names on the walls of the shrine, went all the way to an unknown country to reach a sanctuary at the summit of a mountain, a fact that in itself is undoubtedly remarkable. Surely they did it *religionis causa*, but what were their inner feelings and the psychological motivations that led them there? Were they monks, like Bernardus and his fellow travellers? Or were they lay people? Were some of them travelling together? Most likely, for the majority of them the final and most important destination was Jerusalem, the Holy City. Following the road that was later called Via Francigena or Francesca, or Via Romea, which linked the north of Europe to Rome,[70] they reached the capital of Christianity, where, among the multifarious religious sites that the city could boast, they had

[68] 'Epitaphium Ansae reginae', ed. by Waitz, p. 192.

[69] *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, ed. by Hoffmann, p. 48.

[70] Stopani, *La via Francigena: una strada*; Stopani, *La via Francigena: storia*.

indeed the opportunity to visit the catacombs, as is attested by numerous *graffiti* that they left carved on the walls as evidence of their visit.[71]

It is not unlikely that some of them went to Monte Sant'Angelo to obtain some *pignora* in order to sanctify newly built churches dedicated to the archangel Michael in England, as the envoys of Aubert of Avranches did at the beginning of the eighth century. Or, possibly, after the Anglo-Saxons had explored, in the first centuries after their Christianization, the complex and highly symbolic world of the church of Rome by going there not only to visit the city which saw St Peter's martyrdom but also to familiarize themselves with an institution which had transformed them from a pagan society into a Christian one, they felt the need for a more intimate form of religion.

What the pilgrimage *religionis causa* required was a closer link with the divinity in order to reach a state of perfection of the soul. Deciding to go beyond Rome, towards lesser known territories which preserved the memory of an epiphany linked to a celestial creature, so much nearer than saints to God, was possibly seen as a supreme effort in life, perhaps accomplished in order to receive a miracle, as was the case for the English deaf man. The steep road which led to the mountain; the dark forest they had to go through, which filled their souls with fear; the cave, which is a strong symbol of the afterlife; the light which comes through its opening, a symbol of life; the water which means purification and redemption — all these symbols responded to a deeper and more ascetic religious quest, the search for a profound personal link with the divinity. Their autograph names carved in the rock, with the *signum crucis* and sometimes the pronoun *ego*, a formula used normally in legal documents of the time, ratified a pact with God that they had come all that way to sign.[72]

But along with the pilgrimage *religionis causa* there was another form of pilgrimage, the one *causa penitentiae*, which was not chosen spontaneously but was imposed on the faithful by religious authorities so that they could expiate their sins, as in the case of the Saxon emperor Otto III who undertook such a pilgrimage to Mount Gargano in 999.[73] We do not have any direct evidence of

[71] Some of them are also in runic writing, but see Carletti, 'I graffiti sull'affresco'; Carletti, '"Viatores ad Martyres"'; Carletti, 'Roma e il Gargano'; Derolez, 'Anglo-Saxons in Rome'. See also Luisa Izzi's essay in this volume.

[72] Carletti, '"Gargania rupes venerabilis antri"', p. 70.

[73] On Otto III's pilgrimage, see Althoff, *Otto III*, trans. by Jestice, pp. 93, 136. Among the vast literature on penitential pilgrimages in the Middle Ages, see Vogel, 'Le Pèlerinage pénitentiel'; Sabbatini, '"Nudi homines cum ferro "'; Spiezia, 'Pellegrini inglesi nel Medioevo'. For possible links between penitential pilgrimages, millenarian concerns, and the cult of St Michael, see also Callahan, 'The Cult of St. Michael'.

English penitential pilgrims to the same site, although there survive a number of letters, including papal ones, attesting to the late Anglo-Saxon practice of penitential pilgrimage to Rome.[74] In spite of the lack of documents testifying to the presence of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims on Monte Sant'Angelo in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the popularity of the Michaeline shrine in late Anglo-Saxon England is attested by Ælfric's laudatory mention of it in one of his sermons.[75] The record of the visit that King Cnut paid in 1027 to the papal see, where he met 'all the princes of the peoples from Mount Gargano to this nearest sea', also testifies to the fame and importance the Gargano sanctuary enjoyed in eleventh-century England.[76]

In the following centuries Apulia was still the destination of a huge flux of pilgrims and travellers journeying along the roads that linked Rome with the ports of the lower Adriatic Sea.[77] This is attested by Fulcher of Chartres's crusade chronicle,[78] and by the travel itinerary of Saewulf, an English pilgrim who reached the Holy Land in 1102, sailing from the port of Brindisi,[79] followed in 1151 by the journey of the Icelandic abbot, Nikulas of Munkathvera,[80] who described the Gargano promontory as follows:

> Siponto lies below Mount St Michael; it is three miles wide and ten miles long, and it stretches along the mountain; there is the cave of St Michael and a silk cloth he [the archangel] gave to this place. Then there is a day journey to Barletta.[81]

[74] Pilgrimage to holy places is prescribed as a remedy for major crimes in the laws of King Cnut; see Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 35. On the penitential letters, see Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome'. In the same period many English travellers also went on ecclesiastical missions to the Holy See: Tinti, 'England and the Papacy'.

[75] For the text of the homily, see *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, ed. by Clemoes, no. 23, pp. 465–75. See further on this homily David A. E. Pelteret's essay in this volume.

[76] See Pelteret in this volume.

[77] Loud, 'Il regno normanno-svevo', p. 184.

[78] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hyerosolimitana*, ed. by Hagenmeyer.

[79] *An Account of the Pilgrimage of Saewulf*, trans. by Brownlow, pp. 1–2, 31; Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy*, 1: *The Middle Ages (to 1525)*, p. 151.

[80] For a critical edition of the pilgrim diary of Nikulas of Munkathvera, with an Italian translation, see Raschellà, 'Itinerari italiani in una miscellanea geografica islandese'; for an English translation, see Magoun, 'The Pilgrim Diary', pp. 347–50; see also Stopani, *Le vie di pellegrinaggio*, pp. 57–72.

[81] '*Sepont*, hún stendr undir *Michials fialli* ok er þrijár milur á breidd en tíu á leng[d], ok er hún á fiall upp; þar er hellir Michaelis ok silkidúkr, er hann gaf þangað. Þá er dagför til *Barlar*': Raschellà, 'Itinerari italiani in una miscellanea geografica islandese', p. 564. The English translation is mine.

In the fourteenth century St Michael's shrine on the Gargano was still a renowned place of worship for English pilgrims, such as the anonymous traveller who left a vivid description of St Michael's church in his *Itinerarium*:

> [A]long winding and very muddy roads, cut into the rock, up to Troia. From Troia to Foggia, to Salsola, to the Candelaro and the monastery of St Leonard, where the *crucesignati* Teutonic Knights reside; through direct and level roads till Manfredonia, which is far from Naples four long days of travelling. From Manfredonia, after three miles, we reached a good Casale at the beginning of the ascent to the Gargano Mountain, to which men and donkeys climb through a wide shallow stepped road, cut into the rock. From the base of the mountain up to the summit the climb is three miles long. Here is the church of St Michael the Archangel, a cathedral, in a cave of the rock, where God worked many miracles through Saint Michael the Archangel's intercession. After we had prayed in the sanctuary, we descended to Manfredonia and from here to the town of Barletta, constantly walking on the sand, along the shore for thirty miles.[82]

Seven hundred years later the venerated cave still attracts hordes of visitors and preserves much of its archaic mystery. While writing this article, it was announced that the town of Monte Sant'Angelo with its ancient and hallowed sanctuary had officially been listed as a Unesco World Heritage site.

[82] 'per vias profundissimas, flexuosas et multum lutosas usque Trogeam. De trogea usque ad Ffogeam, Ffassolam, Candelaram, claustrum sancti Leonardi, ubi sunt milites Theutonici crucesignati, per vias directas et planas usque ad Malfordoniam: illuc de Neapoli sunt IIII magne diete. De Malfordonia per III miliaria ad unum bonum Casale, in ascensu montis gargani, ad quem ascendunt homines et asini per gradus in lapide duro. Ascensus illius a pede usque ad civitatem in summitate sunt III mialiaria. Ibi est ecclesia sancti Michaelis Archangeli, cathedralis, in quadam cavitate rupis, in qua deus operatus est multa miracula per sanctum archangelum Michaelem. Adorato loco, descendimus a Malfordonia, et inde ad civitatem Barlectense, semper ambulantes in arena maris per XXX miliaria': 'Itinerarium cuiusdam Anglici Terram Sanctam', ed. by Golubovich, pp. 441–43.

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Hosting Foreigners in Early Medieval Rome: From *xenodochia* to *scholae peregrinorum*

Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani

The strengthening of Christianity in Rome in the fourth century produced, among other transformations, a change in the inflow of foreigners to the city. Of course, Rome had drawn many foreigners at the height of the imperial age too, and the city's streets were crowded with people from every corner of the empire. They came to Rome to do business; government employees and soldiers came to carry out their assignments; young men came to study; the provincial members of the senatorial order and the equestrian order came to take up the offices that were stages in their *cursus honorum*; they came for a thousand other reasons too. But starting in late antiquity, Christian pilgrimage became another motive for journeying to Rome. It made great headway in the following centuries, and by the time the Middle Ages were in full flower, it had become the main reason for mobility. People set out to visit and pray at martyrs' graves and the places that had witnessed the life, the Passion, and the death of Christ, and throughout medieval times Rome and the Holy Land were the principal destinations of pilgrims from all over Christendom.[1]

The great numbers of people travelling for religious reasons had to be helped by local Christian communities. Of extraordinary interest in this connection is a letter written by the emperor Julian (360–63) to Arsakios, whom he had appointed high priest of Galatia as part of his attempt to restore the ancient religion:

[1] D'Onofrio, *Romei e Giubilei*, with extensive bibliography.

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> Why, then, do we think that this is enough [to honour the gods], why do we not observe that it is [the Christians'] benevolence to strangers, their care for the graves of the dead and the pretended holiness of their lives that have done most to increase atheism?

The Emperor, determined to fight Christianity on its own ground, imparts this order to Arsakios: 'In every city establish frequent hostels [ξενοδοκεια, 'xenodocheia'] in order that strangers may profit by our benevolence [φιλανθροπία, 'philanthropia']'.[2] Kindness to foreigners thus appears to Julian's hostile but watchful eyes as one of the main characteristics of the Christians' behaviour, one he judges so important that he places it first on his list of the attitudes that make their preaching successful. Explicitly intending to imitate the church's structures, he thinks the establishment of *xenodochia* is the most urgent thing to do.

From Julian's letter we can also infer that at least in the eastern part of the empire, to which he refers, by the middle of the fourth century the various churches must have already created an efficient network of facilities in which to provide hospitality to foreigners and pilgrims. In the West, places specifically designated to accommodate travellers must have appeared later, as can be inferred from the fact that when they did appear, they were generally called by the Greek term *xenodochia* rather than the Latin equivalent *hospitalia*, a word that gained sway only much later.[3] Of course this does not mean that travellers received no assistance, but it was probably provided differently, by monasteries or wealthy Christian families. Their practice of euergetism (beneficence) also marked the first phase in the creation of facilities specifically designated to provide hospitality to travellers.

In the Rome area, we have no documentation regarding the creation of facilities for assisting foreigners earlier than the very last years of the fourth century. The first one — not only in the Rome area but anywhere in the West — was the *xenodochium* built at Portus, on the Tyrrhenian coast, by the wealthy senator Pammachius. This information appears in a condolence letter written by St Jerome to Pammachius in 397, on the death of the senator's wife, Paulina: 'I hear you've had a *xenodochium* built at the port of Rome'.[4] We have no other

[2] Julian, *Epistolae*, ed. and trans. by Wright, no. 22, p. 69.

[3] On *xenodochia* in Rome, cf. Santangeli Valenzani, 'Pellegrini, senatori e papi'. Regarding Italy as a whole, cf. Stasolla, 'A proposito delle strutture assistenziali ecclesiastiche', and Stasolla, 'Le strutture assistenziali in Italia'.

[4] 'Audio te xenodochium in portu fecisse romano': Jerome, 'Epistola LXVI', col. 645.

information about this edifice; even its location is unknown, though several theories have been advanced on the subject.[5] Aside from the problem of its exact location, a matter that cannot be dealt with here, we already find several elements in this first-known case that are worth underlining: in the first place, the central role of aristocratic euergetism, which (as we shall see) was important throughout late antiquity; and secondly, the choice of locating the hostel near Portus. This was evidently not a casual choice; the purpose of the *xenodochium* was to provide hospitality to travellers who in most cases would be arriving by sea, in all probability from Africa or the Orient.

The two other facilities of this kind that date from the late fourth century or the fifth likewise show evident connections with acts of aristocratic euergetism. They were known by the names of two of the leading families of the senatorial aristocracy of their day: the *xenodochium* 'Anichiorum' and the *xenodochium* 'a Valeris'. In both cases, the first mention of their existence actually dates from much later, in Gregory the Great's letters, but their names — referring to great families that disappeared from the scene with the Gothic wars, like the rest of Rome's senatorial aristocracy — make it possible to date their foundation back to late antiquity. The last evidence of their existence is in the list of churches contained in the biography of Pope Leo III; it tells us that each one had an oratory on its premises: 'St Lucy's oratory in the *xenodochium* called Aniciorum' and 'St Abbacyrus' oratory in the *xenodochium* called a Valeris'.[6]

Starting from the oratories and their identification with later churches having the same titles, several theories have been advanced as to the location of the two hostels. Scholars generally agree that the Anicia family's *xenodochium* was situated in the southern part of the Campus Martius, inside the ancient Porticus Minucia, on the same site where the church of S. Lucia de' Calcarario was erected later on. A Greek inscription found in that area, which honours one Faustus designated by the appellative ξενοδοκος (*xenodokòs*), probably means that the founder of that church was a member of the Fausta branch of the *gens Anicia*, perhaps Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus, who served as a consul in 438 and held the office of *praefectus urbi* for three terms.[7]

[5] For a more detailed analysis of the sources and of the historical studies of this *xenodochium* and others in the Rome area, see Santangeli Valenzani, 'Pellegrini, senatori e papi'.

[6] The *oratorium* 'sanctae Luciae qui ponitur in xenodochium qui appellatur Anichiorum' and the *oratorium* 'sancti abba Cyri, qui ponitur in xenodochium qui appellatur a Valeris': *LP*, II (1955), p. 25; translation from *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, trans. by Davis, pp. 214–15.

[7] *Inscriptiones graecae*, ed. by Moretti, no. 69.

The problem of the location of the *xenodochium* 'a Valeris' is more complex. The traditional theory, which goes back to Giovanni Battista de Rossi, places it on the Celian Hill, on the site of the great *domus* that an extraordinary set of epigraphic finds made it possible to identify as the home of the *gens Valeria*.[8] But this idea seems hard to maintain, considering that the *Life of St Melania* (she and her husband, Pinianus, are among the most famous members of that family) tells us that the property was sold after the house was destroyed by fire during the sack of Rome in 410.[9] It is hard to make this conveyance tally with the theory that the Valerii turned their home into a philanthropic institution. Elsewhere I have suggested that their *xenodochium* was actually in the Trajan's Markets complex, where we know that a church dedicated to St Cyrus Abbot stood in medieval times.[10]

To sum up, in late antiquity the activity of providing aid to foreigners and pilgrims seems to have been a monopoly of the senatorial aristocracy. In it the ruling classes' centuries-old tradition of euergetism merged with the spiritual needs imported by Christianity and with the celebratory intents of the senatorial nobility. The very little that we know about other kinds of charitable institutions confirms this picture: St Jerome mentions a *nosocomeion* founded by the patrician lady Fabiola;[11] and the monastery of St Stephen Major, which provided aid to paupers, was founded by St Galla, daughter of Aurelius Symmachus, who served as *caput senatus* in the early years of the sixth century.[12] It is hard, of course, to establish what the church's function may have been in prodding and steering powerful benefactors. The impression one gets from the very little data available is that throughout the fifth century these hospitality activities were run privately by the senatorial aristocracy to gain honour for themselves and for propaganda purposes. In the case of the Anicii *xenodochium*, for instance, on which the documentation enables us to shed a little more light, its location — distant from the pilgrimage sites and also from the main roads leading into the city, but in an area where there is evidence of other projects

[8] De Rossi, 'La casa dei Valeri sul Celio'.

[9] 'Vita sanctae Melaniae iunioris', ed. by de Smedt and others.

[10] Santangeli Valenzani, 'Pellegrini, senatori e papi', pp. 207–10.

[11] Jerome, 'Epistola, no. LXXVII', col. 694.

[12] Gregory I, *Dialogorum libri quattuor de vita et miraculis patrum italicorum*, IV. 4; for an edition (and French translation), see Gregory I, *Dialogues*, ed. by de Vogüé, III (1980), pp. 54–59. The church of this ancient monastery near St Peter's survives as S. Stefano degli Abissini.

undertaken by members of the same family — seems surely to have been chosen to further the family's self-celebrative intents. It is significant that the founders of these facilities belonged to the leading families of the aristocracy, in terms of both dignity and wealth. Establishments of this kind evidently ranked highest among the euergetic activities undertaken by the contemporary nobility, and had strong payback in terms of prestige, of which we hear echoes in St Jerome's hyperbolic praise of Pammachius and Fabiola, and the inscription to Faustus *xenodokòs*. We know nothing about how these facilities were organized, though it is very likely that their founders endowed them with properties and income to ensure their efficiency, as Palladius explains with regard to the monasteries founded by Melania and Pinianus.[13]

To obtain word on such activities directly from the ecclesiastical hierarchies, we must wait until the reign of Pope Symmachus (498–514). According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, he created three such houses of reception: 'at St Peter's, St Paul's and St Laurence's he constructed accommodation for the poor'.[14] They are mentioned only in this passage, and we have no further notice of them. The term *pauperibus habitacula* used to define them does not indicate explicitly that their purpose was to provide aid to foreigners, but their location near the three most venerated suburban sanctuaries makes it very likely that hosting pilgrims was among their functions. Right in this first case, there emerges what was to be one of the characteristics of the papal establishments — a characteristic that distinguishes them from the ones established through the aristocrats' euergetism — namely, the rationality of their siting in relation to pilgrims' itineraries and destinations. This may be the reason why the church felt the need to enter the field itself and organize charitable activities at a time when the senatorial aristocracy, to which this task had been delegated up to then, was still heading Rome's government (though not for much longer). Because of the preference that the noble benefactors accorded to projects in the city's central districts, which evidently enjoyed greater visibility and thus appeared more rational in a perspective aimed at garnering the social prestige associated with philanthropic acts, the parts of the city filled by the largest flows of pilgrims and visitors were left bare of any such facilities.

[13] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, chap. 61; for an English translation, see *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, trans. by Clarke, pp. 167–69.

[14] 'Ad beatum Petrum et ad beatum Paulum et ad sanctum Laurentium pauperibus habitacula construxit': *LP*, I, 263; translation from *The Book of Pontiffs*, trans. by Davis, p. 45.

A case we might consider intermediate between private euergetism and church projects is that of the next foundation about which we have information. The biography of Pope Virgil (537–55) reports, in a list of donations and charitable acts done by Belisarius after his victories in the Gothic wars, the foundation of a *xenodochium*: 'the patrician Belisarius [...] built a hostel for strangers [*xenodochium*] on the Via Lata'.[15] Most likely Belisarius intended to reconnect to the aristocratic tradition of euergetism present in late antiquity, but the fact that the report came down to us through a pope's biography shows that in this case the function of the ecclesiastical hierarchy must have been less marginal than what it seems to have been in the fifth century. There's no problem with the location of this *xenodochium*. What medieval documents mention as 'ecclesia sanctae Mariae in Sinodochio' is a church that still exists today, a few steps away from what used to be called *Via Lata* and is now Via del Corso. This is the church of S. Maria in Trivio, or 'dei Crociferi'.[16] A thirteenth-century inscription affixed to the outer wall informs us that it was founded by Belisarius.

From that time on, all the hostels we know of were founded by papal initiative. As appears from the extraordinary documentation contained in Gregory the Great's letters, this does not mean that private donations ceased, but now they seem qualitatively different from those made by the aristocracy in the fourth and fifth centuries; most importantly, the church's function seems to be different. Donations were qualitatively different in that almost always they took the form of legacies. Euergetism in the sense of a phenomenon characteristic of the ruling class and serving to maintain its prestige gave way to beneficence that would be rewarded with prayers for the salvation of the soul. This perspective is already fully medieval. The church's function had changed; now it always appears as an intermediary between the donor and the beneficiaries of the donation. An especially clear example is described in a letter written by Gregory the Great in 598, though it does not refer to Rome. When Isidorus, 'vir inlustris memoriae', leaves a sum of money for the construction of a *xenodochium* in Palermo, Gregory orders that if the sum turns out not to suffice for the construction of a new complex, the land already bought and the rest of the money must go to the pre-existing *xenodochium* of S. Teodoro.[17] Evidently the ecclesiastical hierarchy had absolute discretion over the management of

[15] 'Fecit enim Vilisarius patricius xenodochium in via Lata': *LP*, I, 296; *The Book of Pontiffs*, trans. by Davis, p. 55.

[16] Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. 365.

[17] Gregory I, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. by Norberg, IX, 35 (pp. 594–95).

funds made available by private benefactors, whose wishes regarding their use remained at the level of a moral commitment that was not strictly binding.

By that time the whole organization of beneficence seems to have been concentrated in the hands of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. John the Deacon, in his *Life of Gregory the Great*, says that the Pope himself chose the administrators of the *diaconiae* and the *xenodochia*,[18] and all three of the ones whose names we know from Gregory's letters were churchmen. Despite their dependence from the church hierarchy, it appears from Gregory's letters that the *xenodochia* had individual legal personality and broad administrative autonomy. They had properties and income, they received legacies, they had standing to sue.[19] Based on documents from the early seventh century, there were at least three *xenodochia* in Rome: the *xenodochium* 'Tucium' at the Lateran, probably established at the initiative of Pope Pelagius II (578–90);[20] the *xenodochium* 'de via Nova', along the Via Nova Severiana, on the urban stretch of the Via Appia, documented for the first time in a letter written by Gregory the Great in 592;[21] and the *xenodochium* 'iuxta gradus beati Petri', at St Peter's, most likely founded by Gregory himself.[22] In these cases too, it seems clear that the siting of these establishments — one along the main road leading to the city from the south, the other two near major pilgrimage destinations — reflects a criterion of rationality and careful resource planning.

The earliest documentation of the existence of *diaconiae*, the other type of charitable establishment operated by the Roman church, likewise goes back to the papacy of Gregory the Great; their purpose was to aid the city's poor people.[23] The sixth century thus seems to have been a time when all of the church's charitable operations were reorganized. St Gregory's energetic efforts must have played an important part in this endeavour.

[18] John the Deacon, 'Vita Sancti Gregorii', II. 51, col. 109.

[19] For detailed references, see Santangeli Valenzani, 'Pellegrini, senatori e papi', p. 217.

[20] The name appears only on the list of churches contained in the *Life* of Leo III (*LP*, II (1955), p. 25). For the attribution to Pelagius II and the location at the Lateran, see Santangeli Valenzani, 'Pellegrini, senatori e papi', pp. 210–11.

[21] Gregory I, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. by Norberg, I, 42 (p. 55).

[22] Gregory I, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. by Norberg, IX, 63 (pp. 619–20).

[23] On the *diaconiae*, Ottorino Bertolini's work is still important: Bertolini, 'Per la storia delle diaconie romane'. Cf. the observations in Durliat, *De la ville antique*, pp. 164–83. Regarding archaeological evidence, cf. Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'altomedieovo*, pp. 75–91.

For nearly a century and a half after Gregory the Great, we have no more mention of *xenodochia* in Rome. The silence of the sources in this regard is surely due primarily to the scarcity of our documentation, but in all probability it also reflects a real decadence of these establishments. In fact, when we find the *xenodochia* mentioned again in the biography of Stephen II (752–57), their situation appears to be decidedly precarious: 'He soon restored the four *xenodochia* located of old in this city of Rome; from times past and long ago they had stayed deserted and disordered'.[24] The four *xenodochia* restored by Stephen II were most likely the same ones mentioned some fifty years later in the passage from Leo III's biography cited above: the *xenodochia* 'Anichiorum', 'a Valeris', 'Tucium', and 'Firmis' (to be identified as the one near Via Lata).[25] Besides these four, the one at St Peter's was still extant at that time; there is an implicit reference to it in the *Life* of Stephen II's predecessor, Pope Zachary (741–52),[26] but it was not among the ones restored by Stephen II, because the *Liber Pontificalis* specifies that those four were all urban. By contrast, all traces of the *xenodochium* 'de via Nova' were lost, and as we shall see, this must not have been by mere chance.

It thus seems that at least in the first half of the eighth century, the Roman church's charitable organization underwent a serious crisis. This situation was surely a consequence of the economic crisis brought on by the Byzantine Empire's confiscation of the church's property, following the Iconoclast controversy and the final break between Rome and Constantinople. Scholars have long underlined the importance of this episode in the history of Rome and its far-reaching effects on the city's economic and social fabric.[27]

But besides restoring the existing *xenodochia*, Stephen II founded three new ones. The above-mentioned passage from the *Liber Pontificalis* goes on to say:

> He is also acknowledged as founder of the new *xenodochium* 'in platana', for a hundred of Christ's poor; he made arrangements there, decreeing the provision of their food every day. Outside the walls of this city of Rome, alongside St Peter's, he built two *xenodochia*, on which he conferred many gifts; he merged them permanently

[24] 'Mox vero restauravit et quattuor in hac Romana urbe sita antiquitus xenodochia, quae a diuturnis et longinquis temporibus destituita manebant et inordinata': *LP*, I, 440; *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, trans. by Davis, p. 52.

[25] For the last one, see *LP*, II (1955), p. 46 n. 108.

[26] *LP*, I, 435.

[27] Delogu, 'La storia economica di Roma'; Marazzi, 'Il conflitto tra Leone III Isaurico e il papato'. On the archaeological evidence of this crisis, cf. Santangeli Valenzani, 'Struttura economica e ruoli sociali'.

> with the venerable deaconries already existing outside there — God's holy mother's deaconry and that of St Silvester — and strengthened the permanence of this by apostolic privileges.[28]

Most likely the *xenodochium* 'in platana' (by the plane-tree) was near the basilica of S. Eustachio, which in medieval documents is specified as being 'in platana'.[29] A few years earlier, Gregory II (715–31) had established a *diaconia* at this church, and here we see attested for the first time the close relationship between the two types of charitable institutions, *xenodochia* and *diaconiae*, that we find again in the other two *xenodochia* founded by Stephen II, both located in the immediate vicinity of St Peter's and connected to the *diaconiae* of S. Maria in Caput Portici and S. Silvestro.

Stephen II's projects were plainly exceptional, qualitatively as well as quantitatively, for they involved a true reorganization of the entire service of hospitality for foreigners and pilgrims. Each of the new *xenodochia* was linked to a pre-existing *diaconia*, a circumstance that attests to a rationalization of the charitable services operated by the church. It would seem obvious to relate Stephen II's activities in this field to his political activity in general. It was he who, under the threat of Lombard expansion, and having had to recognize that the break with the Eastern Roman Empire could not be patched up, gave maximum impetus to the papacy's pro-Frankish policy, which was to culminate in the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of the West. Stephen II was the pope who anointed Pippin the Short as king of the Franks, which validated Pippin's usurpation of Childeric III's realm, and conferred upon Pippin the title of *patricius*, designating him as the protector of Rome and the papacy.

The reorganization of the services provided to pilgrims should be viewed in the framework of the papacy's shift from a Mediterranean-Byzantine perspective to a Continental-Frankish one. The cult of St Peter was one of the most important links that Rome kept with the northern populations (Franks, Lombards, and Anglo-Saxons), and was the primary reason for the papacy's prestige and influence with them. Its interest in facilitating the arrival of pil-

[28] 'Pari modo a novo fundasse dinoscitur et xenodochium in Platana, centum pauperum Christi, dispositum illic faciens, cotidianum videlicet victum eorum decernes tribui. Nam et foris muros huius civitatis Romanae secus basilicum beati Petri apostoli duo fecit xenodochia, in quibus et plura contulit dona quae et sociavit venerabilibus diaconiis illic foris existentibus perenniter permanere, id est diaconiae sanctae Dei genetricis et beati Silvestri, ex privilegiis apostolicis perenniter permanenda munivit': *LP*, I, 440–41; translation from *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, trans. by Davis, pp. 52–53.

[29] Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, pp. 251–52.

grims by reorganizing and improving the services designed to aid them was thus part and parcel of Stephen II's pastoral action and policy, which aimed to strengthen the papacy's ties with the populations of northern Europe and, by capitalizing on the cult of St Peter, to increase the prestige and authority of the apostolic see. If two and a half centuries earlier Pope Symmachus had distributed his *pauperibus habitacula* even-handedly among the three most venerated suburban sanctuaries, now Stephen II concentrated his establishments at St Peter's — which had become the pilgrims' primary destination and the one whose veneration the papacy had the greatest interest in promoting, because it testified to the primacy of the bishops of Rome — and in the area where the Via Flaminia entered the city, to host pilgrims from the north. Accordingly, it does not seem a matter of chance that Stephen II's projects for restoring the earlier *xenodochia* did not include the 'de via Nova' one, in the Via Appia area. It had originally been intended to serve travellers coming from the south, but by then no more pilgrims were expected to reach Rome from southern Italy and the Greek world; they were kept away by the irreparable breach between the two apostolic sees.

As noted above, around a century later, in the biography of Leo III, the oratories of four *xenodochia* — 'Anichiorum', 'a Valeris', 'Tucium', and 'Firmis' — are mentioned in a list of churches in Rome to which the Pope had made a series of donations. The three founded by Stephen II are omitted, but this should not be surprising: in this document the *xenodochia* are listed not as such but only to identify their respective oratories, which had received the donations in question. Plainly, the newly founded ones are considered together with the *diaconiae* to which they were connected, all of which are listed. Leo III also founded a new hostel for foreigners and pilgrims: the *hospitale s. Peregrini in Naumachia*, likewise near St Peter's.[30]

This reference in Leo III's biography is the last mention of operating *xenodochia*. Most likely during the ninth century they, like the *diaconiae*, saw their charitable function wither away; in that period their functions were taken over by a different type of establishment, the *scholae peregrinorum*. But before dealing with the problem posed by these other institutions, let us look briefly at the type of aid that the *xenodochia* provided and their physical structures. Unfortunately, our information on both these matters is very scarce. No structure that might have been a *xenodochium* has ever been excavated, or even recognized as such. We know of some oratories that became churches in their right

[30] *LP*, II (1955), p. 25.

(S. Lucia de' Calcarario, torn down in the middle of the twentieth century; S. Pellegrino in Naumachia, and S. Maria in Trivio; the latter two still exist), but they have been so thoroughly transformed that almost nothing of their original phases can be recognized today. The analogy with the *diaconiae*, about which we know a little more,[31] makes it reasonable to suppose that they must have contained baths and spaces (perhaps porticos) where food was distributed. Considering their function, we must suppose that they also had dormitories. Indeed, the presence of sleeping quarters was probably the primary element that distinguished *xenodochia* from *diaconiae*. As we have seen, the *Liber Pontificalis* reports that the *xenodochium* 'in platana' founded by Stephen II was endowed with properties and income so that it could provide daily aid to one hundred 'pauperum Christi'. This specification gives us precious indications as to the size and operating capacity of one of these establishments.

As noted above, our documentation on the ninth century shows the *xenodochia* disappearing and a new type of establishment — the *scholae peregrinorum* — gaining ground in the provision of aid to foreigners and pilgrims. In early medieval Rome, the term seems to indicate an institution that hosts foreign residents of Rome who belong to a specific ethnic or linguistic group. It is not easy to determine what these *scholae* looked like and how they were organized. Even the meaning of the term fluctuates, sometimes indicating the areas where such outlander groups lived and the physical structures they occupied (churches, assistance facilities, cemeteries, houses), sometimes their organizational structure. The earliest evidence of their existence is probably in the *Liber Pontificalis*'s description of the procession that greeted Charlemagne on 2 April 774, on his first trip to Rome: 'and when he [Charlemagne] was only a mile or so away from Rome, he [Hadrian] sent all the *scholae* of the militia, along with the *patroni* and the children'.[32] It's impossible to be sure that the reference in this case is indeed to the *scholae peregrinorum*, not to some other kind of association. However, what makes the former conclusion probable is the parallel with another passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*, this one regarding the welcome given to Pope Leo III upon his return from Paderborn, in Germany, on 29 November 799. Here, mentioned last among the groups that turned out for the occasion, we read of 'cuncte scole peregrinorum, videlicet Francorum,

[31] Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'altomedieovo*, pp. 75–91.

[32] 'et dum [Carolus] adpropinquasset fere unius miliario a Romana urbe, [Hadrianus] direxit universas scolas militiae una cum patronis simulque et pueris': *LP*, I, 497; *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, trans. by Davis, p. 135.

Frisonorum, Saxonorum atque Langobardorum' (all of the *scholae* of foreigners — Franks, Frisians, Saxons and Lombards).[33]

Right from these earliest accounts, then, the *scholae peregrinorum* appear to have autonomy and legal personality. This circumstance appears still clearer in another passage from the *Liber Pontificalis*,[34] regarding the *Life* of Sergius II. Here we read that three *scholae* (*Saxonum*, *Frisonum*, and *Francorum*) were sent to Portus in August of 846 to defend the city against the Saracens; this indicates that these associations also had organized military units. Indeed, the theory has been advanced that — especially in the case of the *schola Francorum* — this military aspect was not a secondary but one of their primary features; the *scholae* might also have had the function of controlling and influencing the pope's autonomy with their military presence.[35] It's a plausible theory. Perhaps the location of these establishments — near the Vatican Basilica, outside the city enclosed by the Aurelian Walls — cannot be explained merely by the wish to be close to St Peter's venerated tomb but also by the papacy's need to keep them outside the city and at some distance from its political centre, on the other side of the Tiber.

At any rate, the term *schola* certainly meant not only the institution in which these communities were organized, but also their physical structures. This is plain from the account in the *Liber Pontificalis* of the fire that destroyed the *schola Saxonum* in 817, so devastatingly that there remained no trace of the buildings:

> [T]hrough the carelessness of some men of English race their whole quarter, called *burgus* in their language, was so burnt with an abounding flame of fire, that not even traces of their former dwelling could be found in that place [...]. So afterwards the thrice-blessed pastor, noticing the need of those pilgrims, which had crept in through the plotting of the devil's trickery, bestowed so many gifts and benefits for their needs, as he was ever accustomed to do; he supplied everything abundantly, gold and silver, clothing for their bodies as well as the rest of the nourishment needed. Also a quantity of trees to provide timber, so that they could restore their homes as required in the same place as they had been before.[36]

[33] *LP*, II (1955), p. 6; *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, trans. by Davis, p. 185.

[34] *LP*, II (1955), p. 100.

[35] Cassanelli, 'Gli insediamenti nordici in Borgo'.

[36] 'per quorundam gentis Anglorum desidiam ita est omnis illorum habitatio, quae in eorum lingua burgus dicitur, flamma ignis exundante conbusta, ut etiam nec vestigia pristinae habitationis in eodem loco invenire potuisset [...]. Unde postmodum ter beatissimus pastor, considerans illorum peregrinorum inopiam, quam ob insidiam diabolice fraudis inrepta est, tanta dona tantaque beneficia, sicut semper solitus erat, in eorum necessitatibus inpertivit, tam in auro seu argento vel corporum indumenta, quam reliqua necessaria alimenta, omnia uberius

This passage is of the greatest interest, partly because it testifies to the presence of a true quarter inhabited by a group of foreigners (and it is significant that this is the first time that the Germanic term *burgus* appears in the sources to indicate this part of the city), but also because it indirectly provides information on the structures. In fact, from the author's observation that the fire destroyed every trace of the existing buildings, and that the pope supplied only timber for their reconstruction, we can infer that they were built entirely of wood. This was quite unusual in ninth-century Rome, at least as regards public buildings and middle-to-high-level housing.[37] We can suppose that in an urban context characterized by the use of largely autarchic construction techniques, the physical features of the 'Saxons' quarter' had 'exotic' aspects, due to the use of building methods and perhaps building types too that were closer to those of the residents' faraway British homeland than to the ones implemented in the rest of the city.

Accounts in the sources that explicitly relate the *scholae* to pilgrims leave no doubt that their functions included providing assistance to countrymen who were spending time in Rome, and that this activity was essentially the purpose of the donations and income provided to the *scholae* by the sovereigns of the nations from which the foreigners came (this type of financial support is especially well documented as regards the English kings). Their relationship with the organization of the church of Rome is less clear. A passage in the *Life* of Stephen V (885–91) says the church supplied the *scholae* with farm produce,[38] which seems to indicate that providing such aid continued to be among the church's functions. A few years earlier (as we are told in the biography of King Alfred of Wessex, i.e., Alfred the Great), Pope Martin I (882–84) 'for love of Alfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, and at his request, kindly freed from all tributes and all taxes the *schola* of the Saxons who live in Rome', thus showing that these establishments were usually subject to tribute.[39]

subministrabat. Sed et silvarum copia pro lignorum utilitate, quatenus domicilia sicut ante in eodem loco fuerant, utiliter restaurarent': *LP*, II (1955), pp. 53–54; translation from *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, trans. by Davis, pp. 8–9.

[37] Santangeli Valenzani, *Edilizia residenziale*.

[38] *LP*, II (1955), p. 192: 'horrea simul et cellaria vacua inventa sunt, et quid erogaret clero et scolis non habebat'; *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, trans. by Davis, pp. 300–01: 'the granaries and cellars were found to be empty, and he had nothing to disburse to the clergy and the *scholae*'.

[39] 'scholam Saxonum in Roma morantium pro amore et deprecatione Ælfredi, Anglusaxonum regis, ab omni tributo et telonio benigne liberavit': Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, chap. 71, in *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. by Stevenson, p. 53.

Five *scholae peregrinorum* are named in the early medieval sources: the four listed in the passage quoted above from the *Life* of Leo III (*schola Saxonum*, *schola Langobardorum*, *schola Frisonum*, *schola Francorum*), plus the *schola Graeca*. While the first four, as we shall see, were all located in the vicinity of the Vatican Basilica, the *schola Graeca* was in a whole other part of the city, near the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, which must have been its religious centre. Only the name of this church — in the early medieval sources it is called S. Maria in Schola Graeca[40] — tells us that the *schola* of the Byzantine-Greek community was in this area; it is not mentioned in any other source. The church's three-apse layout, as reconstructed in the era of Hadrian I, reveals its eastern inspiration;[41] so, we can date the presence of a Greek-speaking community in this area to at least that time. It was surely not by chance that while all the other ethnic groups chose locations closely connected to St Peter's for their settlements, the Greeks kept at a distance. The Greek community's *schola* must not have had a strong calling to provide pilgrimage-related aid, because there is no documentation attesting to any significant presence in Rome of pilgrims from the east. Most likely the Greek community was linked to the presence of a strong element of Greek monasticism in early medieval Rome, located extensively on the Aventine Hill and in the surrounding areas. The passage in the biography of Leo III that names the four *scholae* of the Saxons, the Lombards, the Franks, and the Frisians individually specifies that these are all the existing ones ('cunctae scholae peregrinorum') and shows that in reality the *schola Graeca* was not considered, or no longer considered, one of them.

Information about the four *scholae* near the Vatican, though scanty and sometimes ambiguous, makes it possible to specify their locations and clarify some of the events in which they were involved. The most important document regarding the *schola Francorum* is a bull issued by Pope Leo IX in 1053. Confirming a series of donations granted by Leo IV to the Vatican Basilica in the mid-ninth century, the bull also mentions 'the church of the Saviour, which is called the *schola* of the Franks, together with its possessions and the rights that the emperor Charles granted to the (same) church of the Saviour and confirmed by a written privilege, and (those that) Leo IV granted with a written privilege'.[42] The church of the Saviour (no longer extant) is the one

[40] Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, pp. 327–28.

[41] Krautheimer and others, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, II (1959), pp. 275–307.

[42] 'Ecclesiam D.N. Salvatoris, quae vocatur schola Francorum, una cum suis possessionibus et usibus et utilitatibus, quas Carolus Imperator Ecclesiae S. Salvatoris donavit et per privilegium confirmavit, et Leo IV privilegio concessi': de Waal, *La 'schola Francorum'*.

that later sources call '[ecclesia] S. Salvatoris de Terrione',[43] for it was located near the Porta ad Terrionum, one of the gates in the Leonine Wall. This tells us the location of the *schola Francorum*. The explicit mention in Leo IX's document of Charlemagne's gifts to the *schola*'s church led some scholars to think it likely that it was the Emperor who had founded the institution, but doubt was recently cast on this theory.[44] The fact that relations between the papacy and the Frankish kingdom went back as far as the days of Pippin the Short, if not to Charles Martel, makes it more likely that the *schola* was actually founded many decades before the era of Charlemagne.

As in the similar case (to be described below) of the multiple foundations hypothesized for the *schola Saxonum*, based on medieval sources, I believe the problem is to clarify what is meant by the 'foundation' of a *schola peregrinorum*. The existence of districts where foreigners living in Rome who belonged to one or another ethnic group tended to gather might well have preceded the creation of a recognized institution, one endowed with legal personality, that saw to their needs. Sovereigns and private benefactors may have made multiple donations at different times for the construction of district churches, and for the construction and support of the structures set up to aid pilgrims from their own nation. The close political ties between the papacy and the Frankish kingdom from at least the mid-eighth century, the probable presence of Franks living in Rome, and the growing streams of pilgrims from that nation *ad limina Petri*, need not have led as early as that time to the creation of a specific organization designed to gather together the members of that nation, just as the donations by Charlemagne listed in Leo IX's 1053 bull may not have been intended to finance the creation of the *schola Francorum*; their purpose may have been to embellish and enlarge an existing institution. We shall probably never know exactly when, in a process of aggregation and institutionalization that certainly continued for decades, a *schola* was formally founded to attend to groups of foreigners living in Rome.

As noted above, the same problem arises with the *schola Saxonum*,[45] whose church of S. Maria in Saxia (the present-day S. Spirito in Sassia)[46] was near the

[43] Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, pp. 454–55.

[44] Cassanelli, 'Gli insediamenti nordici in Borgo'.

[45] As of the tenth century, the *schola Saxonum* was called *schola Anglorum*, reflecting the change in the name generally given to this ethnic grouping in the early Middle Ages; cf. Brooks, 'English Identity from Bede to the Millennium', including bibliography. I wish to thank Francesca Tinti for having called my attention to this circumstance.

[46] Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, pp. 363–64. On the *schola Saxonum*, cf. Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum*, and Ortenberg, *The English Church*.

right bank of the Tiber. The thirteenth-century historians Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris attributed its foundation to King Ine of Wessex, who, according to their report, left his kingdom to his brother-in-law in 727 and went to Rome 'to exchange a kingdom of this earth for an eternal one. And when he arrived he had a house built in the city, with the consent of Pope Gregory, that he called *schola Anglorum*'.[47] The twelfth-century historian William of Malmesbury attributed the *schola*'s foundation to King Offa of Mercia (d. 796).[48] There is no reason to reject either of these two traditions as false, for both reveal the English sovereigns' recurrent concern about their relations with Rome and about the Anglo-Saxon community living in the Eternal City. The antiquity and intensity of these relations appear a century before Offa, from a report regarding King Caedwalla, who was the first to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of St Peter (he died in Rome in 689);[49] and from reports regarding the rich offerings sent yearly to Rome both as donations for the church and to provide sustenance for the pilgrims.[50]

The *schola Saxonum* is doubtless the one about which we have the most reports from the sources. As we have seen, the information even allows us to advance hypotheses about the establishment's physical structures. The situation is very different for the other two *scholae*, the Lombards' and the Frisians'. Regarding the *schola Langobardorum*, Leo IX's bull mentions the 'ecclesia S. Iustini',[51] which makes it possible to place its location in the area north of the Vatican Basilica, near the Porta S. Peregrini, one of the gates in the Leonine Wall, the one that led to the church of S. Pellegrino. The funerary inscription of Queen Ansa, attributed to Paul the Deacon by the only manuscript that records it,[52] led scholars to think that Ansa, the wife of Desiderius (who died in exile after the destruction of the Lombard kingdom in 774), was the founder,

[47] 'ut pro regno temporali commutaret aeternum. Quo cum pervenisset fecit in civitate domum, consensu et voluntate Gregorii papae, quem schola Anglorum appellari fecit': Roger of Wendover, 'Flores historiarum', ed. by Liebermann, p. 21; Wendover's work was later revised and augmented by Matthew Paris in his *Chronica maiora*, which also includes this passage on King Ine: cf. Matthew Paris, 'Chronica maiora', ed. by Liebermann, p. 107.

[48] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 158–59.

[49] Bede, *HE*, v. 7.

[50] On the offerings sent to Rome from the English kingdoms, see Rory Naismith's essay in this book.

[51] Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, pp. 279–80.

[52] 'Epitaphium Ansae reginae', ed. by Waitz, p. 192.

though in this case too the attestation of her kindness to pilgrims should not necessarily be taken as proof of a new establishment.

We know almost nothing at all about the *schola Frisonum*, except that (as reported in Leo IX's bull) its church was dedicated to St Michael.[53] This church still exists, under the name of SS Michele e Magno, which enables us to identify the *schola*'s location.

Leo IX's bull, repeatedly mentioned above, shows that in the mid-eleventh century, the *scholae peregrinorum* still retained their identity and recognizability but by then had lost their autonomy; they had become properties owned by the Vatican Basilica. In the following centuries, in the High Middle Ages, several other *scholae* were founded, all of them in the Vatican area: the Hungarian *schola* in the eleventh century, the Abyssinian one in the twelfth century, and the Armenian in the thirteenth, but they were founded on the pope's initiative and had no political or institutional relations with the power centres of the peoples to whose welfare they were devoted. The experience of the *scholae* as structured establishments that referred to entities, political or otherwise, outside the city of Rome was a phenomenon that seems to have been limited to the eighth and ninth centuries.

[53] Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. 388.

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Rome: The Pilgrims' City in the Seventh Century

Alan Thacker

This essay is in two parts. The first and longer section seeks to evoke the city which exercised such a deep hold over the imagination and affections of an ever-growing company of pilgrims and tourists in the seventh and early eighth century. It focuses especially upon the areas of settlement and their relationship with the still all-important remains of antique Rome, and the way in which the topography of the Eternal City had been — and was indeed still being — developed in response to the needs and interests of an increasing influx of visitors. Emphasis is laid upon the great basilican complexes, other churches and cemeteries, and the shrines, relics, icons, tombs, and inscriptions which they contained. In all this — inevitably, given the nature of the sources — the role of the papacy is emphasized, although there can be no doubt of the difficulty experienced by Rome's bishops in exercising authority over the scattered settlements and institutions embedded in the sprawling spaces of the imperial city.

The second part is devoted to the pilgrims themselves, what they expected to see and what they wanted to see. The development of topographically organized pilgrim routes, controlled by local custodians and guides as much as by the bishop of Rome, is analysed before the paper closes in to focus upon a particular group of visitors: the English. The paper suggests that the popes responded to the growing number of pilgrims, and to the difficulties it experienced in controlling many of the more remote cemeterial sites, by concentrating upon enriching and developing the great shrine basilicas, above all St Peter's itself,

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N
JORDANI
38
39
Via Salaria Vetus
Via Salaria Nova
Via Nomentana
Via Lata
QUIRINAL
Alta Semita
THERMAE DIOCLETIANAE
PANTHEON (S. MARIA AD MARTYRES)
CAMPUS MARTIUS
to 50
S. AGATA
49
Via Labicana
ESQUILINE
THERMAE TRAJANI
Via Aurelia Vetus
48
TRASTEVERE
CIRCUS MAXIMUS
CAELIAN
AVENTINE
THERMAE ANTONINIANAE
Via Appia
Via Ostiense
Via delle Sette Chiese
47
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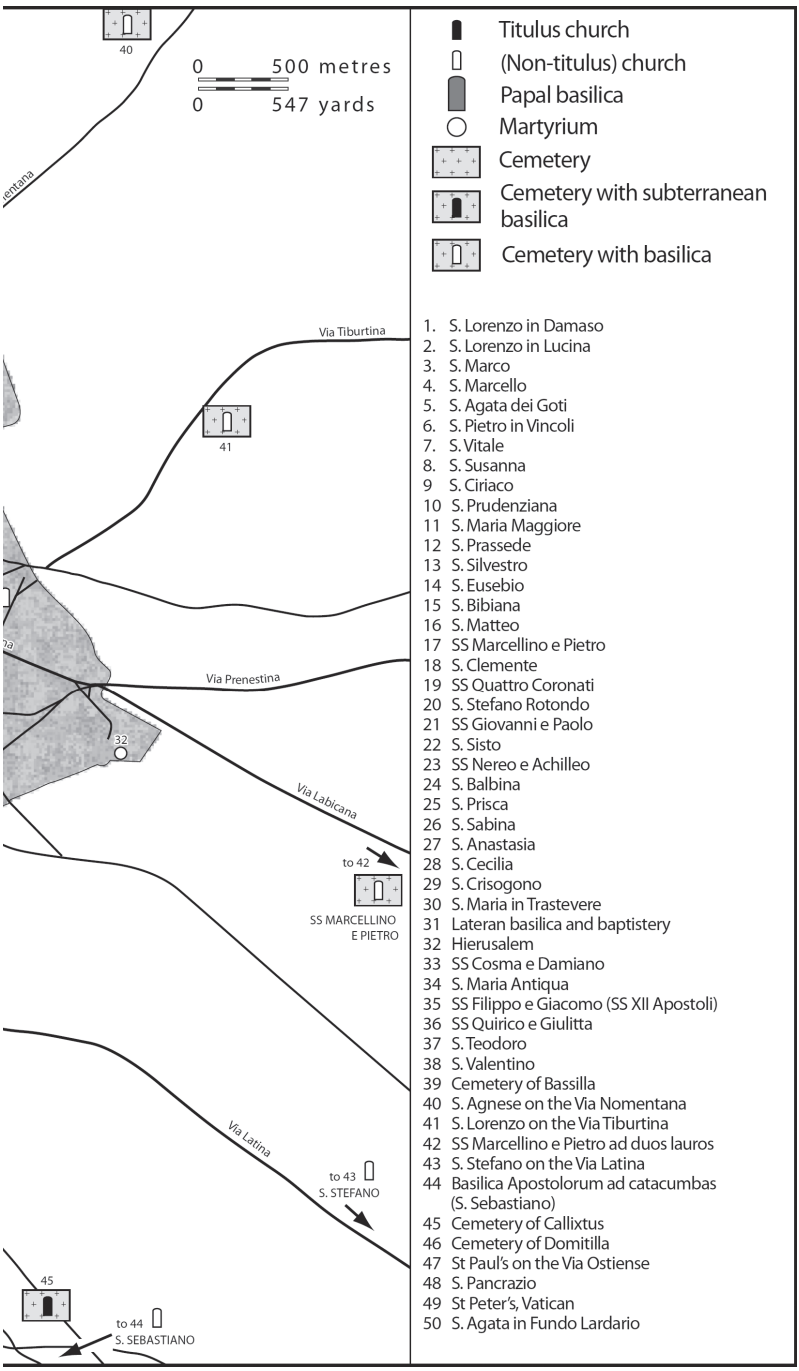

Map 2.
Main cult sites in Rome and surrounding cemeterial areas. Reproduced with permission of Cath D'Alton.

with its new oratories and its array of papal tombs and funerary inscriptions. All this evolved into a wider, and in some ways more western-focused, strategy in which the English pilgrims had their part to play.

The City

Imperial Rome at its apogee was very large, a city of perhaps a million inhabitants. In the pre-Carolingian period, from the late sixth century to the outbreak of the Iconoclast controversy in the 720s, with which this paper is primarily concerned, the population had sunk perhaps as low as sixty thousand. By then, large areas had fallen into decay, but even so 'the skeleton of the urban fabric had survived'.[1] The walls remained standing and the main thoroughfares and squares were kept clear of debris. Although they were then largely unused, many of the great public monuments at the heart of Rome were still to a degree intact. The settled areas, the *abitato*, were scattered throughout the territory occupied by the imperial city, not just within the walls but also around the great apostolic and cemeterial basilicas.[2]

Intramural Rome

Within the walls, one of the major islands of settlement lay along the Tiber, on either side of the bend in the river where it widens to accommodate the Isola Tiberina. To the south lay Trastevere with its little group of parish churches (*tituli*), and to the north an area stretching eastwards towards the Theatre of Marcellus and the Capitol and thence to the Palatine. This included the port, fishmarket, and trading zone where Greeks and other easterners had established themselves and where lay the *titulus* of S. Anastasia and three early *diaconiae*, or welfare centres: those of S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Giorgio in Velabro, and S. Teodoro. Other pockets of habitation gathered around the great papal complexes of the Lateran, in the far south-east by the walls, and S. Maria Maggiore, on the Esquiline, and around the early *tituli* scattered throughout the city.[3]

[1] Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 62, 67; Durliat, *De la ville antique*, p. 117; Dey, *The Aurelian Wall*, p. 196.

[2] Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, 'La trasformazione del tessuto urbano'. For a succinct recent analysis of more recent work, see Dey, *The Aurelian Wall*, pp. 197–98.

[3] Thacker, 'Martyr Cult within the Walls', pp. 35–37; Ó Carragáin and Thacker, 'Wilfrid in Rome', pp. 212–15, 219–21.

The central areas of the *abitato* fringed the major public buildings and squares, including the imperial palace on the Palatine, the old Roman Forum, and the newer imperial fora. A valuable source of building materials, and used as such from the days of Constantine, they had been the subject of decrees protecting them from private spoliation since the later fourth century. This legislation, initially promulgated in the West by absentee emperors, was reissued in the fifth century by their increasingly resident successors.[4] Renewed imperial interest, apparent in Theodosius I's decision in 383 to rebuild the apostolic basilica of St Paul on the Via Ostiense (that is, S. Paolo fuori le mura) in the grandest possible manner,[5] was expressed in the earlier fifth century in some significant new ecclesiastical enterprises, including the great churches of S. Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline, S. Pietro in Vincoli on the Oppian, and S. Stefano Rotondo on the Celian.[6] The early sixth century saw the beginnings of the Christianization of the Forum, a process still under way at the outbreak of the Gothic wars in 535.[7]

After the grievous destruction wrought during the wars of 535–52,[8] attempts were made to restore the city. In the Pragmatic Sanction of 554, the emperor Justinian ordered the preservation of Rome's 'customs and privileges'

[4] Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 39–40, 44–47; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, 'La trasformazione del tessuto urbano', p. 29. For the activities of fourth-century prefects of the city in maintaining public buildings, see Ammianus Marcellinus, [*Works*], ed. and trans. by Rolfe, XXVII, 3. 7 (III, 16–17); XXVII, 9. 9–10 (III, 60–63). Majorian's edict of 458, *De aedificiis publicis*, condemned the destruction of beautiful ancient buildings through the 'punishable recommendations of the prefect of the city' ('plectanda urbani officii suggestione'). Under the pretence that they were required for public works, people were taking materials from public places to build private edifices, with the connivance of the city's officials ('per gratiam iudicum'): Majorian, 'Liber legum novellarum', ed. by Meyer and Mommsen, no. 4, p. 161.

[5] His project created the largest and most magnificent basilica in Rome: Krautheimer and others, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, V (1977), pp. 93–164 (pp. 97–98); Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*, pp. 114–30; Brandenburg, 'La basilica teodosiana di S. Paolo Fuori le mura'.

[6] Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*, pp. 176–93, 199–213; Brandenburg, 'Santo Stefano Rotondo sul Celio'. Brandenburg sees Santo Stefano as the last building in Rome to compare with the great imperial basilicas. Perhaps planned by Leo I under the patronage of the emperor Majorian (457–61), it was probably executed under the pious Libius Severus, Ricimer's puppet but resident in Rome: MacGeorge, *Late Roman Warlords*, pp. 215–16, 223.

[7] Below, at p. 97.

[8] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, ed. by Dewing, VII. xx–xxii (IV (1924), pp. 322–51); *LP*, I, 291, 298; Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity*, pp. 42–43.

relating 'to the repair of public buildings, to the embankment of the Tiber, to the Forum, to the port of Rome, and to the repair of the aqueducts'. Thereafter, in the late sixth and throughout the seventh century, a Byzantine administration, which included officials such as the supervisor of the aqueducts (recorded in 602) and the curator of the imperial palace (recorded as late as 686) broadly maintained the *publica fabrica*, except — almost certainly — the very expensive places of entertainment.[9]

By the seventh century, the popes were also involved in such enterprises and in a number of other administrative matters. It looks, for example, as if Honorius I (625–38) undertook patching up of at least one of the city's aqueducts.[10] By then, too, the popes were in charge of the distribution of alms, provided from treasure bestowed by emperors, patricians and consuls, and kept in the vestry (*vestiarium*) of what remained their administrative headquarters and principal residence, the *episcopium* at the Lateran.[11] In the sixth century, they had assumed control of the *annona*, the free distribution of food and drink to the residents of Rome, formerly the responsibility of an imperial prefect.[12] The change was marked by the construction in some of the public granaries of churches, forerunners of the *diaconiae*, which provided food and shelter for visitors and pilgrims and which are first clearly identifiable in the record in the early eighth century. The new ecclesiastical complexes to a degree continued the functions of the imperial buildings which they had superseded.[13]

These changes came about not simply through papal initiative but with the support and co-operation of the Byzantine governing class which endured in the city until the earlier eighth century.[14] The popes remained loyal to the emperor even when they disagreed with him doctrinally. And they continued to observe the time-honoured conventions expressing their subordination —

[9] Coates-Stephens, 'Byzantine Building Patronage', pp. 149–51; Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 47–48; Durliat, *De la ville antique*, pp. 126–33.

[10] Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 48, 250. Cf. Coates-Stephens, 'Byzantine Building Patronage', p. 151, and Coates-Stephens, 'The Walls and Aqueducts of Rome', pp. 171–72, 177–78.

[11] *LP*, I, 328.

[12] Durliat, *De la ville antique*, esp. pp. 123–83. The free distributions were perhaps discontinued by Sabinian (604–06).

[13] Durliat, *De la ville antique*, pp. 144–45; see Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani's essay in this volume.

[14] Coates-Stephens, 'Byzantine Building Patronage', pp. 149–64.

waiting for the imperial mandate to authorize their formal inauguration[15] and obtaining imperial permission before taking over public buildings.[16]

An enterprise which tells us quite a lot about the state of Rome's monuments and public spaces and about the conditions of their maintenance at this time is the installation in the Roman Forum of a column honouring the emperor Phocas in 608. Undertaken by the exarch Smaragdus, the Byzantine governor of Italy, during a papal vacancy, it is the only recorded public work by a secular administrator in the seventh century. The pavement from which the column rose was still that of the third century, evidence that the Forum continued to be maintained and kept clear of debris. The monument was so positioned that it related both to the line of columns erected by the tetrarchs, or perhaps by Constantine, on the south side of the Forum and to the Argiletum, the street which formed the formal entrance to the Forum from the north. That suggests that the layout of the area, in its reduced late imperial form, was still respected and that it retained ceremonial and social functions. The column itself, however, and the base on which it stood were composed of reused material, taken from earlier imperial monuments. Only the gilded statue of the Emperor was new.[17] The inscription, with its sycophantic adulation of the murderous and usurping Phocas, was undoubtedly placed there by the Exarch, some nine months after the death of the last pope, Boniface III (607), and six weeks before the arrival of the imperial mandate permitted the inauguration of his successor, Boniface IV (608–15). Nevertheless, the column was certainly erected with the approval, perhaps at the instigation, of the papal authorities, for Phocas had good relations with both Bonifaces. In 607 he had stopped the patriarch of Constantinople from using the hated epithet *oecumenical*, which had been held by Gregory the Great (590–604) and his successors to be derogatory to the prestige and primacy of the Roman see, and in 609 he granted Boniface IV the grandest of all the public monuments of Rome, the Pantheon, for conversion into a church.[18]

[15] Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope?', p. 55; *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*, ed. by Foerster, p. 209. For the procedures up to the time of Agatho (678–81), which make it clear that the elect could not be ordained pope until the 'general decree' had been brought to the imperial city (*urbs regia*): *LP*, I, 354–55. Cf. *LP*, I, 309.

[16] Below, at n. 18.

[17] Claridge, *Rome*, pp. 84–89; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, pp. 96, 173–74. Richardson suggests that its position reflects that of a column probably erected to Diocletian.

[18] *LP*, I, 316–17.

These good relations continued under Phocas's successor, Heraclius, who *c*. 630 granted Pope Honorius I, for use at St Peter's, the gilded roof tiles of the temple of Rome and Venus, which lay to the east of the Forum Romanum, north of the arch of Titus. Probably, it was also with Heraclius's consent that about this time Honorius converted the Senate House into a church.[19] It seems, therefore, that even then great pagan public buildings remained intact and were still regarded as imperial property. The persistence of such notions did not, however, always work to papal advantage: in 663, during his state visit to Rome, after a period of bitter theological dispute with the popes, the emperor Constans II ordered the stripping of all bronze fittings from the public buildings, including the gilded roof tiles of the Pantheon.[20] Nevertheless, the imperial monuments remained defining features of the city. The Forum continued as a major public space, the ceremonial heart of Rome. Throughout the seventh century, its ground level remained that of the imperial period, even if by the early eighth there is evidence that sewers had stopped functioning and were being filled in.[21] Although some of the imperial fora, such as those of Augustus and of Peace, were degraded and abandoned in the course of the sixth century, others, such as the Forum of Trajan, apparently remained intact at least until the late seventh or early eighth. The *piazze* of this and of the fora of Caesar and Nerva still retained their public function in the late eighth century.[22] The Einsiedeln itinerary's account of the main roads which crossed the city, mostly taking visitors from various gates to the Forum, indicates that as late as *c*. 800 the ancient thoroughfares continued in use. Indeed, they were still maintained in a paved condition. Many of Rome's public buildings evidently remained visitable at that time and featured among the principal sites described in the itinerary.[23]

Although the seventh-century popes undoubtedly respected the great imperial monuments for their own sake, their principal investment in the physical environment was in the creation of churches, both through the adaptation of

[19] *LP*, I, 323; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, pp. 409–11; Kaegi, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium*, pp. 196, 310; below, at pp. 97–98.

[20] *LP*, I, 343.

[21] Thereafter the area became marshy and the ground level started to rise. By the ninth century, it contained not only churches but residences, workshops and waste. On the fora, see Meneghini and Santangeli Valenziani, 'I Fori Imperiali'; Serlorenzi and others, 'Il Foro Romano'.

[22] Meneghini, *I Fori Imperiali e i Mercati di Traiano*, pp. 197–202.

[23] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 155–207; Santangeli Valenzani, 'L'Itinerario di Einsiedeln'; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, 'La trasformazione del tessuto urbano', pp. 20–21.

existing buildings and the erection of new ones.[24] The Christianization of the Forum, notoriously left by Constantine as the preserve of the pagan senatorial aristocracy, had begun in earnest in 527, when Pope Felix IV (with the active co-operation of the Gothic king Theodoric) converted the audience hall of the Templum Pacis into the church of SS Cosma e Damiano. The Pope installed a spectacular and much imitated apse mosaic, in a consciously late antique style, depicting the two eastern saints being presented to Christ by the grandly togaed Peter and Paul, and retained the precious *opus sectile* revetments of the walls of the imperial hall.[25]

Other churches followed, including SS Quirico and Giulitta, built by Pope Vigilius (537–55), probably in the late 530s, to the east of the Forum of Augustus,[26] and the SS Apostoli, built *c*. 560 north of the Forum and Market of Trajan.[27] It has been suggested that the Byzantine governor Narses founded the latter, and almost certainly the Byzantine civil administration was involved in the establishment of other churches in the area, such as S. Maria Antiqua and S. Teodoro. S. Maria Antiqua, adapted from an imperial building at the foot of the ramp which led up from the Forum to the Palatine, was later adorned by Martin I (649–53) in the course of the Monothelite controversy. That work and the perhaps associated frescoes in the adjacent oratory further enhanced the Christian presence in Rome's central space.[28]

Perhaps the most symbolically significant enterprise was Honorius I's conversion of the Curia, in the north of the Forum, into the church of S. Adriano. Apart from adding an apse and installing a presbytery in place of the podium of the president of the Senate, the Pope did little to alter the appearance of that iconic building.[29] The new church was dedicated to an eastern soldier-saint, Hadrian of Nicomedia, who by the early eighth century was commemorated in

[24] For what follows, see Thacker, 'Martyr Cult within the Walls'; Guidobaldi, '"Topografia ecclesiastica" di Roma'.

[25] *LP*, I, 279; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*, pp. 204, 222–24.

[26] Krautheimer and others, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, IV (1970), pp. 37–50 (p. 38); Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*, p. 232.

[27] *LP*, I, 305–06; Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 67, 68, 74–75. According to Duchesne, a refoundation of a church originally established by Pope Julius (337–52), by Pelagius I (556–61), and by John III (561–74), who introduced the cult of Sts Philip and James. Krautheimer speculates that it may have been founded by the Byzantine governor, Narses.

[28] Coates-Stephens, 'Byzantine Building Patronage', pp. 155–58, 160–63; Osborne, Brandt, and Morganti, *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano*.

[29] *LP*, I, 324, 326; Bordi, 'Sant'Adriano al Foro Romano', pp. 478–79.

Rome on 8 September, perhaps because the Marian litanic processions from the Forum to S. Maria Maggiore, which since the time of Pope Sergius (687–701) started at S. Adriano, included the Nativity of the Virgin, celebrated on that day.[30] It is very likely that at the same time another imperial building immediately to the north of the Curia, generally taken to be the Secretarium Senatus, the seat of the senatorial offices and archives, was converted into a church dedicated to the Roman martyr Martina.[31] By these actions, the papacy, with the emperor's approval and under the auspices of one eastern and one western saint, very publicly occupied the ancient seat of government.

Extramural Rome: Basilicas and Cemeteries

Rome, of course, was more — much more — than its intramural core. Outside the walls lay the suburbs, clustered around the arterial roads running out from the city and lined with tombs. The Christian appropriation of Rome had begun in these areas, which were home to the martyrs, the heroes of the new order established with the peace of the church in 313. Late antique Rome was encircled by great cemeterial basilicas, founded by the house of Constantine either upon public land or upon its own family estates. They were forerunners of the lesser basilicas and martyria which eventually 'absorbed and overwrote' the cemeteries of ancient Rome. These monuments provided seventh-century visitors and pilgrims with their first taste of the Christian city.[32]

St Peter's on the Vatican

The greatest of the cemeterial basilicas was, of course, St Peter's, built by Constantine himself over the cemetery upon the Vatican hill, to which had been attached since the fifth century the mausoleum of the western members of the Theodosian imperial dynasty.[33] By the seventh century, the role of the Vatican complex had developed to such an extent that it was effectively

[30] *LP*, I, 376, 381; Caraffa, 'Adriano di Nicomedia'; Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*, I, 79, 657–58; McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, pp. 154–91; below at p. 75.

[31] Bordi, 'Sant'Adriano al Foro Romano', p. 478; Krautheimer, *Rome*, p. 75. Cf. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, p. 103. On Martina, see Amore, 'Martina'. Her feast-day (30 June) was already celebrated in the eighth century.

[32] Trout, 'Theodelinda's Rome', p. 144.

[33] Thacker, 'Patrons of Rome', esp. pp. 381–83, 387–91; McEvoy, 'The Mausoleum of Honorius'.

integrated into the intramural area. Reached from Rome by the Pons Aelius (today the Ponte Sant'Angelo), one of the few surviving bridges crossing the Tiber, it was approached, dramatically, through a gate, the Porta Urbis or Porta Sancti Petri (formerly the Porta Aurelia), on the summit of which Boniface IV (608–15) dedicated a sanctuary to the archangel Michael, designated as 'among the clouds' (inter nubes) or 'reaching to the heavens' (usque ad caelos).[34] Visitors proceeded thence along a colonnaded porticus (in existence by the sixth century but probably dating from well before that time) which ran directly west from Hadrian's vast mausoleum (today the Castel Sant'Angelo) to the east front of the narthex of Constantine's basilica and which formed the axis of the entire area.[35]

At the far end they found a monumental group of buildings. The great basilica itself, with its five naves, its eastern atrium, and its attached rotundas, was flanked by two episcopal houses (*episcopia*), first established by Pope Symmachus in the early sixth century. Nearby, Symmachus also established accommodation (*habitacula*) for the poor.[36] By the seventh century, the environs included three monasteries, whose communities were charged with celebrating the liturgy at St Peter's and probably with providing hebdomadary priests to say mass.[37] By then too, the earliest hospice for foreign visitors, from which the *scholae* were to emerge in the eighth century, was already in existence, perhaps the successor of Symmachus's *habitacula*: in particular, between the late 680s and the 720s several English kings, princes, and churchmen settled in Rome with their entourages, most probably in the vicinity of the Vatican.[38]

At St Peter's itself, the shrine of the apostle on the chord of the apse had been remodelled by Gregory the Great who raised the altar and installed a ring-crypt to improve access to the Tropaeum.[39] These changes were followed up by his disciple Honorius I, who covered the *confessio* with 187 pounds of

[34] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 99–100 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, IV, nos 7–12); Procopius, *History of the Wars*, ed. by Dewing, V. xix. 4 (III (1919), pp. 184–85).

[35] Reekmans, 'Le Développment topographique', pp. 206–08; Procopius, *History of the Wars*, ed. by Dewing, V. xxii. 21. Procopius's description of the Goths approaching the basilica along this porticus unseen by its defendants suggests that the north side may have been a solid wall.

[36] *LP*, I, 263; see this volume, above, Santangeli Valenzani.

[37] Thacker, 'Popes, Emperors and Clergy', pp. 153–54.

[38] Reekmans, 'Le Développment topographique', pp. 211–15; Krautheimer, *Rome*, p. 82; below, at pp. 123–24.

[39] *LP*, I, 312.

fine silver and adorned it with two great silver candlesticks. As we have already seen, Honorius did important work on the roof of the basilica, covering it with bronze tiles removed from Hadrian's great Temple of Rome and Venus at the eastern entrance to the Forum. He also built the church of S. Apollinare at the south-eastern corner of the entrance façade of the atrium, later made a stational church by Gregory II (715–31).[40] At the end of the century, Pope Sergius was particularly active at St Peter's. He provided a golden image of the apostle and other liturgical furnishings and hangings, and he also repaired the 'awning' (*tegnum*, perhaps a porticus), all the chambers (*cubicula*) which surrounded the basilica, and the mosaic on the eastern (entrance) wall of the atrium.[41]

The *cubicula* and *tegnum* restored by Sergius almost certainly included the buildings which housed the papal necropolis. Apart from the apostolic shrine, this was one of the principal tourist sites at St Peter's, with its array of tombs, all with their own epitaphs or *tituli*, many of which were transcribed by the city's more learned visitors and published in collections, known as *syllogae*.[42] The necropolis had been initiated by Leo I, who was buried in the *secretarium*, a small two-storeyed structure at the south-eastern angle of the basilica.[43] His example was followed by many of his successors.[44] Others were buried nearby, either inside the church itself, in the adjacent south-eastern corner, or in the porch in front of the *secretarium* and its continuation, the porticus which ran along the eastern façade of St Peter's. Already in 574 John III had probably been buried *ante secretarium*, an example certainly followed in 604 by Gregory the Great and in 625 by Boniface V.[45] Pelagius I (d. 561), however, seems to have

[40] *LP*, I, 323; Geertman, *More Veterum*, pp. 164, 172.

[41] *LP*, I, 374–75.

[42] For the papal necropolis from the fifth to eighth century, see Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation*, esp. pp. 49–119; Picard, 'Étude sur l'emplacement des tombes', pp. 757–64. For the *syllogae*, see below at p. 121.

[43] *LP*, I, 239; *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 98, 140; Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation*, pp. 49–50.

[44] *LP*, I, 308. Sergius's inscription recording Leo I's translation makes it clear that many other pontiffs ('pontificum plura sepulcra') were buried with him in the *secretarium*: *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, p. 99 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, IV, no. 1); below, at p. 101. John the Deacon, writing in the ninth century, confirms this. He records, from their surviving epitaphs, Simplicius (468–83), Gelasius I (492–96), Symmachus (498–514), and many others as buried with Leo in the *secretarium*: John the Deacon, 'Vita Sancti Gregorii', IV. 68, col. 221.

[45] Vegio, *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, p. 396; Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation*, p. 76; Picard, 'Étude sur l'emplacement des tombes',

been buried just inside the church, near the site later occupied by the oratory of Gregory the Great and so perhaps were Boniface III (d. 607) and IV (d. 615).[46] Although we have no certain information about the location of the tombs of most of the later seventh-century popes, it seems highly likely that they continued to be buried in this area; mostly perhaps in the eastern porticus.[47]

It was to this porticus that at the beginning of his pontificate in 688 Sergius I translated the body of Leo I. The first such event in St Peter's, it was clearly a highly symbolic and carefully orchestrated project, which entailed the erection of an altar-tomb *in porticu* and was commemorated in a notably elaborate inscription;[48] Sergius, aware of Leo's role as defender of orthodoxy and indeed of Rome itself, characterizes his predecessor as the door-keeper of the stronghold of Peter ('janitor arcis Petri'), and declares that he has translated the body, originally 'hidden' with many others in the *secretarium*, to a new location sparkling with marbles where Leo's merits would be made more publicly visible.[49] He specifies that location as 'in fronte sacrae [...] domus'. The clear sense of this phrase, as de Rossi long ago pointed out, is that Leo was enshrined in front of the basilica, most probably in the eastern porticus, a location particularly appropriate for Sergius's protective door-keeper and one which the Pope had perhaps already restored.[50] The expression *in fronte* occurs elsewhere in inscriptions recorded in the *syllogae* with precisely this meaning. The statue of Constantine, which was adorned with another much transcribed inscrip-

p. 761 (John III); *LP*, I, 312 (Gregory I). John the Deacon says that Gregory lay 'in extrema porticu ante secretarium': John the Deacon, 'Vita Sancti Gregorii', IV. 68, col. 221; *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, p. 79 (*Sylloge Centulensis*, no. 5); pp. 128–29 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, II, no. 10) (Boniface V).

[46] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, IV, 306; Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation*, pp. 76–77; Picard, 'Étude sur l'emplacement des tombes', pp. 758, 760–61, 763–64.

[47] That is the clear implication of Vegio's list in *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, IV, 396. Picard's dismissal of this as of no value seems unduly harsh: Picard, 'Étude sur l'emplacement des tombes', p. 760. Cf. *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 124–30 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, II), esp. p. 125; Ó Carragáin, 'The Term *Porticus* and *Imitatio Romae*', pp. 20–21.

[48] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 139–40 (*Sylloge Virdunensis*, no. 30); p. 98 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, IV, no. 1); p. 158 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis Brevis Appendix*, no. 1); *LP*, I, 375.

[49] Sergius's biographer says that the Pope moved Leo who had been hidden in the lower story of the *secretarium* to a tomb 'in denominata basilica publico loco': *LP*, I, 375.

[50] See above, p. 100; Sharpe, 'King Caedwalla's Roman Epitaph', p. 185.

tion, was also located *in fronte* and undoubtedly stood before the basilica in the eastern porticus.[51]

The only difficulty with this reading is the fact that from a relatively early date Leo's shrine was located deep within the basilica. In the mid-ninth century, Pope Leo IV (847–55) translated the saint's body into a new oratory, located, as Tiberio Alfarano's plan reveals, in the southern transept.[52] Although the Pope's biographer speaks as if it was a new foundation, it apparently replaced an *oratorium* of St Leo already there in the time of Paul I (757–67).[53] Since Louis Duchesne's time, it has therefore been generally assumed that, despite the obvious sense of the inscription, this interior location was the site of Sergius's shrine.[54] It should be noted, however, that Leo the Great was a much moved saint; Sergius's inscription implies, as de Rossi pointed out, that there had been some kind of earlier translation before that of 688.[55] It is at least possible that Leo suffered yet another move in the earlier eighth century, perhaps indeed by Paul I himself. Paul was, after all, a great translator of saints. His activities included the bringing of St Petronilla to the former imperial mausoleum at the Vatican, and the installation in the adjacent south transept of an oratory to the Virgin which was also to contain his own tomb.[56] His biography is brief and selective; the original account of his building and cultic activities had to be supplemented (originally it omitted the all-important translation of St Petronilla) and even so remained incomplete.[57] So it would not be surprising if it left unmentioned the establishment of Leo's oratory in the transept.

Given its prominent position, highly visible to all entering the basilica, its use for the burial of Gregory the Great, the author of the English mission, and,

[51] 'in fronte super portico [...] sancti Petri': *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, p. 55 (*Inscriptiones Basilicae Vaticanae*, no. 11); p. 144 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, I, nos 2–3); p. 260 (*Anthologia Codicis Vaticani*, no. 1).

[52] *LP*, II (1955), pp. 113, 136. A copy of Alfarano's late sixteenth-century plan of Old St Peter's can be easily accessed through the British Museum collection database at <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx> [accessed 8 November 2013].

[53] *LP*, I, 465. Cf. *LP*, II (1955), pp. 26, 27.

[54] *LP*, I, 379, reaffirmed by Cyrille Vogel in *LP*, III, 97–98, and followed now by Story, 'Aldhelm and Old St Peter's, Rome', p. 8.

[55] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, p. 140.

[56] *LP*, I, 464–65. Cf. *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, p. 202, where he suggests that until Leo IV's time there was both an altar-tomb *in porticu* and an oratory in the south transept.

[57] *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, trans. by Davis, pp. 76–83.

probably, for a recent well-publicized enshrinement, it is very likely that the eastern porticus was also the burial-place of the West Saxon king Caedwalla, who died shortly after his arrival in Rome and baptism in St Peter's in 689. The first English royal burial in the basilica, it was again enhanced by an important inscription, drawing attention to Caedwalla's high status and Sergius's role as his godfather and patron of the tomb. This inscription appears in several *syllogae* and was known in England where it was duly published by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*. Its placing in one of the topographically organized *syllogae*, between transcriptions of the *tituli* commemorating Gregory the Great and Helpis, wife of Boethius, both certainly in the porch of the *secretarium* or in the eastern porticus, confirms this view of its location.[58]

Almost certainly, too, Sergius himself was buried in this same porticus. In one of the *syllogae*, an incomplete version of his epitaph is associated with other inscriptions which were undoubtedly located 'in fronte super portico ipsius sancti Petri'.[59] Sergius was admired in England, not least by Bede, who styles him 'of blessed memory' and records his grant of a privilege of exemption to Jarrow.[60] Bede also depicts the Pope as patron of the respected English missionary Willibrord, responsible for the latter's consecration as archbishop of the Frisians.[61] Willibrord himself revered Sergius sufficiently to include the Pope's obit in his calendar.[62] The presence of Sergius, along with Caedwalla and Gregory the Great, thus rendered the eastern porticus a place of special interest to English pilgrims.[63]

[58] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 78–79 (*Sylloge Centulensis*, nos 3–5); pp. 128–29 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, II, no. 14); Sharpe, 'King Caedwalla's Roman Epitaph', p. 185.

[59] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 55–56 (*Inscriptiones Basilicae Vaticanae*, nos 11–12, 17); p. 144 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, I, nos 2–3).

[60] By the end of his pontificate relations between Sergius and Wearmouth-Jarrow were sufficiently warm for the Pope to write to Abbot Ceolfrith asking him to send a certain 'devout monk of his venerable monastery' (religiosum famulum Dei venerabilis monasterii tui) to Rome to advise him on certain issues of an ecclesiastical nature (probably the continuing dissension over the position of Bishop Wilfrid): *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. by Haddan and Stubbs, pp. 248–50. Wilfrid certainly maintained that Sergius had issued decrees on his behalf: Stephen of Ripon, 'Vita Wilfridi', ed. by Levison, chaps 43, 46, 51–52, pp. 236–38, 240–41, 244–46.

[61] Bede, *HE*, v. 7; v. 11; Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Jones, p. 529.

[62] *The Calendar of St. Willibrord*, ed. by Wilson, pp. 11, 39.

[63] See below, at p. 127.

Shortly afterwards papal burial practice began to change with the establishment of funerary oratories within the basilica but away from the papal necropolis. John VII (705–07), ever an innovator, was buried in the north-east corner of the basilica in his elaborate oratory dedicated to the Virgin, an example followed by other eighth-century popes such as Gregory III (731–41) and Paul I.[64] The new funerary arrangements impressed the English just like the old; John's oratory was certainly known to early English visitors and was noted approvingly by Bede in his Greater Chronicle.[65]

Another major tourist site within the Vatican complex was the oratory or basilica of St Andrew, founded by the embattled pope Symmachus when he was seeking to establish the Vatican as a counterpart to the Lateran, then occupied by his rival Laurence. Symmachus's new church was in the eastern of the two rotundas on the south side of the basilica.[66] This was not the first church dedicated to St Andrew to be established in Rome; Pope Simplicius (468–83) had already established S. Andrea Cata Barbara in the opulent basilica of Junius Bassus near S. Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline.[67] But Symmachus's foundation may have been the first to contain significant relics of the apostle. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, the Pope set up a silver shrine or *confessio*, presumably Andrew's, and then four other oratories, each again presumably endowed with appropriate relics. St Peter's brother enjoyed especial prestige in late sixth- and seventh-century Rome. He was the dedicatee of monasteries founded in their own houses by Popes Gregory the Great and Honorius I.[68] At the Vatican, his basilica, like St Peter's itself, was enriched by Pope Honorius,[69] and later it was clearly a major port of call for English pilgrims.[70] Under Sergius the cult received a further boost with the rebuilding of St Andrew's oratory on the Via Labicana.[71]

[64] Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation*, pp. 97–105; Picard, 'Étude sur l'emplacement des tombes', pp. 764–66; *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, p. 201 (*Petri Malii descriptio*); *LP*, II (1955), p. 465.

[65] Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Jones, p. 530.

[66] *LP*, I, 261–62; Goodson, 'Building for Bodies', pp. 60–62.

[67] *LP*, I, 249; Ó Carragáin and Thacker, 'Wilfrid in Rome'; pp. 219–20.

[68] John the Deacon, 'Vita Sancti Gregorii', I. 6, col. 65; *LP*, I, 324, 327.

[69] *LP*, I, 323. It was exceptionally well endowed with treasure and furnishings by Leo III: *LP*, II (1955), pp. 3, 10, 15, 16, 18, 19, 31, 33; Geertman, *More Veterum*, pp. 85, 91, 104.

[70] Below, at pp. 127–28.

[71] *LP*, I, 376; Coates-Stephens, 'Dark Age Architecture in Rome', pp. 187–90.

One last structure at St Peter's was also of great importance to pilgrims. At the far eastern end of the complex lay the colonnaded atrium, where they gathered to prepare themselves before entering the basilica for prayer and worship. At the centre of this forecourt lay the famous fountain set up by Pope Damasus I (366–84), initially comprising a *cantharus*, a large, two-handled water vessel under a baldacchino. This fountain was almost certainly the subject of one of Pope Damasus's inscriptions, in which it was presented as the climax of the Pope's canalization of the stream flowing down the hill behind and to the north of St Peter's and was said to provide gifts of healing ('fons praebet qui dona salutis'). The *cantharus* thus not only provided water for bodily washing before entry into the basilica, it was also a place of cleansing from sin. Such a vessel, which might have graced the peristyle or gardens of a secular villa, evoked a *locus amoenus*, a place of delight: for the Christian, paradise — and *paradisus* was, indeed, from the fifth century a term applied to the atrium of Old St Peter's. The continuing importance of the fountain in the early Middle Ages was indicated by its adornment with opulent *spolia*, already in place in the eighth century.[72]

St Paul's on the Via Ostiense

As at St Peter's, albeit on a smaller scale, a considerable complex developed around the great basilica, a major focus of devotion because it housed the apostolic tomb and, probably from an early date, an important relic: chains which had once bound the apostle.[73] Like St Peter's, by the sixth century St Paul's was connected by a colonnaded porticus to the nearest city gate, known as the *porta domini Pauli apostoli*; Procopius indeed tells us that, because of this colonnade and the many buildings around it, the basilica was difficult of access.[74] By the late fifth century, St Paul's had acquired a baptistery and habitations for the

[72] Damasus I, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, ed. by Ferrua, no. III. This Damasan epigram, together with the verses by Prudentius relating to the Pope's hydraulic activities at the Vatican (Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, ed. and trans. by Thompson, chap. 12, pp. 324–27, ll. 31–44), are most usually associated with the baptistery which Damasus also established at St Peter's. But I follow here the very convincing arguments recently advanced by Brandenburg, 'Das Baptisterium und der Brunnen des Atriums', pp. 55–64. Cf. Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*, p. 101.

[73] Below, at pp. 128–29. The chains were first mentioned but not located in the early sixth century: *Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum*, ed. by Guenther, no. 218 (pp. 670–80). They were certainly on show at St Paul's in the mid-sixteenth century when they were seen by Palladio: *Palladio's Rome*, ed. by Hart and Hicks, p. 112.

[74] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, ed. by Dewing, VI. iv. 3, 9 (III (1919), pp. 318–21).

poor, evidence that already there was a settlement there.[75] By the beginning of the seventh century there were subsidiary churches and monasteries as well as buildings providing for pilgrims.[76] They included the monastery of St Stephen, which possessed an important relic: the stone with which St Stephen was believed to have been killed.[77] As at St Peter's the basilical complex seems to have been in decay in the seventh century until the restoration by Pope Sergius of its surrounding 'awning' and chambers.[78]

Other Major Extramural Basilicas

Moving clockwise round the city from St Peter's to St Paul's, the most important monuments included S. Agnese on the Via Nomentana, to which was attached the mausoleum of Constantine's daughter; S. Lorenzo on the Via Tiburtina (no known imperial tomb, although one may well remain to be discovered); SS Marcellino e Pietro on the Via Labicana, with the tomb of Constantine's mother, the augusta Helena; and S. Sebastiano on the Via Appia, formerly the Basilica Apostolorum, where the apostles Peter and Paul were venerated in the later third and fourth centuries and St Sebastian thereafter.[79] Of these, S. Lorenzo was by the seventh century perhaps the most important. Like the churches of Sts Peter and Paul, it was approached from the nearest city gate by a colonnaded porticus and had been provided by Pope Symmachus with accommodation for the poor.[80] Again like the apostolic basilicas, it had a number of adjacent monasteries and churches.[81] All these great churches initially derived their prestige primarily from their imperial patrons. By the seventh century, however, they were all very much more embedded in the world of pilgrim cult promoted by the popes. The evidence of pilgrim *graffiti* suggests that SS Marcellino e Pietro was especially visited.[82]

[75] *LP*, I, 262–63.

[76] Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*, p. 130; Spera, 'Il complesso paolino', pp. 98–100.

[77] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), p. 109.

[78] *LP*, I, 375.

[79] Thacker, 'Rome of the Martyrs', esp. pp. 23–30, 34–35; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*, pp. 55–102.

[80] Krautheimer and others, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, II (1959), pp. 12, 134; *LP*, I, 323, 508.

[81] See, for instance, *LP*, I, 245, 249; Guidobaldi, '"Topografia ecclesiastica" di Roma', pp. 47–49.

[82] See Luisa Izzi's essay in this volume.

The Catacombs

Besides these major cult centres there were the lesser basilicas and the countless sites in the catacombs, identified during the fourth and fifth centuries as the resting-places of martyrs and long visited by pilgrims to the city. The process of Christianizing the topography of suburban Rome had taken off under Pope Damasus I, who had stamped his presence on a wide range of cemeterial sites by his famous inscriptions identifying the holy dead, elegantly carved by his friend the calligrapher Filocalus.[83] He established thereby an epigraphic tradition followed by emperors, popes, senatorial aristocrats, and senior clerics which thereafter left its mark in both the catacombs and the city's churches. In the seventh century Honorius I was particularly active at St Peter's, where he commemorated his immediate predecessors, and at other papal and cemeterial basilicas, including St Paul's, S. Agnese, and S. Pancrazio.[84]

The catacombs, of course, had originated simply as cemeteries, but already by the late fourth century the devout were making their way along the endless corridors to pay their respects to the martyrial *loculi*, graves arranged in tiers on both sides of the galleries. Increasingly, however, the holy dead were encountered beneath altars within the small underground caverns or *speluncae* which punctuated the cemeterial sites and allowed pilgrims a little space to pay their respects and attend mass in the presence of the sacred remains. The catacombs ringed the walled city much more comprehensively than the great cemeterial basilicas; they were strung along every great road emerging from Rome, but with especial density in the north, along the Via Salaria (both old and new), and in the south-east, along the Via Appia.[85]

The staffing of the cemeteries and the basilicas associated with them is still not fully understood. It is clear that by the fifth century they were served by a separate corps of priests less closely bound to the papacy than those of the *tituli*. In some cases at least, the sacraments were administered by the priests of a nearby *titulus* to which control appears to have been assigned on a long-term basis. We know, for example, that in the sixth century such arrangements certainly applied to the cemetery of S. Pancrazio on the Via Aurelia, which was served by the priests of S. Crisogono in Trastevere, and to S. Agnese on the Via Nomentana, served by the priest of the *titulus Vestinae*, later known as S. Vitale

[83] Damasus I, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, ed. by Ferrua.

[84] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 44–45.

[85] Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs'; Fiocchi Nicolai, Bisconti, and Mazzoleni, *Le catacombe cristiane*.

on the Quirinale.[86] The arrangements at the greatest basilicas are especially problematic; the sacraments may have been administered by the cathedral community based at the Lateran or, from the late fifth century, by priests from local *tituli*. By the seventh century, monastic communities had been annexed to ensure the proper performance of the daily offices and perhaps also to provide the priests who were assigned on a weekly basis to say mass in these churches.[87]

By the early sixth century, certain major basilicas, such as St Peter's on the Vatican and St Paul's on the Via Ostiense, and most cemeteries, had acquired their own guardians or provosts (*praepositi*) who seem generally to have maintained the sites, and together with lesser officials (*mansionarii*), to have taken care of the lights which burned before the venerated tombs. Sometimes, as in the case of Sts Peter and Paul, they were answerable directly to the pope; elsewhere, however, as at S. Pancrazio, they appear to have been answerable to the priests of the controlling *titulus* and thus less closely under papal control.[88]

The catacombs, being outside the walls, were subject to especial threat when Rome was besieged.[89] Numerous repairs had to be undertaken during and after the Gothic wars which had devastated Italy and Rome in particular in the middle decades of the sixth century. The attacks on Rome rendered the catacombs inaccessible as burial places, and greatly accelerated the practice of burial within the walls, much more acceptable now that large areas of the intramural city were virtually devoid of inhabitants.[90] After the Gothic wars the catacombs were reinvented as places not so much of burial as of cult. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Pope John III 'loved and restored the cemeteries of the holy martyrs' and provided clergy from his base at the Lateran to say mass, to take care of the liturgical vessels, and to maintain the lights.[91] These may well have been interim arrangements; in 594, for example, S. Pancrazio acquired new guardians in the form of the monks of a monastery founded by Gregory the Great to replace the clergy of S. Crisogono.[92]

[86] Thacker, 'Martyr Cult within the Walls', pp. 59–61.

[87] *LP*, I, 249; Thacker, 'Popes, Emperors and Clergy', pp. 153–54.

[88] Thacker, 'Popes, Emperors and Clergy', pp. 152–53.

[89] Cf. *LP*, I, 291.

[90] Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, 'La trasformazione del tessuto urbano', pp. 30–33; Meneghini and others, 'La morte in città e le sepolture'.

[91] *LP*, I, 305.

[92] Thacker, 'Martyr Cult within the Walls', p. 61.

Pope John's second successor, Pelagius II (579–90), intervened further in the catacombs. His most celebrated undertaking was his beautiful new basilica *ad corpus* over the tomb of St Laurence on the Via Tiburtina. Adorned with rich and elegant *spolia* and with superb new mosaics, Pelagius's church was erected beside the much larger fourth-century cemeterial basilica on the Verano and provided a far grander and more spacious setting for the tomb of Rome's patron than the original subterranean environment in the catacomb. Because by then the papacy, basing itself on late imperial legislation, had formulated a rigorous prohibition of interference with the remains of the holy dead, the work was accomplished by digging into the Verano hill to provide a level platform around the unmoved tomb on which the new building sat. This was undoubtedly a major enterprise, recognized by contemporaries as such.[93]

Pelagius's example was followed by Honorius I at S. Agnese on the Via Nomentana. Here again the area around the tomb was cut away so that the new church, of a similar size and design to that of Pelagius, similarly enriched with mosaics and similarly admired, sat on a platform at a different level from the earlier cemeterial basilica.[94] Honorius was particularly active in the catacombs. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, among many other works, he renewed the cemetery of Sts Marcellinus and Peter upon the Via Labicana and rebuilt from the ground up the basilica of S. Pancrazio on the Via Aurelia. His example was followed by his immediate successors, including Theodore I (642–49), who clearly completed rebuilding initiated by Honorius at S. Valentino on the Via Flaminia.[95] Such interventions tailed off in the disrupted middle decades of the century, when pope and emperor were locked in bitter dispute over the latter's attempts to impose Monothelite Christology.[96] It was only resumed in the later seventh and earlier eighth centuries, and then perhaps on a more limited scale, with such papally inspired projects as the enrichment of the catacomb of Calepodius on the Via Aurelia with a cycle of hagiographical paintings commemorating Callixtus I.[97]

[93] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 80, 114; Krautheimer and others, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, II (1959), pp. 1–146; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*, pp. 236–40.

[94] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 79, 115; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*, pp. 240–47.

[95] *LP*, I, 323–24, 332–33; Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs', pp. 312–13.

[96] Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy*, pp. 181–200.

[97] Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs', pp. 313–16.

Cult Sites within the Walls

By the seventh century, the Christian presence in the heart of Rome had been enhanced by a range of cult sites, based in *tituli* and other churches. The papal cathedral itself, the Constantinian basilica or the church of the Saviour or of St John, as it was known by the seventh century, although of great magnificence and presumably on every pilgrim's itinerary, does not feature very prominently as a cult site. It was placed first among a list of intramural churches, probably dating from the late seventh century, but no relics were mentioned.[98] By then, however, the Lateran had probably amassed a considerable collection, presumably the core of those later displayed in the papal chapel (first mentioned in the mid-eighth century), and including the famous icon of Christ, the *Acheiropoiēton*, not painted by human hand. These perhaps were not on public display, although the *Acheiropoiēton* was probably carried in procession on certain major feast days.[99] For relics, from the pilgrim's point of view, the Lateran baptistery probably offered more, and its collection was indeed augmented by translation in the seventh century.[100] Even so the Lateran complex as a whole was known primarily as the seat of papal government, the *episcopium* or *patriarchium*, where papal elections and councils might be held or where visitors of sufficient importance were received by the pope.[101]

The major intramural cult sites were linked with the great papal basilicas of St Peter, S. Maria Maggiore, and S. Lorenzo. The Petrine cult had moved into the city before the beginning of the sixth century; by then, it was being fostered on the Esquiline, near the baths of Trajan, in a church which had been (re)founded by Pope Sixtus III (432–40) as the Basilica Apostolorum and remodelled by the empress Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III. It was probably at that time that it acquired the famous relic of St Peter's chains, first mentioned in Rome in a datable text, *c.* 500, but also commemorated in an early inscription in the basilica.[102] These chains had especial significance as the source of

[98] Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*, pp. 20–37; *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 79, 155; below, at pp. 120–21.

[99] *LP*, I, 443; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, trans. by Jephcott, pp. 64–68; Cempanari, *Sancta Sanctorum Lateranense*, I, 11; Thacker, 'Martyr Cult within the Walls', pp. 44–45.

[100] Thacker, 'Martyr Cult within the Walls', pp. 44–45; below, p. 116.

[101] See, e.g., *LP*, I, 328, 336, 366, 368, 371; Cempanari, *Sancta Sanctorum Lateranense*, I, 41–87.

[102] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, p. 134 (*Sylloge Virdunensis,* no. 1); p. 157 (*Sylloge Wiceburgensis*, no. 10); Krautheimer and others, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, III (1967), pp. 179–82, 226–27.

benedictiones (in the form of filings) distributed by sixth- and seventh-century popes to high status ecclesiastics and secular rulers.[103] Another Petrine cult site in the city's ceremonial centre was perhaps the ancient Carcer Tullianum at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, last known to have been in use as a prison in the later fourth century.[104] Recent investigations have apparently yielded evidence of cultic activity there in the seventh century.[105] By then, it may have been regarded as a site of Peter's imprisonment.[106]

St Laurence was the object of another group of intramural cult sites, enhancing and reinforcing his role as the special patron of Rome. Probably from an early date, and certainly by the eighth century, he was patron of the papal chapel in the Lateran.[107] By the early sixth century, he was venerated at two of the city's early *tituli* (S. Lorenzo in Lucina and S. Lorenzo in Damaso) as well as at the extramural basilica on the Verano and at important imperial foundations outside Rome, in Milan and Ravenna.[108] The Roman *tituli* lay in the Campus Martius, easily accessible from the main thoroughfares through the city: that 'in Damaso' lay on the route south from the Vatican towards the Forum, that 'in Lucina' just by the Via Lata which ran south from the Flaminian Gate, the main ceremonial entry into Rome.[109]

[103] *Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum*, ed. by Guenther, no. 218 (pp. 670–89); Thacker, 'Martyr Cult within the Walls', pp. 48–49.

[104] Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, p. 71; Ammianus Marcellinus, [*Works*], ed. and trans. by Rolfe, XXVIII, 1. 57 (III, 120–24).

[105] See report by Squires, 'Excavations Link Ancient Prison to Apostle's Last Days'; Glatz, 'Conversion'.

[106] Cf. the reference to Peter's imprisonment in the Mamertinum, the later name for the Tullianum, in the later fifth- or sixth-century Roman remodelling of the earliest apocryphal acts: *Gli apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, ed. by Erbetta, II: *Atti e leggende* (1981), pp. 169–77. For the date of this text, see Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, II, 1546. It must remain doubtful, however, whether this was the location of the early medieval Fons Petri, where the apostle had been miraculously vouchsafed a spring to enable him to baptize his gaolers; certainly the author of the Einsiedeln itinerary, writing about 800, identified this cult site as outside the walls, near the Porta Aurelia in Trastevere: *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), p. 190; Amore, 'Processo e Martiniano'.

[107] *LP*, I, 469, 481; Cempanari, *Sancta Sanctorum Lateranense*, I, 11.

[108] Thacker, 'Martyr Cult within the Walls', pp. 50–52; Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, pp. 61–62, 78–79; Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, pp. 81–92.

[109] Krautheimer and others, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, III (1967), pp. 145–51; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*, pp. 135–36. It lay at what had once been the ceremonial heart of the Campus Martius, near the site of the great altar of Augustan Peace, and its associated *horologium* or sundial.

Other early intramural churches fostering the cult included S. Lorenzo in Pallacinis and S. Lorenzo in Formonso. The church 'in Pallacinis' was located at what had been the north-east corner of the Crypta Balbi, just across the way from what has now been plausibly identified as the Porticus Minucia where the *frumentationes*, Rome's free distributions of grain, were made until the time of Aurelian (270–75), and among the ruins of which, *c*. 425, a *xenodochium* or hostel for pilgrims to the city was erected by the Anicii, thus continuing the site's earlier charitable function of distributing foodstuffs.[110] S. Lorenzo in Pallacinis was certainly a monastery in the seventh century when it was the focus of workshops producing a range of items of metal, bone, and glass (perhaps including pilgrim tokens or mementos). The monastery was abandoned after some kind of disaster, perhaps a flood, at the end of the seventh or early in the eighth century, but the church still survived in the Carolingian period.[111]

S. Lorenzo in Formonso lay on the Viminal not far from S. Maria Maggiore. It was first mentioned in the biography of Pope Hadrian I (772–95), and *c*. 800 in the Einsiedeln itinerary where it was described as the site of the saint's martyrdom ('ubi assatus est').[112] Laurence's gruesome end, which was well known by the late fourth century,[113] spawned a famous relic, the grid-iron (*craticula*) on which he had been roasted alive. The importance attached from an early period to this object is evident from its depiction in an image of the saint on a lost devotional medallion dating probably from the fifth century. Laurence is unusual, if not unique, at this time in thus being depicted with the instrument of his martyrdom.[114] By the early fifth century the grid-iron had evidently excited imperial interest, for it was prominently displayed in mosaics adorning the eastern wall of the empress Galla Placidia's opulent funerary chapel (her so-called 'mausoleum') in Ravenna, which was probably dedicated to St Laurence.[115] In

[110] Manacorda and others, *Crypta Balbi*, pp. 14–17, 20; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, pp. 101, 315–16; see Santangeli Valenzani's essay in this volume.

[111] Saguì, 'La cultura materiale'; Saguì, 'L'esedra della Crypta Balbi'; Manacorda and others, *Crypta Balbi*, pp. 23, 61; *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 176–77.

[112] *LP*, I, 507; *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 179–80, 189, 192.

[113] See, e.g., Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, ed. and trans. by Thompson, chap. 2, pp. 108–43.

[114] Grig, 'Portraits, Pontiffs and the Christianization of Fourth-Century Rome', pp. 221–24. I am most grateful to Dr Susan Walker of the Ashmolean Museum for drawing my attention to the significance of this medallion.

[115] Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, pp. 74–84. The saint is depicted on a more or less contemporary gold-glass fragment in a very similar way: Grig, 'Portraits, Pontiffs and the

519, it was of sufficient significance to provide relics (*benedictiones*), to be sent together with similar filings from the apostolic chains to the *comes* Justinian, the emperor Justin's heir.[116]

In the late seventh century, the Laurentian *craticula* was recorded alongside the Petrine chains as kept in an intramural church dedicated to St Laurence.[117] Almost certainly this was the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, which undoubtedly housed the relic by the tenth century as it continues to house it to this day.[118] The argument advanced by Herman Geertman that the *craticula* was originally kept at S. Lorenzo in Formonso is based upon a statement in a text which was mistakenly attributed to Gregory of Tours,[119] but which in fact was written at Liège in the mid-eleventh century and so cannot be regarded as evidence for seventh-century Rome.[120] S. Lorenzo in Lucina was probably the church built by Sixtus III with imperial permission, on land belonging to the imperial fisc, and handsomely endowed with ecclesiastical vessels and fittings. It seems to have formed part of a joint imperial and papal initiative, along with S. Pietro in Vincoli, to display major relics in the ceremonial heart of Rome.[121]

A similar set of Marian cult sites was established within the walls between the fifth and early eighth centuries. In this case, because of the belief that Mary had been bodily assumed into heaven, corporal relics were not available. Devotion focused primarily upon sacred icons, 'temple images' which rendered the saint present in her sanctuary.[122] Of Rome's Marian churches the greatest

Christianization of Fourth-Century Rome', pp. 221–24. Given the imperial family's evident interest in this saint, Gillian Mackie's arguments that it could be Vincent of Saragossa do not convince: Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West*, pp. 174–75, 188–89.

[116] *Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum*, ed. by Guenther, no. 218 (pp. 670–80).

[117] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), p. 124. For a later (not entirely compelling) dating for the section of *De locis sanctis* devoted to the intramural churches, see Geertman, *More Veterum*, pp. 158–63.

[118] Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*, pp. 166–67; Krautheimer and others, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, II (1959), pp. 159–84; Pesci, 'L'itinerario romano', pp. 51–55; *LP*, I, 234.

[119] Geertman, *More Veterum*, pp. 154–69, esp. at 157–58, following Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. lxxxviii.

[120] Louis, 'Libellus de adventu reliquiarum', ed. by Arndt; *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, II, no. 4778. I am grateful to Dr Theo Riches for discussion of this text.

[121] *LP*, I, 235.

[122] Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, trans. by Jephcott, pp. 59–60, 68; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 239–42.

was S. Maria Maggiore, the papal basilica built by Pope Sixtus III and endowed with two highly revered objects.[123] Of these, one was indeed a sacred icon, the famous image of the Virgin now in the Cappella Borghese, which may date from the seventh century or earlier and which was reputed to be painted from life by St Luke.[124] The other comprised relics of the crib of Christ. Clearly in the possession of the basilica by the mid-seventh century, when it was known as S. Maria ad Praesepe, by the eighth they were housed in a separate oratory enriched with papal gifts.[125] Another much revered Marian icon, venerated as not made by human hands, was by 630 preserved on the other side of the city, in S. Maria in Trastevere, an important early *titulus*.[126]

By the later sixth century, the Marian cult was established in imperial buildings in the ceremonial heart of Rome. At the centre of the Forum, beside the ramp which ran up to the imperial palace on the Palatine, lay the important church of S. Maria Antiqua, which again housed an early and much venerated icon.[127] In 609, by imperial permission, the Pantheon, Hadrian's great temple in the heart of the Campus Martius, was appropriated for Christian worship and dedicated to S. Maria ad Martyres by Pope Boniface IV. That church probably contained a sacred icon of the Virgin from the time of its consecration.[128] Almost certainly the cult of the Theotokos, much favoured by the emperors, was promoted with the co-operation of the Byzantine civil administration. Besides S. Maria Antiqua, the churches of S. Maria in Via Lata, S. Maria in Cosmedin, and S. Maria in Aquiro were all probably established in the late

[123] Krautheimer and others, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, III (1967), pp. 1–60; Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome*, pp. 176–89.

[124] The image is not mentioned until relatively late and the icon has never been restored, but the form of the image is regarded as an ancient one and could well date from the seventh century: Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, trans. by Jephcott, pp. 68–69; Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo*, ed. by Andaloro, p. 256.

[125] *LP*, I, 331, 333, 418.

[126] Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 240–41; *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), p. 122; Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo*, ed. by Andaloro, pp. 126, 255.

[127] Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 240; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, trans. by Jephcott, pp. 72–73, 124–26; Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo*, ed. by Andaloro, pp. 125–26, 255.

[128] *LP*, I, 317; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 240; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, trans. by Jephcott, pp. 6, 64, 121, 124; Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo*, ed. by Andaloro, pp. 126, 255.

sixth or early seventh century, but not apparently by the popes. Like S. Maria Antiqua all were to become *diaconiae*.[129]

The Marian cult was much promoted throughout Rome in the later seventh and early eighth century.[130] Pope Sergius enhanced Mary's presence in the heart of the city by establishing S. Adriano in the Forum as the *collecta*, where processions gathered to depart for the stational church of S. Maria Maggiore on the Marian feasts of the Presentation (2 February), Annunciation (25 March), Dormition (15 August), and Nativity (8 September).[131] Shortly afterwards, the Virgin's cult was given even greater prominence by John VII, whose projects included a lavish embellishment of S. Maria Antiqua and whose tomb-chapel in St Peter's was richly adorned with Marian imagery.[132]

By the seventh century, cult images of the Virgin on a more domestic scale had been installed in small niches scattered through the city, in churches such as S. Maria Antiqua and S. Clemente, south-east of the Colosseum, and also extramurally in the catacomb of S. Valentino in the north of the city on the Via Flaminia. That at S. Maria Antiqua, repainted by John VII over a seventh-century predecessor, provides evidence of ex votos, probably, from the position of the feature in the north-west pillar of the basilica, made by the laity. Its niche may have accommodated votive candles.[133]

The development of these three cults was part of a wider focus upon intramural cult sites in the city, in particular a new emphasis on the presence of sacred remains within the walls, a response to the growth of intramural burial from the late fifth century.[134] The rare earlier instances of this phenomenon had simply involved the recognition as saints of those already buried within the walled enceinte. Thus the *Liber Pontificalis* records that Pope Simplicius (468–83) built a church over the grave of the Roman martyr Bibiana. That in any case was scarcely a prominent monument: although strictly intramural, it was right against the walls on the eastern fringes of the Esquiline in a remote

[129] Coates-Stephens, 'Byzantine Building Patronage', pp. 155–60.

[130] Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 237–45; Ó Carragáin and Thacker, 'Wilfrid in Rome', pp. 223–29.

[131] *LP*, I, 376, 381; Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, pp. 122, 137–38, 160.

[132] Osborne, Brandt, and Morganti, *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano*; this volume, below, Ortenberg West-Harling.

[133] Osborne, 'Images of the Mother of God', at pp. 141–46.

[134] See above, p. 108.

and unfrequented part of the city.[135] By the sixth century, there was a second and much more central grave on the Celian, the supposed burial place of the Roman martyrs John and Paul who, by the sixth century, were believed to rest in their pseudonymous basilica, built over the house in which they had been buried after their execution in the time of Diocletian.[136]

The seventh century saw a new development: the active translation of corporal remains into the intramural area. This process may perhaps have begun under Greek influence with the bringing of the body of the eastern martyr Boniface to a church on the Aventine, perhaps in the early seventh century, at the time of the Arab invasions.[137] Soon, however, the popes were taking part in the process. John IV (640–42) seems to have been the first, translating martyrs from his devastated native province of Dalmatia into an opulent new extension to the Lateran baptistery.[138] A second translation was carried out by Pope Theodore I (642–49), who brought the remains of Sts Primus and Felician from a distant site on the Via Nomentana to be placed in a richly adorned side chapel in S. Stefano Rotondo.[139] In both these cases the popes were enriching important papal complexes hitherto not well endowed with corporal martyrial relics. Their initiatives were followed by Pope Leo II (682–83), who built a church near S. Bibiana to house the remains of a group of martyrs translated from a cemetery some five miles out of Rome on the Via Portuense.[140] The importance attached to these sites is underlined by the fact that an itinerary such as that brought to England and recorded in the twelfth century by William of Malmesbury expressly lists intramural churches which contained the bodies of saints.[141]

[135] Thacker, 'Martyr Cult within the Walls', p. 58; Goodson, 'Building for Bodies', pp. 59–60, n. 21.

[136] Thacker, 'Martyr Cult within the Walls', pp. 54–58.

[137] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), p. 130. The *passio*, which was first written in Greek, depicts Boniface as a Roman, martyred in Tyre and brought back to Rome: Amore, 'Bonifacio di Tarso'. The church was given to a Greek metropolitan in the tenth century: Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. 171.

[138] *LP*, I, 332. To what degree this was a genuine translation is unclear. Although the *Liber Pontificalis* seems to imply the importing of whole bodies, in fact the tombs when opened revealed very exiguous organic remains: Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West*, pp. 212–30.

[139] *LP*, I, 332.

[140] *LP*, I, 359–62; Coates-Stephens, 'Dark Age Architecture in Rome', p. 187.

[141] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 152–53. Cf. the same

Leo II's pontificate saw a revival of papal activity in Rome after the difficult period marked by the mid-century breakdown in relations with the emperor.[142] In addition to his activities near S. Bibiana, Leo ordered the construction of the basilica 'of St Sebastian and also of St George' in the Velabrum, south of the Palatine, in the Greek area around the port.[143] Popes such as Sergius and John VII carried on this work, and were particularly active in repairing and beautifying the great papal complexes and many *tituli* and cemeteries. Sergius also enhanced the papal liturgy at the Lateran, through his rediscovery in St Peter's of a large relic of the Cross. The relic was displayed for veneration in the Constantinian basilica annually on the Roman feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September), an event noted by his biographer and considered by Bede to be of sufficient significance to be included in his Greater Chronicle.[144] By the early eighth century, too, the popes had also become involved in the maintenance of that most crucial of secular structures, the city walls.[145]

Conclusions

Pilgrims and visitors coming to Rome in the seventh century found a city with a well-established identity as *caput urbium*.[146] They could make contact with the holy both outside and — increasingly — inside the walls through sacred tombs, through secondary and non-corporal relics, and through sites sanctified by martyrial suffering. These sites were identified and papal sponsorship proclaimed in the innumerable inscriptions scattered through the city.[147] The

volume, pp. 118–31, at pp. 124, 130. Interestingly, from among the newly translated the Malmesbury list includes Boniface and Primus and Felician but not John IV's Dalmatian saints. The continuing importance attached to the cult of Boniface is perhaps reflected in Gregory's choice of the name Boniface for the English Wynfrith when appointing him preacher to the pagans in Germany: Boniface, *Epistolae*, ed. by Tangl, no. 12, pp. 17–18; Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 72.

[142] See e.g. Coates-Stephens, 'Dark Age Architecture in Rome', pp. 177–204; Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy*, pp. 201–15.

[143] Coates-Stephens, 'Dark Age Architecture', pp. 184–86.

[144] *LP*, I, 374; Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Jones, pp. 529–30; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 190–92, 233–34.

[145] Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, p. 195; Coates-Stephens, 'Byzantine Building Patronage', pp. 151–52; Coates-Stephens, 'Walls and Aqueducts of Rome', pp. 167–68.

[146] 'Vita Sancti Fulgentii', col. 130.

[147] See *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi.

popes relentlessly promoted themselves not only by such texts but also through the adaptation and embellishment of key buildings and *memoriae* and through the conversion of great public monuments to Christian use. In particular, popes such as Boniface III, Boniface IV, and Honorius I played a crucial role in this, converting, with imperial co-operation, emblematic imperial buildings, including the Pantheon and the Curia, into churches promoting the veneration of the Virgin and of Christian apostles and martyrs, both from Rome and (in response to a Byzantine governing class and a growing Greek-speaking population) from the East. Such activity, reinforced by the papal projects of the later seventh and early eighth century in the ceremonial centre, led the visitor to associate Christian Rome with the wonders of the ancient city, much of which was still visible and the infrastructure of which — roads, walls, aqueducts — still survived and was to a degree maintained.

The obsessive emphasis of the *Liber Pontificalis* on papal patronage not only ignores the role of the Byzantine elite, it also suggests that the popes' role did not go unchallenged. It is worth remembering that, while pre-Carolingian Rome still covered a vast area, its population had shrunk to perhaps a tenth of that of the fourth-century city. That population was scattered through the whole of the once-inhabited territory, in many places well away from the great papal basilicas and *tituli*. Such dispersed settlements were open as much to the influence of local ecclesiastical communities and their patrons as to that of the popes. The sheer multiplicity of shrines and holy sites and the vast spaces through which they were scattered rendered control very difficult.[148] If visitors were initially most impressed by papal activity, they also had at their disposal many sites over which, almost certainly, the bishop of Rome had little direct authority.[149]

The Pilgrims: Tastes and Expectations

Christian pilgrims were already coming to Rome to view the *loca sancta*, the tombs of the martyrs, in the late fourth century. By the late sixth, the growing difficulty of travelling to the Holy Land rendered the city increasingly attractive as an alternative destination.[150] By then, pilgrims were certainly coming to the shrine of St Peter from France, Italy, and elsewhere in search of con-

[148] See now the comments in Costambeys and Leyser, 'To Be the Neighbour of St Stephen', pp. 269–70.

[149] Thacker, 'Rome of the Martyrs', pp. 45–49.

[150] Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs', p. 284.

tact relics.[151] That was despite the papacy's difficulties with the Lombards, who invested Rome in 593 and, according to Gregory the Great, posed a dire threat to its inhabitants. By 605, however, what was to prove a permanent peace had been established, clearing the way for the development of Rome's pilgrim potential. As we have already seen, Honorius I was particularly active in this respect. The well-known pilgrim guides or itineraries, listing martyrial resting-places in the catacombs, date mostly from the middle decades of the seventh century and indeed draw attention to his work.[152] Votive *graffiti* left by visitors to the catacombs confirm the impression that thereafter pilgrim activity gathered momentum.[153] In the last decade or so of the seventh century, Sergius was active in enhancing pilgrim sites.

Arranged systematically on a topographical basis, the pilgrim itineraries appear to be guides offering the visitor detailed directions as to how to proceed from one holy site to the next. Since they all occur in manuscripts preserved in places far distant from Rome, they may be plausibly regarded as *aides-mémoires* or souvenirs compiled for, and perhaps by, foreign visitors.[154] The entries are brief and laconic; only occasionally do they hint at an aesthetic dimension. Remarkably, they scarcely comment on the great papal basilicas, although the compiler of the *Notitia ecclesiarum* does describe St Peter's as 'eminens super omnes ecclesias et formosa'.[155] Revealingly, perhaps, they are more eloquent about the wonderful beauty of the much smaller but undoubtedly opulent, and of course relatively new, churches built by Pelagius II and Honorius I, such as S. Lorenzo on the Verano, S. Agnese on the Via Nomentana, S. Pancrazio on the Via Aurelia, and S. Valentino on the Via Flaminia.[156] The primacy of Peter is

[151] Gregory of Tours had relics of Peter and (probably) Andrew, Paul, Laurence, Chrysanthus and Daria, and John and Paul almost certainly brought back by his deacon Agiulf in 590: Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum x*, ed. by Krusch and Levison, x. 1, p. 477; Gregory of Tours, 'Gloria Martyrum', ed. by Krusch, chaps 27, 82, pp. 53–54, 93–94; Gregory of Tours, 'Liber vitae patrum', ed. by Krusch, viii. 6, p. 246. Cf. *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, chap. 21, pp. 108–10.

[152] *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, *De locis sanctis martyrum quae sunt foris civitatis Romae*, *De numero portarum et sanctis Romae*, in *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, ii (1942), pp. 29–207. For Honorius's activities, see pp. 73, 79, 93; Story, 'Aldhelm and Old St Peter's, Rome', pp. 9–10. For dating, see also Geertman, *More Veterum*, pp. 136, 198–202.

[153] See Izzi's essay in this volume.

[154] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, ii (1942), pp. 67–71, 101–05, 113–37.

[155] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, ii (1942), p. 72.

[156] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, ii (1942), pp. 73, 79, 93, 94, 114, 115, 118.

reflected principally in the fact that the texts either begin or end at the Vatican; the compilers of the itineraries do not dwell on the apostolic tomb itself but rather seem anxious to hasten on and take the visitor around as many sites as possible. A similar neglect is meted out to the shrines of Rome's other great patrons, Paul and Laurence. The curiously cursory treatment of these all-important *confessiones* may reflect their inaccessibility to all but the most important visitors.[157] It may also be due to the fact that the itineraries were not compiled by or for the papal authorities. At all events, it is clear that it was numbers as much as apostolicity which most impressed the multitude.[158]

That the pattern depicted in the itineraries had some basis in the actual behaviour of pilgrims is indicated by the famous labelled *ampullae* which John, the agent of Theodelinda, Catholic queen of the Lombards, brought back from Rome to his mistress at the beginning of the seventh century. The *ampullae* contained oils from the martyrial tombs, relics of several martyrs often being combined in one container. The labels (*pittacia*) and the accompanying schedule (*notula*) make it plain that in general the contents of the *ampullae* reflected trips which had been organized topographically, road by road leading out of Rome. Although the schedule duly starts with the relics of apostles, it is clear that Theodelinda or her agent wanted to collect from as many shrines as possible; the *notula* names over seventy saints, many of great obscurity.[159] It should be noted that there is no evidence that all the relics which John brought back to Queen Theodelinda were provided by Gregory the Great himself.[160]

While focused primarily upon the extramural sites, which were more complex and far more difficult to navigate than those inside the walls, the itineraries make it plain that the latter also mattered. In particular, *De locis sanctis*, in the form in which it has come down to us, includes a list of twenty-one intramural churches. That list, which looks as if it was never finished, may well have

[157] The *confessio* of St Peter was still dramatically accessible when Gregory of Tours's deacon visited Rome in 590 (above, p. 119 n. 151), but perhaps the new arrangements made by Gregory the Great made the experience of visiting the apostolic shrines seem less immediate.

[158] The status of the principal shrines is expressed primarily in their association with large numbers of other martyrial graves. Thus *De locis sanctis* mentions several subsidiary Petrine cult sites at the Vatican and emphasizes the number of saints who rest next to the apostle. Cf. the Malmesbury text's claim that no one can number the saints who rest in the Petrine basilica: *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 106–07, 141–42.

[159] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 29–47.

[160] Thacker, 'Rome of the Martyrs', pp. 46–47; Trout, 'Theodelinda's Rome', pp. 131–34.

been an addition to the original itinerary.[161] It is clearly centred on churches in which the papacy had a special interest. Most of these are stational, that is to say churches at which the pope said mass on certain appointed days of the church's year, and some housed bodies or important relics, usually expressly mentioned. The list starts with the Lateran basilica, S. Maria Maggiore, and S. Anastasia, where the crosses borne in the stational processions were stored; it then moves on to the other great Marian churches, S. Maria Antiqua, the Pantheon (S. Maria Rotunda), and S. Maria in Trastevere, where the famous icon was noted. It also includes the basilicas of S. Lorenzo (in Lucina) and S. Pietro in Vincoli, where the relics of the gridiron and the chains are duly mentioned, and churches such as SS Giovanni e Paolo and S. Bonifacio, which contained corporeal remains.[162] The interest in martyr tombs within the walls is reflected in two other itineraries; the *Notitia ecclesiarum*, which opens with SS Giovanni e Paolo on the Celian, and the perhaps somewhat later Malmesbury text which concludes with a short list of four intramural tomb-churches.[163]

To the evidence of the itineraries may be added that of the *syllogae*. Based on a tradition going back to the late fourth century, these are collections of texts mostly derived from *tituli* relating to tombs, important buildings, public statues and wall-paintings, or to mosaic inscriptions on the walls, triumphal arches, and apses of important churches.[164] Like the itineraries, the *syllogae* were often arranged topographically and presumably originated in notes taken on the ground when the monuments were being visited, although they clearly later circulated in copies, often customized by the communities which commissioned or preserved them.[165]

The *syllogae*, which presumably reflect the preoccupations of the city's more learned visitors, show a more varied range of concerns than the itineraries. While they contain much material drawn from the cemeteries, they also show an interest in the great papal basilicas, both intramural and extramural, and in important churches such as S. Pietro in Vincoli and S. Maria in Trastevere, home respectively to a major Petrine relic and a major Marian icon.[166] The papal epitaphs from the Vatican feature with particular prominence. The inscriptions

[161] For debate about this list see above, p. 113, at n. 117.

[162] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 118–31.

[163] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 72, 152–53.

[164] Sharpe, 'King Caedwalla's Roman Epitaph', pp. 172–73.

[165] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 49–237, 242–49, 257–58, 274–76.

[166] Above, at nn. 102, 126, 162.

commemorating a group of popes from the time of Anastasius I (d. 498) to John V (d. 686) form the subject of a single *sylloge*, probably drawn up, as de Rossi suggests, in the late seventh century. Its exclusion of the popes known to have been buried in or in front of the *secretarium* suggests that the compiler may well have confined himself to those buried in that part of the papal necropolis which lay within the basilica at its south-eastern corner or in the eastern porticus.[167] But, as we have seen, the other locations also mattered.[168]

The English in Rome

By the later seventh century the English were starting to arrive in Rome.[169] Almost all those that we know about were of the highest status. In the late seventh century, from the 650s, they included Benedict Biscop, rich confidant and envoy of King Ecgfrith of Northumbria; Ceolfrith, abbot of the royal foundation of Jarrow;[170] Wighard, metropolitan-elect of Canterbury and his companions;[171] Wilfrid, the grand if controversial bishop of Northumbria;[172] the envoys of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hild, abbess of Whitby, seeking to oppose Wilfrid's appeal for reinstatement to his see;[173] Oftfor, pupil of Theodore and Hild, later (691) bishop of Worcester;[174] Caedwalla, former king of the West Saxons;[175] Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, probably himself a prince of the royal house of Wessex;[176] Willibrord, seeking consecration as archbishop of the Frisians; and Berhtwald, archbishop of Canterbury (or his

[167] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 124–30 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, II).

[168] Above, at pp. 100–01, 102–03.

[169] For full details, see Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum*, esp. pp. 9–89.

[170] See Bede, 'Historia abbatum', ed. by Plummer, chaps 2–4, 6, pp. 365–69; 'Vita Ceolfridi', ed. by Plummer, chaps 9 and 10, p. 391; and Stephen of Ripon, 'Vita Wilfridi', ed. by Levison, chap. 3, pp. 195–97.

[171] Bede, *HE*, IV. 1.

[172] Stephen of Ripon, 'Vita Wilfridi', ed. by Levison, chaps 5, 29–33, 50–55, pp. 198–99, 222–28, 243–51; Bede, *HE*, V. 19; Ó Carragáin and Thacker, 'Wilfrid in Rome'.

[173] Stephen of Ripon, 'Vita Wilfridi', ed. by Levison, chap. 54, pp. 249–50.

[174] Bede, *HE*, IV. 23.

[175] Bede, *HE*, V. 7; Sharpe, 'King Caedwalla's Roman Epitaph', pp. 171–72.

[176] Aldhelm, *Epistolae*, ed. by Ehwald, no. 6, p. 494; Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', pp. 52–64; Story, 'Aldhelm and Old St Peter's, Rome'.

envoys), collecting the pallium.[177] In 701, just before the end of Sergius's pontificate, a group of monks from Wearmouth-Jarrow were in Rome, sent there by Abbot Ceolfrith to obtain a privilege of exemption for Jarrow;[178] they may have included Hwætberht, Ceolfrith's successor, whom Bede expressly says had spent some time studying in Rome during Sergius's pontificate.[179] In 709, Cenred, ex-king of Mercia, and Offa, a young prince of the East Saxons, came there with many companions and received the tonsure in St Peter's, an event of sufficient importance to be noted in the *Liber Pontificalis*.[180]

Around this time, or shortly after, there seems to have been a particular influx of elite English pilgrims into Rome. From Northumbria, there survives a letter of the powerful royal abbess Ælfflaed of Whitby (d. 713), commending a pupil (also an abbess) to Adolana, abbess of Pfalzel.[181] From Wessex in 718/19 came the young Wynfrith, accompanied by a retinue of kinsfolk ('cohors contribunalium'), to be received after some days by Pope Gregory II and entrusted with a mission to preach to the pagans of Germany; he returned in 722, again with a large retinue of clients and religious, to be ordained bishop under the name of Boniface. By then a further substantial company of English, also probably West Saxon, had arrived, led by the brothers Willibald and Wynnebald.[182] Willibald had probably left before Wynfrith's arrival, but Wynnebald stayed on; apart from a brief visit to England in the late 720s, he was to remain in

[177] Sergius's biographer claims that the Pope ordained ('ordinavit') both Willibrord and Berhtwald archbishop: *LP*, I, 376. He certainly consecrated Willibrord: Bede, *HE*, v. 7; Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Jones, p. 529. But Bede's circumstantial account of Berhtwald's consecration by the metropolitan of Lyons is surely correct: Bede, *HE*, v. 8. As Duchesne and Levison suggest, Sergius's role was to confirm the appointment, presumably through the presentation of the pallium: *LP*, I, 381; Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 242 n. 1.

[178] Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Jones, p. 431; Bede, 'Historia abbatum', ed. by Plummer, chap. 15, pp. 379–80.

[179] Bede, 'Historia abbatum', ed. by Plummer, chap. 18, p. 383.

[180] They died shortly after their arrival: Bede, *HE*, v. 19; v. 24; *LP*, I, 391.

[181] Boniface, *Epistolae*, ed. by Tangl, no. 8, pp. 3–4.

[182] They comprised kinsmen and companions. The phrases used to describe the brothers' kinsmen and dependents — 'cum cunctis contribulum clientello omnique collegum cetu' and 'cum comitatu contribulum ac collegum coetu' — suggest that they were quite numerous: Hygeburg, 'Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi', pp. 91, 108. The words echo those of the *Vita Bonifatii* describing Boniface's early visits to Rome: Willibald, 'Vita Bonifatii', ed. by Levison, chap. 5, pp. 20–21.

Rome until Boniface's third visit in 737.[183] Finally, in 726, another West Saxon king, Ine, came and settled near St Peter's.[184]

Bede, writing *c.* 725, comments on the popularity of pilgrimage to Rome among the English — nobles and commoners, laity and clergy alike.[185] His remarks are borne out by a nearly contemporary letter from the West Saxon abbess Eangyth and her daughter Heahburg to Wynfrith-Boniface, lamenting their isolation, in part caused by the departure of friends and kinsfolk on pilgrimage to the shrines of the apostles Peter and Paul.[186] All these visitors for safety's sake travelled in large convoys.[187] The sources make clear that grand pilgrims were accompanied by considerable retinues. Abbot Ceolfrith left Wearmouth for Rome in 716 with some eighty companions, and this may not have been unusual.[188] So in the early eighth century there may have been quite a lot of English visitors in the city. Indeed, their numbers may have been such that already by then some kind of hospice or *schola* had been set up for them near the Vatican. The tone of Willibald's reminiscences, recorded by his relative, the nun Hygeburg, suggests that he and his brother's company established themselves near St Peter's. In particular the term *scolastica scala* applied to the steps leading up to the atrium of the basilica perhaps suggests that he was thinking in terms of a nearby *schola*.[189] Again, when he arrived on his second visit in 722, Boniface went straight to St Peter's before being conducted to a *xenodochium*, evidently based at the Vatican. Gregory II came to St Peter's to meet him, although Boniface was also later summoned to the Lateran.[190] The tradition, first recorded at St Alban's in the late twelfth century, that Ine founded the *schola Saxonum* is, then, probably correct, although the King may have been consolidating developments already under way.[191]

[183] Willibald, 'Vita Bonifatii', ed. by Levison, chaps 5, 6, pp. 18–36; Hygeburg, 'Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi', pp. 90–92, 107–08.

[184] Bede, *HE*, v. 7.

[185] Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Jones, p. 534. Cf. Bede, *HE*, v. 7.

[186] Boniface, *Epistolae*, ed. by Tangl, no. 14, pp. 21–26.

[187] See, e.g., Willibald, 'Vita Bonifatii', ed. by Levison, chap. 5, pp. 20–21.

[188] 'Vita Ceolfridi', ed. by Plummer, chap. 34, p. 401; Bede, 'Historia abbatum', ed. by Plummer, chap. 21, p. 385.

[189] Hygeburg, 'Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi', pp. 91–92.

[190] Willibald, 'Vita Bonifatii', ed. by Levison, chap. 6, p. 28.

[191] Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum*, pp. 98–99, 108; see above, Santangeli Valenzani's essay in this volume.

Boniface's success with Gregory II was perhaps a key element in this especial traffic to Rome in the early decades of the eighth century. But Aldhelm may also have been a crucial figure. We know that he went to Rome, probably with Caedwalla (688–89), and he may well have brought back the original of the pilgrim itinerary, recorded by William of Malmesbury in the twelfth century.[192] His works reveal knowledge of a number of Roman inscriptions and recently it has been argued that he constructed his own collection of such texts while he was in Rome — presumably as a result of visiting the major tourist sites.[193] It is more than likely, for example, that he transcribed and brought back to England Pope Sergius's epitaph for King Caedwalla, and it has been suggested that he may also have been Bede's source for that of Gregory the Great. It has even been argued that Aldhelm's *sylloge* may have been the source for the collection of epigrams preserved at Worcester by Bishop Milred in the mid-eighth century.[194] That may be a step too far; there is every reason to think that quite a lot of these collections were compiled and none to regard Aldhelm as the only English visitor with the ability and the will to do such work.[195] Nevertheless, the fact that some of the early *syllogae* transcribed in Continental monasteries share inscriptions perhaps collected by Aldhelm (such as those for Caedwalla and Gregory the Great), and also have links with Milred's collection, would at the very least suggest that the English were particularly active and influential in this sphere.[196]

What did the English pilgrims come to see? Rome, of course, was the *sedes Petri*, identified above all as the home of the corporal remains of the prince of

[192] Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', pp. 56–57; Sims-Williams, 'William of Malmesbury', pp. 31–33.

[193] See, for instance, Damasus I, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, ed. by Ferrua, nos III, XVI, XVII, XXXV, XLVII; Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, pp. 236–37. There are dating problems with this argument since some of Aldhelm's works reflecting knowledge of these epigrams may well have pre-dated his visit to Rome in 689: Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', pp. 53–54. But Aldhelm may well have gone to Rome more than once. If so, whether he derived his knowledge from seeing and copying the originals in Rome, or whether he first met them in *syllogae*, his interest in these particular epigrams is likely to have been stimulated by impressions derived from his visit in person to the cult sites commemorated.

[194] Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, pp. 203–12; Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester's Collection'. Cf. Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', pp. 58–62.

[195] Sharpe, 'King Caedwalla's Roman Epitaph', pp. 179, 185, 193, n. 67.

[196] As Michael Lapidge points out, it can scarcely have been a coincidence that three of the epigrams in the *sylloge* of Tours were known in Anglo-Saxon England no later than 731: Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', p. 60.

the apostles. But like the contemporary itineraries, the earliest English pilgrims seem to have made curiously little of the shrine itself. Wilfrid's personal epiphany was before an altar (and presumably *confessio*) dedicated to St Andrew.[197] His biographer Stephen's account of the saint going round Rome's *loca sancta* and obtaining relics 'from chosen men' (ab electi viri) seems deliberately ambiguous, seeking to suggest an authoritative source while remaining highly unspecific.[198] Biscop may have acted similarly. While the ideologically driven Bede says firmly that he went to Rome to see in person the 'loca corporum' of the blessed apostles,[199] the tone of the *Life* of his coadjutor Ceolfrith is rather different. Biscop, the anonymous author says, customarily went to Rome to bring back 'the sweet memorial of the blessed martyrs' (reliquiarum beatorum martyrum memoriam dulcem).[200] That may well have been closer to Biscop's own attitude. Certainly, Bede is very vague about the source of the relics which Biscop brought back, offering no information on how they were obtained.[201]

Since the sixth century the popes had created relics for pilgrims at St Peter's through the lowering of strips of cloth (*brandea*) down a shaft which led to the apostle's invisible and inaccessible tomb.[202] For Wilfrid, however, and perhaps for Biscop too, relics of the martyrs were primarily obtained through the circuit of the *loca sancta*. This compares interestingly with an anecdote in the earliest *Life of Gregory the Great*, written at Whitby in Northumbria *c*. 700, which depicts Gregory creating relics of various martyrs ('diversorum Dei martyrum reliquiae') through celebrating mass over strips of cloth (the location is not specified).[203] The tale looks like an attempt to focus relic creation and distribution on the Pope. Whether, as the Whitby author alleges, it reflects the practice of Gregory's own day, or whether it was deduced from later practice cannot now be determined; but at all events by Sergius's time, the emphasis does indeed seem to have become more firmly centred on the Vatican complex. Caedwalla in his brief time in Rome seems to have been very Petrine in his focus. The King received from Sergius the baptismal name of Peter and the papal inscription on

[197] Stephen of Ripon, 'Vita Wilfridi', ed. by Levison, chap. 5, p. 198.

[198] Stephen of Ripon, 'Vita Wilfridi', ed. by Levison, chap. 55, p. 251. Cf. chaps 5, 33, pp. 199, 227.

[199] Bede, 'Historia abbatum', ed. by Plummer, chap. 2, p. 365.

[200] 'Vita Ceolfridi', ed. by Plummer, chap. 9, p. 391.

[201] Bede, 'Historia abbatum', ed. by Plummer, chaps 4, 6, pp. 367, 369.

[202] Gregory of Tours, 'Gloria Martyrum', ed. by Krusch, chap. 27, pp. 53–54.

[203] *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, chap. 21, p. 108.

his tomb emphasizes his quest for Peter and the *sedes Petri*.[204] A generation or so later, the biographers of Wynfrith, Willibald, and Wynnebald specify that the pilgrims went immediately to the basilica itself and imply that they spent much time in and around the Vatican complex, which by then was clearly very much the centre-piece of any visit.[205]

One reason for this was perhaps the growing complexity of pilgrim sites at the Vatican. The papal tombs and their *tituli* were undoubtedly a particularly significant attraction. The late seventh-century *sylloge* devoted entirely to their epitaphs almost certainly circulated in England. At least one of the inscriptions, that of Anastasius II, was known to Aldhelm and the collection as a whole was known to Bishop Milred.[206] The inscriptions in the eastern porticus, commemorating figures such as Gregory the Great and Caedwalla, were perhaps transcribed by Aldhelm, and they and those relating to Emperor Constantine and the translated Leo the Great also appear in *syllogae* which again probably circulated in England.[207] The significance of the porticus for the English is underlined by the precision with which Bede expressly notes that Pope Constantine (708–15) set up *picturae* (probably frescoes) commemorating the acts of the six oecumenical councils 'in porticu', whereas his presumed source, the *Liber Pontificalis*, merely assigns them more generally to the *ecclesia* as a whole.[208]

Another attraction for the English at the Vatican was the basilica of St Andrew. The brother of Peter may have been especially popular because Gregory the Great had chosen him as patron of his monastery on the Celian.[209] As early as the 650s, Wilfrid dedicated himself to the service of God in an *oratorium* of St Andrew, almost certainly Symmachus's foundation, and presumably the inspiration for the dedication of Wilfrid's churches at Hexham and Oundle.[210]

[204] Bede, *HE*, v. 7.

[205] Willibald, 'Vita Bonifatii', ed. by Levison, chaps 5, 6, pp. 21, 28; Hygeburg, 'Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi', pp. 91–92, 108; above, at p. 124.

[206] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 124–30 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, II); Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, pp. 208–09; Sims-Williams, 'William of Malmesbury', pp. 26–30.

[207] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 78–9 (*Sylloge Centulensis*, nos 3–6); p. 98 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, IV, nos 1–2); Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, pp. 203–06, 209; above, at pp. 101–03; Sharpe, 'King Caedwalla's Roman Epitaph', pp. 173–74.

[208] Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Jones, p. 531; *LP*, I, 391.

[209] Above, p. 104.

[210] Stephen of Ripon, 'Vita Wilfridi', ed. by Levison, chaps 5, 22, 64(65), pp. 198, 216, 259. S. Andrea Cata Barbara is another possibility, but it is perhaps unlikely that Wilfrid would

Epigrams commemorating the apostolic brothers and adapted by Aldhelm in his *carmina*, were perhaps set up in the Vatican rotunda by Pope Symmachus.[211] Others of the many inscriptions by Pope Symmachus relating to the church of St Andrew and its oratories were recorded in a *sylloge* which was one of the sources of Milred's collection and was known in England in the eighth century.[212] A perceived English fondness for the apostle is perhaps reflected in Gregory II's choice of his feast day for the consecration of Wynfrith-Boniface as a bishop in 722.[213]

Like other pilgrims, the English were clearly impressed by the easternmost features of the Vatican complex, those in fact which they first encountered. Aldhelm clearly knew and quoted from Damasus's epigram commemorating the establishment of the cantharus, the *fons salutis* at the centre of the atrium.[214] Others were struck by the ceremonial route from the bridge over the Tiber to the basilica. Formed by the Porta Sancti Petri and the porticus leading westwards from it, this was adorned with inscriptions which were also recorded in *syllogae* known to the English.[215] It led to a great flight of steps ascending to the entrance façade of the atrium, a feature which evidently moved Willibald when he first arrived in Rome in the early eighth century and which according to his *Vita* he knew as the *scala scolastica*.[216]

Besides the Vatican complex, the other papal basilicas were also clearly major ports of call and remained so throughout the period. Naturally, the other apostolic basilica was of primary importance. Aldhelm knew and quoted from Pope Damasus's verses on St Paul;[217] the apostle was the dedicatee of King Ecgfrith of Northumbria's church at Jarrow, and the basilica was one of those to

have thought of this opulent basilica as an oratory. It should also be noted that the monastery attached to this church had been totally abandoned by the time of Gregory II; it may already have been in decadence in the 650s: *LP*, I, 397–98.

[211] Story, 'Aldhelm and Old St Peter's, Rome', pp. 13–18.

[212] Sims-Williams, 'William of Malmesbury', pp. 18–19; Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, pp. 208–09; Silvagni, 'La silloge epigrafica', nos 5–11, 14, pp. 87–90, 92–93.

[213] Willibald, 'Vita Bonifatii', ed. by Levison, chap. 6, p. 29; Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 72–73.

[214] Damasus I, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, ed. by Ferrua, no. III; Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, pp. 207, 236–37; Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', pp. 53–54.

[215] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 99–100 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, IV, nos 7–12); Silvagni, 'La silloge epigrafica', nos 21–22, pp. 96–97.

[216] Above, p. 124.

[217] Damasus I, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, ed. by Ferrua, no. I.

which Wilfrid on his deathbed left the best portion of his treasure.[218] Equally admired was S. Maria Maggiore. It was Wilfrid's other Roman beneficiary and also clearly impressed Aldhelm, who alluded to the dedicatory inscription set up there by Pope Sixtus III in one of his metrical treatises.[219] Almost certainly, this was the church of St Mary which was visited by Ceolfrith's monks 'in natale domini' 701, when they recorded inscriptions on what appear to have been the Paschal candles.[220] Probably, the Marian churches as a whole impressed Benedict Biscop and, eventually, Wilfrid, since they both introduced churches dedicated to the Virgin into their homeland following visits to Rome.[221]

The various cult sites associated with St Laurence, both on the Verano and within the walled city, were highly valued. Aldhelm probably visited Hippolytus's underground shrine as well as Pelagius II's church; Bishop Milred's collection included inscriptions from the triumphal arch of the latter.[222] The impact of the Laurentian cult is evident in the dedication of an oratory to Laurence in the royal monastery at Wearmouth.[223] Milred's collection suggests that other basilicas which impressed the English included S. Pietro in Vincoli, with its shrine to the Petrine chains, and S. Maria in Trastevere, with its holy icon.[224] They also perhaps visited the monasteries founded by Gregory I and Honorius I. The latter, which was located near the Lateran, features in the

[218] Bede, 'Historia abbatum', ed. by Plummer, chap. 7, p. 370; Stephen of Ripon, 'Vita Wilfridi', ed. by Levison, chap. 62(63), p. 258.

[219] Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, pp. 203, 211–12; Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', pp. 54, 59; Story, 'Aldhelm and Old St Peter's, Rome', p. 9. Cf. *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, p. 71 (*Sylloge Turonensis*, no. 42); p. 98 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, IV, no. 6); p. 139 (*Sylloge Virdunensis*, no. 28).

[220] Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Jones, p. 431; Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, trans. by Wallis, p. 128. If so, the phrase *in natale domini* indicates Christmas, but the inscription and context of the passage suggest Easter. If the former the monks were still there after the death of Sergius in September and the accession of John VI in October 701.

[221] Ó Carragáin and Thacker, 'Wilfrid in Rome', pp. 223–29; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 91–92, 245–46.

[222] Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester's Collection', p. 28; Wallach, 'The Urbana Anglo-Saxon Sylloge', p. 140. Cf. *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, p. 106 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, IV, nos 46–47).

[223] Bede, 'Historia abbatum', ed. by Plummer, chap. 17, p. 382; 'Vita Ceolfridi', ed. by Plummer, chap. 25, p. 397.

[224] Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester's Collection', pp. 27–28; Wallach, 'The Urbana Anglo-Saxon Sylloge', p. 140. Cf. *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, p. 151 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, I, no. 22).

Einsiedeln itinerary, as if by then it was regarded as a notable sight.[225] Although Gregory's monastery on the Celian, *in clivo Scauri*, was not so mentioned, it may well have been visited at least by English pilgrims: an inscription relating to an image of the Virgin bearing the infant Jesus, recorded in one of the *syllogae* with English links, appears to have come from this foundation.[226]

Almost certainly, despite the growing centrality of the Vatican complex, the catacombs continued to be visited throughout the period. *Syllogae* with English links suggest a particular interest in sites along the Via Salaria (old and new), which lay to the north of the city, on the side which English visitors travelling overland would first have encountered.[227] It is perhaps significant that by Aldhelm's time such visits may have been partly conditioned by what had already been seen in the Vatican. Aldhelm, who clearly admired the elegant inscriptions of Pope Damasus, was certainly acquainted with his epigram commemorating Sts Protus and Hyacinthus in the cemetery of Bassilla on the Via Salaria *vetus*.[228] He had probably also transcribed those in the crypt of the popes in the cemetery of Callixtus on the Via Appia, a natural follow-up to a visit to the papal necropolis at St Peter's.[229]

As we might expect from the respectful tone of the references to Roman remains at Carlisle in the early literature on St Cuthbert, the great imperial monuments impressed, especially those that were relatively intact and put to Christian use.[230] The mausoleum of Hadrian, Christianized by being surmounted by a noted sanctuary of St Michael, was commemorated in a *sylloge* known to the English.[231] That the Pantheon made a similar impact is evident from Bede's reference to it in his Greater Chronicle, repeated in the *Ecclesiastical History*, in which he reports in some detail that it had been obtained from

[225] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 194, 196.

[226] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 109–10 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, IV, no. 63).

[227] See, e.g., *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 83–89 (*Sylloge Centulensis*, nos 23–41); pp. 100–04, 198 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, IV, nos 13–19, 21–28, 30, 33–35, 38–39, 41, 56).

[228] *LP*, I, 261–62; Goodson, 'Building for Bodies', p. 61; Damasus I, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, ed. by Ferrua, no. XLVII.

[229] Damasus I, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, ed. by Ferrua, no. XVII.

[230] 'Vita Sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo', ed. and trans. by Colgrave, IV. 8, pp. 122–23, and Bede, 'Vita Sancti Cuthberti prosaica', ed. and trans. by Colgrave, chap. 27, pp. 242–45.

[231] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, pp. 99–100 (*Sylloge Laureshamensis*, IV, nos 10, 12).

Phocas, cleansed of all [pagan] filth and converted into a church dedicated to St Mary and all the martyrs.[232] This interest in Rome's public monuments ties in with the later evidence of the Einsiedeln itinerary.[233]

Conclusions

Rome began the seventh century beset by enemies; but as the perceived Lombard threat receded, it witnessed a period of energetic renewal under Honorius I and his immediate successors. Public buildings were patched up, inscriptions erected and holy sites embellished. With the co-operation of the emperor and the local Byzantine elite, the church established itself definitively in the ceremonial heart of Rome. When Biscop and Wilfrid, the first recorded English pilgrims, arrived, Rome was still in some sense an imperial city, even though the popes were then involved in a desperate struggle with the emperor over the latter's espousal of Monothelite doctrine. In the decades which followed the settlement of that controversy, the popes increasingly stamped their authority on the city and presented it as the primary home of the martyrs while still as far as they could attempting to maintain the basic late imperial infrastructure. Yet when Ine reached Rome in the 720s, concluding a hectic phase of royal and ecclesiastical visits from England, there had been a decisive rupture with the Eastern Empire, the fruit of disputes over taxation and imperial iconoclasm.[234] Boniface's episcopal oath of obedience to Gregory II, which was that of a suburbicarian bishop, made no mention of obedience to the Emperor. His loyalty was to the Pope alone. Gregory had turned his face firmly to the West.[235]

The long papacy of the exceptionally able and energetic Sergius I was perhaps crucial here. Although an easterner, of Syrian stock, he appears to have recognized and acted upon the opportunities which the arrival of elite English visitors offered for extending papal activity in the West. Whereas previous popes appear to have pursued primarily reactive policies, from the beginning Sergius responded more positively. He set up an English royal tomb in a prominent position, near his new enshrinement of his admired predecessor Leo the Great and near the tomb of the apostle of England, Gregory the Great. He used the

[232] Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Jones, p. 523; Bede, *HE*, II. 4.

[233] Above, p. 96.

[234] Noble, *The Republic of St Peter*, pp. 28–40; Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy*, pp. 216–32.

[235] Boniface, *Epistolae*, ed. by Tangl, no. 18, pp. 31–33; Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 72–73.

English archiepiscopal model to enhance the position of Willibrord-Clement in Frisia. He established good relations with the Northumbrian cultural powerhouse, Wearmouth-Jarrow, and at the very end of his pontificate was actively soliciting the community's advice.[236]

Gregory II, a Roman, perhaps found it natural to continue on this course. He welcomed an exceptional influx of visitors from Wessex and channelled his visitors' zeal into missionary activity, in the process rendering Rome itself a theatre for recruitment to the evangelization of Germany. Wynfrith-Boniface's role was of sufficient importance to Gregory to be expressly mentioned by the latter's biographer.[237] The Pope's immediate successors, Gregory III and Zachary, were both easterners, the last to occupy the throne of Peter. They remained anxious to keep their options open, and their biographers, who were much preoccupied by their dealings with the emperor, do not mention their doings in the West. Nevertheless, they continued Gregory II's policies in Francia and Germany.

The English, then, played a by no means insignificant role in the crucial pre-Carolingian reorientation of the papacy towards Francia and the West. The half century and more when they were especially active in Rome was a time of liturgical innovation, of new enshrinements and of new and highly visible papal funerary monuments. The evidence suggests that these impressed the English and that their own attitudes in turn evolved through their increasing interaction with the papacy. Early pilgrims such as Wilfrid and Biscop belonged to the world of Theodelinda's agent John and of the mid-century pilgrim itineraries. Even Wilfrid, who especially loved the apostles Peter and Andrew and who laid particular emphasis on Rome as the seat of the thrice-blessed successors of St Peter,[238] seems to have sought relics from as wide a range of shrines as possible. The more central role of the Petrine complex for later pilgrims such as Wynfrith and Willibald followed renewed papal investment in the Vatican, already evident under Sergius I and John VII, and continuing with Gregory II's bequest of one thousand *solidi* for lights in St Peter's in 731 and Gregory III's elaborate and richly endowed oratory of All Saints, consecrated at the beginning of his pontificate in 732.[239] By then, it seems, the popes were actively reaching out to the English pilgrims, an attitude perhaps symbolized in Gregory II's coming to St Peter's to meet Boniface in 722. The popes were forging a new strategy and the English had their place within it.

[236] Above, at pp. 101–03.

[237] *LP*, I, 397.

[238] Stephen of Ripon, 'Vita Wilfridi', ed. by Levison, chaps 5, 29, 31–32, 60, 67(68), pp. 198–99, 222–24, 226–27, 254–57, 262–63.

[239] *LP*, I, 410, 417–18.

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Anglo-Saxons Underground: Early Medieval *graffiti* in the Catacombs of Rome

Luisa Izzi

The sacred topography of early Christian Rome focused on many different sites within and without the city: the official Constantinian foundations, the more private intramural churches often called *tituli* (titular churches), and the extramural places of worship, almost always associated with catacombs or sites of martyrdom. While the phenomenon of early medieval pilgrimage to Rome has been extensively examined,[1] this paper will offer a comprehensive and fresh perspective on the evidence of Anglo-Saxon *graffiti* in the Roman catacombs. These Anglo-Saxon names are generally known, but have been often referred to in a cursory way. Although it will be evident that further work is needed, this study will underline the importance of the Anglo-Saxon *graffiti* in the processes of cultural transmission between Rome and Anglo-Saxon England, and in particular their potential role in the dynamics of influences between the pictorial decoration in the underground cemeteries and the developing art of stone sculpture in Anglo-Saxon England. Focusing on the

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[1] An excellent and recent article on the subject is Thacker, 'Rome of the Martyrs'. See also Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*.

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names of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims visiting the Roman catacombs will not only enhance issues of transmission, reception, and response when considering the culture of this period but will also allow for further questions on materiality and identity to be fruitfully pursued.

This essay will start with a short introductory background to the topics of pilgrimage to Roman catacombs in the early Middle Ages and the *graffiti* found therein; this will be followed by a more specific account of the catacombs where the Anglo-Saxon names can be found, paying special attention to the catacomb of Pontianus, which will be examined as a particularly significant case study. Finally, some examples of Anglo-Saxon art will be discussed in terms of their potential interrelation with the Roman material, and wider considerations and conclusions will be offered on this fascinating phenomenon as a whole.

Pilgrims and Pilgrimage to Rome

The shrines of the apostles and martyrs of the early church, the crucial architectural manipulation of these tombs, sepulchres and relics by the early popes, and the attitude of the early Christian faithful and the ecclesiastical hierarchies towards the cult of saints and martyrs made Rome the focal point of pilgrimage in the early Middle Ages. The topographic and architectonic centre of early Christian Rome kept shifting and moving, shaped by the needs of visitors as well as by acts of intentional propaganda which drew attention on certain shrines and directed the pilgrims towards specific monuments; the monuments themselves were often built or renovated following a programme rich in liturgical and political subtext.[2]

The cult of the holy person evolved, in part, from the Roman practice of anniversary visits, symbolic offers of food — *refrigeria* —, and the funeral banquet held by the families immediately after the death of their relative at the tomb itself or in its close vicinity, where the newly dead virtually participated in the feast, and their families could thus still share their company and lingering presence.[3] These practices are reflected in some architectural features of the catacombs, such as spacious rooms without sepulchres but with additional wall-benches, or wells and fountains,[4] and moreover in the iconography of some of

[2] Carletti, '"Viatores ad Martyres"', p. 198.

[3] Fiocchi Nicolai, Bisconti, and Mazzoleni, *Le catacombe cristiane*, pp. 45–46; Giuntella, 'Note su alcuni aspetti', p. 68; Brown, *The Cult of Saints*.

[4] Bisconti, 'Linguaggio figurativo e spazio funerario', pp. 64–66.

the catacombs' decoration, where banquet scenes could later easily be adapted to express the Christian meanings of the Eucharist, the Last Supper, or the *Fractio Panis*.[5] These celebrations happened at predefined days following the death,[6] and during the annual commemorative time of the *Parentalia* (13–21 February) which ended with the *Caristia*, a final banquet and an occasion for families to reunite, reconcile, and renew their ties. Such festivities combined a private and familiar function with a use of the grave that was communal, public, and bound to happen at specific times, elements that must have influenced the attitude towards the holy shrines in many of the Christian ceremonies of the early period.[7] The shift from commemorating the person and their tomb to the veneration of the place itself, even when finally dissociated from the presence of bodies or relics,[8] was not difficult: in this respect the whole city of Rome could be considered as the pilgrimage place *par excellence* or even as a relic itself.[9] The achievement of an inherent holiness of the sacred spaces, often enhanced by the presence of pilgrims and their acts of worship, has been underlined by Sabine MacCormack, who has also illustrated how this trajectory finds its possible origin in the pagan similarity between temple and tomb.[10]

Pope Damasus I (366–84) pioneered the systematic process of transformation of the cemeteries into cult-shrines. The most lasting and well-known part of his programme was the creation of monumental inscriptions to signpost the sites deemed worthy of mention: the number of surviving epigraphs carved in 'Filocalian' letters display a unified, standardized intervention and bear witness to a programme that was both intensive and homogeneous.[11] Catacombs were made into explicitly 'written' sites. Alongside the monumental visual markers, structural solutions were also undertaken to improve access to and use of the underground sites, by their very nature difficult to reach and explore. The whole idea was one of propaganda and pastoral coordination to channel the early Christian practice of funerary commemoration into more ordered and official events, so that the various and often unorthodox practices would focus

[5] Marinone, 'I riti funerari', pp. 74–75.

[6] On the third, seventh, ninth, and thirtieth/fortieth days after the death.

[7] Bisconti, 'Linguaggio figurativo e spazio funerario', p. 63, and Marinone, 'I riti funerari', p. 74.

[8] Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs', p. 295.

[9] Carletti, '"Scrivere i santi"', p. 343.

[10] MacCormack, 'Loca Sancta'.

[11] Filocalus was the Pope's secretary and calligrapher. Petrucci, *Breve storia della scrittura latina*, pp. 56–77; Pergola, 'Dai cimiteri ai santuari martiriali', p. 102.

on controlled, approved, and correct saints. The inscriptions were clear visual and monumental solutions that, being read aloud or copied, could constitute a portable and permanent memory of the tombs, sepulchres and sites.[12]

Interest in extramural cemeteries remained high even after the sites had gradually ceased to be used as places of burial, and during the complex and unstable conditions of Rome at the time of the Gothic wars (535–53): the original location of a burial or site of martyrdom had a long-lasting importance, even if the place was no longer an active cemetery. In the second half of the sixth century the interest in catacombs and pilgrimage sites was renewed. There are many hints pointing to this phenomenon in the architecture of the main catacombs: the crypt of Pope Callixtus I (217–22) on the Via Aurelia, for example, was possibly first upgraded in the sixth century with the creation of an imposing flight of stairs to convey pilgrims to the main 'attraction', the tomb of the Pope himself, ultimately isolated by the construction of a wall.[13] Another structural change peculiar to this period was the creation of the so-called basilica *ad corpus*: early examples can be found in the small basilica of SS Felice e Adautto, at the catacomb of Commodilla, and the larger monumental three-nave basilica of SS Nereo e Achilleo at the catacomb of Domitilla, both dating to the papacy of John I (523–26).[14] The obvious practical reason for building larger churches was the presence of the now considerable crowds both willing to visit the martyrs' tombs and also to take part in the liturgy celebrated in such close contact — both physical and spiritual — with the saints' relics.[15] Under successive popes a renewed atmosphere of revival resulted in even more significant and monumental churches: Pope Pelagius II (579–90) probably built the large single-nave *aula* of S. Ermete at the cemetery of Bassilla and was certainly responsible for the magnificent church of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura. The architectural and decorative programme of Pope Honorius I (625–38) was even more ambitious: he renewed all the sacred equipment for St Peter's; rebuilt and lavishly decorated the church of S. Agnese on the Via Nomentana; built the martyrial churches of S. Ciriaco on the Via Ostiense, the SS Quattro

[12] Carletti, '"Viatores ad Martyres"', pp. 198–99. See also Sághy, '*Scinditur in partes populus*'. On *sylloges* and *epigrammata* see: Silvagni, 'La silloge epigrafica'; Sharpe, 'King Caedwalla's Roman Epitaph'.

[13] Luciani, 'Le chiese mariane', p. 132.

[14] Guidobaldi, 'L'organizzazione dei "tituli" nello spazio urbano', pp. 124–26. See also Clark, 'Translating Relics'; *The Book of Pontiffs*, trans. by Davis, p. 52.

[15] Luciani, 'Le chiese mariane', p. 132, but see Thacker, 'Rome of the Martyrs', for a different opinion.

Coronati on the Celian Hill, S. Pancrazio on the Via Aurelia; and renewed the church of SS Marcellino e Pietro on the Via Labicana.

The Anglo-Saxon graffiti

The existence of early medieval *graffiti* in the catacombs of Rome has been known for a long time, but such outstanding evidence is too often left out, or just fleetingly mentioned, in most accounts of pilgrimage to Rome.[16] The presence of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims in Rome is acknowledged and almost taken for granted in the current literature on the subject, but it seems to have generated little discussion, and it has only been used to confirm, rather than integrate and enrich, the information contained in historical sources.[17] These names, scratched in the underground tunnels, on the frescoes and altars, indeed expand the knowledge of the sites visited by the pilgrims, but most importantly they provide a permanent, vivid, and extremely human picture of how the viewers, in particular the Anglo-Saxons, physically interacted with these sites and reacted to such an intense and personal experience of faith. Although attention has been drawn to the existence and importance of the Anglo-Saxon *graffiti*, their wider implications, as well as the visual context of the catacombs in which they were scratched by the pilgrims, have seldom been considered. While not claiming to provide an exhaustive list of the Anglo-Saxon names existing in the Roman catacombs, the following account will offer a new perspective on such precious evidence, focusing on the ways in which Anglo-Saxon viewers engaged with these sites and on their *graffiti* as a tangible link between Rome and Anglo-Saxon England.

The *graffiti* have been discussed in a handful of studies, primarily by Carlo Carletti, whose main interests lie in the palaeographical elements of the practice and possible patterns of literacy in the early medieval period. In some cases Carletti's identification of Anglo-Saxon names amongst the *graffiti* has been rightly questioned by Anglo-Saxonists: ultimately, it relies on the more or less correct transcription of the material collected in the *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae* (*ICUR*), some of which dates back to the 1920s, though the corpus is being revised and is now partially available online through the *Epigraphic*

[16] For instance, just a single paragraph is devoted to the *graffiti* in Birch's monograph: Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, p. 21.

[17] Similar concerns are expressed in Pelteret, 'Travel between England and Italy'.

Database Bari (EDB).[18] A recent article by John Insley is more accurate in its consideration of the philological implications of the Anglo-Saxon names, but it deals only with a few names, and takes them out of their underground context.[19] Most of the Anglo-Saxon names are also included in the *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* (PASE) database,[20] but its authors have underlined the insufficient work done on this material so far and have sometimes suggested an alternative reading, or have argued that the inscription should be re-examined. In the absence of a collaborative project on the *graffiti* based on the expertise of different scholars — including archaeologists, historians, philologists, palaeographers, runologists, and experts in onomastics — Carletti's work, combined and integrated with PASE and EDB, remains the starting point for any reassessment of the Anglo-Saxon *graffiti* in the Roman catacombs.

Writing one's name on a monument as a reminder of having visited it is not today regarded as advisable; on the contrary, it is normally forbidden. However, the attitude of early medieval visitors to Rome was somewhat different. From the very early *graffiti* at the tomb of St Peter, dating from the second century onwards,[21] the name of the faithful was scratched to be left in eternal contact with the saint's tomb and body, taking part and sharing in his or her presence at the tomb itself. *Graffiti* were initially complex texts, including the name of the writer, the name of the saint or martyr, and a prayer, invocation, or request.[22] This practice has been interpreted by Carletti as the reflection of a still widespread writing culture among the generally educated visitors, but it also conveys the idea of a dialogue with the eponymous saint, as well as with the other visitors to the sites who were equally able to read and write, thus engaging them as an expected future audience.[23] Subsequently the *graffiti* became simpler, the relationship between writer and audience waned, as did mention of the saint or martyr ('disconoscimento dell'eponimo').[24] The exchange then seemed to operate in one direction: pilgrims would write their name to mark their physical presence in the holy place, thus privately communicating with the holy place itself.

[18] *Epigraphic Database Bari* <http://www.edb.uniba.it> [accessed 11 November 2013].

[19] Insley, 'Anglo-Saxons in Rome'.

[20] *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* <http://www.pase.ac.uk> [accessed 30 August 2011].

[21] Guarducci, *I graffiti sotto la Confessione di San Pietro*.

[22] Carletti, '"Scrivere i santi"', p. 332.

[23] Carletti, '"Scrivere i santi"', p. 340.

[24] Carletti, '"Viatores ad Martyres"', pp. 210–11 and 219; Carletti, '"Scrivere i santi"', p. 343.

Having said this, it is important to remember the power of a personal name, one that expresses identity, can allude to ownership, and, to a certain degree, possess talismanic value. Once scratched underground, simple or complex *graffiti* became a permanent feature of the catacombs, continuously exposed to an ever-changing interaction with other visitors. After having gone back to their homeland, a unique part of the pilgrims' identity, their name, would stay behind, eternally present in the sacred space. In return, the powerful memory of this gesture and its implications would stay forever with the pilgrims, enriching the account and impact of their personal experience. It is also possible that the *graffiti* written in the catacombs were used, openly or silently, in the prayers or liturgical ceremonies happening there: later pilgrims could include them in their personal petitions, but the names, somewhat changed by their permanence in the sacred place, could also join in with the saints and martyrs, as in the lower ranks of a litany.[25]

The act of writing the *graffiti* and their subsequent survival were also influenced by various practical aspects. Carletti noticed different elements at play: the specific underground conditions and the marked contrast between light and dark; the time the visitors actually spent in the tunnels and at the graves; the presence of other visitors who could interfere with the writers; the use of unusual and uncomfortable writing instruments and surfaces.[26] Regardless of the various factors affecting their presence and survival, Carletti identified almost four hundred surviving medieval inscriptions, the great majority in Latin (92 per cent) with the remaining being in Greek.[27] Among these, some twenty-six Anglo-Saxon names have been recognized, four of which are written in runes: one of these runic names, found in the catacomb of Pamphilus, has been newly identified and is discussed here for the first time.[28] The Anglo-Saxons were not

[25] This is also reminiscent of the practice of recording names in *libri vitae*; see Rollason and others, *The Durham 'Liber Vitae' and its Context*, as well as *The Durham 'Liber Vitae'*, ed. by Rollason and Rollason.

[26] Carletti, '"Viatores ad Martyres"', p. 222.

[27] Carletti, '"Scrivere i santi"', p. 344.

[28] It is highly likely that the name appearing in *ICUR*, x, 26315 (with no proposed reading), tentatively interpreted as 'Hilarius (?)' in the online EDB (EDB-15097) could be an Anglo-Saxon one, written in runes, to be possibly read as '[+ +] CYNRIC'. I intend to investigate this possibility further, with the hope to present the findings in a dedicated publication. In the meantime, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Kees Dekkers, Dr David Parsons, Dr Christine Rauer, Dr Pragya Vohra, Dr Alex Woolf, and Luke John Murphy for their feedback in the preliminary phases of research.

the only foreign pilgrims who left their names in the catacombs: Lombard, Frank, and Gothic names have also been recognized, but they undoubtedly constitute the largest 'ethnic' group of foreign visitors to the catacombs: this could be a reflection of their particular interest in the pilgrimage to Rome, as well as, possibly, their stronger literacy.[29] In terms of its palaeography, the majority of Anglo-Saxon *graffiti* reflects an unmistakable tendency to uncial writing (with only one name written entirely in minuscule), suggesting that their authors were clerics, or at the very least educated pilgrims.[30] One of the most interesting features of the Anglo-Saxon *graffiti* is the common use of some of the most distinctive and characteristic insular letter forms: the letter *ð* is present in both its minuscule and majuscule form; the names 'Abba' and 'Bald' are written in decorated insular capitals; most letters display the typical stylistic feature of the triangular-shaped terminals.

The medieval *graffiti* in the catacombs are broadly dated between the seventh and the ninth centuries. It is widely accepted that, although not entirely forgotten by pilgrims, after the ninth century Roman catacombs became less busy: the substantial translation of relics from the extramural sites into the city, as well as towards more distant shores, is thought to be the key reason for this decrease in popularity. Although Rome remained one of the main pilgrimage destinations, in the later Middle Ages the geography of the available cult sites certainly widened, and the Anglo-Saxons may have been attracted by the development of more local shrines.

The Anglo-Saxon *graffiti* identified so far appear at five different sites: in the cemetery of Commodilla on the Via Ostiense (twelve names — one runic); in the cemetery of Sts Marcellinus and Peter on the Via Labicana (ten names — two runic); in the cemetery of Pamphilus on the Via Salaria *vetus* (three names — one runic); in the cemetery of Pontianus on the Via Portuense (one name); and finally in the cemetery of St Hippolytus on the Via Tiburtina (one name that appears also at Commodilla). It is not possible to link any of the names recorded in the Anglo-Saxon *graffiti* to known travellers to Rome documented by written sources. In addition, it is difficult to establish a correlation

[29] Carletti, '"Scrivere i santi"', p. 352. It is possible that some of the names identified as Anglo-Saxon could be instead Lombard or Frankish. Similarly, no consideration has been given to the presence of British elements in the names interpreted as Anglo-Saxon.

[30] According to Carletti, the tenacious 'resistenza dell'onciale' (uncial resistance) can be explained with the more formal educational background of the ecclesiastics, whose graphic culture was still strongly influenced by and modelled on the practice of manuscript reading and writing. Carletti, '"Scrivere i santi"', p. 354.

between the catacombs and the number of surviving *graffiti*, Anglo-Saxon or else: it would simply seem that some catacombs were more popular than others, although the presence of venerated frescoes in those catacombs may be significant. It is also important to remember that there could be other unrecognized Anglo-Saxon names amongst the *graffiti* discovered so far.

The Catacombs of Commodilla, Sts Marcellinus and Peter, and Pamphilus

The cemetery of Commodilla was probably named after the *matrona* who owned the original site where it was built, and it was renowned primarily as the resting place of the saints Felix and Adauctus, believed to have been martyred under Diocletian (284–305). A small underground basilica created through the enlargement of one of the principal galleries was devoted to them; it was built in two separate stages during the fifth century, with a later renovation carried out under Pope John I (523–26).[31] Here, and elsewhere in the catacomb complex, a number of frescoes have survived, which include a panel portraying St Luke. Around this fresco cluster the majority of the *graffiti*, forty-two names in total, including twelve Anglo-Saxon ones.[32]

The Anglo-Saxon names surviving at Commodilla are:[33]

Abba (*ICUR*, II, 6449, 2; (EDB-14976)

Bal [...] [pr(esbiter)] (*ICUR*, II, 6449, 34)

Beornred (PASE, *s.v.* Beornreth) (*ICUR*, II, 6449, 38; EDB-12826)

Bolinoð (PASE, *s.v.* Bolinoth) [memento d(omi)ne] (*ICUR*, II, 6449, 38; EDB-12826)[34]

[31] *The Book of Pontiffs*, trans. by Davis, p. 52; Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs', p. 299.

[32] Carletti, '"Viatores ad Martyres"', p. 202.

[33] The following names are listed according to the spelling adopted in Carletti's papers and in the *ICUR*. The head-names taken from PASE, here preceded by the abbreviation for *sub voce*, appear with a normalized spelling, following the conventional practice of onomastic dictionaries; specific spelling is recorded in the PASE database under each source. Additional elements of the *graffiti* are given in square brackets. Given the inconsistency arising from some of the *ICUR* references, mainly due to the different approaches and conventions used by the individual editors of the volumes, I have included where possible the 'codice database' provided in the online EDB. I am grateful to Professor Antonio Enrico Felle for his help in clarifying this matter.

[34] The words 'memento Domine' precede both names Beornred/Bolinoð, which are written one below the other.

Cedilomi (*ICUR*, II, 6449, 5; EDB-14979)[35]

Cedvaldo (PASE, *s.v.* Cædwald) [diac(onus)] (*ICUR*, II, 6449, 5; EDB-14978)

Ceude[36]

Dene (*ICUR*, II, 6449, 8; EDB-14982)[37]

Diornoð (PASE, *s.v.* Deornoth) [ego diornoð serbus d(e)i] (*ICUR*, II, 6449; EDB-187651)[38]

Eadbald[39]

Nodheah (*ICUR*, II, 6449, 28; EDB-17531)

Vvernoð (PASE, *s.v.* Wærnoth) (*ICUR*, II, 6449, 36 EDB-12824)

The portrait of St Luke is generally dated on the basis of the inscription below the image that mentions an emperor Constantine, identified by most scholars as Constantine IV (668–85).[40] The identification is not incontrovertible,[41] and any *terminus post quem* for the *graffiti* depends on which Constantine is intended in the inscription. The iconography of the fresco is most significant: Luke is not depicted as an evangelist but as holding a scroll and with his medical instruments, attributes of his role as physician.[42] Such a representation could explain the special veneration for this image demonstrated by the high number of *graffiti* around it and linked to a possible curative power of this panel. The icon-like portrait is framed by thick black and red bands and isolated quite

[35] Neither David A. E. Pelteret nor Insley accept this name as Anglo-Saxon. Although it is included in both the PASE database and the online EDB, PASE is very sceptical about recognizing it as Anglo-Saxon, providing some points for discussion and revision in the notes.

[36] PASE suggests re-examination for this name.

[37] This is the name that appears also at the cemetery of Hippolytus, recorded in *ICUR*, VII, 19944, b (EDB-21122).

[38] This name appears twice in the same catacomb, the second time in the incomplete form 'Diorn'.

[39] Written in runic letters.

[40] Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo*, ed. by Andaloro, p. 121.

[41] Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs', pp. 302–05.

[42] Osborne notes similarities with other frescoes representing 'medical saints' and points out that the interpretation of the inscription as the name Luke is not certain (only the letters 'SCS [...]AS' survive). See Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs', p. 302 nn. 119–20.

high on a pilaster next to one of the small apses of the small basilica. There is no way to determine why this particular saint was chosen to be represented here, but the position, style, and iconography of the fresco may have contributed to emphasize the healing power attributed through the saint to its icon, one being recognized even by the Anglo-Saxon travellers, who chose to leave their signature on it. Indeed, it would seem that the Anglo-Saxon *graffiti* on the fresco of St Luke are written all quite close together, possibly reflecting a group of pilgrims travelling together and sharing this meaningful experience.

This unusual fresco, described both for its iconography and the implications of the inscription as 'a puzzle that seems to defy solution',[43] may have been inspired by the other frescoes in the same hypogean space, in particular that of the so-called 'Madonna di Turtura', dated to the first half of the sixth century. This holds a very prominent visual position in the catacomb, and it was surely seen by the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims visiting the site.[44] This large panel painting is also framed by a thick black, white, and red band and depicts the Madonna and Child enthroned, flanked by the two eponymous saints, Adauctus to her left and Felix to her right. Adauctus presents to the Virgin the widow Turtura, her identity and virtuous life being celebrated in a long, metric inscription painted below the fresco.[45] The inscription provides further information: the fresco was commissioned by Turtura's son, and she was buried in the small basilica (although it has been established that her tomb does not lie behind the fresco). This funerary, memorial, and votive painting depicts, albeit in smaller size compared to the Virgin and martyrs, a Roman woman of some stature, probably pious and certainly wealthy if her family was able to give such visibility to her memorial, and at the very centre of the catacomb. Such patterns of patronage must have been apparent to the visitors, as they were clearly conveyed by the setting of the fresco and the accompanying inscription. Most importantly, the Anglo-Saxon authors of the *graffiti* on the St Luke fresco would have been aware of the inscription under the Turtura fresco. Here, one can notice two examples of early medieval interaction with catacomb paintings, as well as with the sacred space tout court, through the sophisticated medium of writing. It

[43] Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs', p. 305.

[44] Farioli, *Pitture di epoca tarda*, pp. 13–17; Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo*, ed. by Andaloro, pp. 120–21; Russo, 'L'affresco di Turtura'; Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs', pp. 300–05. The dating is not unanimous: while Matthiae deems it to be contemporary with the St Luke panel, Farioli, Russo, and Osborne date the fresco to the time of Pope John's renovation (523–26).

[45] Russo, 'L'affresco di Turtura', pp. 47–48 n. 53.

is significant that the two are adjacent but very different in their implications, which are mostly public and dedicatory in the case of the inscription, and private and devotional with regards to the *graffiti*. Anglo-Saxon visitors to this catacomb would not only witness the visual impact of the frescoes, they were also conscious viewers of different kinds of dynamics between writing and images, and they responded actively to such dynamics and became part of them, being themselves authors of written *graffiti*.

Despite the popularity of the Luke fresco at Commodilla as a site for *graffiti*, the catacomb of Sts Marcellinus and Peter proved the most popular, preserving 141 inscriptions.[46] This wide sepulchral area was also known as *Ad duos lauros*, probably from the name of the imperial property where, in Constantinian times, a circus basilica was erected; this was linked through a narthex to the mausoleum that the Emperor had ordered for himself and that was later used as the tomb of his mother. The connection with Empress Helena, later to be regarded as a saint by association with the miraculous discovery of the relics of the True Cross, could explain why this place came to be increasingly venerated. The estate was a complex one, where the most interesting feature, recurring in several Constantinian works, is the set of colonnades enclosing both sides of the cemeterial basilica.[47] The area was restored and decorated as part of Damasus's programme, and again at various stages up to the time of Honorius I. To him is ascribed the construction of the smaller basilica, also dedicated to Sts Marcellinus and Peter, where most of the *graffiti* can be found;[48] they have therefore been dated to the period between Honorius's works of the early seventh century and the final removal of the two martyrs' relics by Pope Gregory IV in 827.

The Anglo-Saxon names found here are:[49]

Alaba (*ICUR*, VI, 15979, 7; EDB-3751)[50]

Almund (*ICUR*, VI, 15979, 8; EDB-3508)

Ceolbert (PASE, *s.v.* Ceolberht) (*ICUR*, VI, 15966, B7; EDB-6687)

[46] Carletti, '"Viatores ad Martyres"', pp. 201–02.

[47] Mancinelli, *Le catacombe romane*, pp. 39–43.

[48] Carletti, '"Viatores ad Martyres"', p. 206.

[49] Most of this *graffiti* have been recorded only in Carletti's 2002 article. The same conventions explained at note 33 are applied here.

[50] PASE has reservations about accepting this name as Anglo-Saxon.

[ego] Folcvaldus (*ICUR*, VI, 15966, 5; EDB-10907)[51]

Gid(do) (PASE, *s.v.* Gidda) (*ICUR*, VI, 15982, 7)[52]

Nodbert (*ICUR*, VI, 15979, 7; EDB-3751)[53]

Pinca[54]

[ego] Sassula (*ICUR*, VI, 15975, 5; EDB-2502)

Æthelfert (PASE, *s.v.* Æthelfrith) (*ICUR*, VI, 15972, 4)

Fagihild (PASE, *s.v.* Faghild) (*ICUR* VI, 15966, B4; EDB-6686)[55]

Unlike those in the Commodilla catacomb, the names are scratched on the undecorated walls of the small basilica. However, other areas of the cemetery preserve a wealth of third- and fourth-century frescoes of various themes (biblical and orphic scenes, Christ's miracles, and representations of the seasons), and it is likely that the pilgrims would have had access not only to the small basilica but also to the other tunnels and sepulchres. From a visual and artistic point of view, a fourth-century fresco on the vault of one of the larger cubicles is especially notable. It depicts four martyrs (Tiburtius, Gorgonius, Peter, and Marcellinus) flanking an image of the Lamb which stands on a rock from which four rivers spring.[56] The four martyrs are in turn shown praising the larger and

[51] This name is included by Carletti in the group of Lombard names, but is listed as Anglo-Saxon in Insley, 'Anglo-Saxons in Rome', p. 111; it does not appear in PASE.

[52] Carletti, '"Scrivere i santi"', p. 353. This name is not included in the online EDB; PASE notes: 'the name is claimed by Carletti to be of Anglo-Saxon provenance'.

[53] This name is not included in PASE while it appears in both the online EDB and in Insley, 'Anglo-Saxons in Rome', p. 111. The apparent discrepancy in the ways in which the *graffito* is recorded by these two sources is probably due to the fact that it is written twice on the wall, but the first instance is incomplete because a portion of the plaster has been lost (EDB-4258).

[54] This name does not appear in the online EDB and could not be traced in the *ICUR* volume, but it is recognized as Anglo-Saxon by Carletti, '"Scrivere i santi"', p. 353, and Insley, 'Anglo-Saxons in Rome', p. 107, and is included in PASE.

[55] These last two names are written in runic letters and were not recognized as such in the relevant *ICUR* entries. Faghild is the only female name recorded among the group of Anglo-Saxon ones. For the correct interpretation and suggested readings of these two names see in particular Felle, 'Due nuove iscrizioni runiche'; Schwab, 'More Anglo-Saxon Runic Graffiti'; Insley, 'Anglo-Saxons in Rome', p. 111, as well as the discussion in PASE.

[56] The four rivers are probably the same as those mentioned in Genesis 2. 10 (i.e., Phison, Gehon, Tigris, and Euphrates) with a possible iconographical conflation from Revelation 22, which features the Lamb enthroned but only one river.

central figure of Christ above them, enthroned as Judge and *Pantokrator* and flanked by the apostles Peter and Paul.

The last two sites to be considered are the cemetery of Pamphilus and the catacomb of Pontianus, though the latter, as mentioned above, will be dealt with more in detail further below. While the sites already discussed were popular ones, preserve a relatively large number of *graffiti*, and have been extensively studied, only three Anglo-Saxon *graffiti* are recorded at Pamphilus, and one at Pontianus. The presence of fewer foreign names may indicate less renowned or visited sites, but it also suggests that the Anglo-Saxons' fascination with Rome went well beyond the great apostolic basilicas and imperial foundations and that they would have had varied and elaborate experiences of the city and its monuments.

The cemetery of Pamphilus on the Via Salaria *vetus* probably preserves the names of three Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, including the hitherto unrecorded runic name which can be interpreted as 'Cynric'.[57] The first name is recorded as 'Headrid' by Carletti (*ICUR*, x, 23617, 5) and appears *s.v.* 'Headred' in the PASE database.[58] The online EDB proposes a different reading which seems to match more closely the *graffito* as it appears in the *ICUR* volume: 'ego Heard pr(es)b(yter)' (EDB-15706). This database also includes a second Anglo-Saxon name, accepted by Insley, which appears just below the first, with the suggested reading 'Hetta pr(es)b(yter)' (EDB-8820).[59] It is important to remember that these are all tentative, proposed interpretations, and will remain so until it is possible to verify the *graffiti in situ*. These two names, together with those of thirty-three other visitors,[60] are found in the larger of two consecutive cubicles that constitute the sepulchre dedicated to the almost unknown martyr Pamphilus. This main room presents a deep *arcosolium* on the wall opposite the entrance; below it is a small altar, dated to the sixth century, made of a single block of stone, now stripped bare of the marble that probably covered it originally.[61] The altar has a small square opening at its base and a large round

[57] See above n. 28.

[58] Carletti, '"Viatores ad Martyres"', pp. 209, 213.

[59] Insley, 'Anglo-Saxons in Rome', p. 111. Once again, I am very grateful to Professor Antonio Enrico Felle, for his help in clarifying the proposed reading for the Anglo-Saxon name 'Hetta'.

[60] Carletti, '"Viatores ad Martyres"', p. 202.

[61] The elements for dating and for the general discussion on this catacomb are based on the invaluable information on an otherwise inaccessible site kindly provided by correspondence with Dr Antongiulio Granelli. I am deeply grateful to him for sharing his first-hand knowledge

opening (maybe the *fenestella confessionis*) on its right. The top and therefore last layer of plasterwork in the main room is contemporary with or slightly later than the altar. It is to the left of the altar that the *graffiti* are clustered, including the Anglo-Saxon ones. On the same wall is the recently discovered *graffito* 'SCS PANFILU': this represents an unusual and extremely significant mention of the eponymous saint, one that is moreover not located on a painting of that saint, but in a discrete and entirely devotional way, dissociated from any visual representation of the saint, and explained only by the sacred associations of the space itself.[62] Heard and Hetta decided to write their names here probably with the intention to entrust the saint and the other pilgrims with their prayers, but it is also interesting to underline that the vicinity to the altar, and their attribute of *presbyter*, could indicate the participation of the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims in some liturgical ceremonies that took place in this hypogean space.[63]

The Catacomb of Pontianus: A Case Study

The last site to be examined, the catacomb of Pontianus on the Via Portuense, will be discussed at some length, integrating the results of first-hand fieldwork with pre-existing secondary literature. It houses a remarkable decorative scheme that may have had a considerable impact on Anglo-Saxon viewers for its complexity, iconographical rarity and possible liturgical implications. The catacomb of Pontianus was 'an extensive cemetery', partly unexplored, where most of the saints and martyrs have been defined as of 'secondary importance'.[64] There are only two mentions in the *Liber Pontificalis* recording its restoration under Hadrian I (772–95) and Nicholas I (858–67); this interest in the catacomb at a later stage could indicate a still active site.[65] So far, only eight *graffiti* have been discovered, including one Anglo-Saxon name, Healfred, located on the fresco of St Milix, in the chamber constituting the sepulchre of Milix and

of the site. Some reference can be found in Granelli, 'Il cimitero di Panfilo', and Granelli, '*Pamphili, Coemeterium*'.

[62] Carletti, '"Viatores ad Martyres"', p. 219.

[63] Another group of *graffiti* has also been preserved in a nearby gallery, on the remains of a fresco of the Virgin in a niche accompanied by the inscription 'DEI GENITRIX', dated to the beginning of the eighth century. Carletti, '"Viatores ad Martyres"', p. 207, and Mancinelli, *Le catacombe romane*, p. 48.

[64] Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs', p. 317.

[65] *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, trans. by Davis, p. 162; *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, trans. by Davis, p. 232.

Pumenius (and probably also that of St Pollion). The setting of this Anglo-Saxon *graffito* raises interesting questions about the sepulchre and its paintings, as well as the other focal point of the catacomb, the heavily decorated area of the so-called baptistery, or sepulchre of the saints Abdon and Sennen.[66]

The catacomb is located in the neighbourhood of Monteverde vecchio (south-west Rome), a hill along the Via Portuense, outside the city walls. Although containing the remains of only 'minor' saints, the site was certainly known and frequented in the early medieval period.[67] The sepulchre of Pollion, Milix, and Pumenius, a small and narrow room (*c*. 2 m deep × 1.5 m wide), created by blocking one of the underground galleries with a wall, is decorated with a large image of the standing figures of Marcellinus (left), Pollion (centre), and Peter (right). The figures are identified by their names painted next to their large haloes: Marcellinus holds a scroll in his left hand and blesses with his right; Pollion holds the crown of martyrdom; and Peter holds a scroll with both hands. The entire panel is framed by a red and black double outline, conceptually similar to that framing the fresco of St Luke at Commodilla.

The east wall encloses the sepulchre-memorial of the martyrs Milix and Pumenius, bearing a *fenestella confessionis* shaped as an arch (*c*. 50 cm large), its intrados painted with geometric decoration in red, black, and green. This opening is set at eye level, offering a clear vision of the sepulchral chamber behind it, and shows that the decoration was composed originally around the opening. At the centre of the fresco is a jewelled cross (*c*. 6 cm wide), which seems to stand at the apex of the *fenestella*; the central gem resembles a flower with eight petals, and the remains of foliate motifs can be seen at the base, although the lower portions are damaged due to the flaking of large portions of the plaster. The figures of Milix (left) and Pumenius (right), both holding a sealed scroll, flank this cross: Milix is dressed in robes of the Byzantine court, while Pumenius wears

[66] The baptistery was 'rediscovered' after the sepulchre of Pollion had been identified, during Bosio's excavations of 1618. The cemetery was described for the first time in 1632 in Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*, ed. by Fiocchi Nicolai, pp. 119–35. The paintings are also described in Wilpert, *Roma sotterranea*, pp. 453–55; Farioli, *Pitture di epoca tarda*, pp. 22–29; and Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo*, ed. by Andaloro, p. 123.

[67] The site is included in two early medieval itineraries, the so-called *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae* and the *De locis sanctis martyrum quae sunt foris civitatis Romae*. Some interesting aspects of these texts in relation to the catacomb of Pontianus will be discussed further below. For an edition of the two itineraries, see *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 67–99 (*Notitia ecclesiarum*), pp. 101–31 (*De locis sanctis*). See also Izzi, 'Representing Rome', pp. 65–80, and Alan Thacker's contribution to this volume.

Figure 1. Fresco of Milix and Pumenius. Rome, Catacomb of Pontianus.
Photo: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra. Reproduced with permission.

the customary garb of sacred figures, reminiscent of the Roman toga and tunic. The name of the Anglo-Saxon visitor 'Healfred p(res)b(yter)' is scratched on the lower part of Milix's robes (Figure 1).[68]

The other significant area in the catacomb is the so-called baptistery, or sepulchre of Abdon and Sennen. This space is accessible from what was probably the main entrance, a flight of stairs leading down to a gallery, with a bust of Christ painted on the vault at the bottom,[69] and a second flight of stairs arriving

[68] *ICUR*, II, 4533, e; EDB-16936.

[69] This Christ — dated to the sixth century by Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, trans. by Jephcott, pp. 68, 137, and to the mid-seventh century by Osborne — can be closely compared with the Christ depicted at the catacomb of Generosa, where it is also possible to find a representation of the *coronatio* (see further below in the text). Another example of a bust of Christ in catacombs is in the crypt of St Cecilia at St Callixtus: this has been dated to the eleventh century and can be compared with another bust of Christ also at Pontianus (see below at n. 71).

Figure 2. Fresco of the Baptism of Christ. Rome, Catacomb of Pontianus.

Figure 3. Fresco of the *Coronatio Martyrum*. Christ flanked by Abdon and Sennen, Milix and Bicentius. Rome, Catacomb of Pontianus.

Photos: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra. Reproduced with permission.

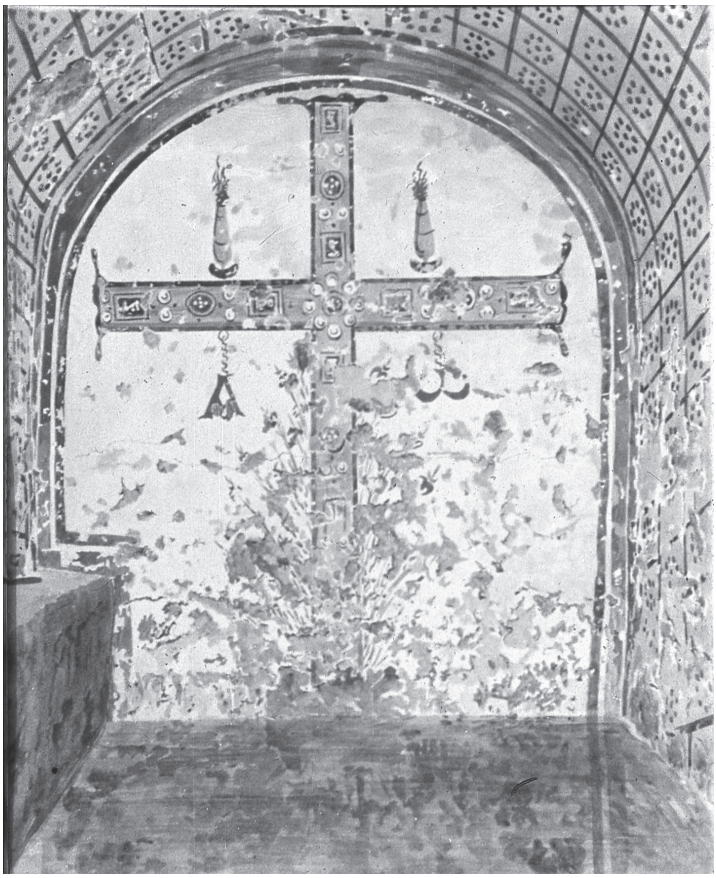

Figure 4. Jewelled Cross. Rome, Catacomb of Pontianus. Watercolour by Joseph Wilpert. Photo: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra. Reproduced with permission.

into an irregularly shaped room (*c.* 4.60 m × 1.60/2.10 m) filled with *loculi*.[70] It seems that the walls were only subsequently reinforced and decorated, and the actual baptistery was created by opening up a deep rectangular pool in the floor. Most of the painted decoration focuses on the area around the pool. The bottom wall ends in a deep vaulted niche decorated with a large jewelled cross and, above it, a panel depicting the baptism of Christ (John the Baptist to his right, a deer and an angel to his left, and the dove) (Figure 2). The wall to the left has a second vaulted niche; the panel above it is decorated with a *coronatio*

[70] It is possible that originally the two flights of stairs were joined in a continuous, single one. See Fiocchi Nicolai, 'Considerazioni sulla funzione'.

martyrum portraying the central bust of Christ flanked by the martyrs Abdon (left) and Sennen (right), receiving the crowns, and by the martyrs Milix (left) and Bicentius (right) in the *orans* pose (Figure 3). All the figures can be easily identified from adjacent painted inscriptions. On the continuation of the left wall is a further, fragmentary jewelled cross,[71] the third such image painted in the catacomb. The cross flanked by Milix and Pumenius is smaller than the other two, which are depicted in isolation, in discrete panels in the baptistery. The cross in the vaulted niche on the north wall is the largest, but is now almost completely submerged in water: complete knowledge of its details is dependent on Joseph Wilpert's drawing of 1903 (Figure 4).[72] This preserves the letters alpha and omega hanging from the transverse arm of the cross, attached by chains; above, and resting on the arms, are two large lit candles. The cross itself is covered in jewels and pearls and seems to spring from a rock, together with flowers and branches.

The suggestion of a possible date for the Anglo-Saxon *graffito* 'Healfred' starts from the dating of the paintings. Various scholars have discussed their style and dated them between the sixth and the seventh centuries;[73] Carletti agrees with Osborne on a mid-seventh-century date for the frescoes, thus placing the *graffito* between this date and the early eighth century.[74] At least two of the paintings in the baptistery bear witness to their patronage through inscriptions, painted just above the *coronatio* panel and under the bust of Christ at the

[71] Furthermore, the vault at the top of the flight of stairs is decorated with a large bust of Christ with a crossed and jewelled halo, dated to a much later period, probably tenth-eleventh century. See Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs', pp. 321–22, and Fiocchi Nicolai, 'Considerazioni sulla funzione', p. 326.

[72] This drawing, contrary to the opinion of Farioli, *Pitture di epoca tarda*, pp. 22–23, is trustworthy, as proven by Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs', p. 320 n. 237.

[73] Osborne, followed by Fiocchi Nicolai, dates all the paintings to the mid-seventh century, mainly on an iconographic basis and in connection with the information contained in the itineraries. Farioli, *Pitture di epoca tarda*, p. 19, dates the painting of Pollion, Marcellinus, and Peter to the sixth century on the basis of their 'majestic and fine style', reminiscent of mosaic programmes of isolated figures set between windows, like those of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. Wilpert, *Roma sotterranea*, p. 453, dated the frescoes to the sixth century, but judged the quality of the execution of the representation of Milix and Pumenius as 'inferior' to that on the main wall. Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo*, ed. by Andaloro, p. 123, also dated the paintings on a stylistic basis, differentiating the panel with Pollion (late sixth century) from that with Milix and Pumenius (early seventh century) and the frescoes of the baptistery (late seventh century).

[74] Carletti, '"Viatores ad Martyres"', p. 203.

bottom of the main flight of stairs.[75] Once again an underground site presents a strong interaction of figural and written decoration, an interaction that was not lost to the viewers, especially if they were themselves authors of written messages within a visual context.

The iconographic significance of the decoration may provide further insight into the use of the catacomb and add to our speculations on the *graffiti*. Wilpert drew attention on the various types of clothing depicted in the paintings, in particular in the *coronatio* scene, which includes four different cloaks.[76] Wilpert also noticed that Milix was portrayed twice in the paintings wearing different robes: in the sepulchre he is depicted as a Byzantine dignitary, and in the baptistery he wears the short military cloak of a soldier. This distinction may well provide further information concerning the dating of the paintings, and therefore of the Anglo-Saxon name on them. Rather than pointing, stylistically, to different phases of decoration, the varied portrayals of Milix's garments within a single space may suggest that they were produced at a time when officials belonging to the Byzantine elite could also be members of the *exercitus* of Rome; that is, at a time when the imperial presence in Rome was still active and recognizable.[77]

Other iconographical elements could provide evidence about the possible changing function of the chambers, as well as additional information on the dating of the paintings. In this respect, the *coronatio* scene is crucial. Only two

[75] The first inscription reads, 'DE DONIS D(E)I ET S(AN)C(TO)R(VM) M(ARTYRVM) ABDON ET SENNEN GAVDIOSVS FECIT' (Gaudiosus made (this) as gifts to God and to the Holy Martyrs Abdon and Sennen); the second, 'DE DONIS D(b E)I GAVDIOSVS FECIT'. Gaudiosus — the patron — has yet to be identified, but the formula 'De donis Dei' is also found on a marble *pergola* from the church of S. Adriano in the Roman Forum, dating in all likelihood to the papacy of Hadrian I (772–95). See Farioli, *Pitture di epoca tarda*, p. 25; Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs', pp. 320–21. On Pope Hadrian's inscription, see Manacorda and others, *Crypta Balbi*, p. 79. As these formulaic 'Hadrianic' inscriptions are found in the baptistery, it is possible that only the baptistery was the object of the Pope's restoration; this possibility would allow for the different dates which have been suggested for the paintings in the sepulchre and those in the baptistery.

[76] Christ with cruciform nimbus emerging from the clouds wears the tunic and pallium; the martyrs Abdon and Sennen wear a sleeved tunic, the *lacerna*, and the Phrygian cap; Milix wears a tunic and *clamys*, while his companion Bicentius is tonsured and wears the clerical tunic and *penula*: Wilpert, *Roma sotterranea*, pp. 78–81.

[77] Possibly at the time of Justinian's reconquest of Rome, although Roman nobility of Byzantine and military origin and status is attested throughout the seventh and early eighth centuries. See Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*.

Figure 5. *Coronatio Martyrum*. Christ flanked by Simplicius and Faustinus, Viatrix and Rufinianus. Roma, Catacomb of Generosa. Watercolour by Joseph Wilpert. Photo: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra. Reproduced with permission.

other examples of this subject appear in catacomb paintings: one at the catacomb of Generosa (dated before AD 682), the other in the now destroyed oratory of St Felicitas at the Trajan Baths (variously dated between the fourth and the eighth centuries, but with a slight preference for the first half of the sixth century).[78] Despite their rarity in catacombs, martyrs or saints holding crowns are a common subject,[79] but there are no other known examples of saints crowned by Christ himself, as is the case at Pontianus.[80]

[78] See Valenti, 'Trasformazione dell'edilizia privata e pubblica', pp. 166–69.

[79] Examples can be found in the mosaic decoration in Ravenna (Battistero Neoniano, mid-fifth century; Battistero degli Ariani, early sixth century; S. Apollinare Nuovo, mid-sixth century) and, with slightly different details or composition, in Rome (apse mosaics of SS Cosma e Damiano), time of Pope Felix IV (526–30); S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, time of Pope Pelagius II (578–90), where the martyrs hold their crowns; or in the mid-seventh-century apse mosaic at S. Stefano Rotondo, where the hand of God holding the crown is depicted in a clipeus above the bust of Christ).

[80] This particular iconography is reminiscent of the early images of the apostles Peter and Paul being crowned, and could ultimately link back to the imperial iconography of the crowning of the two Caesars.

The badly damaged fresco in the catacomb of Generosa portrays three of the four saints flanking Christ (Simplicius and Viatrix on the left; Faustinus and Rufinianus on the right), standing and in the traditional pose of holding their crowns in their veiled hands (Figure 5). The central full-length figure of Christ is represented putting the crown in the hands of St Simplicius, while holding the book in his left hand. The four martyrs are mentioned in one early medieval itinerary, known as *De locis sanctis martyrum quae sunt foris civitatis Romae*, under the Via Portuense, immediately after the list with Pontianus's martyrs.[81] It is interesting that such a rare iconography of the *coronatio*, at least in an underground context, should survive with only slight variations in the composition in two catacombs located on the same *via*, and recorded under the same heading in one of the itineraries.

The *coronatio* panel at Pontianus is not only one of three such images, but it is also unique in depicting the martyrs in the act of being crowned by Christ himself, rather than holding the crowns or offering them to God. It is a more active representation of the coronation, almost an acknowledgement of their martyrdom, with emphasis on the gift and recognition by Christ rather than on the symbolic, static figure of the martyr holding his or her jewelled wreath. The five-figured panel on the west wall of the baptistery depicts the very moment in which the *coronatio* takes place, while the fresco of Pollion with Marcellinus and Peter in the sepulchre is more traditionally rendered, with Pollion holding the crown, symbol of martyrdom, flanked by the equally static figures of the saints with their scrolls. The choice of an iconography that represented a more 'active' *coronatio* as part of the decoration of the baptistery was in all likelihood intentional and aimed to underline its original function as the sepulchre of the martyrs Abdon and Sennen. It is also consistent with the overall decorative programme of the chamber, especially if this was meant to stress the transformation of the resting place into a baptistery. The paintings effectively combine both themes, and the choice of such a *coronatio* scene serves to emphasize Abdon and Sennen's achievement; martyrdom was a direct path to sanctity, but the same could be achieved through the new life which followed baptism.

The large, free-standing cross in the vaulted bottom niche of the baptistery clearly bears a highly symbolic and multilayered meaning in such a context, and is moreover directly associated with the representation of the baptism of Christ, painted on the panel just above. This decoration not only underlines the use of the space as a baptistery but furthermore strengthens the sense of

[81] *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 107–08 (see also n. 67 above).

veneration and holiness of the place. In this site the ritual of baptism would take place in imitation of Christ, witnessed by the cross, symbol of martyrdom, resurrection, and eternal life, accompanied and surrounded by the presence of two martyrs, who are represented in such a way that their own sacrifice and victory over death are acknowledged by Christ himself. This idea of renewal focused on what was probably the original burial place of Abdon and Sennen, and is even more evident when the cross is taken into account, emerging from a rock on which grow branches and flowers. This detail serves as a double reference to the Tree of Life and to the Rock of Golgotha, and so points again to the death and resurrection of Christ.[82] In addition, it has been suggested that the pool was used not (or not only) as a baptistery but also as a permanent form of contact relic: the water was made holy, possibly even healing, by the presence of the martyrs and its vicinity to them and their tomb.[83]

It is also worth mentioning that the description of this catacomb is treated quite differently in two mid-seventh-century itineraries, namely, the above-mentioned *De loci sanctis* and the *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae*.[84] The order in which the martyrs are listed may provide further insight into how the site was perceived and experienced by visitors. The entry for the Via Portuense in the *Notitia ecclesiarum* includes a passage on the cemetery of Pontianus. This reads:

> Discendis in antrum [...]: Pumenius martir ibi quiescit, et Milix martir in altero loco, et omnis illa spelunca inpleta est ossibus martirum. Tunc ascendis [...] et in alio Polion martir quiescit. Deinde intrabis in eclesiam magnam: ibi sancti martires Abdo et Sennes quiescunt.[85]

From this it would seem that, even before their relocation, the relics of Pumenius, Milix, and Pollion were not all housed in the same sepulchre; rather they were in two, if not three, separate tombs, placed at different levels of the catacomb ('discendis [...] tunc ascendis'). The relics of Abdon and Sennen had

[82] Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. by Seligman, pp. 7–9.

[83] Fiocchi Nicolai, 'Considerazioni sulla funzione', p. 327. The presence of a baptistery is not the most obvious feature of a catacomb: there is only one other documented instance, and this is the baptistery in the catacomb of S. Gennaro (St Januarius) in Naples, dated to the mid-eighth century and also decorated with a panel painting of the baptism of Christ.

[84] See above, n. 67.

[85] 'Descend in the cave [...]: the martyr Pumenius here rests, and the martyr Milix in a different place, and all that cave is full with the bones of the martyrs. Then go up [...] and in a different (place) Pollion martyr rests. And after you will enter a large church: here sleep the saints Abdon and Sennen': *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 91–92.

instead already been translated to a large church, in all probability a basilica *ad corpus* to which the pilgrims had access after visiting the underground passages.[86] This could indicate that the sepulchre of Pollion, Milix, and Pumenius and the baptistery are indeed characterized by separate and independent stages of decoration. However, the translation of Abdon and Sennen's relics does not automatically entail that their burial place was turned into a baptistery (and accordingly decorated) at that time. What is most interesting is that the compiler seems to emphasize here the geography of the catacomb, the location of the tombs, and the action of walking in the galleries, thus allowing the users of the itinerary and in turn the potential viewers of the fresco to identify and participate in the presence of the many martyrs buried or commemorated there.

The text describing the catacomb of Pontianus in the other early medieval itinerary, *De locis sanctis*, is shorter:

> Iuxta viam Portuensem [...] sanctus Abdon et sanctus Sennis, sanctusque Milex et sanctus Vincentius, sanctus Polion, [...] sanctus Pymeon [...] dormiunt.[87]

In this case, the way in which the four names are listed and paired, Abdon and Sennen, Milix and Vincentius, strongly implies reference to the visual arrangement of the saints in the *coronatio* panel, while the subsequent mention of the names Pollion and Pumenius may suggest that at the time these two martyrs still rested in separate parts of the catacomb. In this second description the compiler seems to enjoy a more visual experience of the site, almost mentally recalling the images where all the martyrs were represented, regardless of the presence of their relics.

The itineraries are precious written sources, which, when combined with the material history of the site, provide two very different perspectives on the same catacomb, proving once again that several personal perceptions and experiences of a single site were possible. We cannot reconstruct exactly the experience of the Anglo-Saxon pilgrim Healfred when he visited the catacomb of Pontianus and scratched his name on the painting of the martyr Milix, a little known,

[86] Fiocchi Nicolai, 'Considerazioni sulla funzione', p. 327. This could mean that the sepulchre of Milix and Pumenius, with its decoration, was added at a later stage to the already existing blocked room with the panel painting of Pollion. The two frescoes could thus be in the same room but date to different periods. This may have been implicitly suggested by Farioli, when she pointed out that the face of Pumenius seems inspired by that of Pollion.

[87] 'At the Via Portuense, Saint Abdon and Saint Sennen, and Saint Milix and Saint Vincentius, Saint Pollion, Saint Pumenius [...] sleep': *Codice topografico*, ed. by Valentini and Zucchetti, II (1942), pp. 107–08.

probably local martyr chosen as the repository of the name and devotion of a traveller from a distant land. Milix's name is not preserved in any *passio*, despite being mentioned in both the itineraries, so it is unclear whether he appealed to the Anglo-Saxon pilgrim as a warrior or military martyr, or whether Healfred chose to leave his mark on the painting because of the visual impact of the jewelled cross fresco, flanked by Milix and Pumenius. What is entirely possible is that Healfred viewed and understood this site in one or both ways witnessed by the itineraries, and although he left his signature on Milix's fresco, it seems unlikely that he did not visit the baptistery: the lack of *graffiti* in that area may be due to practical reasons (i.e., the presence of water and the room being less freely accessible than the rest of the catacomb, precisely because of its use as a baptistery or relic chamber). Close analysis of the catacomb of Pontianus and its frescoes in relation to the physical presence of an Anglo-Saxon viewer powerfully demonstrates the multifaceted ways in which Anglo-Saxon visitors to Rome could engage with the sites and their images.

Catacombs, graffiti*, and the Anglo-Saxon World: Some Possible Connections*

Graffiti are a very tangible kind of evidence which has been used so far to illustrate different ways of experiencing the catacombs, paying special attention to the location of the names and to their relationship with the underground decoration. It is now time to turn to Anglo-Saxon England and investigate how such visits to the catacombs may have informed various aspects of Anglo-Saxon art and culture, with a particular focus on sculpture; the aim is to propose new ways of interpreting some of the least discussed aspects and correlations.

One of the best-known connections between catacombs and Anglo-Saxon art is found in the crypts of Ripon and Hexham, built under the patronage of Wilfrid.[88] Roman material was reused extensively in both structures, including, especially at Hexham, tombstones, inscriptions, and decorated masonry. It has been recently suggested that the placing of Roman material in the passages was deliberate and that the inscriptions could have been even emphasized through the use of gesso or paint.[89] The catacombs were highly 'written' sites: most sepulchres and frescoes were covered by funerary epigraphs or painted inscriptions,

[88] Ripon (669–78); Hexham (671–73). The scholarly literature on Wilfrid is vast, but a reliable and slender start on the crypts can be found in Bailey, *Saint Wilfrid's Crypts*.

[89] Bidwell, 'Wilfrid at Hexham'.

not to mention the renowned monumental Damasian epigraphs. Although the text of the reused Roman inscriptions bears no connection with the crypt, and there is no final proof that they would have been visible, the important element here is the symbolic connection with Rome and its spolia, and the fact that the patrons and educated users of the crypt would have probably known about the existence of the reused Roman material even if not visible to the naked eye, and would have probably seen parallels with the catacombs, especially if they had experienced them directly, as the authors of the *graffiti* certainly did.

Another widely discussed piece of Anglo-Saxon art that has been linked to the catacombs, and more specifically to the *graffiti*, is the Cuthbert coffin.[90] Ernst Kitzinger underlined the crucial importance of litanies to describe and understand the iconography of the coffin, as well as the possibility of comparing its incised style to 'the graffiti on the grave slabs of the Roman catacombs'.[91] However, a recent article has taken this comparison further to suggest a direct allusion to the Anglo-Saxon names scratched in the catacombs. The choice to write the names of the archangels and apostles on the coffin in a light, engraved style was meant not only to enhance the parallel with the Roman catacombs, validating in a prestigious way the emerging cult of Cuthbert, but also to signify the mark left by the archangels and apostles on the sacred vessel, just as the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims would permanently partake of the holiness of the catacombs through the *graffiti* they left there.[92]

The impact of catacomb decoration on Anglo-Saxon sculpture can also be seen when considering other aspects.[93] The way in which some carvings are framed in the composition, for instance, is far from a mere technical device and could reveal a conscious choice being made between several available options in order to create a powerful connection and affiliation with Roman models. The characteristic location of a large part of the catacomb frescoes within the *arcosolia* (tombs within arched recesses) may have acted as a source of inspiration in the arched, framed layout of Anglo-Saxon sculpted decoration, like the Christ in Majesty on the Rothbury Cross, or the Christ in Majesty on the

[90] Ní Ghrádaigh and Mullins, 'Apostolically Inscribed'. I am indebted to Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh for showing me an early version of this article and for the exchange of ideas that followed.

[91] Kitzinger, 'The Coffin-Reliquary'.

[92] These observations are based on Ní Ghrádaigh and Mullins, 'Apostolically Inscribed'; in particular the use of the word 'vessel' to describe the coffin refers to their interpretation of it as the container of a sacred body/relic that has almost Eucharistic value.

[93] The following discussion is largely based on Chapter 6 of my doctoral thesis: Izzi, 'Representing Rome', pp. 258–323.

Bewcastle Cross.[94] In addition, we have noticed how the large, icon-like fresco panels with individual figures or groups, like the St Luke image at Commodilla, the enthroned 'Madonna di Turtura' in the same catacomb, or the frescoes in the catacomb of Pontianus, are always presented within a thick, squared, coloured, and painted outline. The iconic force of such images is conveyed and enhanced by the framing: although often pertaining to the architectural setting of the frescoes, this kind of visual suggestion may have considerably influenced the layout of ornament on Anglo-Saxon sculpture.

Style could also be used as a way to convey specific meanings or to illustrate and support issues of a political, social, and cultural nature. The existence and importance of a distinctively Roman element in the style of Anglo-Saxon sculpture can be approached taking into account both the style of the arrangement and presentation of the carved scenes, as well as the style adopted to depict those figures within the scenes. Two different trends can be generally identified: an iconic style, in which few figures, often with a central, static focus, are rendered in a symbolic, hierarchical, and two-dimensional manner; and a more narrative or naturalistic style, in which scenes with more figures often coincide with a more modelled, corporeal, and natural depiction of the figures. Within this simplified and fairly schematic framework, the relationship between Anglo-Saxon sculpture and Roman influence should not be seen in terms of slavish copying; in most cases it can be understood more as an imitation, reinterpretation and reworking within different value systems, different landscapes, different media, and often different functions. Yet none of these factors denies the significance of the model in triggering the initial associations, both on the part of the creator and in the eyes of the viewer of a given work of art.

The iconic arrangement presupposes the isolation of the figure, so that in turn it becomes not just a representation of someone or something but a way of expressing deeper meanings while simultaneously acting as a tool of prayer and meditation. This is usually achieved with scenes in which the decorated space is occupied by rarefied, light-weight, and symbolic images, and the figures are often portrayed as suspended in space. Catacomb frescoes like the portrait of St Luke, or the panel with the saints Pollion, Peter, and Marcellinus, are very effective examples of this style. The iconic arrangement is also often the result of abbreviated versions of a more narrative style: such interplay between a classical, narrative, realistic composition and a more stylized one can be observed

[94] Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, I, 217–22; Hawkes, 'The Rothbury Cross'; Bailey and Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, II, 19–22, 61–73.

in the catacomb frescoes, for instance in the previously mentioned fresco in the catacomb of Sts Marcellinus and Peter depicting the four martyrs Tiburtius, Gorgonius, Peter, and Marcellinus flanking an image of the Lamb. Isolated figures within an iconic arrangement are also usually rendered in a non-realistic way, with their corporeity flattened into two dimensions and their modelled, naturalistic details distorted, in order to point to a more symbolical interpretation. This style seems to be a favourite in the carvings of Anglo-Saxon stone monuments: the Christ in Majesty on the late eighth-century Rothbury Cross, for instance, is represented with deeply drilled eyes and enlarged hands, with the fingers pointing at the (Gospel) book.[95] A similar, flat and symbolic stance can be noted in the figures of the martyrs in the 'Madonna di Turtura' fresco at the catacomb of Commodilla, in which the patron of the fresco also displays large, prominent eyes.

The possible impact of catacomb art on Anglo-Saxon sculpture can also be observed when considering the iconography of Christ in Majesty as a half-length figure, portrayed for instance on the Rothbury Cross. This is, as noted by Hawkes, one of only few images of this kind in Anglo-Saxon sculpture: another one can be found in the centre of the cross-head of the Easby Cross.[96] However, frescoes depicting the bust of Christ recur in Roman catacomb painting, for example at Commodilla, and in particular in the large fresco in the 'lunetta' in the catacomb of Pontianus, certainly visited by Anglo-Saxons. Here, Christ also displays a prominent cruciform halo and holds the book, just as he does at Rothbury.

Finally, we have seen how the cross was a central image in the frescoes of the catacomb of Pontianus, one that can be found extremely close to the Anglo-Saxon *graffito* of Healfred. This is just one example of a very prolific motif in late antique and early medieval art: whether carved, incised, or jewelled; featured in mosaics, frescoes, sculpture, or metalwork; as one element of a pattern or as the main focus of a whole apse-decoration, the cross played an essential role in Roman as well as in Anglo-Saxon art.[97] While three-dimensional, monumental stone crosses have been extensively discussed in the scholarly literature on the subject, the cross also appeared as a motif in interlace or chequered patterns (like at Bewcastle) or incised on large funerary stones as well as smaller grave-markers (the so-called 'pillow stones' recovered from such sites as Hartlepool,

[95] Hawkes, 'The Rothbury Cross', pp. 80–81.

[96] Lang and others, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, VI, 99.

[97] Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*.

Lindisfarne, Whitby, and York).[98] Two large-scale monuments decorated with crosses in deep relief can be found at St Peter's, Wearmouth, and at St Paul's, Jarrow. The first bears the image of a square-ended and stepped cross and a commemorative inscription, neatly arranged in the quadrants of the cross.[99] The slab from Jarrow also depicts a stepped and square-ended cross; however, the inscription here does not name the deceased but reads 'IN HOC SINGVLARI SIGNO VITA REDDITVR MVNDO'.[100] As has often been pointed out, this wording is highly evocative of Rufinus's translation of Eusebius's account of Constantine's vision: the visual allusion to the 'Romanness' prompted by the use of the cross motif in Anglo-Saxon sculpture is here further enhanced by the textual reference. The jewelled cross, raised on a mound or stepped base, often with the letters alpha and omega hanging from its arms, just as it appears in the catacomb of Pontianus, represented a combined allusion to the Cross of Golgotha, site of the Crucifixion, and the Heavenly Jerusalem of the Book of Revelation. This kind of representation of the cross is one of the principal themes of apse decoration in the early Christian churches of Rome, but it seems to be rarely depicted in Anglo-Saxon sculpture, although a cross on a stepped base is found at Kirkdale (North Yorks.),[101] and it has been noted how the originally polychrome and gemmed decoration of the stone high crosses bears witness to the potential Anglo-Saxon skeuomorphic reinterpretation of the *crux gemmata* of Roman early Christian art.[102]

[98] Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, I, 97–101, 194–208; Lang and others, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, III, 60–77; Lang and others, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, VI, 231–66; Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, pp. 11–12; and Maddern, 'The Northumbrian Name Stones'.

[99] Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, I, 122–34; see also Webster and Backhouse, *The Making of England*, pp. 104–05; Cramp and others, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, II, 104–05.

[100] Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, I, 112–13; Cramp and others, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, II, 199; Higgitt, 'The Dedication Inscription at Jarrow and its Context'.

[101] Lang and others, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, III, 161–62.

[102] Stepped crosses also appear on coinage; see Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage*; the recently discovered Staffordshire hoard also includes a large, jewelled processional cross.

Conclusions

This essay has touched on a number of aspects of Anglo-Saxon art in which the experience of the catacombs may have played a major inspirational role. As a final note on the amount of work that still needs to be done in relation to the Anglo-Saxon *graffiti* in the catacombs, I would like to draw again attention to the cemetery of Pontianus. It has been widely proved that Anglo-Saxons aspired to allude to and replicate Rome in countless ways, through topography, architecture, sculpture, and liturgy, and yet scholarly publications hardly make any reference to baptism in this context.[103] In early medieval Rome, the Lateran baptistery was clearly the place of choice for this important ceremony, and the earliest, although not the only, building where this sacrament would take place. But other baptisteries were set up in the city: at St Peter's, probably at S. Agnese, and, as we have seen, at least in one of the catacombs. The stories of Anglo-Saxons travelling to Rome in order to be baptized are widely known, but there is now direct evidence of one Anglo-Saxon visitor to one of these baptismal sites, the catacomb of Pontianus. It is not unreasonable to suggest that such unmediated experiences would make their way back to Anglo-Saxon England, both in terms of the liturgy performed and the buildings where this occurred. Not all baptisteries had to be large, lavish, and independent structures like that at the Lateran: simple and small baptismal rooms in Rome, like those at Pontianus, S. Crisogono, or S. Clemente indicate the need to rethink the function of those Anglo-Saxon monuments previously deemed as markers for 'baptismal sites within ecclesiastical estates' or 'baptismal signposts',[104] and to look for further architectural and archaeological evidence for baptism in Anglo-Saxon England. The primary evidence of Anglo-Saxon *graffiti* in the Roman catacombs could also enrich further research on memory, prayers, litanies, *libri vitae* and the Old English Martyrology.[105]

[103] On baptism in Anglo-Saxon England, see amongst others Foot, '"By Water in the Spirit"'; Cambridge and Rollason, 'Debate: The Pastoral Organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church'; Blair, 'Debate: Ecclesiastical Organization and Pastoral Care'; Jones, 'Old English *Fant* and its Compounds'.

[104] Lang, 'Monuments from Yorkshire', p. 117.

[105] For a recent edition of the Martyrology see *The Old English Martyrology*, ed. and trans. by Rauer. I am grateful to Dr Christine Rauer for drawing my attention to potential connections between the Old English Martyrology and knowledge of the Roman catacombs, which I intend to explore further.

The visual experiences that Anglo-Saxon pilgrims had in the catacombs of Rome were diverse, multilayered, and certainly complementary to their visits to the main apostolic basilicas and titular churches. The *graffiti* are essential in presenting a much broader image of early medieval Rome, one that includes less frequented or researched sites in our exploration of the processes of cultural transmission between Rome and Anglo-Saxon England. They can also enrich our understanding when we reflect on the very personal nature of this transmission, an experience that would undeniably have a profound effect on the pilgrims: an integral part of their identity (i.e., their names) would be forever bound to the sacred site, somehow contributing to an intimate metamorphosis in the spiritual standing of the pilgrim, as well as of the sacred site itself. The *graffiti* allow us to focus on very tangible evidence of interaction with a sacred site: the real, visible presence of Anglo-Saxons underground, and their contact with images and spaces, makes it easier to imagine them bringing those images and spaces back to Anglo-Saxon England, as well as leaving an indelible memory of their presence in the underground spaces. 'Unlike the strategically exhibited objects of a public cult, [...] graffiti are the secret repository of intimate longings':[106] Healfred — like the other Anglo-Saxons whose *graffiti* can be found in Roman catacombs — chose to interact with the visual, textual, and spatial iconography of the catacomb of Pontianus in the most permanent way, leaving his name for us to discover, understand, and remember.

[106] Kupfer, 'The Cult of Images', p. 151.

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Roman Highlights and their English Afterlife

Veronica Ortenberg West-Harling

Anglo-Saxons visitors to Rome, from the highest-ranking dignitary to the humblest pilgrim, often felt overwhelmed by the embarrassment of riches on offer in the city of St Peter for both art lovers and relic hunters. Without revisiting the by now well-trodden ground of general overviews of what Rome had to offer, I should like to focus specifically on two visitor highlights and examine how these attractions can be traced in their English 'afterlife' between the eighth century and the end of the eleventh century. These two sights are those most clearly imitated and described in England during the centuries mentioned, as this paper will show. They are the chapel of John VII (705–07) in the Vatican basilica, referred to by Bede in his *De temporum ratione liber*,[1] and the papal residence at the Lateran, in particular the contents of the holiest part of it, the chapel of St Laurence. This chapel was the popes' personal oratory in their permanent residence in the Lateran Palace, where they not only lived but received foreign dignitaries, held councils and synods, and began and ended the great processions which united the Roman people. The chapel itself reputedly contained the most venerated collection of relics in Rome from the eighth century onwards, and was known for that reason as the Sancta Sanctorum. Documentary evidence confirms Anglo-Saxon knowledge of the chapel of John VII through Bede. English knowledge of the Sancta Sanctorum is first documented in writing after the Norman Conquest; however, art histori-

[1] Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Jones, p. 530.

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cal, both stylistic and iconographic, and relic evidence appear very strongly to suggest awareness of it in Anglo-Saxon England. Through a mix of documentary evidence and of visual evidence based on the traditional art historical methodology of tracing networks of influences, dissemination of themes, and motifs to suggest transmission, this paper proposes to examine the two most obvious Roman sources of visual imagery and relic sourcing in Anglo-Saxon England.

Previous literature on what English travellers saw in Rome has examined in detail places, ceremonies, and interactions. It has also made clear that a sizeable part of such influences may have not been accessed directly in Rome but mediated through the influence of Carolingian and later Ottonian relics, art, liturgy, and theology.[2] The work carried out on the importance of the links between, for example, Alfred and Charles the Bald,[3] Æthelstan and his Continental family,[4] Edgar and Otto I,[5] Cnut and Conrad II,[6] have been a rich mine of information. Here I shall limit myself to such connections which we know from direct evidence to have existed between these two Roman highlights and England. I shall therefore only use examples which could have been encountered in Rome alone.

The Chapel of John VII

Bede mentions a long list of Roman churches in his *De temporum ratione liber*,[7] but I am interested here in his note on John VII's chapel in the Vatican basilica, which mentions how 'John [...] amongst many notable deeds, built the oratory of the holy Mother of God, of the most beautiful workmanship, inside the church of the blessed apostle Peter'.[8]

[2] Story, *Carolingian Connections*; Deshman, 'Art After Alfred', pp. 183–92, and Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold*, esp. pp. 159–69 and 209–14.

[3] Enright, 'Charles the Bald and Æthelwulf of Wessex'; Nelson, '"A King Across the Sea"'; Stafford, 'Charles the Bald, Judith and England'; Deshman, 'Art After Alfred', pp. 192–95.

[4] Dumville, 'Between Alfred the Great and Edgar the Peacemaker', p. 146; Wood, 'The Making of King Æthelstan's Empire'; Ortenberg, '"The King From Overseas"'.

[5] Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex'.

[6] Barlow, *The English Church*, pp. 16, 40, 291–92; Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great*, pp. 103, 294–300, 303–07.

[7] Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Jones, pp. 509–23.

[8] Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Jones, p. 530: 'alius Iohannes, qui inter multa operum inlustrium fecit oratorium sanctae Dei genitrici opere pulcherrimo intra ecclesiam beati apostolic Petri'; the translation is from Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, trans. by Wallis, p. 234.

Naturally the chapel, like the rest of Old St Peter's, was destroyed in the sixteenth century and only a few fragments survived, saved by the antiquarian Giacomo Grimaldi and now scattered around Italy, though the majority were moved to the Vatican Grottoes in the sixteenth century.[9] But we are fortunate in having both descriptions and an invaluable set of drawings showing the decorative and iconographic scheme of the chapel in the medieval period in Grimaldi's manuscript in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the Codex Barberini lat. 2733; they have been studied in detail by Joseph Wilpert, Wladimir de Grüneisen, and Per Jonas Nordhagen in the twentieth century.[10] Some scholars looked at them from the perspective of a comparison of John's programme in his chapel at St Peter's with his decorative scheme at S. Maria Antiqua, a small diaconal church which he turned into the chapel of the papal *episcopium* when he briefly moved this from the Lateran to the Palatine, and decorated with a whole set of programmatic and ideological schemes. The comparison remains of great value in reverse too, since it allows for a better understanding of the iconography of the chapel, much of which is very close and probably identical with the remaining and reconstructed one at S. Maria Antiqua. While there is no written evidence of Anglo-Saxons having visited S. Maria Antiqua,[11] and the church is not named in Anglo-Saxon texts, we do

[9] These are: one panel from the Adoration of the Magi (S. Maria in Cosmedin, Rome); two panels from the Nativity, the Virgin (Orte Cathedral) and the Bathing of the Child (Lateran Museum); one panel from the Entry into Jerusalem and one panel from the Crucifixion, the Virgin, and Longinus, as well as a panel from the Peter cycle (Vatican Grottoes); and the Crowned Virgin (S. Marco Museum, Florence); see Nordhagen, 'The Mosaics of John VII', and Andaloro, 'I mosaici dell'Oratorio di Giovanni VII'.

[10] Grimaldi, *Descrizione della Basilica antica*, ed. by Niggl: fols 90^{v}–91^{r} and 94^{v}–95^{r} of the manuscript, reproduced as pls 39/1 and 42/1 in the facsimile give general views of the chapel apse cycle, with a list of the scenes on pp. 117–19; the Peter and Paul cycle is at fol. 89^{r} of the manuscript, pl. 38/1 in the facsimile; and John VII's portrait is at fol. 93^{r} of the manuscript, pl. 41/1 in the facsimile; Wilpert and Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken*, I: *Text*, 388–411 and pls 130, 131, 134–36; de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, pp. 279–335 and pls 66–68; Romanelli and Nordhagen, *S. Maria Antiqua*; see also Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts*. There are numerous studies of the chapel, including the very detailed one by Van Dijk, 'The Oratory of Pope John VII' — most of her conclusions are summarized in Van Dijk, 'Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Constantinople'. In addition, we also have a most valuable sixteenth-century description of the basilica in Alfarano, '*De Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima*', ed. by Cerrati, pp. 106–07.

[11] We have, however, evidence of an Anglo-Saxon hoard presumably destined for the payment of Peter's Pence, found in the Forum next to the church in the nineteenth century; see Loyn, 'Peter's Pence'; Graham-Campbell, Okasha, and Metcalf, 'A Pair of Inscribed Anglo-Saxon

know that at least one very eager pilgrim, Wilfrid, was in Rome in 704, being received, lodged, and supported by Pope John VI[12] (a Greek from Rome), and it seems unlikely that he would not have been shown S. Maria Antiqua, which was the principal church of the Greeks in Rome.[13] It is possible, perhaps even likely, that rather than travel back from Rome in the depth of winter, after John VI's death in January 705, Wilfrid may have stayed there until the spring of 705 and thus encountered John VII as the new elected pope in March.[14] At any rate, his entourage, among whom some returned to Rome later, and his many later Anglo-Saxon contemporaries, were likely to have seen S. Maria Antiqua, as well as the St Peter chapel, clearly a major highlight since reports of it reached Bede in England twenty years later. Wilfrid himself is likely to have seen at S. Maria Antiqua for the first time the iconography of the so-called 'robed Christ', in the chapel of Theodotus, already in existence before John VII's remodelling, and it may be no coincidence that this motif is to be found most commonly in the north of England, in what was Wilfrid's area of influence; I will return to this later in this paper. By combining the drawings from John's chapel with some of the existing or reconstructed scheme of S. Maria Antiqua, it is therefore possible to visualize the iconographic schemes seen by Anglo-Saxon pilgrims in Rome from the early eighth century onwards.

The chapel of John VII was situated at the entrance of the basilica on the north side, and was dedicated to the Virgin, an important feature of John VII's Marian devotion, which was of great consequence in early Roman history and then in Anglo-Saxon history.[15] It was decorated with nine panels, framing as an arch the central vertical panel, which covered twice the height of the others, representing the Virgin as an *orans*, with Pope John with the square halo of the living dedicating himself and the chapel to her. They are dated to 705–07 (see Figure 6). The Virgin was standing face-on, alone, and was crowned with the characteristic crown of Byzantine empresses. Around this central panel were, on the top left, the panel of the Annunciation and the Visitation, in the centre

Hooked Tags'; and the paper by Rory Naismith in this volume, pp. 222–23 and Appendix A4.

[12] *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, chaps 50–55, pp. 102–21. Wilfrid had been to Rome before, and the details of his important visit in 679, when he met Pope Agatho and was present at the papal council, are given in chaps 29–33, pp. 56–69. Influences from S. Maria Antiqua on the *Codex Amiatinus* at Jarrow have been detected by Nordhagen, *The Codex Amiatinus*, p. 18.

[13] Brenk, 'Papal Patronage in a Greek Church'.

[14] Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 245.

[15] See below, n. 59.

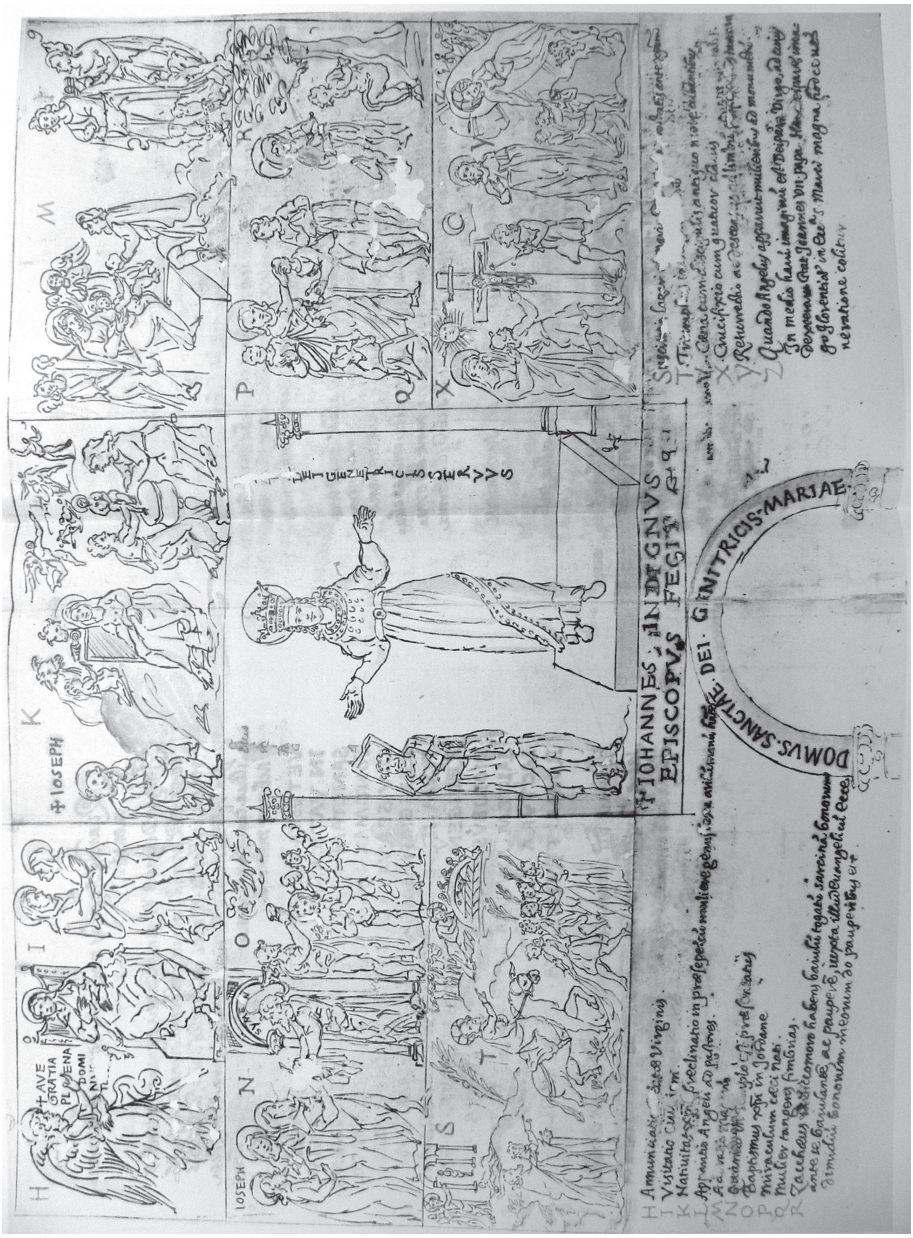

Figure 6. Giacomo Grimaldi, drawing of the chapel of John VII in Old St Peter's, giving an overall view of the chapel apse cycle. From Grimaldi, *Descrizione della Basilica antica*, ed. by Niggl, fols 90v–91r, pl. 39/1. Reproduced by permission of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, with all rights reserved.

left above the Crowned Virgin, the panel of the Nativity, and on the top right, the panel of the Adoration of the Magi. Below these were, in the middle left, the Presentation in the Temple and the Baptism of Christ, in the middle right, three healing miracles of Christ, at the bottom left, the Entry into Jerusalem surrounded by the Resurrection of Lazarus and the Last Supper, and at the bottom right, the Crucifixion, with the Descent into Hell and Christ appearing to the Holy Women at the Sepulchre. In addition, the chapel walls had mosaics of the life story of St Peter and St Paul, of which we know of Peter preaching in Jerusalem, Antioch, and Rome; Peter and Paul before Nero with Simon Magus; the Flight and Fall of Simon Magus; the Martyrdom of Peter crucified head down; and that of Paul being decapitated.

Much of the material described was gradually becoming part and parcel of western iconographical models, and spreading through western Europe notably via the Carolingians after 780. For both the early Anglo-Saxons and later the Carolingians, the standard model was the cycles depicting the lives of Sts Peter and Paul in the great Roman basilicas at St Peter's, St Paul's, the Lateran, and S. Maria Maggiore,[16] as well as the typological schemes found in these basilicas, which depicted scenes from the Old Testament in parallel with scenes from the New Testament explaining how the latter fulfilled the former. This was the inspiration and model for the church at Jarrow, to which Benedict Biscop brought his well-known series of paintings on wood from Rome,

> consisting of scenes, very skilfully arranged, to show how the Old Testament foreshadowed the New. In one set, for instance, the picture of Isaac carrying the wood on which he was to be burnt as a sacrifice was placed immediately below that of Christ carrying the cross on which He was about to suffer. Similarly, the Son of Man lifted up on the cross was paired with the serpent raised up by Moses in the desert.[17]

A similar typological cycle existed at S. Maria Antiqua.

[16] See for example Wilpert and Schumacher, *Die römischen Mosaiken*; Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo*; Garber, *Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen*, pp. 3–54.

[17] Bede, 'Historia abbatum', ed. by Plummer, p. 373: 'imagines quoque ad ornandum monasterium aecclesiamque beati Pauli apostoli de concordia ueteris et noui Testamenti summa ratione compositas exibuit; uerbi gratia, Isaac ligna, quibus immolaretur portantem, et Dominum crucem in qua pateretur, aeque portantem, proxima super inuicem regione, pictura coniunxit. Item serpenti in heremo a Moyse exaltato, Filium hominis in cruce exaltatum conparauit'. The above translation by J. F. Webb is from *The Age of Bede*, ed. by Farmer, p. 196. On these pictures and their possible relevance in relation to the Iconoclastic debate, see Meyvaert, 'Bede and the Church Paintings', pp. 66–77, and Henderson, *Vision and Image*, pp. 73–74.

S. Maria Antiqua had, among other frescoes, twenty Christological scenes, containing, in addition to those mentioned earlier for the chapel of John VII, the depiction of the Flight into Egypt; several scenes of Christ appearing to his Disciples at Emmaus, Tiberias, and to Thomas; Jesus before Pilate; and the Road to Calvary.[18] Particularly close to one another in both of John's cycles were the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, and the representation of the Crowned Virgin.

Anglo-Saxon iconography, like western iconography generally, includes scenes which match exactly the existing images from the John VII chapel, including the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Adoration, the Presentation to the Temple, the Baptism, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Crucifixion, the Angel and the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, and the Descent into Hell. The Annunciation and the Visitation are depicted, together or singly, on the Ruthwell Cross, the Wirksworth slab (Lincolnshire), on a stone cross at St Andrew's Auckland and on another at Norham, on the Genoels-Elderen ivory book cover from Northumbria of the last quarter of eighth century, and on the Hovingham sarcophagus.[19] The positioning of the figures, the salutation, the Virgin's Greek stool, and especially the curtains framing the scene in the Visitation, notably on the ivory cover and at Auckland, are especially close in their iconography to the chapel mosaic.[20]

[18] See de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, pp. 300–04; Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of John VII', and Nordhagen, 'S. Maria Antiqua'; Romanelli and Nordhagen, *S. Maria Antiqua*, pp. 31–47 and pls 21, 26b and 30; Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo*, I, 116–23, 137–39.

[19] Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*. The literature on the Ruthwell Cross is considerable: see, in addition to the classic edited by Cassidy, *The Ruthwell Cross*, esp. pp. 108–09 and pl. 18, Clayton's notes 39–40 at p. 150, and Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 95–103; on the Wirksworth slab, second half of the seventh or first half of the eighth century, see Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, pp. 153–54, pl. III; on Auckland, last quarter of the eighth or first quarter of the ninth century, and Norham 4, second quarter of the ninth century, see Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, I, 38–39 and 209–10, pls 3/5 and 203/1106; on Hovingham 5, late eighth to early ninth century, see Lang and others, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, III, 146–48, pls 496 and 497; for the ivory now in Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, see Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, no. 3, pls 14–15, and also Henderson, *Vision and Image*, pp. 138–39.

[20] Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts*, pl. 479; de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, pl. 67/1.

The Presentation in the Temple with the Virgin, Joseph, and Simeon, first depicted in western art in John VII's chapel and at S. Maria Antiqua,[21] was followed not long after by those in England at Wirksworth and Hovingham in sculpture and on the Genoels ivory. These three English images, which retained the iconography of John's chapel, were the first in the West to disseminate it, before other elements were inserted, for example the presence of the prophetess Anna, a Carolingian addition, seen in later Anglo-Saxon art in the Benedictional of St Æthelwold in the 970s to the early 980s (from now on, BAE).[22]

The Adoration of the Magi's earliest representation in England, on the Franks Casket from Northumbria from *c*. 700 now in the British Museum,[23] preserves the Phrygian caps and the traditional right-to-left approach of the early Christian model of S. Sabina, S. Maria Maggiore, Ravenna, then John VII's mosaics, and we find it again though reversed in a manuscript of Sedulius's *Carmen Paschale*, copied in the ninth century at Liège from an eighth-century Anglo-Saxon exemplar, and in the later Benedictional of Archbishop Robert.[24] BAE, on the other hand, has an adaptation of the scene depicting the Magi as crowned kings, an iconographical novelty for which credit is shared between Æthelwold and his Ottonian contemporaries,[25] and which became general by the late eleventh century, as we see for example in an ivory preserved in London, at the Victoria and Albert Museum.[26] The Nativity is commonly depicted in late Anglo-Saxon art, with an important English innovation in the representation of one of the midwives, Salome, arranging the pillow behind the Virgin's head.[27] It showed Mary and the Bathing of the Child in BAE, the Missal of Robert, the Boulogne Gospels, and a late tenth- or early eleventh-century ivory

[21] Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts*, pl. 482; de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, pl. 67/2.

[22] Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, pp. 153–55 and pl. III; Hovingham 5, late eighth–early ninth centuries, in Lang and others, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, III, 146–48, pl. 498; *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold*, ed. by Prescott, fol. 34^{v}. For a study of individual scenes, see Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold*.

[23] Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, no. 1, pls 3–7.

[24] Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Mus., MS M.17.4, fol. 15^{v}; see Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 65, pl. 291; *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. by Wilson, fol. 37^{r}; Henderson, *Vision and Image*, pp. 92–94.

[25] Deshman, '"Christus Rex et Magi Reges"'.

[26] Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, no. 63, pls 121–23.

[27] BAE, fol. 15^{v}; *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. by Wilson, fol. 32^{v}, pl. I. On this, see also Deshman, 'Servants of the Mother of God', 34–44 and 50–55.

now in Liverpool.[28] All contain the traditional elements, such as the Virgin on the bed, the pensive Joseph, Salome arranging the pillow, and the animals worshipping the child. But one example is especially closest in its integrity to the scene in John VII's chapel, with the Virgin on the right lying down, Joseph lifting his left hand to his head in thought, and the child bathed by the midwives with Salome and her withered hand.[29] This is the image in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 484, fol. 85r, a leaf from Æthelstan's psalter, dating from before 939, before Carolingian and Ottonian additions or changes became paramount in late tenth-century iconography.[30]

These examples show that by the end of the tenth and even more so in the eleventh century, Anglo-Saxon art had preserved various elements which earlier Anglo-Saxon art since the seventh century had acquired from Rome, while in some cases adding to the original scheme iconographical motifs brought into England through the mediation of Carolingian, Byzantine, and later Ottonian art, as well as specific English innovations. In order to trace the original Roman model, I will attempt to strip back such additions, in so far as possible, and to identify the evidence of direct Roman influence, notably from John VII's chapel, in England.

Two images show such specific links from an early period: the Crucifixion and the Entry into Jerusalem. The Entry in London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C. vi, fol. 14r, is closer to the Carolingian model, but in the Antwerp manuscript of the *Carmen Paschale*, fol. 31v, not only does the picture have people holding palms on the right as Christ rides in from the left on the donkey, but as in John VII's chapel, two men at the front on the right are spreading a coat under Jesus's feet, a motif which, though reduced to one man, still keeps the original theme.[31]

The most important image showing a direct import from Rome remains the Crucifixion with the 'robed Christ' (wearing a *colobium* or long Roman tunic)

[28] BAE, fol. 15v; *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. by Wilson, fol. 32v, pl. 1; Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066*, no. 44, pl. 17; Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, no. 26, pl. 56.

[29] Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts*, pl. 481; de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, pl. 67/3; see also Nordhagen, 'The Mosaics of John VII', pp. 68–72 and pls 7–9, and Nordhagen, 'The Origin of the Washing of the Child'.

[30] Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066*, no. 5, pl. 30; see also Deshman, 'The Galba Psalter'.

[31] Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts*, pl. 480; de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, pl. 67/4; Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066*, no. 98, pl. 309; Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 65, pl. 297.

— originally a Syriac or Palestinian model reused in Rome already before John VII's chapel, notably in the chapel of Theodotus in S. Maria Antiqua.[32] This iconography became standard in Rome, seen for example at S. Valentino and SS Giovanni e Paolo, both contemporary with John VII.[33] We are fairly certain that a robed Christ image of the Crucifixion was available at Jarrow, since Bede implies contemplating such an image in his commentary on the Apocalypse.[34] This type is found in England in manuscripts such as the late seventh- or early eighth-century Northumbrian book possibly from Lindisfarne.[35] Far more frequent are the representations of the robed Christ in early sculpture, especially on stone crosses; here the knowledge by Bede of an image likely to have been brought from Rome by Biscop and the likely knowledge of John VII's decoration in England must have provided a direct link to the Roman iconography.[36] Significantly, we find it at Hexham, a Wilfridian foundation, with its very close modelling on the type of the robed Christ and the presence of Longinus and Stephaton, as in John VII's chapel, then perhaps on another cross at Auckland St Andrew, and in a Cluny Museum ivory of the eighth century.[37] These belong to the pre-Viking period, while towards the eleventh century the rise of the Carolingian type of the Crucifixion with a loincloth became dominant. Nevertheless, in a less trendy medium, such as stone sculpture, especially in the north, a combination of traditional images available to sculptors and a desire to keep alive the traditions of the age of Bede and Wilfrid had remained stronger. There we still find more than a few examples of the robed Christ in Northumberland, at Alnmouth, Aycliffe, Rothbury, Penrith, Nunburnholme,

[32] For the S. Maria Antiqua Crucifixion, see de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, pl. 39, or Romanelli and Nordhagen, *S. Maria Antiqua*, pl. 7; for the image in the Vatican chapel, see Grimaldi, *Descrizione della Basilica antica*, ed. by Niggl, pls 39/1 and 41/1; de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, pl. 273; and Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of John VII', pl. 21e.

[33] de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, pls 271–72 and 274.

[34] Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos*, ed. by Gryson, p. 245.

[35] Durham, Cath. Libr., MS A.II.17, fol. 38^{v}: Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, no. 10, pl. 202; see also Coatsworth, 'The "Robed Christ"', pp. 157–58. Another two images of Insular provenance can be found in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 51, p. 266, and Cambridge, St John's Coll., MS 59 (C.9), fol. 38^{v}, respectively nos 44 and 74, pls 203 and 351 in Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*; see also the discussion in Deshman, 'The Galba Psalter'.

[36] Coatsworth, 'The "Robed Christ"', pp. 157–59.

[37] Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings* no. 6, pl. 19; Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, I, 183–84, pls 179/958 and 179/959; on Auckland, last quarter of the eighth or first quarter of the ninth century, see Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, I, 37–41, pl. 3/6.

and possibly Dewsbury.[38] The robed Christ was not exclusive to the north, and we find several examples in Crucifixions at Romsey (Hampshire), Walkern (Hertfordshire) and Langford (Oxfordshire) in the eleventh century.[39]

The other major Roman-style feature in the Crucifixion iconography in England is the continuing inclusion of Longinus and Stephaton, as well as the representation of the Sun and Moon, both early eastern traditions in Rome, later replaced in western iconography by the Virgin and St John at the foot of the Cross, sometimes still including the Sun and the Moon, but mostly with the disappearance of Longinus and Stephaton. In late Anglo-Saxon England we still find the Crucifixion with Longinus and Stephaton in a manuscript such as MS Cotton Tiberius C. vi, fol. 13^{r} as late as the middle of the eleventh century,[40] as well as in two ivories of the late tenth or early eleventh century in the Victoria and Albert Museum,[41] in the Romsey Crucifixion, and on the Aycliffe cross. Increasingly late Anglo-Saxon Crucifixions have at most the Virgin and St John and the Sun and Moon;[42] just the Virgin and St John,[43] or

[38] Alnmouth (late ninth or early tenth century), Aycliffe (last quarter of the tenth or first quarter of the eleventh century) and Rothbury (first half of the ninth century) in Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, I, 161–62, 41–43, and 217–18, pls 156/808, 7/25, and 211/1106 — though the loincloth is favoured for Rothbury by Hawkes, 'The Rothbury Cross', pp. 77–79; I am grateful to Luisa Izzi for having brought this paper to my attention. Other examples are Penrith 11 (tenth century), in Bailey and Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, II, 140–42, pl. 530; Nunburnholme (late ninth or early tenth century), in Lang and others, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, III, 189–93, pl. 727; Dewsbury 6, where it is not clear whether the covering is a *colobium* or a loincloth, in Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, VIII, 139, pl. 208. There are a few more 'robed Christ' Crucifixions in North Yorkshire at Brompton 14, Kirklevington 15, Thornton Steward 4 and 5, Stanwick 7, and Thornton Watlass 1, but they seem to have stronger links with an indirect Irish source; see Lang and others, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, VI, pls 71, 438, 801, 807, 768, and 812, and Coatsworth, 'The "Robed Christ"', pp. 167–71.

[39] Coatsworth, 'The "Robed Christ"', pp. 173–75. She also, rightly I believe, makes the point about the Langford iconography being preserved in late Anglo-Saxon England from the earlier period, rather than inspired by the Volto Santo of Lucca image, for which evidence of knowledge is later than the Rood, pp. 165–67.

[40] Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066*, no. 98, pl. 311.

[41] Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, nos 33 and 34, pls 69 and 71.

[42] BL, MS Cotton Titus D. xxvii, fol. 65^{v} and BL, MS Arundel 60, fol. 12^{v}, in Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066*, nos 77 and 103, pls 246 and 312; see Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, no. 30, pls 80–81 for the T-cross of Heribert of Cologne, an Anglo-Saxon ivory of the early eleventh century.

[43] Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., MS 421, p. 1, and the Anhalt Morgan Gospels, New

the Virgin and St John and angels.[44] Longinus, first represented in the West at S. Maria Antiqua and/or in John's chapel, and often used as a symbolic representation of the church of the Gentiles, remained in force in England, where he had a cult as a saint in various calendars. This was no doubt supported by the associations of the Holy Lance with King Æthelstan, and possibly with a growing Italian cult when his relics were brought to Mantua in the eleventh century.[45]

The Crucifixion iconography was not only used for formal, large and public settings, in manuscripts and sculpture or as roods in various churches, for example at Bury, Evesham, Ely, Peterborough, Winchester, Worcester.[46] Often, crucifixes were given or exchanged as gifts, especially in monastic circles or among the lay aristocracy, and personal crucifixes were used, not as liturgical objects, but as private devotional ones, for the purposes of private meditation, as in the case of the items bequeathed in the wills of Wynflæd (*c.* 950), Wulfwaru (984–1016), and Wulfgyth (+1046), though it is not possible to know what their iconography was.[47]

Other Anglo-Saxon scenes remained close to the iconography in John VII's chapel. The Baptism of Christ, with the hand of God, John the Baptist, on the left and the angel on the right of the standing Christ,[48] was a type followed exactly in an eighth-century ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum and in another in Paris, as well as in such manuscripts as BAE, where the image is however reversed as a mirror image of John VII's model, and where Carolingian elements were added, such as the presence of several angels and the personification of the river god, Jordan.[49] Close parallels to John's chapel can also be

York, Morgan Libr., MS M. 827, fol. 1^{v}, in Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066*, nos 82 and 93, pls 254 and 289; for a tenth- or eleventh-century ivory in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, see Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, no. 38, pl. 72.

[44] BnF, MS lat. 943, fol. 4^{v}, and the Arenberg Gospels, New York, Morgan Libr., MS M. 869, fol. 9^{v}, in Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066*, nos 35 and 56, pls 134 and 171; for an ivory of the tenth–eleventh century in Brussels, see Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, no. 17, pl. 38.

[45] *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VIII (1967), cols 89–95.

[46] Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, pp. 40–42.

[47] *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. and trans. by Whitelock, pp. 10–11, 62–63, 84–85. See also Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, pp. 24, 37–40, 63–64, and 166–73; Deshman, 'The Galba Psalter'; and Gameson, *The Role of Art*, pp. 126–34.

[48] Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts*, pl. 482; de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, pl. 67/2.

[49] Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, nos 5 and 14, pls 20 and 35; BAE, fol. 25^{r}. One must note,

drawn in the Harrowing of Hell or Christ's Descent into Hell, an iconography first seen in John VII's frescoes and mosaics. In addition to this Roman type, seen in S. Maria Antiqua and St Peter's chapel, incorporating some features of the Byzantine Anastasis (which we see, for example, in BAE), the Anglo-Saxon model generally embellished the theme further by including the personification of the Mouth of Hell, a motif specific to England.[50] It is first seen in an eighth- or ninth-century ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which shows in fact a Last Judgement with the Mouth of Hell, then in the actual Harrowing of Hell as represented on a stone panel in Bristol and in MS Cotton Tiberius C. vi, fol. 14r.[51] It was clearly a theme with considerable appeal in late Anglo-Saxon England, popular in various media, starting with the 'drama' in the Book of Cerne, its considerable importance in Old English poetry, notably in the Exeter Book in *Christ I*, *Christ II*, and *Christ and Satan*, or the *Harrowing of Hell/Descent into Hell* poem, the lengthy treatment it receives in Ælfric's Palm Sunday and 'Sermo de Initio Creaturae' homilies, and as one of the longest homilies in the Blickling cycle.[52] With no evidence of its use in the West outside Rome, it is another motif likely to have been conveyed directly from such depictions as those in John VII's chapel and S. Maria Antiqua.

Also repeatedly depicted in England is the scene of the three Maries at the Sepulchre, with the women and the angel seated on the right (sometimes with the Carolingian adaptation of a basilica-style building to depict the sepulchre). This is found in BAE, an eighth-century ivory in Paris, both the Benedictional and the Missal of Robert, MS Cotton Tiberius C. vi,[53] and in sculpture — for

however, that the original model of the river god is to be found in Rome, too, in the apse mosaic of the church of SS Cosma e Damiano.

[50] Kartsonis, *Anastasis*; see also Nordhagen, '"The Harrowing of Hell"', who makes the point that it was first used by John VII in his two sets of decorations.

[51] Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, no. 4, pls 1 and 34; the Bristol panel is in Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell*, pl. 2, and for the picture from BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C. vi, fol. 14r, see also Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066*, no. 98, pl. 3.

[52] Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell*, pp. 20–21, 44–49, 74–75. On the Book of Cerne 'drama', see Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, fols 98v–99v; *The Exeter Book*, ed. by Krapp and van Kirk Dobbie; *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, ed. by Clemoes, pp. 178–90 and 290–98; *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. and trans. by Kelly, Homily VII for Easter Day, pp. 58–67. See also Brantley, 'The Iconography of the Utrecht Psalter', where she argues, however, for a mainly Carolingian origin to the theme.

[53] BAE, fol. 51v; Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, no. 6, pl. 19; *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. by Wilson, fol. 21v; *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. by Wilson, fol. 72v, pl. VIII; BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C. vi, fol. 13v, see Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066*, no. 98.

example, in a capital at Southwell Minster.[54] Both as bishop of Worcester and later as archbishop of York, Ealdred was an assiduous Roman visitor, and he was author of the rebuilding of Southwell Minster with its capitals.[55] Both Harrowing of Hell and Maries at Sepulchre are also shown on Heribert's cross, an Anglo-Saxon ivory later exported to Germany.[56]

One last close parallel, non-Christological this time, is featured in the scenes of St Peter's crucifixion upside down and of St Paul's decapitation.[57] This may have been mediated by the Carolingians, for example, in BAE,[58] but there is no real need to assume such intermediary when the representation was so close to that in John's chapel for it not to have been plausibly taken directly from it after 707. The interest in the Christological narrative in England from the age of Biscop and Bede, and notably the Anglo-Saxon interest in the Infancy cycle, match closely the attention paid to both the Infancy, and the Passion and Resurrection cycles in Roman art, an interest which became dominant in the two cycles of John VII, the Resurrection cycle at S. Maria Antiqua, and especially the Infancy one in St Peter's chapel, where the largest number of images refers to it, presumably partly so that John's cult of the Virgin could be reinforced by her depiction in most of them.[59] For example, the representation of St Joseph is first seen in Rome at S. Maria Antiqua and in John VII's chapel, but his cult in the West only really began in the tenth century; significantly, the feast may have been first celebrated at Winchester around 1030. It is not coincidental that this cult grows at the very time when the cult of Christ's family and characters associated with his life grows too, especially in Ottonian Germany

[54] Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana*, p. 51.

[55] See for example the account in the D version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *s.a.* 1061: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VI: MS D*, ed. by Cubbin, p. 76; or in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Winterbottom and Thomson, pp. 382–83; see also Ortenberg West-Harling, 'Un Prince-évêque Anglo-Saxon'.

[56] Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, no. 30, pl. 80.

[57] Grimaldi, *Descrizione della Basilica antica*, ed. by Niggl, pl. 38/1, and Van Dijk, 'Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Constantinople', pls 1 and 4; de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, pl. 68/2.

[58] BAE, fol. 95v; Sauvel, 'Le Crucifiement de St Pierre', pp. 342–44; Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold*, pp. 116–17.

[59] See de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, pp. 87–93; Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of John VII', pp. 88–91. On the spiritual and political significance of John VII's Marian cult, see for example Ladner, *I ritratti dei papi*, pp. 88–98 (pp. 93–97) and Lucey, 'Palimpsest Reconsidered'.

and in England.[60] Both the Infancy and Resurrection cycles were also present in the rich iconographical material found in the Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran.

The Sancta Sanctorum

My second Roman highlight is the papal chapel in the Lateran palace, dedicated to St Laurence but known from the seventh century onwards as the Sancta Sanctorum, on account of its priceless collection of relics and artefacts, including a relic of the Holy Cross. The original fourth-century chapel, set up on the location of the old papal library and archive, was entirely refurbished in the thirteenth century and the only early decorative feature now left is a mosaic of St Augustine, dating from the sixth century. However, the relics, whether walled or enclosed in caskets, remained there until the early part of the twentieth century, when most were moved to the Vatican Museum, and were studied by Philippe Lauer, Wilpert, and Hartmann Grisar.[61] Some of the relics were known to contemporaries individually, through being mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Most famous among them was the icon of Christ Acheropoita. Its dating is uncertain, though thought in medieval Rome to have been brought to Rome by St Peter or by the emperor Titus.[62] Its first appearance in Rome was under Stephen II (752–57), who carried it out in procession at the time of one of Aistulf's attacks on the city.[63] Wilpert placed the icon at a date in the fifth or, at the latest, in the mid-sixth century, and implied that it may have been in Rome long before the eighth century when it came to the fore.[64]

The painting was seen as one of great antiquity and holiness, and was closely involved with Roman liturgical events. It was part of the ceremonies beginning in the Sancta Sanctorum on Easter morning, before the procession went on

[60] *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VI (1965), cols 1251–92 (col. 1274); see also Ortenberg, *The English Church*, pp. 117–18.

[61] Lauer, *Le Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum*; Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta sanctorum*; Wilpert, 'L'acheropita ossia l'immagine del Salvatore', pp. 161–77, 247–62; Volbach, *Il tesoro della Cappella Sancta Sanctorum*.

[62] An alternative version was that Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople, at the time of Emperor Leo the Isaurian, in order to save the precious icon, said to have been that on the Great Gate of Constantinople, from Iconoclasm, set it afloat in the Bosphorus, from where it miraculously reached the mouth of the Tiber, see Wilpert, 'L'acheropita ossia l'immagine del Salvatore'; Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta sanctorum*, pp. 40–44.

[63] *LP*, I, 443; for a translation, see *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, trans. by Davis, p. 56.

[64] Wilpert, 'L'acheropita ossia l'immagine del Salvatore'.

for the main mass to S. Maria Maggiore. It was already well established as part of the Vigil procession for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin from the Lateran to S. Maria Maggiore by the time of Pope Leo IV (847–55).[65] English liturgical texts were closely involved with Roman liturgical practices from early on through the teachings of John the Arch-Chanter and Benedict Biscop, Wilfrid, and Theodore.[66] The longevity of this association, at a time when most of Continental Europe had moved to Gallican and later Carolingian traditions, can be seen, for example, from the maintaining in England of the use of the Roman Psalter until after the Conquest, rather than the Gallican version.[67] Most importantly, the English interest in the stational liturgy of the Roman church, partly copied and adapted to English liturgical needs for processions, especially at York,[68] remained alive by the eleventh century. The Winchcombe Sacramentary at the end of the tenth century still recorded Roman stational churches,[69] and the Roman feast of 13 May (All Martyrs), as the Dedication of the Pantheon (S. Maria ad Martyres), was still entered in calendars in the eleventh century, and in more popular and practical texts like the Exeter guild statutes.[70] Of equal significance were the use made by John the Arch-Chanter of the St Peter's liturgical and singing practices, which he taught in England, and the probable implementation by Ceolfrith of Pope Sergius's newly streamlined feasts of the Virgin.[71] Equal respect was given in England to the Lateran liturgy: our only surviving copy of the old Lateran *ordo* comes from derived Anglo-Saxon sources from Germany, and the Lateran usage is found in the chrismal mass in late Anglo-Saxon England.[72]

[65] *LP*, II (1955), p. 110; Volbach, *Il tesoro della Cappella Sancta Sanctorum*, pp. 6–7.

[66] Bede, *HE*, IV. 18 and V. 20–21; Bede, 'Historia abbatum', ed. by Plummer, p. 369, and trans. by Webb in *The Age of Bede*, ed. by Farmer, p. 192; Hohler, 'Theodore and the Liturgy'; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 208–13, 223–25.

[67] Wildhagen, 'Studien zum Psalterium Romanum'; Gretsch, 'The Roman Psalter'.

[68] Ó Carragáin, *The City of Rome and the World of Bede*, pp. 9–36; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 148–50, 237–40.

[69] *The Winchcombe Sacramentary*, ed. by Davril.

[70] Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars*; *Councils and Synods*, I, 59. The Dedication of the Pantheon is recorded in Bede, *HE*, II. 4.

[71] Bede, 'Historia abbatum', trans. by Webb in *The Age of Bede*, ed. by Farmer, pp. 192–93; on this see Ward, *Bede and the Psalter*, p. 4, and Wood, *The Most Holy Abbot Ceolfrid*, p. 17; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 237–40.

[72] Jones, 'The Chrism Mass', pp. 111–12 and 141.

Anglo-Saxon visitors, whether kings or high-ranking ecclesiastics, had close contacts with the popes. Aldhelm was received by Pope Sergius, lodged at the Lateran, and brought back relics to England on his visit probably in 688–89.[73] On both occasions when in Rome, Wilfrid was at the Lateran, in 679–80 during a major church council under Pope Agatho, and again in 704 when he saw John VI, and on both occasions he collected relics: '[he] obtained from holy men a great many holy relics, for the edification of the churches of Britain, writing down what each of the relic was and to which saint it belonged' and 'according to his habit, collected from elect men holy relics authenticated by the names of saints'.[74] Theodore of course was deeply embedded into the Roman church before his dispatch to England. The almost uninterrupted succession of archbishops who collected their pallia from various popes, from Wulfhelm in 927 to Ealdred in 1061, had at least lunch with the pope, like Sigeric in 990, celebrated mass under the pope's direction, as Aldhelm had done and Archbishop Æthelnoth would also do in 1022 — presumably either in the Lateran basilica or more likely in the private chapel of the popes — before dining in the Lateran Palace, and some English bishops, like Wilfrid, Ealdred, and Herman, took part in the debates of the current councils.[75] Most, like Ælfstan, abbot of St Augustine's, in Rome in 1022, also collected relics which they took with them back to England,[76] and one assumes that archbishops like Sigeric or Ealdred did so too. King Æthelwulf and Alfred on their visit in 855, and King Cnut on his in 1027, a visit which coincided with that of the emperor Conrad,[77] would have been received with every honour in the papal residence. Since the Sancta

[73] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Winterbottom and Thomson, pp. 548–51; see Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', pp. 52–64, and Story, 'Aldhelm and Old St Peter's, Rome'.

[74] *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, chap. 33, pp. 66–67: 'reliquiarum sanctarum ab electis viris plurimum ad consolationem ecclesiarum Brittanniae adeptus, nomina singulorum scribens, quae cuiusque sancti essent reliquiae', and chap. 55, pp. 120–21: 'moreque suo ab electis viris sanctas reliquias nominatim congregans'. On the early Anglo-Saxon quest for relics in Rome, see Thacker, 'In Search of Saints', pp. 259–64; see also Thacker, 'Rome of the Martyrs'.

[75] Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990', p. 222; on Æthelnoth, see the D and E versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *s.a.* 1022: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VI: MS D*, ed. by Cubbin, pp. 63–64; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VII: MS E*, ed. by Irvine, p. 75. On the archbishops and the pallium, see the paper by Francesca Tinti in this volume.

[76] Goscelin, 'Historia translationis S. Augustini', ed. by Lehmann-Brockhaus.

[77] On Cnut's visit to Rome, see his letter to the English people in *Councils and Synods*, I, 508–13 and Elaine Treharne's essay in this volume.

Sanctorum was the main Lateran attraction in terms of its relic treasures, one can hardly imagine that all these important foreign visitors were not shown it. So what would they have been shown? The earliest list of the relics from the Sancta Sanctorum is part of a twelfth-century description of the Lateran basilica and palace by John the Deacon:

> In that holy palace there is an oratory of St Laurence, in which three altars are considered to be most holy. First, in a cypress tree chest which Pope Leo III had made, there are three caskets. In the first, there is a cross of the purest gold adorned with gems and precious stones, that is, amethyst, emerald, and pearls. In the middle of the cross is the umbilical cord of Our Lord Jesus Christ. It is anointed with balsam, and every year this balsam is renewed, when the lord pope and his cardinals carry it in procession for the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross from the chapel of St Laurence to the basilica of the Saviour called the Constantinian basilica. In the second casket, made of silver and gilt, there is an enamelled cross with stories carved on it, and inside it is the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ. In the third box, which is made of silver, are the sandals, that is, the footwear of Our Lord Jesus Christ. In the second gilt box, the wood of the Holy Cross which Heraclius brought with him from Persia when he had vanquished Chosroe, together with the body of St Anastasius the martyr, which is inside the marble altar of St Laurence. There are also found in the chapel the arm of St Cesarius the martyr, two bones of John the Baptist, one bone of St Jerome, a shoulder blade of St Dionysis Areopagitus, a shin of Pope Stephen, relics of St Damasius, Sts Primus and Felician, the head of St Praxedis, the relics of St Anastasia with many others, of the holy virgins Agape, Chionia, Irene, Pistis and Helpis, of Nereus and Achilleus, of Prisca and Aquila. There are also the relics of the knee of St Tiburtius, the son of Cromatius. In that same cypress chest there is one bread and thirteen lentils from the Last Supper, and the reed with the sponge with vinegar placed to the Lord's mouth, and wood from the sycamore tree which Zacheus ascended.
>
> And above this altar is an image of the Saviour wondrously painted on wood, which the Evangelist Luke drew but which the virtue of the Lord completed through the office of an angel; at its feet, in a linen cloth set with most precious stones, are placed the relics of the sanctuary, as follows: the stone on which St Mary sat; a stone from the holy River Jordan, on which the Lord sat when he was baptized; a stone from holy Bethlehem; a stone from the Mount of Olives, where the Lord prayed to the Father; the holy rock on which sat the angel at the Sepulchre; a piece of the holy column where the Lord was bound and scourged; a piece of the tomb of the Lord, where he lay dead in body; a piece of the lance which pierced the side of the Lord; a piece of the wood of the Holy Cross; a bit of the ground of the place called Lithostotos; some earth from Calvary hill; a piece of stone from where the Lord was laid; a stone from Mount Sion; a rock from the mountain on which the Lord was transfigured; some wood from the holy manger of the Lord, in which

the child lay; a stone from Mount Sinai, where the law was given; a stone from the tomb of St Mary.

In another altar in the same chapel are the heads of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and the heads of the holy virgins Agnes and Eufemia.

In the third altar are some coals sprayed with the blood of St Laurence, and some fat from his body. There are also in that altar the relics of the Forty Martyrs, and those of many other saints.[78]

[78] The original Latin text is printed in Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta sanctorum*, pp. 58–59: 'In sacro namque palatio est quoddam sancti Laurentii oratorium, in quo tria sanctissima computantur altaria. Primum in arca cypressina, quam Leo papa III condidit, tres capsae sunt. In una est crux de auro purissimo adornata gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis, id est hyacinthis, et smaragdis, et prasinis. In media cruce est umbilicus domini nostri Jesu Christi; et desuper est inuncta balsamo, et singulis annis eadem unctio renovatur, quando dominus papa cum cardinalibus facit Processionem in Exaltatione sanctae Crucis ab ipsa ecclesia sancti Laurentii in basilicam Salvatoris, quae appellatur Constantiniana. Et in alia capsa argentea et deaurata cum historiis est crux de smalto depicta, et infra capsam illam est crux Domini nostri Jesu Christi; et in tertia capsa, quae est argentea, sunt sandalia, id est calciamenta, Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Est iterum ibi alia capsa deaurata, ubi est de ligno illo sanctae Crucis, quam Eraclius devicto Chosroe secum tulit de Perside, una cum corpore sancti Anastasii martyris, et est in altare, quod ibi est sancti Laurentii de marmore. Ibi est etiam brachium sancti Caesarii martyris, ossa duo sancti Joannis Baptistae, et os unum sancti Hieronymi, et spatula sancti Dionysii Areopagitae, et os de crure sancti Stephani papae, et sancti Damasii reliquiae, et sanctorum Primi et Feliciani, et caput sanctae Praxedis, et Sanctae Anastasiae reliquiae cum aliis multis, et sanctarum Agapae, Chioniae, et Hirenae, Pistis et Helpis virginum, Nerei et Achillei, Priscae et Aquilae. Item sunt ibi reliquiae de genu sancti Tiburtii filii Cromatii. In hac eadem arca cypressina est panis unus Coenae Domini, et tredecim de lenticulis ejusdem Coenae, et de arundine, et de spongia cum aceto ad os Domini posita, et lignum de sycomoro, ubi Zachaeus ascendit. Et super hoc altare est imago Salvatoris mirabiliter depicta in quadam tabula, quam Lucas evangelista designavit, sed virtus Domini angelico perfecit officio; sub cujus pedibus in quadam pretiosorum lapidum linea, pignora hujus sanctuarii sunt recondita, quorum ista sunt nomina: Lapis in quo consedit sancta Maria; lapis de sancto Jordane, ubi sedit Dominus dum baptizaretur; lapis de sancta Bethlehem; lapis de monte Oliveti, ubi Dominus oravit ad Patrem; sancta petra in qua sedit angelus ad sepulcrum; de sancta columna, ubi Dominus fuit ligatus et flagellatus; de sepulcro Domini, ubi corpore mortuus requievit; de lancea, qua fuit latus Domini perforatum; de ligno crucis Domini; de loco qui dicitur Lithostrotos; de Calvariae loco; sancta silex ubi Dominus conditus est; lapis de monte Sion; lapis in quo Dominus transfiguratus est in monte; lignum de sancto praesepe Domini, in quo puer natus fuit positus; lapis de monte Sina, ubi lex fuit data; lapis de sepulcro sanctae Mariae. In alio vero altari ejusdem oratorii sunt capita sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et capita sanctarum Agnetis et Eufemiae virginum. In tertio vero sunt carbones aspersi de sanguine sancti Laurentii, et de arvina corporis ejus. Sunt etiam in eodem oratorio reliquiae sanctorum XL Martyrum, multorumque aliorum.'

My translation turns a list-like text into more fluent English prose. The account is however somewhat confused in its descriptions of the two crosses and their respective contents; in the translation I have followed Lauer's identification of the objects.

In addition to these, there was also a treasure trove of relics normally kept in the high altar of the basilica itself but which, at times of risk or danger, were moved to the Sancta Sanctorum. They included, for example, Old Testament relics (rods of Aaron and Moses, candelabra from the Temple), and New Testament ones (bread from the five thousand loaves and two fishes, Christ's seamless tunic and his purple cloak, the Sudarium, pieces of the table from the Last Supper, blood and water from his side at the Crucifixion), as well as relics of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist.

Finally, in modern times when the treasure was opened and moved, in addition to the above relics, a series of relics' labels was found, most of which can be dated through palaeography.[79] The list of those predating the twelfth century and not mentioned by John the Deacon includes relics of Isaac, Martha, Cornelius, Aldegund, Elias, Arsenius, Cosmas and Damian, Anastasia, Constantine, Epiphanius, George, Theoctistus, Philip, and Andrew before the tenth century; Caritus, Juvenis, Michael, Paul in the tenth-eleventh centuries; and in the eleventh century, Primus and Felician and Gorgonius, and the translation of the relics of St Helena, dated to 2 June 1018.

Studying this list in detail can allow us to trace the probable knowledge of either relics or specific artefacts in England. Apart from the Acheropoita icon, the second best known item in the collection was a reliquary cross, now in the Vatican Museum, generally dated by art historians today to between the sixth and the eighth centuries. It was known to Bede, presumably from his source's copy of the relevant item in the *Liber Pontificalis*:

> By divine revelation, Pope Sergius found a silver chest in the sanctuary of the blessed Apostle Peter, where it had long lain hidden in a very dark corner. In it was a cross adorned with diverse precious stones. When he had removed the four metal plates by which the gems were embedded, he discovered inside the cross a piece of the salvific Cross of the Lord, of marvellous size. From that time forward, each year on the day of the Exaltation [of the Cross] this [relic] is kissed and adored by all the people in the basilica of the Saviour, known as the Constantinian [basilica].[80]

[79] Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta sanctorum*, pp. 138–39; Volbach, *Il tesoro della Cappella Sancta Sanctorum*, p. 8.

[80] Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, ed. by Jones, pp. 529–30: 'Papa Sergius in sacrario beati Petri apostoli capsam argenteam, quae in angulo obscurissimo diutissime iacuerat, et in ea crucem diversis ac praetiosis lapidibus adornatam, Domino revelante, repperit. De qua tractis quattuor petallis, quibus gemmae inclusae erant, mirae magnitudinis portionem ligni salutiferi dominicae crucis interius repositam inspexit. Quae ex tempore illo annis omnibus in basilica Salvatoris, quae appellatur Constantiniana, die exaltationis eius, ab omni osculatur atque adoratur po-

This enamel cross was decorated with scenes from the early life of Christ: the Annunciation, Visitation, Voyage to Bethlehem, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation to the Temple, and Baptism. Except for the Voyage to Bethlehem, these were all close in their iconography to the schemes found in John VII's chapel and at S. Maria Antiqua, and included many of the classical early Christian models seen, for example, at S. Maria Maggiore or in Ravenna.[81] The protecting casket given it by Pope Paschal I (817–24) was also decorated with scenes from the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Annunciation to the Angels, the Nativity, the Journey of the Magi, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple, as well as the Agnus Dei and the symbols of the Evangelists, while the post-Carolingian lid figured Christ between Peter and Paul.[82] The iconography of the silver panels is very close to that of the enamel panels, highlighting once again the interest in the narrative of the Infancy of Christ and the devotional aspects associated with it, which came from Rome to Anglo-Saxon England. A second, jewelled, cross, dating from the eighth century and possibly given by Charlemagne to Hadrian, contained the relic of the Circumcision; it was encased in a silver casket decorated with scenes from the adult life of Christ, set around the central panel depicting a conflation of Christ as High Priest celebrating the sacrifice on the altar and the Last Supper. They include Christ teaching in the Temple, the Wedding at Cana, the Giving of the Keys to Peter, and the Ascension, while the sides depict twelve post-Resurrection scenes including various apparition scenes as well as the Women at the Sepulchre and the Doubting of Thomas, the latter two becoming especially popular in late Anglo-Saxon iconography, as in BAE and the books of Archbishop Robert.[83] It has been identified as possibly of Frankish or of Anglo-Saxon manufacture.[84] The closeness implies a work possibly by Anglo-Saxon

pulo'. Translation from Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, trans. by Wallis, p. 233. *LP*, I, 374.

[81] On the cross and its casket, see Lauer, *Le Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum*, pp. 40–49 and 60–66, pls VI and VII; Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta sanctorum*, pp. 80–82; Volbach, *Il tesoro della Cappella Sancta Sanctorum*, pp. 15–16, pls 8 and 11.

[82] The lid cannot be earlier than the Carolingian period, since Peter's tonsure is of the 'Irish' type introduced by Irish monks within the Carolingian world, and first seen in such manuscripts as the Bible of Charles the Bald (BnF, MS lat. 1141, fol. 5^{v}).

[83] BAE, fols 51^{v} and 56^{v}; *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. by Wilson, fol. 21^{v}; *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. by Wilson, fol. 72^{v}.

[84] Lauer, *Le Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum*, pp. 49–59 and 66–71, pls VIII–IX; Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta sanctorum*, pp. 82–97; on the reliquary casket, see also Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I*, p. 262.

silversmiths operating in the Carolingian space, or even directly in Rome. It too, and its casket, are still part of the Vatican Treasure.

The first cross contained a piece of the True Cross, and was used as part of two major processions, that on Good Friday from the Lateran to S. Croce for the papal mass of the pre-sanctified, according to the *Ordo Romanum I*,[85] and that on the feast day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, when it was anointed with balm. The Exaltation of the Cross was a festival of great import in the Anglo-Saxon liturgical calendar,[86] celebrated with solemnity in calendars, and the masses for it at Winchester contained collects written in England, just as English Benedictionals sometimes included an additional benediction, also written in England. Personal devotion to the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England has been studied in detail by scholars, through such elements as the liturgy, art, private prayers and pastoral literature, especially within a monastic context and that of the aristocratic laity.[87] It was often associated with other devotional elements such as the meditation on the Wounds of Christ and the Instruments of his Passion, and was used for preaching purposes by Ælfric.

A whole range of other New Testament relics were venerated in the Sancta Sanctorum, such as Christ's sandals and the tunic of John the Baptist, as well as, already in the seventh century, some of Christ's blood, piece of the Manger or the Flagellation Column, stones and pieces of ground from holy places in Palestine, and many others. Some were kept in reliquaries decorated with a rich iconography, for example the tenth-century wooden relic with a painted lid depicting the Nativity and the Baptism at the bottom, and the Three Maries and the Ascension at the top, around a Crucifixion in the central panel.[88] The latter is a close parallel to that in S. Maria Antiqua, having a full cast of the *colobium*-clad Christ between the two thieves, as well as Longinus and Stephaton, the Virgin, and St John. Many other reliquaries made of precious woods, ivory, and enamel were decorated, often with representations of the Crucifixion, John the Baptist,

[85] Lauer, *Le Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum*; Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani*, II: *Les Textes: Ordines I–XIII* (1948), pp. 67–108.

[86] According to John the Deacon, this cross also contained the relic of the alleged umbilical cord of Jesus, a claim which was subsequently dropped.

[87] Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*; Keefer, 'The Veneration of the Cross', pp. 143–153; and Keefer, 'The Performance of the Cross', pp. 215–28 and n. 28; Hill, 'Preaching the Cross', pp. 40–48.

[88] Lauer, *Le Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum*, pp. 97–99, pl. XIV.2; Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta sanctorum*, pp. 113–17; Volbach, *Il tesoro della Cappella Sancta Sanctorum*, p. 20, pl. 14.

and especially with 'portraits' of Peter and Paul.[89] The Sancta Sanctorum contained a whole variety of other artefacts, precious textiles from all around the Mediterranean — crosses, glass ampullae holding relics, medallions, and many wood and ivory caskets — available for the veneration of the visitors.

But, apart from its Christological relics, the Sancta Sanctorum had another major function. In it were kept the relics of the heads of Rome's own patron saints, not just Peter and Paul but also Sts Laurence, Agnes, and Praxedis, the saints to whose work and miracles the people of Rome owed their conversion. They had been brought over from their various tombs outside Rome, on the Tiburtina (Laurence), the Nomentana (Agnes), the Salaria (Praxedis), and from other churches inside Rome.[90] The first two saints had major basilicas outside the walls dedicated to them, while Praxedis's church was remodelled by Paschal I, who made it into one of his showpieces.[91] The Sancta Sanctorum was used by the popes for major festivals and ceremonies unifying the people of Rome, for example, for Maundy Thursday when the Washing of the Feet was carried out, in the presence of the twelve *ostiarii* or major officers belonging to the great aristocratic families of Rome.[92] The chapel was, in that sense, the 'guardian' of Rome's relics and people, and a powerful symbol of the city of Rome and its saints, rather than just of the papacy and St Peter. Anglo-Saxon visitors interacted with major relics like the crosses or the decorated reliquaries, but did the saints whose relics were preserved in the Sancta Sanctorum, whether major Roman saints or even much less important ones, actually see a particular form of devotion in England because of their association with this Roman highlight? It is necessary to return to John the Deacon's list, but this time leaving aside major figures like Peter, Paul, and the other apostles, John the Baptist, Stephen, Jerome, and the numerous Christological relics which, when one comes across them in England, could conceivably have reached it through another medium than Rome itself. Of the other mainly 'Roman' saints, we have, apart from the heads of Laurence, Agnes and Praxedis, relics of Cesarius, Damasus, Anastasia, Agape and her sisters, Nereus and Achilleus, Prisca and Aquila, Tiburtius, Eufemia, the Forty Martyrs, Isaac, Martha, Cornelius, Aldegund, George, Cosmas and Damian, Constantine, Helena, Primus, Felician and Gorgonius,

[89] Volbach, *Il tesoro della Cappella Sancta Sanctorum*, pl. 16.

[90] Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta sanctorum*, pp. 15–16.

[91] Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I*, pp. 149–71.

[92] Lauer, *Le trésor du Sancta Sanctorum*, pp. 46–48; Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani*, II: *Les Textes: Ordines I–XIII* (1948), pp. 67–108 and Ordo XI, pp. 418–47.

Arsenius, Epiphanius, Theoctistus, Caritus, and Juvenis. Of these, only the last five are not mentioned in any Anglo-Saxon source, even basic calendars or martyrologies, litanies, liturgical celebrations, hagiography, homilies, church dedications, and lists of relics — and we should also discount Aldegund, the Merovingian saint whose cult probably reached England directly from Gaul. All others have at least entries in calendars, and there are definite pre-Conquest relics of Cesarius, Tiburtius, Agnes, Laurence, Cornelius, and George at Exeter, and of Nereus and Achilleus, Cosmas and Damian, George, Agnes, and Laurence at New Minster.[93] We have only early post-Conquest lists from other churches, and sometimes only twelfth- or thirteenth-century ones, and many pre-Conquest foundations may have acquired most of their relics by the end of the eleventh century. Thus Abingdon (list of 1116) includes relics of Anastasia, Nereus and Achilleus, Tiburtius and Valerian, Agnes, Laurence, and Cosmas and Damian; St Augustine's, Canterbury (twelfth century) had relics of Laurence; Durham (twelfth century) of Helena; the Old Minster at Winchester (twelfth century) of Laurence, Isaac, and George; Peterborough (twelfth century) of Emerentiana (Agnes's foster-sister buried with her), Laurence, and Cosmas and Damian; Glastonbury (thirteenth century) of Cesarius, Primus, Felician and Gorgonius, and Martha; York Minster (thirteenth century) of Nereus, Agnes, Eufemia, Laurence, Martha, Cornelius, Cosmas and Damian, Primus, Felician and Gorgonius, and Helena; Christ Church Canterbury (1316) of Prisca and Martha; and Westminster (fifteenth century) of Anastasia, Prisca, Tiburtius and Valerian, Agnes, Laurence, George, and Helena. While it might be prudent to discard possibly post-Conquest relics of George, whose cult took on a major dimension after the First Crusade, many of the other relics entered in post-Conquest inventories were probably there before, since they often belong to saints who had become less fashionable after the twelfth century. Especially significant among the entries are the sets of Primus, Felician and Gorgonius, a combination characteristic of the Sancta Sanctorum relics, at Glastonbury and York, to which can be added, significantly, the existence of relics of Helena at Durham and York in the twelfth century, after the 1018 translation. We know of at least two relics gatherers after that date, both almost certain to have been in the Sancta Sanctorum, Cnut in 1027 and Ealdred in 1061, the latter already as archbishop of York.

[93] Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars*. For the catalogue of relics and their location, see Goscelin, 'Historia translationis S. Augustini', ed. by Lehmann-Brockhaus, and especially Thomas, 'The Cult of the Saints' Relics', pp. 358, 362, 367, 383, 394, 421–22, 438, 449, and 467.

While the above are relatively minor saints associated with Rome, but still significantly recorded and venerated in England, the truly relevant interest in the patron saints of Rome from the Sancta Sanctorum is seen even more clearly in the cults of Sts Laurence, Agnes, and Praxedis. Laurence was Rome's main local saint, with at least nine churches and several monasteries dedicated to him by the end of the eleventh century, including at least five usually visited by English pilgrims.[94] S. Lorenzo fuori le mura on the Via Tiburtina was one of the seven major stational basilicas. Agnes also had at least three churches dedicated to her, including that on the location of her martyrdom, mentioned by Bede in his martyrology.[95] Laurence's head, like those of Peter and Paul, was kept under the main altar in the Sancta Sanctorum, in a cypress wood casket said to have been made under Pope Leo III (795–816).[96] Praxedis's relics were translated inside the walls and a new church built by Paschal I, but her head was kept in a silver casket of the tenth or eleventh centuries, featuring at its centre an enamelled scene of the Deesis with the Virgin and John the Baptist, while Agnes's and Eufemia's heads may have also been among the relics under the altar until they were placed in a separate casket in the thirteenth century by Pope Honorius III. Relics of these saints were numerous in Anglo-Saxon England, some mentioned by name as having been sent by various popes, as in the case of Pope Vitalian's consignment, which included relics of Sts Peter, Paul, Laurence, John and Paul, Gregory, and Pancras.[97] The list of relics given by Æthelstan to Exeter mentions some of Tiburtius and Valerian, Agnes, and Praxedis, as well as pieces of the Holy Cross, the Sepulchre, the Spear of Longinus, the Table from the Last Supper, and the Manger,[98] all relics found in the Sancta Sanctorum — though the Manger was the main relic at S. Maria Maggiore (also known as S. Maria in Praesepe) since the fifth century. The *Liber Vitae* of New Minster's pre-Conquest relic list includes some of Laurence (coals, blood) and Agnes,[99]

[94] Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, VIII (1928), cols 1929–59; *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VIII (1967); Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990', pp. 212–16.

[95] *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, I, cols 382–411.

[96] Though possibly mostly by Innocent III in the thirteenth century; Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta sanctorum*, p. 55.

[97] Bede, *HE*, III. 29.

[98] Æthelstan's list was first published in Förster, *Zur Geschichte des Reliquienkultus*, pp. 70–81.

[99] Thomas, 'The Cult of the Saints' Relics', pp. 181–95.

— and bloodied coals from Laurence's martyrdom were one of the Lateran relics. Wulfwine of Reading, returning from Rome, gave to several churches relics of Laurence which he had acquired there, while relics brought back by Cnut from Rome included a piece of the True Cross and of the Manger, encased in a Greek cross reliquary given to New Minster and destroyed in 1141.[100] Relics of the True Cross were also available at Glastonbury, either brought back by Dunstan or more likely already there as a gift from Alfred's set given to him by Pope Marinus.[101] Obviously, some of these relics may have reached England after the Conquest, while some may have been distributed within the country at some point. In the case of York in particular, where a deliberate effort was made in the twelfth century to create a past which would rival that of Canterbury, and reclaim Gregory's and Bede's place for York while it was challenging the supremacy of Canterbury, 'Roman' relics may well have been added for that purpose. However, the coincidence of the number of saints' relics whose names are associated with the Sancta Sanctorum is too great, and is confirmed by the fact that of 644 saints who had relics in England in the Middle Ages, ninety-six were Roman ones and they had the longest history in England.[102]

These saints were also venerated in other ways. Aldhelm in his prose *De virginitate*, thought to have been written before his Roman trip, includes among his examples Agnes and Cosmas and Damian, and another ten saints primarily worshipped in Rome, of which he had heard or read about.[103] His *Carmen de virginitate*, written after his return from Rome, included the above saints, with the addition of Gervasius and Protasius, and at least another seven Roman virgins.[104] In his earlier homilies, Ælfric included few saints other than the Virgin, John the Baptist, the Apostles, Benedict, Martin, and Stephen, but among these there were six Roman saints, including Laurence and Agnes, and only two English ones.[105] When William of Malmesbury copied into his text in the twelfth century an old Roman list of relics dated to between 648 and 682,

[100] Thomas, 'The Cult of the Saints' Relics', p. 191.

[101] William of Malmesbury, *The Early History of Glastonbury*, ed. and trans. by Scott, pp. 112–13.

[102] Thomas, 'The Cult of the Saints' Relics', p. 319.

[103] Aldhelm, *The Prose Works*, trans. by Lapidge and Herren; see Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', pp. 68–69.

[104] Aldhelm, *The Poetic Works*, trans. by Lapidge and Rosier, pp. 102–67.

[105] *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, ed. by Clemoes, pp. 418–28 for St Laurence; *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. by Skeat, I, 171–94 for St Agnes.

prominent among them, though in some cases mentioned by their location outside the walls before their subsequent translations into the city, were Prisca and Praxedis, Laurence, Agnes, Emerentiana, Helena, Tiburtius and Valerian, Nereus and Achilleus, several Marthas, and Primus and Felician.[106] This list was probably that used by Aldhelm as a guide-book, and the likeliest route for it to have reached Malmesbury, where it was still in the twelfth century, was surely Aldhelm himself.[107]

Actual liturgical celebrations are even more significant.[108] Nereus and Achilleus, Tiburtius and Valerian, and Cosmas and Damian had masses in all sacramentaries and benedictions in all benedictionals, the latter pair with a specially written English benediction at Christ Church. Praxedis and Emerentiana were both included with masses in both Robert's and Leofric's Missals, and had collects in both the Durham and Wulfstan's prayer books. Praxedis had an eleventh-century *Life* included in a St Augustine's manuscript.[109] BAE had benedictions for only thirty-two saints' feasts and major feasts overall, but among them are some for Tiburtius and Valerian and Agnes.[110] Agnes's feast and its octave were fully celebrated with masses, collects, and benedictions, the latter written in England in BAE and subsequently copied elsewhere. Agnes was also part of the procession of Virgins on fol. 102^{v} of the same manuscript, named as such, as well as Praxedis, who also had masses in Robert's Missal. In BAE the benediction for Laurence was also one written in England (together with those for a few other major Roman saints like Cecilia and Clement) rather than borrowed from Gregorian or Gelasian sources. Laurence's feast was among the most highly ranked in England. The vigil, the feast, and the octave were all celebrated with masses, benedictions, and collects; the mass for the main feast was troped, has a special Alleluia sequence, and a hymn. The four weeks after the feast were still known in Anglo-Saxon service books, as they were in Rome, as *Ebdomada I*, *II*, *III*, and *IV post s. Laurentii*. Laurence was also one of the few saints represented in the iconography, mainly in his martyrdom, although an early eleventh-century ivory casket at the Victoria and Albert Museum depicts

[106] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 615–21.

[107] Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', pp. 56–57.

[108] Ortenberg, *The English Church*, passim.

[109] BL, MS Cotton Otho A. viii; see Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, p. 150.

[110] BAE, fols 60^{v}–61^{r} and 31^{r}–31^{v}; for the liturgical celebrations of Agnes and Laurence, see Ortenberg, *The English Church*, pp. 175–80.

one of his miracles.[111] While he was represented in art from early on in Italy, especially in Ravenna and Rome, he was quite rare in Carolingian manuscripts, and only began to appear in the tenth century in Ottonian art, as part of his German cult, which developed after he was said to have helped Otto I defeat the Hungarians at the battle of the Lechfeld in 955.[112] In England he was often used as an example of diaconal charity, replacing the more common St Stephen in that role, for example by Wulfstan in his *Life of St Æthelwold*, when the Bishop had the church vessels melted to help during hard times, and also in Abbo's *Life of St Edmund*,[113] where a parallel was established between his and the martyrdom of Edmund. In the pre-Conquest period there were three dedications to Laurence in England, his being the only ones of any major saint other than Peter, Paul, Andrew, and John the Baptist — and not surprisingly two of these were connected with Malmesbury, one in the abbey and one of its dependent church at Bradford-on-Avon, and the third was at Wearmouth,[114] respectively Aldhelm and Biscop's churches. Twenty-nine Anglo-Saxon litanies, almost as many as survive, entered Laurence and Agnes automatically, but almost all also included one or the other of the Sancta Sanctorum saints.[115] Some of them were part of the Canon of the Mass, including Laurence, Agnes, Cosmas and Damian, Anastasia and Eufemia, but not Praxedis or Prisca for example.[116] Thus, some entries may have been 'obligatory', and some Roman saints, notably Laurence, were seen as 'national' ones before the Anglo-Saxons produced their own.[117] However, this no longer applied by the tenth and eleventh centuries, when there were large numbers of national and local saints, as well as other Continental ones, who might have wiped out the Roman contingent — that they did not do so must have some special significance.[118]

[111] BL, MS Cotton Caligula A. xiv, fol. 25r; see Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066*, no. 97; Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, no. 19, pls 42–45.

[112] Leyser, 'The Battle at the Lech', p. 66.

[113] *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. by Winterbottom, pp. 50 and 85–86.

[114] Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 264.

[115] *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, ed. by Lapidge.

[116] Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass*, pp. 48–53.

[117] Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 33–36; Thacker, 'In Search of Saints', pp. 247–48, 260–64, 274–76, and Thacker, 'Rome of the Martyrs', pp. 13–14.

[118] See, for example, on the importance of English saints, Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting Places'.

Conclusions

Much has been written about the early Anglo-Saxon links with Rome, and the immense importance they had for the newly converted peoples, grateful to Rome, the papacy and Gregory for having brought them the message of salvation. Almost every text from the period, be it by Bede, Willibrord, Boniface, Stephen of Ripon, Aldhelm, Alcuin, and so on, has at its core this element of both gratitude and marvel towards the city of St Peter. A constant round of these texts both led to pilgrimages and also had as a consequence a renewed fervour due to the close contact with the city's artistic treasures, relics, and religious rituals. But by the later Anglo-Saxon period, from the late ninth to the mid-eleventh century, England had been in constant touch with other expanding areas in the West, both as a giver of missionaries, books, relics, and forms of liturgical celebration, and as a receiver of some of these from the Carolingian and later Ottonian world. Rome was no longer the only show in town. Nevertheless, it remained the main focus for artistic inspiration and devotions. Two reasons may be behind this. The first has to do with the fact that visits to Rome, for whatever reason, did not diminish, rather the opposite, not only for the purposes of the pallium but simply because it went on being seen as the main repository and inspiration for English kings, ecclesiastics, and laymen alike. These visitors went to see the same places as their ancestors: St Peter's with its chapel of John VII, gradually even better known as the chapel of the Sudarium or the Veronica, where the cloth which had wiped Christ's face was increasingly seen as one of the major relics of the city, and the Lateran Sancta Sanctorum chapel. The impact of the same images as those of the earlier period therefore continued, and new relics were constantly given by the popes to important visitors, as new ones were collected in the Sancta Sanctorum, one such example being possibly those of Helena. Thus different people went to Rome, but saw the same things in these two places, and responded in a similar manner to their attraction, which explains the constant stream of Lateran relics in England and the use of the same iconographical themes in art, some seen afresh and reinterpreted, especially in pictures and ivories, some perhaps partly copied to maintain the earlier tradition in sculpture.

This desire to continue the tradition of the earlier period was not limited to sculpture in northern England. It was very much part of the core instinct of kings, scholars and ecclesiastics from Alfred and his ninth-century contemporaries to Cnut, Edward, and Ealdred in the eleventh — to be part of, to continue, and to be seen to derive from the great tradition of scholarship, devotion, and art of the pre-Viking period, with special reference to Bede himself, who

had 'created' English identity. To that extent, Alfred, Æthelstan, Edgar, and even more so the newly established and newly converted Cnut all saw themselves and presented themselves as the heirs to Bede's heroes, and, like him, they and their bishops, such as Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Ealdred, used the image of Rome, of the popes as heirs of St Peter, the relics of Roman saints, the Roman books, and images to validate the authority of the Anglo-Saxon church through its repeatedly affirmed connection with the church of its origins. This may also explain why it was that church, and not the reformed, more powerful papacy, which retained the loyalty of the Anglo-Saxons, and why it is likely that even without the Conquest, the 'Gregorian' papacy, though more powerful, may have been less revered emotionally by the Anglo-Saxons.

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Peter's Pence and Before: Numismatic Links between Anglo-Saxon England and Rome

Rory Naismith

Coins and associated metallic objects hold a unique place in the armoury of sources for Anglo-Saxon connections with Rome. They link the written record of personalities and events with the concrete and tangible realm of material remains, and enrich our understanding of travel, trade, and cultural exchange.[1] Just some of these areas will be touched on here, particularly as highlighted by the presence of Anglo-Saxon coins in Rome. These are few compared to the tens of thousands of Anglo-Saxon coins which have been found around the Baltic, but their historical significance is no less great, and as will be seen their role in the monetary history of early medieval Italy may have been considerable. It is also important to look at the opposite leg of the journey: at the Roman coins and seals of the early Middle Ages which reached England. There are, moreover, some 'virtual' coins to consider: influences of design exerted by early medieval Roman issues in England, and indeed vice versa. What these add up to is a specific yet revealing window onto intersections of spiritual, intellectual, economic, and political activity.

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[1] Recent general surveys of Anglo-Saxon travel to Italy and Rome can be found in Pelteret, 'Travel between England and Italy', and Matthews, *The Road to Rome*.

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The obvious place to begin is with the largest and most complex component of the evidence: the thousands of Anglo-Saxon coins that have been found in Rome and its environs. These span the whole period from the silver currency of the late seventh century down to the Norman Conquest, and were last studied in detail by Christopher Blunt in 1986,[2] who built on earlier studies of individual hoards and of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the Vatican Library.[3] Some additional finds and details have been added, but all future research on the topic is deeply indebted to Blunt's detailed and careful study. Table 1 and the Appendix below summarize the English finds which have been made in Italy, with those from Rome listed separately to those from the rest of the peninsula.

Table 1. Numbers of English coin-finds from Rome and the rest of Italy, arranged by date. Details of all finds are provided in the Appendix.

Date of production	Rome			Rest of Italy		
		Single-finds				
	Hoards	Certain	Probable	Hoards	Single-finds/strays	Borghesi
Before *c.* 750		1	1		2	
c. 750–850	(1?)	3	5		8	9
c. 850–900	(1?)					3
c. 900–70	3	1	6	3	1	9
c. 970–1066	2	4	3			9

Overall, there have been at least five hoards containing Anglo-Saxon hoards found in and around Rome (Appendix A), and twenty-four finds of coins either as strays, single-finds, or in excavations (Appendix B). From the rest of Italy there have been three further hoards (Appendix C), and eleven single- or stray finds (Appendix D). Thirty individual Anglo-Saxon coins are also listed in the catalogue of the Borghesi collection (Appendix E): an important nineteenth-century assemblage of coins and medals including a large Anglo-Saxon element probably stemming from Italian finds (and possibly overlapping to some extent with the other categories). These plain figures mask important chronological changes. In particular, the early phases of English coinage — the gold *scillingas* and early silver pennies or *sceattas* struck until about 750 — are

[2] Blunt, 'Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Italy'.

[3] See Appendix for references to hoards, and also Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library'.

Figure 7. (a) Base-metal *solidus* of Constantine V (741–75) with his son Leo IV, minted in Rome, 751–75; (b) silver *denarius* of Pope Hadrian I (772–95), minted in Rome, *c.* 781–95; (c) silver penny of Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury (805–32), minted in Canterbury by the moneyer Sæberht, *c.* 810–15 (all three from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge). Illustrated with kind permission of the Trustees of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

poorly represented, at least compared to their prominence among English finds. Two of them were found in Aosta, situated on the route favoured by pilgrims headed for Rome (Appendix D1–2);[4] one reportedly in Ostia (Appendix B1); and another, of a type produced in the Low Countries but extensively used in England, in the excavations at the Crypta Balbi in Rome (Appendix B2). The likely explanation for this lacuna in the Anglo-Saxon finds from Rome is the nature of the city's currency at this time, when it still adhered to Byzantine monetary practice. Rome had a coinage of bronze *folles* and severely debased gold *solidi* and *tremisses*, which carried the name of the current Byzantine emperor; these circulated alongside an intriguing series of tiny silver coins which bore the monogram of the emperor or, increasingly, the pope. There simply wasn't a place for the heavier silver pennies from northern Europe, save to be exchanged or melted down on arrival.[5]

All of this changed, however, with the pontificate of Hadrian I, which began on 1 February 772. Hadrian's pontificate saw the end of the Lombard threat in northern and central Italy and subsequently the establishment of Carolingian overlordship. The coinage of Rome reflected this major political realignment when it ceased to recognize the emperor in Constantinople, or even to use the traditional multimetallic model inherited from late antiquity. Instead it looked north for its inspiration, to the broad, thin silver pennies or *denarii* of Francia and England. This break with the past was not total. The facing bust of Byzantine coinage was retained, though now tonsured and intended to represent the pope or St Peter (see Figure 7). But the way was paved for greater receptivity in Italy to Frankish and English silver pieces.[6]

The century or so after this switch to silver saw frequent interaction between England and Rome (not least the visit of a papal legation to England in 786). These links resulted in the first flourishing of Anglo-Saxon coin circulation in Rome and Italy as a whole. In the period *c*. 780–850 English coins constituted a major proportion of Roman and Italian finds. At least one hoard including English coins of this period was possibly found in Rome *c*. 1830 (Appendix A1). Eight probable single-finds come from or around Rome (Appendix B3–10),

[4] For pilgrim routes, see David E. A. Pelteret, 'Not All Roads Lead to Rome', in this volume, with a map on p. 19.

[5] On Rome's currency at this time, see Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, pp. 169–70, and Arslan and Morrisson, 'Monete e moneta a Roma', esp. pp. 1259–70 and 1283–1301.

[6] The best survey of the papal silver coinage is Grierson and Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 259–66.

and eight more from the rest of Italy (Appendix D3–10). Among the latter are two from the vicinity of Modena, one from Friuli, one from Umbria, one from Varese, and three of uncertain, non-Roman provenance. It should also be noted that, of the eight allegedly from Rome, only four have a secure find-provenance from the city or its environs; the others first surfaced in collections or trade at Rome in the eighteenth century or after, and so can only tentatively be regarded as local finds.

Several of the eighth- and ninth-century English coins from Italy are among the most historically significant specimens ever to have been found. They include the one known penny of Heaberht, king of Kent in the 760s and 770s (Appendix B3), which was acquired in Rome about 1900; and one of the four pennies of Æthelberht II, king of the East Angles, who was executed on Offa's orders in 794 (Appendix B6). The famous Offa dinar also first surfaced in Rome at some point before 1839 (Appendix B4). The latter is an important witness to the high-value gold coinages which circulated internationally in the eighth and ninth centuries, especially Arabic dinars and copies of them, which were known as mancuses. In 798 Pope Leo III wrote to Coenwulf, king of the Mercians, politely suggesting to him that he continue Offa's pledge to send 365 gold mancuses to Rome every year. The Offa dinar could very well be one of those mancuses.[7]

Another of the most intriguing Anglo-Saxon finds from Italy in this period is also one of the most obscure (Appendix D5). It came to light at Baggiovara, near Modena, at some point before 1863. On the obverse it reportedly had the legend OFFA REX MEREOR, and on the reverse a large cross surrounded by S[*anctus*] PETRVS. All attempts to track down this coin, or a representation of it, have failed. Its unusual obverse legend might reflect a misreading of a known type which places a pellet inside an angular C, making it look like an E.[8] The reverse legend presents a much greater departure from usual contemporary practice. All other silver pennies of Offa combine the king's name with a moneyer's name, suggesting some sort of special circumstances for this coin. If genuine, it could have been a silver counterpart to the gold coins minted for the benefit of St Peter in Rome, but without access to the coin itself no certainty is possible.

[7] Edited in *Epistolae Karolini aevi (IV)*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 127, pp. 187–89. A more cautious interpretation of its link to these payments was given in Marion Archibald, 'Coins', in Webster and Backhouse, *The Making of England*, p. 190. For background, see Blackburn, 'Gold in England'. See also below, n. 31.

[8] Cf. Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 33a.

The period from about 850 to 900 is very lean in terms of Anglo-Saxon finds from Rome and elsewhere in Italy. Just one obscure hoard allegedly containing coins of Alfred has been reported from Rome, although the find is probably an illusion based on a misinterpretation of a Lombard seal ring (Appendix A2). There were also four coins from between the 840s and 899 in the Borghesi collection (Appendix E10–13). Rarity of Anglo-Saxon coins in Rome during this period is probably a consequence of dwindling output and circulation within England rather than any diminution in contacts between England and Rome. Anglo-papal contacts remained strong in the later ninth century, when there were trips to Rome by three English kings (Æthelwulf, Burgred, and Alfred), as well as visits by pilgrims, messengers, and dignitaries in the 880s. Importantly, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* implies that visits to Rome with alms were becoming a regular occurrence by 889, when it notes that there was *no* expedition to Rome in that year.[9]

The coins suggest a major step up in the scale of contact, or at least their monetary component, in the period *c*. 900 to 970. There is nothing in the English record to indicate that the Anglo-Saxon currency suddenly expanded at the beginning of the tenth century, yet nevertheless the record of English finds from Rome takes off again in dramatic fashion, with no fewer than three hoards and seven single- or stray finds from Rome (Appendix A3–5 and B11–17), along with at least three hoards, one stray find from elsewhere in Italy, and nine coins from the Borghesi collection (Appendix C1–3, D11, and E14–22).[10] These may well indicate a period when payments of monetary tribute from England to the papacy became both substantial and regular.[11] As a result of the early and mid-tenth-century influx, Anglo-Saxon coins came once more to dominate finds from Rome. The earliest of these discoveries, found on the site of the Vatican radio station in the 1920s, dates to the first years of Æthelstan's reign and comprises 511 English coins, along with six Continental silver coins and three silver ingots (Appendix A3). An even larger hoard was discovered in excavations of the House of the Vestal Virgins in 1883 (Appendix A4). It contained at least 824 Anglo-Saxon and Viking coins along with five

[9] For development of alms-payments to Rome under Alfred, see Loyn, 'Peter's Pence', pp. 253–54. For evidence of royal trips to Rome, see Keynes, 'Anglo-Saxon Entries'. For the 889 annal in the *Chronicle*, see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. by Whitelock, Douglas, and Tucker, p. 53.

[10] It should be noted that although the pre-Viking period is more often highlighted for the scale of Anglo-papal relations, links remained strong throughout the tenth century: see now Tinti, 'England and the Papacy'.

[11] For which see below, pp. 231–32.

French, German, and Italian *denarii*; one ninth-century Byzantine gold *solidus*; and, exceptionally, a pair of hooked tags inscribed with the name of Pope Marinus II (942–46). This pontificate corresponds with the probable deposition of the hoard within Edmund's reign. Both of these hoards are notable for their broad regional representation, within which there was a particularly strong component of coins from southern England. They offer a contrast to most contemporary hoards from Britain, which are concentrated in the north and underrepresent southern mints.[12] This was not true of the third Roman hoard of this period, which was bought by the British Museum in 1846 from a Rome-based dealer (Appendix A5). The surviving element of it — which may not be complete — consists of ninety-four pennies of Eadred and other Anglo-Saxon and Viking rulers, probably deposited about 950. Issues from the north-east of the kingdom — Lincolnshire and the East Midlands — are dominant, perhaps suggesting that the hoard was brought to Rome from this region.

Two of the hoards from this period found outside Rome deserve special mention for their mix of English and local coins. A small hoard from Florence (Appendix C2) is recorded in an early eighteenth-century document, which describes a find (from a grave) of a penny of Æthelstan alongside two Pavian *denarii* of the same period. Also of major importance is the 'Galli Tassi' hoard of thirty-two silver coins from the 960s, which was found in Lucca in 2002 (Appendix C3). Most of these coins were Italian *denarii* of Lucca and Pavia, though there were also four rare papal *denarii*, and three pennies of Edgar, all of the Circumscription Cross type. The significance of these finds will be considered below.

Although the period after Edgar's reform in the early 970s is very well known thanks to the survival of extensive Scandinavian hoards, in the Italian context it is somewhat less well represented than the preceding decades. Anglo-Saxon coins of this period have been found in two Roman hoards, though in both cases they constituted only a small proportion of the overall finds, which were dominated by French and German issues (Appendix A6–7). However, about seven single- or stray finds are recorded (Appendix B18–24), along with nine specimens (whether from hoards or stray finds is not clear) in the Borghesi collection (Appendix E23–31), showing that the importation of English coins did not drop off entirely.

[12] Pagan, 'The Pre-Reform Coinage of Edgar', pp. 193–97. For a detailed study of the Forum hoard, see Metcalf, 'The Rome (Forum) Hoard'.

Such are, in summary, the known English finds from Rome and Italy. Many of these are already very well known, but what has been much less discussed is how these coins contribute to knowledge of Anglo-Roman relations in the early Middle Ages. In particular, the English monetary contribution to Rome was surely significant in economic as well as spiritual terms: their share of surviving coin-finds from Rome and Italy as a whole is far from inconsiderable. Alessia Rovelli has demonstrated that the two centuries following the introduction of broad silver *denarii* around 780 were a low-point in Italian monetary history, with circulation and use of coin at a generally mediocre level.[13] It was only from about the 970s that the issues of Pavia and Milan picked up substantially in volume (on the back of new supplies of bullion from Germany), around the same time as the papal coinage came to an end.[14] Finds of coins from the preceding two centuries are notoriously scarce, largely because there simply were relatively few of them changing hands, and perhaps in part because metal-detecting is generally illegal in Italy. A catalogue of early medieval finds has been published by Ermanno A. Arslan, and an updated version is maintained electronically by him and his students.[15] Table 2 counts up the non-Anglo-Saxon finds of the period *c*. 780–970 from all Italy north of and including Rome, which amounts to some twenty-five hoards and seventy-five single-finds.[16] Rome is also counted separately, with stray finds of Roman, Italian, and foreign origin distinguished. The numbers in square brackets represent the coins found in excavations beneath the *confessio* of St Peter's in the 1940s: these included nineteen relevant non-Anglo-Saxon coins. The high proportion of non-Roman Italian coins among them is intriguing but differs substantially from the picture presented by other finds, so may not be representative.[17]

The evidence from the *confessio* notwithstanding, the papal *antiquiores* seem to have been the principal local coinage of Rome and its hinterland in the ninth and tenth centuries. They were the standard coin referenced in contemporary documents, and were known as *denarii Romanae monetae* or *denarii monetae Sancti Petri*.[18]

[13] Many of Rovelli's articles have explored this theme: some of the most notable contributions have been assembled and translated in Rovelli, *Coinage and Coin Use*.

[14] See, for example, Saccocci, 'Il ripostiglio dall'area "Galli Tassi" di Lucca', esp. pp. 170–78; and Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 97–98.

[15] Arslan, *Repertorio dei ritrovamenti*.

[16] Space does not permit the individual listing of all finds. Further details and bibliography can be found in Saccocci, 'La monetazione del *Regnum Italiae*', esp. p. 1039.

[17] All these finds are listed in Serafini, 'Appendice numismatica'.

[18] Toubert, *Les Structures du Latium medieval*, I, 566; and Rovelli, 'La moneta nella documentazione'.

Table 2. Non-Anglo-Saxon coin-finds from Italy, *c.* 780–970/75.[19]

	Rome					Rest of Italy			
	Hoards		Stray finds			Hoards		Stray finds	
	Local	Non-local	Foreign	Italian	Roman	Mostly foreign	Mostly local	Foreign	Italian
780–850	1[a]	1[b]	[2]	2[c] [1]	1[d]	5	5	8	11 (5)[e]
850–920	1[f]		[2]	[11]	8[g] [1]	2	3	1	7
920–70/75	1(?)[h]		3[i] [2]		1[j]	2	4	2	12
Total	3	1	3 [6]	2 [12]	10 [1]	9	12	11	30 (5)
	4		34			21		46	

[a] A small grave hoard of four papal *denarii* found at S. Stefano Rotondo (Ceschi, 'S. Stefano Rotondo').

[b] A small hoard of three coins (two Frankish *denarii* from (probably) non-Italian mints along with one *tremissis* of Desiderius) found at Bolsena, Lazio (see Serafini, *Monete*, p. lxxii n. 13).

[c] A *denarius* of Charlemagne from Milan found at the Piazza Celimontana: Rovelli, 'Un denaro di Carlo Magno'; and a rare Beneventan *denarius* of Sico (817–32), which came to light in excavations at S. Paolo fuori le mura, in Borgonovo, 'Monete', no. US636.

[d] One *denarius* of Gregory IV and Louis the Pious found in the catacombs of Commodilla before 1910; Serafini, *Monete*, p. lxxvii.

[e] The five bracketed coin-finds of this period cannot be safely attributed to a specific mint.

[f] A substantial hoard found at Viterbo, Lazio in 1844 (deposited *c.* 915) apparently consisted entirely of papal *denarii*; di San Quintino, 'Monete del x e dell'xi secolo', pp. 7 and 9–10.

[g] Two coins (both Leo IV with Lothar I) were found (apparently not a hoard) in excavations at the Lateran (Serafini, *Monete*, p. lxix n. 3); one *denarius* of Nicholas I and Louis II was found as a stray find in the Baths of Diocletian in 1982–83 (Travaini, 'Rinvenimenti'); a *denarius* of Hadrian III was found at Mola di Monte Gelato by 1993 (Hobbs, 'The Coins'); a *denarius* of Hadrian III and Charles the Fat was found at the cemetery of Priscilla by 1910 (Serafini, *Monete*, p. lxxvii); one *denarius* probably of Benedict III and Louis II was found in the excavations of the Crypta Balbi (Rovelli, 'Aspetti numismatici'); a *denarius* of Stephen VI and Lambert of Spoleto (896–97) was found at S. Paolo fuori le mura (see Borgonovo, 'Monete', no. US325); and one *denarius* of John X and Berengar I was found at Vico Jugario (Spagnoli, 'Un denaro anonimo').

[h] A small hoard (apparently deposited *c.* 975; Serafini, *Monete*, p. lxxvii n. 13) from Bolsena, Lazio, is of dubious authenticity and has been associated with a number of known forgeries (Grierson and Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, p. 336).

[i] A bronze *follis* of Constantine VII (913–59), struck 914–19, and two *denarii* of Otto I (936–73) from Pavia were found in excavations of S. Paolo fuori le mura (Borgonovo, 'Monete', no. US656).

[j] A *denarius* of John XI and Alberic was found in the Tiber in 1880 (Gregorovius, 'Die Münzen Alberichs', p. 34).

[19] The cut-off for finds recorded here is the appearance of extensive issues assigned to Otto II and III from northern Italian mints. Issues which can only be attributed to one of the three Ottos are also excluded. It should further be noted that there are many coins of this period in Roman collections — not least the Vatican — which lack any known provenance and may or may not be local finds. The Vatican's papal coins are listed in Serafini, *Monete*; Frankish coins in the Vatican apparently begin with the Carolingians.

Aside from the English coins there are few recorded Roman finds of foreign issues until the last quarter of the tenth century, except for those few which have been found within the predominantly Anglo-Saxon hoards.[20] From Rome alone the English element from before *c*. 970 comprises some five hoards and between five and seventeen stray finds, concentrated in the periods *c*. 780 to 850 and *c*. 920 to 970; that is to say, up to double the number of finds of contemporary local issues. One must be wary of placing too much weight on these exact figures: there have certainly been many unrecorded finds from Rome and elsewhere, and we are dependent on what has come to light through chance finds and excavations over many generations. But it is unlikely that these proportions are wildly off target. Anglo-Saxon coins seem to have come to Rome in large quantity; larger, it should be noted, than contemporary Frankish, German, and possibly even north Italian coins, at least until the later tenth century.

The function of these coins within Rome and the rest of Italy remains unclear. Gold coinage was a special case: its circulation was less restricted than that of contemporary silver, as it was comparatively rare, prestigious, and closely related to gold bullion in other forms.[21] There was probably no impediment to using English gold coin in Italy or *vice versa*. Foreign silver coins, on the other hand, theoretically should not have been used for normal transactions. Use of local currency was stipulated by successive rulers, and in a letter written between 847 and 853 the West Frankish abbot Lupus of Ferrières (d. *c*. 862) famously mentioned that by then only local money was acceptable in Italy.[22] Despite this, Italy — and especially Rome and the Alpine routes plied by pilgrims — seems to have been somewhat more open to foreign coin than contemporary Francia or England.[23] One possible explanation for this is that Anglo-Saxon silver pennies belonged to a special class of currency: one which was spent on alms or gifts to churches.[24] Rome was presumably the principal recipient of such payments, though finds of English coin from elsewhere may sometimes

[20] For general surveys of medieval coin-finds from Rome, see Travaini, 'Monete medievali in area romana', pp. 163–68; Rovelli, 'Emissione e uso della moneta'; and Arslan and Morrisson, 'Monete e moneta a Roma'.

[21] Blackburn, 'Gold in England', pp. 65–73. See also McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 323–42; Naismith, 'Six English Finds'; and Delogu, 'Il mancoso è ancora un mito?'.

[22] Edited in *Epistolae Karolini aevi (IV)*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 66, p. 65.

[23] Saccocci, 'Tra est ed ovest', pp. 115–16; and Arslan and Morrisson, 'Monete e moneta a Roma', pp. 1274–78.

[24] It has been common to associate Anglo-Saxon finds from Rome with the payment of Peter's Pence (see below, p. 232): Travaini, 'Monete medievali in area romana', p. 169.

be explained as losses associated with pilgrims and religious devotions. The two English *sceattas* from Aosta (which lay on the route taken by at least one tenth-century English visitor to Rome), for example, turned up in excavations of the site of the cathedral.[25] The normal rules enjoining use of local currency may not have applied to money brought for pious uses, and English pennies could have been carried all the way from England to Rome sealed up expressly for religious purposes, as suggested by the probably English-made fasteners inscribed with the name of Pope Marinus II which once sealed a bag containing the largest of the English hoards from Rome.[26] Such special purposes may have been common for English money in Italy: there was a strong incentive for pilgrims to retain some of their portable wealth until arrival, where it could be distributed at various churches. Much of this was presumably then melted down into other forms of coin or bullion. The wealth in precious metal accumulated by Roman churches in this period is staggering. The *Liber Pontificalis* recounts the weight of gold and silver lavished in Rome by successive popes, kings, and emperors, which between the years 772 and 816 amounted to some 4480 pounds of gold and 45,867 pounds of silver.[27] A significant portion of this may well have been gathered up from the offerings made by pious Anglo-Saxons.

On the other hand, it is equally evident that some English money did make it out into wider circulation. There are at least three Italian hoards — one from the early ninth century and two from the tenth century — which contain English coins mixed in with local currency (Appendix A1, C2, and C3): a significant departure from the usual segregation of local and foreign money which indicates some use of incoming Anglo-Saxon coins for general purposes. The famous Ilanz hoard, found not far over the modern Swiss border, also contained a curious mix of Carolingian silver *denarii* — some Italian, some Frankish — and Italian gold *tremisses* in the names of Lombard kings and Charlemagne, along with a couple of Arabic dirhams and three English pennies. It is likely that this hoard represents the contents of a purse being carried out of Italy in the 790s.[28] Within Rome especially, the use of English coins for both sacred

[25] Orlandoni, 'La via commerciale', p. 441. Aosta features (as *Agusta*) in the itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric (990–94): Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990', p. 238. See also Pelteret's contribution to this volume.

[26] For comment see below, pp. 231–32.

[27] Delogu, 'Oro e argento'.

[28] Jecklin, 'Der langobardisch-karolingische Münzfund bei Ilanz'. English coins of the mid-tenth century were also present in the Solothurn hoard of 1762: Pagan, 'The Solothurn Hoard'; and a famous gold coin of Edward the Elder was found in a garden at Lutry near Lausanne in

and secular purposes may have been considerable, and even elsewhere in Italy it was not negligible.

What, if anything, did English travellers to Rome take home in terms of coinage? The short answer is far less than they apparently brought, especially given the extensive searching and recording by metal-detectorists that has gone on in England and Wales. Only three papal coins of Anglo-Saxon date have been found in England. One of these is a single-find: a rare *denarius* of Stephen V and Louis the Pious, which surfaced in East Sussex in 2004.[29] The other two coins both come from hoards. The earlier coin is of Leo III alone (minted 795–*c*. 800) and comes from the Delgany hoard. Strictly speaking this is not an English find, since it was discovered in Ireland. But all the other coins within it are southern English of the 820s, and so it may be accepted as a parcel of currency removed more or less intact from southern England.[30] The later coin, a fragment in the name of Benedict IV and Louis III (901–03), comes from the famous Cuerdale hoard of the early tenth century. This contained forty kilograms of silver altogether, among which were about 7500 coins, including some twenty-four other contemporary Italian issues.[31]

Finds of papal coins from the rest of northern Europe mirror the English evidence quite closely: *antiquiores* turn up rarely, and normally in substantial hoards, where the presence of one or two foreign coins would more likely go unnoticed. Three Carolingian hoards from north of the Alps have included

1909 (Blunt, 'A Gold Penny of Edward the Elder'). For other early medieval coin-finds from Switzerland, see Zäch and Diaz Tabernero, 'Bemerkungen'; and Orlandoni, 'Le monete alto medievali'.

[29] *Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (EMC)* <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/emc/> [accessed 26 April 2013], no. 2004.0044.

[30] Evans, 'On a Hoard of Early Anglo-Saxon Coins'; and Naismith, *The Coinage of Southern England*, I: *Introduction, Tables, and Plates*, pp. 59–61.

[31] Hawkins, 'An Account of Coins and Treasure'. See now Williams and Archibald, 'The Cuerdale Coins'. Other English hoards containing Carolingian coins are listed in Dolley and Morrison, 'Finds of Carolingian Coins', with subsequent finds summarized at the Fitzwilliam Museum's electronic *Checklist of Coin Hoards from the British Isles, c. 450–1180* (<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/projects/hoards/> [accessed 26 April 2013]): Italian coins were present in three hoards besides Cuerdale. The attribution of one coin from the Chester 1950 hoard (deposited *c*. 970) has recently been revised from Berengar I (887–924) to Berengar II (950–61): Pagan, *Sylloge of Coins*, no. 810. Italian single-finds include EMC 1994.0171 (Charlemagne, Pavia), 2007.0266 (Charlemagne, Milan), 1995.0271 (Otto I–III, Pavia), and *Portable Antiquities Scheme* <www.finds.org.uk> [accessed 26 April 2013], no. NCL-F02EB5 (gold *solidus*, Duke Arechis of Benevento).

papal coins. There were three of Leo III along with one Arabic dirham in the forty-nine coins recorded from the huge Biebrich-Wiesbaden hoard deposited around 800.[32] One coin of Leo IV and Lothar I (847–55) (and also one English coin) were in the large Roermond hoard of the 850s.[33] Among sixty-nine *denarii* in a hoard from Avignon deposited around 884 there was one of John VIII and Charles the Bald (875–77),[34] and one of John XIII (965–72) was in a small hoard of *c*. 975 from Paretz, Havelland, Germany.[35] In addition, a *denarius* of Leo IV and Lothar (847–55) was found in a grave at Einberg in Bavaria.[36] To users aware of their origins these coins may have been interesting curiosities and keepsakes, but they were not, apparently, being used or lost in significant quantity. Movement of English wealth to Rome was a largely one-way process. The (often intangible) benefits conferred by taking money to Rome simply did not transfer to bringing Roman money home for local use.

Nonetheless, the image of Roman money in England could exert a powerful influence,[37] which was particularly strong in the archiepiscopal coinage of Canterbury. This began in about the 770s, with silver pennies, which drew their inspiration for an aniconic three-line reverse design from contemporary *denarii* of Hadrian I.[38] Later, at the beginning of the pontificate of Archbishop Wulfred (805–32), another coinage modelled even more closely on papal currency was undertaken (see Figure 7).[39] In contrast to earlier issues, which had usually combined the archbishop's name with that of the Mercian overlords, this new coinage abandoned all reference to the king and instituted a facing tonsured bust representing the archbishop. Interestingly, although his coinage was modelled on papal issues, Wulfred did not look to those which were current in 805. Since 800, papal coinage had dispensed with the facing bust and also named the emperor as well as the pope.[40]

[32] Völckers, *Karolingische Münzfunde der Frühzeit*, no. XLII.

[33] Haertle, *Karolingische Münzfunde*, no. 50.

[34] Haertle, *Karolingische Münzfunde*, no. 82.

[35] Friedländer, 'Der Münzfund von Paretz'.

[36] Haertle, *Karolingische Münzfunde*, no. 577.

[37] For the early influence of (ancient) Roman imagery and culture more generally on coinage, see Gannon, 'Three Coins in a Fountain'.

[38] Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, type 149. For Hadrian's corresponding coin-type, see Serafini, *Monete*, Adriano I, nos 4–6.

[39] Naismith, *The Coinage of Southern England*, type C36.

[40] Grierson and Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, no. 1033; and Serafini, *Monete*, Leone III, nos 1–2.

To the educated observer the design of Wulfred's coins was surely intended to evoke those of Hadrian I and the early pontificate of Leo III, and to draw a parallel between the pope's authority and that of Canterbury.[41] It should also be noted, however, that Wulfred's coins appeared at the same time as a parallel portrait series for the king, and so in an important sense they actually stayed in step with the rest of the coinage that was being issued in Canterbury. They should probably be read as an intelligent attempt to make a virtue out of a necessity.

The influence of coin-design was not one-way. Within Italy English pennies inspired coin designs at Lucca in the eighth century, and also, in the tenth century, at Gaeta and Rome. At Lucca, it was the elaborate cruciform reverse designs of certain non-portrait coins of Offa which caught the eye of local die-cutters. At Gaeta, a copper half-follaro of Marino and Giovanni (minted 978–84) may have been modelled on the 'Reform'-type coinage of Edgar, Edward the Martyr, and Æthelred II. At Rome, the influence came in the pontificates of John X and XI (914–28 and 931–35). Two coin-types looked to English models, one to a specimen of the rare and attractive floral types produced in western Mercia under Edward the Elder, the other to a rare issue struck at York immediately after Æthelstan's takeover in 927, which included a representation of a church in the design. These borrowings do not seem to be associated with any special political statement to which the English models might appeal; if anything, they further attest to the broad circulation and economic significance which Anglo-Saxon coinage achieved in early medieval Italy.[42]

Although not technically coins as such, it is appropriate to record here the few English finds of early medieval Roman *bullae* (two-sided lead seals used to validate documents). No fewer than four of these have now been discovered.[43] The earliest was found at Whitby Abbey in 1874, and though not papal it is of the same style and bears the name of an archdeacon Boniface. The approximate date of this *bulla* is consistent with it referring to the archdeacon Boniface who taught the young St Wilfrid during his sojourn at Rome in the 650s, though of course this association cannot be proven.[44] The other three known *bullae* have

[41] For the ambitious rule of Wulfred at Canterbury, see Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 132–42 and 175–206, and also Brooks, 'Canterbury, Rome and the Construction of English Identity'.

[42] Blunt, 'Four Italian Coins Imitating Anglo-Saxon Types'; Kent, 'A South Italian Imitation'.

[43] All will soon be published in detail by Tim Pestell. I am grateful to him for sharing his information on these finds prior to publication.

[44] Now in the possession of Whitby Museum: see White, 'Finds from the Anglian Monastery'; and, for an illustration, Matthews, *The Road to Rome*, p. 30. For Boniface and Wilfrid, see

all been found since the 1990s.[45] One was of Pope Theodore I (642–49), found in Hertfordshire;[46] one was of Paschal I (817–24), found at Much Cowen in Herefordshire;[47] and the last was of John XI, found at Kilverstone in Norfolk.[48] It should also be noted that the only known lead *bulla* of an Anglo-Saxon king — one of Coenwulf, king of the Mercians — first surfaced in Italy in the mid-nineteenth century.[49] These seals were used in a very different way than coins: their circulation was not governed by the same forces, and so despite appearances they belong very much to the realm of documentary rather than monetary interaction.

The most commonly referenced explanation for the occurrence of Anglo-Saxon coins in Italy has traditionally been Peter's Pence — an obligation laid on every English household to pay one penny to Rome each year. This was known as *Romgescot* or *Rompening* in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when it appears most prominently in written legislation, although it may have been developing as an institution from the reign of Alfred (871–99).[50] Very few finds of English coins from Rome or elsewhere in Italy date to the late ninth century, but it is striking that the period extending from Edward the Elder to Edgar saw the heyday of English coin circulation, quite probably on the back of the development of what would become Peter's Pence. The Forum hoard of *c*. 945, containing more than eight hundred pennies and sealed with special probably

The Life of Bishop Wilfrid, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, chap. 5, pp. 12–13.

[45] A *bulla* of Pope Zachary (741–52) is preserved in the British Museum, the original provenance of which is not known. On this and the other finds, see Pestell, [untitled note].

[46] This find (acquired by Norwich Castle Museum) was only discovered after being posted for sale on ebay in 2008 <www.ebay.co.uk> [accessed 12 November 2013]; no more information on provenance was available. It is tempting to associate the discovery of this rare *bulla* in Hertfordshire with the Council of Hatfield in 680, at which Archbishop Theodore (668–90) affirmed the decrees of the Lateran Council of 649, based largely on writings gathered under Pope Theodore (Cavallo, 'Theodore of Tarsus', p. 64).

[47] Listed on the *Portable Antiquities Scheme* as HESH-ADE183. It was cut down, possibly to serve as a weight.

[48] Also now owned by Norwich Castle Museum (acquisition no. 2004.868).

[49] Anon., 'Seal of Coenwulf'; and, for comment, Chaplais, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chancery', pp. 52–53.

[50] For the most thorough treatment of Peter's Pence, see Loyn, 'Peter's Pence'; an older treatment of the subject in broader chronological perspective is Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England*, pp. 1–30. A fresh examination of the subject is in preparation by the present author, in collaboration with Francesca Tinti, and with the support of the British Academy.

English-made fasteners naming the pope,[51] presents the most compelling case for an association between a hoard and the growth of large-scale almsgiving. Even so, it must fall far short of a year's worth of Peter's Pence from all England, and the Forum hoard's mix of regional currencies could represent a sample gathered within a single area, especially the south. Attempts to calculate the theoretical scale of Peter's Pence from the whole kingdom run up against many imponderables such as how many English households there were, and how effectively payments were collected from them and conveyed to Rome. But, to give some rough figures, the territory of 2400 hides assigned for the support of Winchester in the Burghal Hidage or the 2495 hides in Berkshire in 1066 according to Domesday Book, could notionally have given three Forum hoards each. In value the hoard amounted to £3, 6*s*. and 7*d*., which pales alongside the *c*. £30 of coins in the Cuerdale hoard or the hundreds of thousands of pounds paid over to the Vikings under Æthelred II. If the Forum hoard was indeed a national contribution, it must have been handled by some very sticky fingers.[52]

There are precedents for fairly regular payments to Rome at least going back to the time of Offa and especially Alfred, and many finds from Rome quite probably were intended (at least in part) as alms for the church. But Peter's Pence is surely only part of the story. English coin-finds from Rome and the rest of Italy should be viewed not only as formal large-scale payments, but also as the possessions of individual pilgrims — like the guildmen of Exeter, or the several Anglo-Saxons who sold land to raise money for travelling to Rome — and of other travellers for whom spiritual benefits may have been just one aim of the journey.[53] Numismatic links between England and Rome thus show religious and economic forces not so much clashing or diverging but finding common ground in the heart of Christian Europe.

[51] Graham-Campbell, Okasha, and Metcalf, 'A Pair of Inscribed Anglo-Saxon Hooked Tags'.

[52] *Pace* Metcalf, 'The Rome (Forum) Hoard', p. 67.

[53] See the Exeter guild statutes (*EHD*, no. 137, p. 605) and Sawyer, nos 222, 1182, 1187, 1206, and 1500 for Anglo-Saxons who sold or leased estates to raise money for pilgrimage; monetary bequests to St Peter's in Rome (which were presumably transported by pilgrims or other messengers) are mentioned in Sawyer, nos 1482, 1508, and 1532. Cf. other papers in this volume, especially those by David A. E. Pelteret, Luisa Izzi, Veronica Ortenberg West-Harling, Francesca Tinti, and Elaine Treharne.

Appendix

List of Anglo-Saxon Coin-Finds from Rome and Italy

References to 'Blunt' are to entries in Blunt, 'Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Italy'; those to 'Serafini' equate to Serafini, 'Appendice numismatica'. 'Dep.' signifies the estimated date of deposit of hoards.

A. Hoards Found in or near Rome

1. 'Rome', *c.* 1830 (?) (dep. at an uncertain date (early ninth century?)). An uncertain number of English coins from the eighth to tenth centuries, seen in the early nineteenth century by Giulio di San Quintino, was allegedly found with Frankish, papal, and other issues. Among surviving coins, Blunt tentatively assigned to the hoard one penny of Ecgberht II of Kent, nine pennies of Offa, three of Coenwulf, and one of Archbishop Æthelheard with Coenwulf. These are now either held by the Vatican Library or passed through the auction of the Borghesi collection at Rome on 24 April 1880. He also suggested that the coin of Offa recorded as B5 below may have been part of this hoard. However, it should be noted that the Borghesi collection included many additional English coins of the appropriate period (see below, Appendix E) which Blunt did not believe to have been part of the hoard. Moreover, a hoard spanning such a long period as di San Quintino states is in itself difficult to credit. It is possible that this unlikely sounding hoard constitutes an amalgamation of several smaller finds, or perhaps of single-finds deposited over time. On the other hand, the large selection of late eighth- and early ninth-century coins in the Vatican and Borghesi collections is entirely compatible with a hoard of the early 800s. Whether it is identical with the selection of coins spanning the eighth to tenth centuries reported by di San Quintino is unclear. If not, there is no way to determine exactly when or where the coins were discovered, but the presence of some in the Vatican means Rome remains a possibility.

References: Blunt, hoard no. 1; Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', pp. 449–53; and di San Quintino, 'Monete del x e dell'xi secolo', p. 7.

2. 'Rome (?)', possibly before 1957 (dep. at an uncertain date, possibly in the early tenth century): according to Christopher Blunt, a gold ring with the legend +AVF / RET was said to have been 'found near Rome' before 1859, along with 'a considerable number' of coins of Alfred. However, in light

of important re-examination by Anna Gannon, most of this account can no longer be accepted. The ring itself is extant, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (acquisition no. 629.1871) but is of Lombard rather than Anglo-Saxon origin. Also, it is known from various Italian sources to have been found at Bagnoregio, Viterbo, in 1726. It had reached England by 1859, when it was in the possession of Edmund Waterton, who introduced the supposed Roman provenance and the association with an otherwise unknown coin hoard. Christopher Blunt suggested that this find may have been identical with some corroded but purportedly Anglo-Saxon coins said to have been shown to an English visitor to Rome at the hospital of S. Spirito (i.e., the former *schola Anglorum/Saxonum*) in the mid-twentieth century. Whatever coins the hospital once owned could no longer be found when Christopher Blunt's brother enquired about them in 1980, and there is no way of determining their authenticity, attribution, or circumstances of discovery. They may conceivably be the small collection of thirteen brittle and damaged coins dating to the reigns of Edward the Elder and Æthelstan now in the Museo Nazionale Romano. However, no reason now exists to associate these or any other finds of Anglo-Saxon coins with the Lombard ring in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

References: Blunt, hoard no. 6; [anon. notice in] *Archaeological Journal*, 16 (1859), 194; Morton, *A Traveller in Rome*, p. 350; Metcalf, 'The Rome (Forum) Hoard', pp. 79–80; Gannon, 'Three Coins in a Fountain', p. 303 n. 84; Gannon, 'I "Signori degli Anelli", pp. 7–8; Gannon, 'The Double Life of Aufret — Revealed'.]

3. Vatican, *c*. 1928 (dep. *c*. 927). This hoard included 511 English coins, six non-English coins, and three silver ingots. It was found during the construction of the Vatican radio station, and was sold in London in 1929–30.

References: Blunt, hoard no. 2; O'Donovan, 'The Vatican Hoard of Anglo-Saxon Pennies'.

4. Rome, Forum, 1883 (dep. *c*. 945). Some 830 identifiable coins and 19 further fragments (together with two inscribed silver hooked tags) were found in an earthenware vessel in the course of excavations at the House of the Vestal Virgins, and were promptly published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* thanks to a communication sent by Commendatore Giovanni Battista de Rossi. This major find was composed overwhelmingly of English coins, along with seven Anglo-Viking pennies, five Continental *denarii*, and one Byzantine gold *solidus*.

References: Metcalf, 'Rome (Forum) Hoard'; Blunt, hoard no. 4; Blunt, 'The Coinage of Athelstan', pp. 141–55; Lanciani, 'L'Atrio di Vesta', with an appendix by Giovanni

Battista de Rossi on the hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins at pp. 487–514; Keary, 'A Hoard of Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Rome'. A new catalogue and study of this hoard by the author and Francesca Tinti will appear in *Bollettino di Numismatica*.

5. 'Rome', 1846 or before (dep. *c.* 950). These ninety-four coins (along with, probably, a silver gilt strap-distributor) were bought by the British Museum from the Rome-based dealer Campanari in 1846, with a note in the accessions register indicating they had been found at Rome. It is not clear if this group constituted the entirety of a hoard, or even the entirety of the English element of a hoard.

References: Blunt, hoard no. 5.

6. Ariccia, Lazio, 1885 (dep. *c.* 1010?). One penny of Æthelred II was said to have been found in this hoard of about 213 mostly German coins.

References: Blunt, hoard no. 7; *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* (1886), 25–26.

7. S. Paolo fuori le mura, Rome, 1843 (dep. *c.* 1070/80?). It is not clear if the assemblage of about four hundred coins found in the church of S. Paolo fuori le mura in 1843 constituted a hoard or a mass of offerings made individually. If the latter, they are of surprisingly close date, in contrast to (for example) the hoards found in excavation of the *confessio* of St Peter's; moreover, the initial publication of them by Giulio di San Quintino described them as having been found hidden within the walls of a tower — a location which does not suggest gradual deposition over time. Among the *c.* 400 coins seen by di San Quintino were 'rather over a hundred' (assai più di cento) Anglo-Saxon coins, a third of them in the name of Edward the Confessor, and including some of Cnut: other rulers were not specifically mentioned, though di San Quintino implies that more were represented. Only three coins were specifically described by di San Quintino, all of Edward the Confessor: one Trefoil/Quadrilateral type of Lincoln, uncertain moneyer; one Sovereign/Eagles type of Stamford, moneyer Wilgrip; and another of the same type, Colchester mint, moneyer Beorhtric. Two further coins were described in a brief account of the find in the *Numismatic Chronicle*: one of Cnut by 'Ethric on Rumford' and one of Edward the Confessor by 'Godfrine on Lund'. At that stage, some or all of the coins had entered the stock of Mr J. E. L. Curt, a London coin dealer.

References: Blunt, p. 166; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7 (1844), 195; di San Quintino, 'Monete del x e dell'xi secolo', pp. 101–03.

B. Single-Finds Discovered in or near Rome

1. Ostia, Lazio (date and context of find uncertain): an early penny/*sceat* of Series H, type 48.

References: Metcalf, 'The Coins', p. 28; Blunt, p. 163.

2. Crypta Balbi, Rome, 1981–83 (found in the course of excavation along with *c*. 270 other late antique and early medieval coins): an early penny/*sceat* of Series E. It should be noted that coins of this type were probably minted in Frisia rather than England, though they circulated very heavily in England, and so the coin is mentioned here for reference. It was the only foreign coin of this period found in the Crypta Balbi.

References: Rovelli, 'Monete dal deposito di VIII secolo nell'esedra della *Crypta Balbi*', no. IV.8.37 (p. 535).

3. Rome (?), before 1900 (date and context of find uncertain): the only known penny of Heaberht, king of Kent (*fl*. 765) (now in the British Museum). The coin entered Lord Grantley's collection in 1900 and was acquired by him in Rome. It should be stressed that the context of its discovery is unknown.

References: Blunt, isolated find 1(a); Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 84a; Grantley, 'On Some Unique Anglo-Saxon Coins', pp. 148–53.

4. Rome (?), before 1839 (date and context of find uncertain): the only known gold dinar in the name of Offa, king of the Mercians (now in the British Museum). The coin first surfaced in the collection of the Duc de Blacas (1771–1839), who acquired it during 'a sojourn in Rome'. As with the Heaberht penny, the exact date and location of its discovery are uncertain.

References: Blunt, isolated find 1(b); Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 1a; de Longperier, 'Remarkable Gold Coin of Offa'.

5. Rome, before 1843 (date and context of find uncertain): the proceedings of the Royal Numismatic Society record that at the meeting held in London on 25 May 1843, Mr J. G. Pfister (*c*. 1799–1883) exhibited a penny of Offa ('without the portrait') and a denarius of Pippin — most likely Pippin III (751–68), though this is not made clear — 'found in Rome'. It

is possible that the two coins constitute a small hoard, or part of a larger whole; indeed, Christopher Blunt was inclined to associate them with hoard A1 above, but the authority for doing so is uncertain.

References: *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6 (1844), proceedings (paginated separately), p. 104.

6. Tivoli, Lazio, 1908 (said in Carlyon-Britton catalogue to have been found 'below the walls of the city of Tivoli'): one of four known pennies of Æthelberht II, king of the East Angles (d. 794) (now in the British Museum). It is first known in the collection of P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, with the information on its provenance given in the sale of his coins.

References: Blunt, isolated find 1(d); Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 186b; Sotheby 17.11.1913 (Carlyon-Britton collection), lot 306.

7. Rome (?), before 1739 (date and context of find uncertain): a penny of Coenwulf, Tribrach coinage (797/98–*c.* 805), London mint, moneyer Eama. This coin was recorded as being, by 1739, in the collection of a Rome-based collector named Marco Antonio Sabatini (d. 1724). The collector's location provides no more than a very tentative hint as to the find-spot of the coin. It should be noted that the same publication lists a second coin of the same king, type, and moneyer, allegedly in the hands of another scholar, Francesco Vettori (1693–1770). It is probable, however, that these refer to the same specimen of this extremely rare moneyer.

References: Blunt, isolated find 1(e); Naismith, *The Coinage of Southern England*, no. L10b; Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii ævi*, II (1739), pp. 751 and 760.

8. Rome or Liguria/Tuscany (?), before 1885: a penny of Offa, London mint, moneyer Ceolheard. The coin is said to have been 'found in Rome' in the Montagu catalogue of 1895, and is probably derived from the collection of Marchese Commendatore Angelo Remedi (1806–89), who lived at Sarzana in Liguria, near the border with Tuscany. No provenance was given when this collection was sold at Milan in 1885. Montagu's alleged Rome provenance may therefore be a guess, or a false extrapolation from partial information. I am grateful to Hugh Pagan for passing on details of this coin's history.

References: Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 18e; Sotheby 18.11.1895, lot 190; Sambon (Milan) 7.1.1885, lot 3009.

9. Vatican (found in excavations of the *confessio* of St Peter's, 1940–49): a penny of Ecgberht, king of the West Saxons, Rochester mint, moneyer Beagmund (now in the Vatican Library).

References: Serafini, no. 382; Naismith, *The Coinage of Southern England*, no. R16.1j; Blunt and Dolley, 'Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 7.

10. Vatican (found in excavations of the *confessio* of St Peter's, 1940–49): a penny of Æthelwulf, king of the West Saxons, Rochester mint, moneyer Beornnoth (now in the Vatican Library).

References: Serafini, no. 383; Naismith, *The Coinage of Southern England*, no. R33a; Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 8.

11. Rome (?) (circumstances of find uncertain): a penny of Edward the Elder, Two-Line type, moneyer Eicmund (now in the Vatican Library). Nothing is known of the coin's provenance.

References: Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 9.

12. Rome (?) (circumstances of find uncertain): a penny of Edward the Elder, Two-Line type, moneyer Tila (now in the Vatican Library). Nothing is known of the coin's provenance.

References: Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 10.

13. Villa Wolkonsky, Rome (found in the course of uncertain excavations): a penny of Edward the Elder, Two-Line type, moneyer Framwis, mounted in a brooch (now in the British Museum).

References: Blunt, pp. 165–66.

14. Rome (?) (circumstances of find uncertain): a penny of Edmund, Two-Line type, moneyer Ingelgar (now in the Vatican Library). Nothing is known of the coin's provenance.

References: Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 11.

15. Rome (?) (circumstances of find uncertain): a penny of Eadred, Two-Line type, moneyer Hunred (now in the Vatican Library). Nothing is known of the coin's provenance.

References: Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 12.

16. Rome (?) (circumstances of find uncertain): a penny of Eadred, Bust Crowned type, moneyer Hildwulf (now in the Vatican Library). Nothing is known of the coin's provenance.

References: Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 13.

17. Rome (?) (circumstances of find uncertain): a penny of Edgar, Circumscription type, moneyer Seleweald (now in the Vatican Library). Nothing is known of the coin's provenance.

References: Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 14.

18. Rome (?) (circumstances of find uncertain): a penny of Cnut, Quatrefoil type, London mint, moneyer Oswulf (now in the Vatican Library). Nothing is known of the coin's provenance.

References: Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 15.

19. Vatican (found in the excavations of the *confessio* of St Peter's, 1940–49): a penny of Cnut, Short Cross type, moneyer Ælfwine (now in the Vatican Library).

References: Serafini, no. 384; Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 16.

20. Rome (?) (circumstances of find uncertain): a penny of Cnut, Short Cross type, London mint, moneyer Brungar (now in the Vatican Library). Nothing is known of the coin's provenance.

References: Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 17.

21. Vatican (found in excavations of the *confessio* of St Peter's, 1940–49): a penny of Harold I, Jewel Cross type, Lincoln mint, moneyer Leofwine (now in the Vatican Library).

References: Serafini, no. 385; Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 18.

22. Vatican (found in excavations of the *confessio* of St Peter's, 1940–49): a penny of Edward the Confessor, Small Flan type, Lincoln mint, moneyer Godric (now in the Vatican Library).

References: Serafini, no. 386; Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 19.

23. Rome (?) (circumstances of find uncertain): a penny of Edward the Confessor, Hammer Cross type, Hereford mint, moneyer Eadwig (now in the Vatican Library). Nothing is known of the coin's provenance.

References: Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 20.

24. Rome (?) (circumstances of find uncertain): a penny of Harold II, PAX type, Ilchester mint, moneyer Æthelwine (now in the Vatican Library). Nothing is known of the coin's provenance.

References: Blunt and Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Vatican Library', no. 21.

C. Hoards Found Elsewhere in Italy

1. Catania, Sicily, before 1914 (dep. *c.* 940). The thirty-five pennies making up this hoard were claimed to have been found near Catania in Sicily before the first World War, and to have been passed down in the possession of a single family until entering the British Museum around 1960. The coins had allegedly been found corroded into a single mass.

References: Blunt, hoard no. 3; Dolley, 'A Hoard of Anglo-Saxon Pennies from Sicily'.

2. Florence, Tuscany, 1748 or before (dep. *c.* 940). Notes now preserved in the Biblioteca del Comune e dell'Accademia Etrusca at Cortona include an account of a letter written from Reginaldo Sellari to Marcello Venuti and read to the Tuscan Academy at Cortona on 9 July 1748. It describes a recent find from a grave in Florence of three silver coins: one of Rudolph II of Burgundy, king of Italy (922–26), minted in Pavia; one of Hugh of Arles with Lothar II (931–47), also minted in Pavia; and a penny of Æthelstan, moneyer Abba. All three coins are illustrated, and the Æthelstan penny is clearly of the same design as Blunt, 'The Coinage of Athelstan', no. 7 (where Abba is identified as a moneyer probably associated with Chester). Nothing is known of the ultimate fate of these three coins.

References: Vanni, 'Ritrovamento monetale da Firenze in un manoscritto settecentesco'.

3. Lucca, Tuscany, 2002 (dep. 964(?)). There were three English pennies in this hoard, all of Edgar's Circumscription type: one was of Winchester, moneyer Marscalc; the other two were both of London, moneyer Æthelwold. These were found with twenty-seven Italian coins, one German coin,

and one imitative dirham of uncertain origin. It is possible that the hoard was concealed in connection with Otto I's descent on the city in 964.

References: Saccocci, 'Il ripostiglio dall'area "Galli Tassi"'.

D. Single-Finds Discovered Elsewhere in Italy

1. Aosta, Valle d'Aosta (found in restoration excavations on cult-sites between city gate and cathedral): an early penny/*sceat* of Series H, type 48.

References: Orlandoni, 'La via commerciale', p. 441.

2. Aosta, Valle d'Aosta (found in restoration excavations on cult-sites between city gate and cathedral): an early penny/*sceat* of Eadberht, king of the Northumbrians (737–58), Booth class G.

References: Orlandoni, 'La via commerciale', p. 441.

3. Uncertain (occurs in early Italian collection): a penny of Offa, London mint, moneyer Æthelweald (Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 14a). This coin was published by Ludovico Antonio Muratori in 1739 as part of the collection of Francesco Vettori.

References: Blunt, isolated find 1(e); Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 14a; Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii ævi*, II (1739), pp. 751 and 760.

4. Cognento, Modena (circumstances of find unknown): a penny of Offa, London mint, moneyer Lulla (now in the State Museum, Berlin). At some point a few years before 1862/63 when it was published by Calori-Cesis, this coin was in the collection of Luigi Monari, who provided the information on its provenance.

References: Blunt, isolated find 1(c); Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 61a; Calori-Cesis, *Di una rara moneta*, pp. 6–7.

5. Baggiovara, Modena (circumstances of find unknown): a penny of Offa, London (?) mint, with reverse inscription S. PETRVS. This enigmatic coin has never been illustrated, nor has it ever been seen since its initial publication in the 1860s, leading to the suspicion that it may have been a forgery rightly dismissed by numismatists of the day. Its provenance was given in the published version of a letter sent by the owner of the coin to Sir John Evans, the most celebrated English numismatist of the day.

References: Blunt, isolated find 1(c); Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 77a; Blunt, 'The Coinage of Offa', pp. 44–46; Calori-Cesis, *Di una rara moneta*, pp. 4–6.

6. Udine, Friuli (circumstances of find unknown): a penny of Offa, Canterbury mint, moneyer Eoba (now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge). The coin was bought by Christopher Blunt from Baldwin's in 1957, with 'from Udine' on its ticket; the date and context of its discovery are uncertain.

References: Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 102b.

7. Uncertain ('from an old Italian collection'): a penny of Offa, Canterbury mint, moneyer Eoba. When this coin was sold by Patrick Finn in 1998 it was stated to have at one stage been in an old Italian collection: no further details are available.

References: Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 103d; P. Finn list 13 (1998), no. 70.

8. Uncertain (circumstances of find unknown): a penny of Offa, Ipswich mint, moneyer Wita/Wihtred (now in the British Museum). This coin was acquired from a dealer in Italy in 1978, and is presumed to have been found there.

References: Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 185a.

9. Fossato di Vico, Umbria ('local provenance'): a penny of Offa, Canterbury mint, moneyer Eoba.

References: Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, type 106 (same reverse die as 106h); Chiari, *Antiquarium di Fossato di Vico*, no. 348 (p. 260).

10. Cuasso al Monte, Varese: Northumbrian *styca*, Eanred (810–41), moneyer possibly Wilheah.

References: information about this find was passed on to the author by Ermanno Arslan; advice on attribution was provided by Stewart Lyon.

11. Uncertain (circumstances of find unknown): a penny of Edmund, Bust Crowned type, said to have been 'found in Italy' when it was sold from the Rev. G. Wylie collection (probably ex Borghesi, lot 1383; no. E20 below). Blunt suspected it may have been part of the 1846 Rome hoard (A5 above), but this is by no means certain.

References: Sotheby (Rev. G. Wylie collection) 10 July 1882, lot 257.

E. Coins from the Borghesi Collection

A large collection of coins and medals was formed by the famous classical and numismatic scholar Bartolomeo Borghesi (1781–1860). Born near Rimini and educated in Rome and Bologna, he later retired to San Marino.[54] His collection was dispersed at Rome by Raffaele Dura with the expert assistance of the numismatist Giulio Sambon; for the portion including English coins, see Dura and Sambon (Rome) sale catalogue, 24 April 1880. The information presented here derives from a copy of this rare catalogue (referred to as 'Borghesi' below). Borghesi's collection included at least thirty Anglo-Saxon coins. The attributions of some of these are incorrect, and many of the inscriptions have been garbled (they have been reproduced below if there is any possible uncertainty), but it is nevertheless an intriguing selection of coins with an important bearing on the circulation of Anglo-Saxon currency in Italy. After the final lot in the run of Anglo-Saxon material (1395), the cataloguer has added the note 'La serie dei denari quì sopra descritta a F[leur] D[e] C[oin] sembra originare da un ripostiglio' (the series of pennies described above as FDC seems to originate from a hoard). All of the preceding Anglo-Saxon coins (the multiple lots 1392 and 1395 excepted) are described as FDC except for nos 19 and 28 (and the apparently Carolingian lot 1393; listed as unidentified but among the English coins, it may belong to the same find as some of them). It is highly improbable that all of these coins — which range in date from Offa to Edward the Confessor — stem from a single hoard; much more likely is that Borghesi acquired English coins from several different finds. Otherwise no information on provenance is given, and some of the coins (nos 8 and 14) may have first come to light as early as the eighteenth century. Borghesi's collection was wide ranging, but apparently not intended to be universal. His holdings of post-Conquest English material, and of contemporary Carolingian coinage (for example), are comparatively weak, suggesting that his Anglo-Saxon coins simply represent specimens which came his way. One may be confident that these are Italian finds — at least if nos 8 and 14 are any guide — but no more precise attribution is possible. I am grateful to Hugh Pagan for allowing me to consult his copy of this rare catalogue.

1. *Sceattas* (?): three coins 'di piccolo modulo' listed among the English coins. These may have been thought by the cataloguer to belong among the *sceattas*, but the descriptions of them (lion/blank; bird/blank; helmet/blank) do not clearly correspond to known types. These should probably not be counted among genuine English coins.

References: Borghesi lot 1392.

[54] Biographical details can be found in Luppi, 'Vite di illustri Numismatici Italiani'.

2. Offa, London mint, moneyer Æthelweald.

References: Borghesi lot 1366; Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 13f.

3. Offa, London mint, moneyer Dud.

References: Borghesi lot 1364; Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 19c.

4. Offa, London mint, moneyer Ibba.

References: Borghesi lot 1362; Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 51a.

5. Offa, Canterbury mint, moneyer Æthelnoth.

References: Borghesi lot 1365; Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 119b.

6. Offa, Canterbury mint, moneyer Eoba.

References: Borghesi lot 1363; Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 112b.

7. Offa, Canterbury mint, moneyer Eoba.

References: Borghesi lot 1367; Chick, *The Coinage of Offa*, no. 103a.

8. Coenwulf, London mint, moneyer Eama (probably identical with no. B7 above).

References: Borghesi lot 1369; Naismith, *The Coinage of Southern England*, no. L10b.

9. Coenwulf, London mint, moneyer Ludoman.

References: Borghesi lot 1368; Naismith, *The Coinage of Southern England*, no. L13a.

10. Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, Canterbury mint, moneyer Wynhere.

References: Borghesi lot 1394; Naismith, *The Coinage of Southern England*, no. C119.2.

11. Burgred, London mint, moneyer Ceolwulf (rev. inscription given as '+GIALLA-EMON-ETA').

References: Borghesi lot 1370.

12. Burgred, London mint, moneyer Duda.

References: Borghesi lot 1371.

13. Alfred the Great, Two-Line type (probably 'Winchester' style), moneyer Æthelred.

References: Borghesi lot 1378; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 635.

14. Edward the Elder, Two-Line type, moneyer Abba (possibly identical with no. C2 above).

References: Borghesi lot 1379; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 649.

15. Edward the Elder, Hand of Providence type, moneyer Æthelwulf (rev. inscription given as 'AV-GLFM').

References: Borghesi lot 1380; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 663(?).

16. Edward the Elder, 'Minster' type, moneyer Wulfgar.

References: Borghesi lot 1381; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 667.

17. Sihtric (920/1–7), Viking kingdom of York (obv. inscription given as 'SITR-IGREX', rev. as 'CASTDAEOR').

References: Borghesi lot 1372; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 535.

18. Edmund, Horizontal-Trefoil type, moneyer Arnulf (rev. inscription given as 'AERNVLF').

References: Borghesi lot 1382; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 688.

19. Edmund, Horizontal-Trefoil type, moneyer possibly Eardulf (rev. inscription given as 'EAND...').

References: Borghesi lot 1384; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 688.

20. Edmund, Bust Crowned type, moneyer Ercembald (rev. inscription given as 'ERGIMIBA+MONETA') (probably identical with no. D11 above).

References: Borghesi lot 1383; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 697.

21. Eadred, Horizontal-Trefoil type, moneyer Theodmær.

References: Borghesi lot 1385; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 706.

22. Eadred, Horizontal-Trefoil type, moneyer Warin.

References: Borghesi lot 1386; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 706.

23. Æthelred II, Long Cross type, Lincoln mint, moneyer Kolgrimr (rev. inscription given as '+COLCRIM-N.ΩO-LINC').

References: Borghesi lot 1375; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 774.

24. Æthelred II, Last Small Cross type, possibly Cambridge mint, moneyer Wulfsige (rev. inscription given as '+PVLEZILONIARN').

References: Borghesi lot 1376; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 777.

25. Æthelred II, Last Small Cross type, possibly Lincoln mint, moneyer possibly Authgrimr (rev. inscription given as 'AVGENONIS').

References: Borghesi lot 1377; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 777.

26. Cnut, Pointed Helmet type, Stafford (or possibly Stamford) mint, moneyer possibly Fierlf (rev. inscription given as 'MERFRIEON NSTEFFO').

References: Borghesi lot 1374; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 787.

27. Edward the Confessor, Radiate/Small Cross type, Lincoln mint, moneyer Kolgrimr (rev. inscription given as 'COLFRIMONLINTO').

References: Borghesi lot 1388; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 816.

28. Edward the Confessor, Small Flan type (described as a 'Mezzo denaro'), London mint, moneyer Ælfwine (rev. inscription given as 'ELVIONI.MD.').

References: Borghesi lot 1389; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 818.

29. Edward the Confessor, Expanding Cross type, York mint, moneyer possibly Styrkollr (rev. inscription given as 'ETYNEOLONEOFERPI').

References: Borghesi lot 1387; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, nos 820–24.

30. Edward the Confessor, Pointed Helmet type, mint-name not given, moneyer possibly Authbjorn (and, if so, Lincoln mint) (rev. inscription given as 'DORNRICORN...').

References: Borghesi lot 1390; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 825.

31. Edward the Confessor, Sovereign/'Eagles' type, York mint, moneyer Ulfcetel the Thegn (rev. inscription given as '+VLRETELO AGNRA...NEO').

References: Borghesi lot 1391; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, no. 827.

32. 'Twelve coins of various kings', with no further details given. These may have included further Anglo-Saxon coins.

References: Borghesi lot 1395.

Addendum

A further Anglo-Saxon coin with an alleged Roman provenance has been drawn to the author's attention. The coin in question is a penny of Edward the Confessor, Expanding Cross type, minted at Norwich by the moneyer Coenhelm. It is now preserved in the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm, and has been published as no. 1137 in Fran Colman, Mark Blackburn, and Kenneth Jonsson, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 54: Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm. Part v: Anglo-Saxon Coins: Edward the Confessor and Harold II, 1042–1066; with a Supplement to Part vi (Anglo-Norman Pennies)* (London: published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2007). The penny was acquired in Rome in 1933 by Harald Widéen, with sixty-four other medieval coins, all said to have been found in Ostia. However, the editors regard this provenance as doubtful.

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Alcuin, Rome, and Charlemagne's Imperial Coronation

Marios Costambeys

The Englishman Alcuin has often been seen as influential in the decision that Charlemagne should take the imperial title.[1] The concept of Charlemagne's *imperium* that Alcuin developed, based on the King's victories and his concomitant responsibilities to safeguard and extend the Christian church, may not have automatically required the adoption of the title *imperator*,[2] but in the context of the late 790s there were good reasons to take that step, and when it occurred on 25 December 800 Alcuin welcomed it.[3] A

[1] See, classically, Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, pp. 5–28. On Anglo-Saxon influence in general over the coronation, see Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World*, pp. 88–91, and Mayr-Harting, 'Charlemagne, the Saxons, and the Imperial Coronation of 800'. On this most famous of early medieval dates, see now Nelson, 'Why Are There So Many Different Accounts?', p. 19.

[2] For Alcuin's concept of *imperium*, see now Alberi, 'The Evolution of Alcuin's Concept of the *Imperium Christianum*', who sees it as essentially independent of the build-up to the coronation. François-Louis Ganshof sees Alcuin's letters of the 790s as deliberately preparing the way for the coronation (e.g. 'The Imperial Coronation of Charlemagne: Theories and Facts', in Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy*, trans. by Sondheimer, pp. 41–54); see also Folz, *The Coronation of Charlemagne*, trans. by Anderson, pp. 132–34; for criticism, see Bullough, 'Empire and Emperordom', pp. 386–87.

[3] As in e.g. Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. by Dümmler (hereafter 'Alcuin, *Ep(p)*.' with letter number), nos 217, 218, pp. 360–62. For a full assessment of the context, see now Nelson, 'Why Are There So Many Different Accounts?'. Further on the motivations behind the assumption of the imperial title, see McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 114–18; Schieffer, *Neues von der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen*.

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strong strand in current historiography sees the idea already well advanced in Carolingian ruling circles by the latter half of 799.[4] Less appreciated, however, has been Alcuin's ambivalence towards the place and manner in which the title was acquired: that is, that it was bestowed by Pope Leo III in a ceremony in Rome. It is much easier to see Alcuin's esteem for the papal, apostolic, office, and the appropriate reverence that his letters' rhetorical veneer maintained towards this particular 'apostolic lord', his general epithet for Pope Leo, than it is to discern hints of Alcuin's uneasiness towards Leo as a character. More obvious are the signs that such doubts were held by some of Alcuin's correspondents, all themselves influential in the Carolingian stance towards Rome in the decade up to 800. The coronation did not have to have taken place there, after all: late antique emperors had often received their title elsewhere, and so would Charlemagne's son Louis, crowned at Aachen.[5] The choice of Rome was not automatic, and therefore must have been deliberate and, if not controversial, then certainly the subject of discussion. These uncertainties speak of a certain ambivalence both towards the Pope and towards the city of Rome, and this essay will explore Alcuin's own equivocation in these respects, and will suggest a practical reason behind it. In doing so it aims to shed new light on the circumstances of and reasons for the coronation itself.

Carolingian Problems in Rome: The 'causa sancti Pauli' and Alcuin's Correspondence

Perhaps the most telling sign of uneasiness among Carolingian court intellectuals with Pope Leo as a character emerges in the context of the legation that Charlemagne sent to Rome in the early months of 796, just after the new pope's election. It was led by Angilbert, abbot of St-Riquier, who, as well as being a noted court intellectual and the father of two children with the King's daughter Bertha, was one of his most experienced envoys to Italy.[6] On the face of it, Angilbert's task was a happy one. In announcing his election, Pope Leo had

[4] Collins, *Charlemagne*, pp. 144–47; Beumann, '*Nomen Imperatoris*'.

[5] Louis was crowned without papal involvement at Aachen in September 813, and again at the hands of Pope Stephen IV at Reims in October 816: see Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, pp. 87–89, 137–39. Pope John I had crowned the emperor Justin in Constantinople: *LP*, I, 275.

[6] The 'early' months of 796 because the embassy had already been planned during the pontificate of Hadrian, who died in December 795, and became a response to Pope Leo III's very swift election on 26 December. For Angilbert, see Rabe, *Faith, Art and Politics at Saint-Riquier*, pp. 52–84.

sent to Charlemagne the keys to the tomb of St Peter and the banner or *vexillum* of the city of Rome, so Angilbert bore in return a 'great part' of the treasure that the King's armies had seized from the Avars a few months earlier.[7] But a letter addressed from Charlemagne to Angilbert about his embassy reveals that the King — perhaps alerted by Leo's ideologically loaded gifts — had concerns about the new pope. Angilbert, the letter urged, should pay attention to the Pope's 'honesty', his observance of the canons, and his attitude to simony; and he should particularly remind the Pope of the King's agreement with his predecessor Hadrian 'about the building of a monastery at St Paul's'.[8] Although written in Charlemagne's name, the author of this letter, along with its companion that Angilbert took to Leo in the name of the King, is widely accepted to have been Alcuin.[9] He evidently attached some significance to the monastery at St Paul's (that is, at the patriarchal basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura) for he mentions what he calls the 'causa sancti Pauli' in other letters from around this time.[10] Although he is entirely silent about the substance of the *causa*, nearly all the most common definitions of this word in this period have to do with dispute or legal action.[11] Despite this hint of controversy, the monastery at St Paul's has seemed only incidental to the great developments of the late 790s, culminating in the imperial coronation. But I want to suggest here that Alcuin's interest in the monastery bore a strong connection with that genuinely momentous event, and offers important insights into the reasons behind it. It points in particular to a neglected dimension of the Anglo-Saxon perspective on Rome: the physical presence of Englishmen there, and their interest both in moveable objects from the city, and properties in it.

The monastery with which Alcuin was so concerned is the subject of just a scattering of references across three centuries. Dedicated to St Stephen, it abut-

[7] *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. by Kurze, *s.a.* 796, p. 98: 'idem vir prudentissimus atque largissimus et Dei dispensator magnam inde partem Romam ad limina apostolorum misit per Angilbertum dilectum abbatem suum'. See also Charlemagne's letter to Leo, Alcuin, *Ep*. 93. The same annal in *Annales regni Francorum* informs us of Leo's gifts: for comment, see Goodson and Nelson, 'Review Article', at p. 459.

[8] Alcuin, *Ep*. 92.

[9] Alcuin, *Ep*. 93; for the authorship of *Epp*. 92 and 93, see Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 52.

[10] For a discussion of this monastery in the context of contemporary Roman monasticism and attitudes to saints' cults, see Costambeys and Leyser, 'To Be the Neighbour of St Stephen'; see also Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 261–63, based on Schuster, 'L'oratorio di Santo Stefano', and Schuster, *La basilica e il monastero*, pp. 28–35.

[11] Niermeyer and van de Kieft, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, *s.v. causa* (pp. 159–60).

ted the atrium of St Paul's, which had undergone some restoration work in the 770s at Pope Hadrian's initiative.[12] Alcuin's interest in it flickered for just a few years before disappearing: he makes no further reference to it after September 798, and although a monastery dedicated to St Stephen at St Paul's is mentioned in the famous donation list of 806/07 in the *Liber Pontificalis* biography of Leo III, it disappears from view until the later tenth century.[13] The most plausible explanation for Alcuin's references to it is that Charlemagne had proposed during Pope Hadrian's pontificate to sponsor either the construction of a new monastery, or the renovation of an existing one, at St Paul's. After Hadrian's death and Leo III's election to the papacy, however, the project hit unspecified obstacles. Alcuin's letters reveal anxiety about the *causa* not only on his account but on the part of those who regularly acted as Charlemagne's envoys to Rome in those years — Angilbert and Arn, archbishop of Salzburg — and show the affair to have been important enough to prompt the intervention of Charlemagne's son Pippin, by then running Italy for his father.[14] What the letters do not reveal is the outcome of their concern. The fact that Alcuin falls silent on the matter after noting Pippin's involvement is one indication among several that Charlemagne's aspiration was not fulfilled, and that this was at least partly due to Leo. Seen in context the Pope's reluctance may have focused in particular on allowing ownership to the Frankish King or his advisers of monastic property adjoining a basilica that was, since patriarchal, peculiarly attached to his office. The possibility of the encroachment of Frankish ownership or jurisdiction into areas that the Pope was keen to vindicate as his own seems to be the most obvious reason for papal obstruction; and the context, as we shall see, is one in which Franks and other northern Europeans were establishing an increasing physical presence in the city. Powerful northerners literally wanted a piece of Rome.

One aspect of the context for the 'causa sancti Pauli' is the contemporary manuscript evidence for Alcuin's interest in the monastery, which comes in surviving collections of his letters. The earliest copies of the letters Alcuin composed for Charlemagne to send to Angilbert and Leo form part of the collection of the former's correspondence put together either at St-Amand or at Salzburg, preserved at the latter, and transmitted in two manuscripts with

[12] *LP*, I, 499; for a translation, see *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, trans. by Davis, p. 144.

[13] *LP*, II (1955), p. 23. For tenth-century references, see Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, p. 262.

[14] Alcuin, *Ep*. 147.

overlapping contents: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Cvp 795 and 808.[15] The two Angilbert letters survive among the Alcuin material in ÖNB, Cvp 808, which was written in 802–03, probably at Salzburg.[16] Its copyists clearly used earlier dossiers of Alcuin correspondence that now survive in ÖNB, Cvp 795: the run of letters in ÖNB, Cvp 808 begins with five taken from one of the quires of ÖNB, Cvp 795.[17] While these manuscripts are not the only surviving examples of contemporary collections of Alcuin's correspondence, they are by far the most important witnesses to letters about Rome. The only other surviving Alcuin letters with comments on Rome are two to Charlemagne preserved in Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1165 (an early ninth-century Tours witness to the letters),[18] and two to other visitors to Rome, both preserved uniquely in a copy of what Donald Bullough termed Alcuin's 'personal collection', London, British Library, MS Harley 208.[19] The Vienna manuscripts' particular significance lies in their association with Alcuin's friend, Charlemagne's confidant, Arn, bishop (or, from April 798, archbishop) of Salzburg.[20] Arn's close association with Rome — he stands alongside Angilbert as Charlemagne's most trusted envoy there — might suggest that the Vienna manuscripts give an inflated impression of the strength of Alcuin's interest in the city, were it not for the Englishman's explicit concern with Rome in other works, which we shall have reason to examine shortly.[21] The dossier of letters that overlap ÖNB, Cvp 795 and ÖNB, Cvp 808 were all sent by Alcuin to Arn

[15] A complete facsimile of Wien, ÖNB, Cvp 795 is *Alkuin-Briefe und andere Traktate*, ed. by Unterkircher. On the manuscript, see now Diesenberger and Wolfram, 'Arn und Alkuin', pp. 89–96, and McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, pp. 42–43. Donald Bullough argues that these collections were compiled at St-Amand before being taken to Salzburg: Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 44. But Bernhard Bischoff had located their production at Salzburg itself: Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken*, pp. 115–20.

[16] As described in Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 52, and see his references for earlier work by Sickel and Bischoff.

[17] That is, (in order) Alcuin, *Epp*. 156, 146, 165, 150, 153.

[18] Alcuin, *Epp*. 177, 178; for the manuscript, Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 57–61.

[19] Alcuin, *Epp*. 215, 230; for the manuscript, Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 75–80

[20] The other surviving collection of Alcuin's correspondence contemporary with the man himself is represented by Troyes, BM, MS 1165 ('T' in Dümmler's edition), dubbed by Bullough 'the basic Tours collection' (Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 58), and its extended version extant in BAV, MS Reg. lat. 272 (Dümmler's 'T*'), on which see Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini*, II, 66–68. On Arn, see Niederkorn-Bruck and Scharer, *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg*, and Krämer, 'Arn'.

[21] See below, pp. 263–64; for Arn and Rome, see Schieffer, 'Arn von Salzburg und die Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen'.

during or just after a visit or visits that the latter made to Rome between early 798 and June 799.[22] While they cover various topics, Arn's embassies to Rome are a consistent thread through them. Three letters refer explicitly to Arn's business in the city: 'make known to me soon what you please: about your and the lord king's return journey and place of residence; about the apostolic lord; and the *causa* of St Paul's, and other matters';[23] 'I look forward expectantly to [...] what he [Arn] will report about the area of St Paul's and the deliberations of the Romans';[24] 'desiring to know about the well-being of the apostolic lord; and what he may have done in those places; and how your embassy went; and if the *causa* of St Paul's can be brought to a conclusion'.[25] The copying of these letters into ÖNB, Cvp 808 was evidently part of a concerted effort to produce a collection of Alcuin's correspondence for Salzburg. In that context, the inclusion of letters about Rome may have been relatively incidental.

The copying of letters about Rome into the slightly earlier ÖNB, Cvp 795 looks much more deliberate, however, and points to that manuscript's particular and quite specific rationale. As it exists now, ÖNB, Cvp 795 contains (in order): two letters of Alcuin;[26] his treatise on orthography, followed by sample alphabets;[27] a series of exegetical works, mostly on Paul's epistle to the Romans,[28] twelve further letters of Alcuin,[29] two Roman topographical texts, known respectively as *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae* and *De locis*

[22] Arn was in Italy in mid-May 798, and then certainly back in the north from the summer of 798 until late January 799, and again in June 799. There was time between the latter two dates for a second trip to Rome, probably the context for the writing of Alcuin, *Epp*. 179, 184, and 208, which may originally have been a single reply to Arn from Alcuin: see Diesenberger and Wolfram, 'Arn und Alkuin', pp. 85–86, with references at n. 42.

[23] Alcuin, *Ep*. 156: 'citius me scire faciatis, quid vobis placeat; et de domni regis reversione vestroque itinere vel habitatione; et de domno apostolico; et sancti Pauli causa, et ceteris rebus'.

[24] Alcuin, *Ep*. 146: 'Exspectans exspecto [...] quid mihi nuntiet de sancti Pauli partibus et Romanorum consiliis'.

[25] Alcuin, *Ep*. 150: 'cupiens [...] de prosperitate domni apostolici agnoscere; et quid in illis partibus gestum sit; et quomodo legatio vestra vobis evenisset; et si sancti Pauli causa ad profectum fieri possit'.

[26] Fols 1^{v}–4^{v}: Alcuin *Epp*. 113, 161.

[27] Fols 5^{r}–20^{v}; Alcuin, *De orthographia*, ed. by Bruni; on the 'b' version of the text in Wien, ÖNB, Cvp 795, see Bruni, 'Il "De orthographia" di Alcuino'.

[28] Fols 21^{r}–150^{r}, including, on fols 148^{v}–150^{v}; Alcuin, 'Commentatio brevis', ed. by Forster; see Gorman, 'Alcuin before Migne', p. 127.

[29] Fols 150^{v}–183^{v}: Alcuin *Epp*. 133, 81, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 116, 105, 114, 58, 23.

sanctis martyrum quae sunt foris civitatis Romae;[30] the six Alcuin letters which overlap with ÖNB, Cvp 808;[31] three letters by Angilbert;[32] and a poem by Alcuin addressed to his fellow Englishman Candidus.[33] Max Diesenberger and Herwig Wolfram have shown that the codex as it currently stands was built up around a core comprising fols 21r–191v — that is, the exegesis, the larger collection of Alcuin letters, and the Roman topographies — which was probably put together in 798 on the basis of Alcuin's own models and drafts, either at St-Amand or at Salzburg.[34] This was then enlarged and augmented under Arn's direction. They argue that content, dating, and context all point to the full manuscript having been assembled with very specific ideological purposes. Set against Arn's career at the time, it addresses his concern for the establishment of a Christian church among the Avars.[35] More precisely, it contains texts relevant to the construction in the new eastern territories of a Rome-centred church — an organized Christianity, that is, that saw Rome as its centre, and as the source for both ideology and practice: *caput et fons*.[36]

The Expansion of the Carolingian Church and the Lure of Roman Relics

Alcuin and Arn's shared interest in building Christianity in the Carolingians' newly conquered territories is most obvious in some of the former's letters to the latter. Writing to him in the summer of 796, when Arn was accompanying a Bavarian contingent of the Frankish army into the tottering Avar kingdom, Alcuin asked: 'If his [God's] grace has regard to the kingdom of the Huns [i.e. the Avars], who is there who would dare to draw back from the ministry of their salvation?'[37] A short while later he elaborated his point in a long letter explain-

[30] Fols 184r–191v: ed. by François Glories in *Itineraria et alia geographica*, ed. by Geyer and others, I, 304–11, 314–22; see further Diesenberger and Wolfram, 'Arn und Alkuin', p. 90 with n. 68, and Leyser, 'The Temptations of Cult'. There is an independent Salzburg copy of *De locis sanctis*: Wien, ÖNB, Cvp 1008, fols 189v–191r.

[31] Fols 192r–197v: Alcuin, *Epp*. 156, 158, 146, 165, 150, 153.

[32] Fols 197v–199r, included in Dümmler's edition of Alcuin's letters: Alcuin, *Epp*. 147, 151, 152.

[33] Fols 199r–v: Alcuin, *Carmina*, ed. by Dümmler, pp. 253–54.

[34] Diesenberger and Wolfram, 'Arn und Alkuin', pp. 89–96.

[35] Similar themes are present in another Salzburg codex, Wien, ÖNB, Cvp 420, written *c.* 800: see Diesenberger, 'Sammeln und Gestalten'.

[36] See in general Schieffer, 'Redeamus ad fontem'.

[37] Alcuin, *Ep*. 107: 'Et si illius gratia respiciet super regnum Hunorum, quis est, qui se

ing with plenty of supporting Scripture how he thought preaching and baptism might best inculcate faith. He told Arn that God 'ordained you to administer with great piety the heavenly mysteries to the peoples', and opined epigrammatically that 'what the priest visibly administers to the body with water through baptism, this Holy Spirit invisibly administers to the soul through faith', stressing, in other words, the role of a proper priest in true conversion.[38] Alcuin's messages to Arn explicitly drew on previous experiences of attempts to bring Christianity to peoples newly drawn into the Frankish realm, most recently and pointedly the Saxons.[39] The baptism of newly conquered peoples was of little value, Alcuin argued, without instruction in the Christian faith; the imposition of tithe should be avoided;[40] and personnel for new churches and monasteries, whether recruited in Frankish lands or (like Alcuin) beyond, should be educated in the established devotional practices of the Frankish church. In his *Life of Willibrord*, written in 796 or 797 when issues of conquest, mission, and church organization were at the forefront of his and others' attention, he highlights papal approval for Willibrord's mission, and was keen to stress that the title the Pope had bestowed on him was '*arch*bishop' — with its implication of delegated papal authority — as opposed to just 'bishop'.[41] His perceptiveness about the support needed for successful preaching is borne out in the case of the Saxons. The decades after he was writing would show that preaching and baptism were by themselves insufficient to build organized and regulated Christianity among them. A better indication that the church had developed according to the Frankish model was, rather, the creation of churches and monasteries with properly trained priests and altars that could attract preferred forms of devotion: in short, those that fostered saints' cults and their relics.[42]

subtrahere audeat ministerio salutis illorum?' (my translation).

[38] Alcuin, *Ep*. 113: 'Qui te summa pietate caelestia ordinavit mysteria populis ministrare [...]. Quod enim visibiliter sacerdos per baptismum operatur in corpore per aquam, hoc Spiritus sanctus invisibiliter operatur in anima per fidem.' (my translation). For the context, see Wood, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 85–86; and Pohl, *Die Awaren*, pp. 318–20.

[39] Wood, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 83–92.

[40] As declared most explicitly in Alcuin, *Ep*. 107.

[41] Alcuin, 'Vita Willibrordi', ed. by Levison, chap. 7, p. 122: 'apostolicus [...] eum ordinavit archiepiscopum'; contrast Willibrord's own Calendar: 'indignus fuit ordinatus in romae epis[copus] ab apostolico viro' (*The Calendar of St. Willibrord*, ed. by Wilson, fol. 39^{v}). For discussion of the ambiguities of the archiepiscopal office in this context, see Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World*, pp. 225–27.

[42] On translations of relics to Saxony — Felicitas, Felicissimus and Agapitus to Vreden, and Innocent and Anastasius to Gandersheim — see Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults', pp. 330, 337.

Alcuin was keenly aware of the importance of relics in devotional practice in general. Moreover, he has been seen as something of a cheerleader for the notion that the relics to be preferred were those from Rome, the remains of its numerous martyrs.[43] In his letters he explicitly juxtaposes Rome with its martyrs three times: writing to Bishop Higbald of Lindisfarne, to his *discipuli* who were visiting Rome, and to Archbishop Æthelheard of Canterbury.[44] In the latter two cases, he was simply referring to his correspondents' prayers at the *limina apostolorum*, in the letter to Æthelheard set alongside his own prayers at the shrine of St Martin in Tours.[45] More numerous and more significant for his understanding of devotion are his references to Rome's martyr relics. Donald A. Bullough conjectured that Alcuin's enthusiasm for Roman relics was prompted by his first journey to Rome as a young man in the early 760s; and he suggested that the dedication to 'Alma Sophia' of the new cathedral church at York, finished in 780 and in the construction of which Alcuin participated, involved the deposition of relics from the church in Rome recently dedicated to Popes Stephen I and Silvester I by Pope Paul, where surviving inscriptions record that Sophia's were among the relics that the Pope had had translated there.[46] His attention to relics seems to have intensified in the early 790s. A letter of that period to Angilbert, then *primicerius* in the palace of Pippin of Italy in Pavia, asked him to send 'the sweetest gifts, and very necessary to me, that is the relics of the saints'.[47] Angilbert's connection makes it likely that the relics in question were Roman, though the pressing need to sanctify altars in Francia and England meant that Alcuin's hagiology could not be exclusive,[48] and similar

[43] Bullough, 'Roman Books and Carolingian *renovatio*'; Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults', p. 317. For the development of the cults of Roman martyrs, in addition to works at notes 10 and 42 above, see Leyser, 'The Temptations of Cult', and Pilsworth, 'Dating the *gesta martyrum*'. For the diffusion of Roman martyrs' cults and relics in eighth-century Europe, in addition to Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults', see Thacker, 'In Search of Saints'.

[44] Alcuin, *Epp*. 20, 215, 230; the latter two are preserved only in the H collection; Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 109–10 and 77–78 respectively.

[45] Alcuin, *Ep*. 230.

[46] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 322–26. For the relics of Sophia, see now Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom*, pp. 129–30; for the inscription, *Monumenta epigraphica christiana*, ed. by Silvagni, pl. xxxvii, nos 1–2, and Gray, 'The Paleography of Latin Inscriptions', p. 52 with no. 10. For the importance of basilical monasteries for the promotion of Roman cults in this period — relevant in the case of St Paul's — see Milella, 'Brevi riflessioni sui monasteri'.

[47] Alcuin, *Ep*. 11: 'dona dulcissima, et mihi multum necessaria, id est sanctorum reliquias'.

[48] On the demand for relics, see Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults', Thacker, 'In Search of Saints', and Goodson, 'Building for Bodies'.

requests dateable to the earlier 790s, to Paulinus of Aquileia,[49] and to Bishop Egino of Konstanz,[50] may well refer to relics more locally available to those correspondents. His attitude seems to have crystallized around specifically Roman relics in the later 790s. In letters to Angilbert in 796 and Arn in 798 the relics he desired were specifically to come from Rome.[51] Around the same time, in his *Life of Willibrord*, he made a point of relating that on the Saint's first visit to Rome, the Pope, Sergius, had given him 'whatever he desired or asked for in the way of relics of saints or liturgical vessels' for use in his mission among the Frisians.[52] These references must provide at least part of the context for ÖNB, Cvp 795, in which Alcuin's letters about Rome are juxtaposed with two Roman topographical texts that were specifically concerned with pinpointing the locations of martyr shrines around (that is, and despite the implication of the title *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, almost entirely outside) the city.[53] In putting these texts together — or causing them to be so — Arn was expressing the idea that a successful missionizing effort in the East had to be associated with a central feature of Roman Christianity, and that this was quite tangible: the cults and relics of its martyr saints.

The problem with this attitude was that it clashed quite abruptly with papal policy in this period. In 779 or 780 Pope Hadrian had revived the traditional prohibition on the export of corporeal relics from Rome and its suburban cemeteries, following a terrifying vision of saintly disapproval.[54] In reality, of course, the ban looks like an attempt to impose some kind of control on objects that constituted a significant proportion of Christian Rome's symbolic capital. That it was a restoration of a previous ban is unlikely to have detracted from its impact on a generation that had got used to the notion that these symbols of Roman sanctity could be exported to consecrate altars in northern Europe, providing a physical connection with the fount of holiness in Rome. Popes Paul I (757–67)

[49] Alcuin, *Ep*. 28, dateable only to 789–95.

[50] Alcuin, *Ep*. 75, dateable only to 792–96.

[51] Alcuin, *Epp*. 97 (to Angilbert, then on his way to Rome) and 146 (to Arn, whose return from Rome he was expecting).

[52] Alcuin, 'Vita Willibrordi', ed. by Levison, chap. 7, p. 122: 'quodque voluit vel petivit aut in patrociniis sanctorum aut in rebus ecclesiasticis, cum tota mentis alacritate tradidit illi'; trans. in *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany*, ed. and trans. by Talbot, p. 8. For the date of the *Vita Willibrordi*, see Wood, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 80–81.

[53] Diesenberger and Wolfram, 'Arn und Alkuin', p. 90 n. 68.

[54] See Hadrian's letter to Charlemagne in 'Codex Carolinus', ed. by Gundlach, no. 65, pp. 592–93.

and Stephen III (768–72) had encouraged the translation of bodies and body parts from Rome's suburban catacombs and cemeteries both into the intramural churches of the city and much further afield. It is notable that the latter destinations were churches and monasteries in areas where an organized Christian church was a relatively new phenomenon: Abbot Fulrad of St-Denis had the relics of Alexander and Hippolytus translated to churches in Alsace; Bishop Chrodegang of Metz brought the relics of Gorgonius to his new monastic foundation at Metz; and the relics of Candidus and Tertullinus (and probably Quirinus) were relocated to new monasteries in the diocese of Freising, on the Bavarian frontier with the Slavs.[55] The latter in particular would have been familiar to Arn, who had been brought up at Freising. Hadrian's renewal of the prohibition may have stopped the export of relics — certainly, no translations are recorded in his or Leo's pontificates — but it did not suppress the idea that Roman relics were desirable, and might be obtainable. The references just cited from Alcuin's works seem to assume that holy objects of some kind could be acquired in Rome. It is worth noting, too, that Donald Bullough identified Alcuin's interest in acquiring relics from Rome as particularly 'a prominent feature [only] of later correspondence' — that is, those letters written while the prohibition was in place (translations began again, after pressure from the Carolingian emperors, in the pontificate of Eugenius III (824–27)).[56] It is of course possible that Alcuin was referring to secondary rather than corporeal relics, traffic in which was still allowed. Nonetheless, the contrast between Alcuin's and Arn's enthusiasm for Roman holiness — with, in the latter case at least, a very specific purpose in mind — contrasts strongly with Hadrian's attempt to restrict access to it.

The Topography of Relics and Pilgrim Properties in Rome

The attractiveness of Rome's symbolic capital, whether exported to other altars or venerated at their original sites, was helping to drive a reconfiguration of buildings and property across eighth-century western Europe.[57] In Rome the relocation within the city of relics from the suburban cemeteries had an immediate impact on the built environment with Pope Paul's construction

[55] For full details, see Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults', pp. 320–22 and 335–36.

[56] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 246.

[57] On the social and material implications of the patronage of saints' cults, a good place to start is Silber, 'Gift-Giving in the Great Traditions'. For the phenomenon in the early Middle Ages, see now especially Ganz, 'Giving to God in the Mass', and Nelson, 'The Settings of Gift in the Reign of Charlemagne'.

of the monastery and church dedicated to Sts Stephen and Silvester (now S. Silvestro in Capite), as well as the chapel of S. Maria in Turri at St Peter's.[58] The pages of the *Liber Pontificalis* biographies suggest that these were precursors to a welter of restorations and new buildings in the pontificates of Hadrian, Leo III, and Paschal I, of an extent that has prompted historians, led by Richard Krautheimer, to write of the 'Carolingian revival' of Rome.[59] As it is usually imagined, this may not be an entirely accurate characterization since, as recent studies show, papal biographers in the eighth and early ninth centuries were seeking to convey an idealized impression of their subjects' expenditure, such that we cannot be sure what was actually spent.[60] The biographers may have taken their data on papal spending from the registers of the Lateran *vestiarium*, but recognizable omissions and inconsistencies raise the likelihood of inaccuracies, and certainly indicate a lack of comprehensiveness, either in the registers themselves or in their transcription.[61] A rhetoric of renewal was a strong and strategically deliberate motif in the papal biographies of the period, and had some influence in the Frankish world.[62] Nevertheless, both standing remains and archaeology reveal that the notion of revival was not wholly rhetorical, and to brand it 'Carolingian' is appropriate on a practical level in so far as whatever new work took place is likely to have depended in part on Carolingian resources. The necessary rise in papal income to pay for an increase in restoration and new building must have come from contributions from north Europeans: not only from the Carolingian family themselves — though the Avar treasure must be accounted a significant role here — but also from the emissaries, pilgrims, and

[58] Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom*, pp. 128–32. For S. Silvestro in Capite, see *LP*, I, 464, and now Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom*, pp. 99–100; for S. Maria in Turri, the identification with a chapel built by Paul near Stephen II's campanile (*LP*, I, 465) is accepted by Krautheimer and others, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, V (1977), pp. 165–75; see Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom*, pp. 163–70.

[59] Krautheimer, 'The Carolingian Revival', a thesis still largely adhered to in Krautheimer, *Rome*, esp. pp. 109–42. For critique, see especially Coates-Stephens, 'Dark Age Architecture in Rome', and Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I*, pp. 81–90.

[60] Bauer, 'Il rinnovamento di Roma'. It is worth noting that the significant spike in the record of expenditure of bullion in the *Lives* of Hadrian, Leo III, and Paschal contrasts with the marked long-term decline in finds of monetized bullion from Rome dateable to the later eighth and earlier ninth centuries.

[61] For omissions and inconsistencies in the *Lives*, see e.g. Coates-Stephens, 'Byzantine Building Patronage'.

[62] For a maximalist view of renewal: Christie, 'Charlemagne and the Renewal of Rome'; for a more critical view, Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom*, pp. 192–95.

merchants whose constant traffic to and from the city is the clear context for the Roman topographies in ÖNB, Cvp 795.[63]

Anglo-Saxons had constituted a significant element in the pilgrim traffic to Rome since the later seventh century. A strong motivation for their visits, like those of their contemporaries from other parts of the western Christian world, was a desire to take home with them symbols of Roman holiness, whether corporeal or secondary relics. But their principal purpose was to revere those objects in situ. Major churches in Rome were reconfigured with those visits in mind, notably by Paschal I.[64] In addition, the visitors themselves began to establish places in the city from which they could gain access to holy sites, and in particular the *limina apostolorum* — the apostolic basilicas. The best known of these are the *scholae*: hostels for travellers belonging to different *gentes*. By the late eighth century there were *scholae* for the Franks, the Frisians, and the Lombards, as well as the Anglo-Saxons.[65] The latter, the *schola Saxonum*, is the best attested, and might have been in existence since the early eighth century: it was certainly a significant establishment by 800.[66] A bull of Pope Leo IV dated 854 shows clearly that by that time the *schola Saxonum* owned property in its own right: Leo transferred the *schola* and its holdings to the monastery of St Martin.[67]

[63] For the sources of papal income in this period, see Delogu, 'Rome in the Ninth Century', esp. p. 108 with n. 14.

[64] For Paschal, see Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I*; in general, Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom*, pp. 149–79. For Anglo-Saxon *graffiti*, dateable to the later eighth century, in the suburban cemeteries, see Insley, 'Anglo-Saxons in Rome', and Luisa Izzi's paper in this volume.

[65] There are references to the *scholae peregrinorum* in general in two, perhaps three, accounts of receptions into Rome: of Charlemagne in 774 (*LP*, I, 497); of Leo III in 799 (*LP*, II (1955), p. 6); and perhaps of Louis II in 844 (*LP*, II (1955), p. 88). See also *LP*, II (1955), p. 100. The *schola Saxonum* also appears in the *Life* of Leo IV (*LP*, II (1955), p. 124), and the same Pope is credited with the construction of the church of S. Maria there (S. Maria in Saxia: *LP*, II (1955), p. 128). For brief notes on all the *scholae*, see *LP*, II (1955), p. 36, nn. 26–27. For a good overview, see Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani's essay in this volume. Further modern analysis and comment can be found in Cassanelli, 'Gli insediamenti nordici in Borgo'; Perraymond, 'Le *scholae peregrinorum*'; Stoclet, 'Les Établissements francs à Rome'; Schieffer, 'Karl der Grosse'; Saxer, 'La chiesa di Roma', pp. 591–95; and Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom*, pp. 176–77.

[66] For the establishment and patronage of the *schola Saxonum*, see now Gem, *Deerhurst and Rome*, pp. 4–7, and for a slightly more positive assessment of reports of its foundation by, or with the involvement of, King Ine of the West Saxons, *c.* 724–26, and its enlargement at the initiative of King Offa of the Mercians in 794, Schieffer, 'Charlemagne and Rome', pp. 291–92. See also Saxer, 'La chiesa di Roma', pp. 592–93.

[67] Schiaparelli, 'Le carte antiche', no. II at pp. 432–37: the bull transfers the *scholae Saxonum*, *Frisonum*, and *Langobardorum* (and perhaps the *schola Francorum* as well: the docu-

It is in this context that we should see the proposed monastery at St Paul's: a place intended to house alongside the altars of the great basilica monks who were sponsored by the Frankish King, and may well themselves have been northerners. Pope Leo's reluctance to sanction this northern presence at a Roman shrine therefore parallels Pope Hadrian's reluctance to allow vestiges of such shrines to be taken north.

Leo III's Reputation and Contrasting Responses to Mission

Leo's stance over St Paul's was among the more minor of a number of possible reasons for a detectable uneasiness towards him on the part of at least some of Charlemagne's advisers. In this respect, attention has focused most keenly on Alcuin's response to two letters he received from Arn in, probably, the first six or seven months of 799. By the time Alcuin sat down to write his reply, Pope Leo was in Francia. As is well rehearsed in the historiography, he had been attacked while on procession through Rome for the liturgical festival of *Letania maior* on 25 April, and an attempt had been made to blind him and cut out his tongue. With the help of the Frankish-appointed duke Guinichis of Spoleto, Leo had escaped his assailants and fled immediately to Francia, where he appealed for Charlemagne's aid.[68] Arn is very likely to have been present at the attack on Leo, and was fully aware of the tensions within the Roman ruling class that surrounded it.[69] Certainly, Alcuin's response to his letters suggests some of their content: news both about serious accusations of misconduct against Leo — perjury and adultery — and about the dangers Arn himself had faced in Rome. So critical was Arn's report of Leo that Alcuin had burnt the letters, and maintained an entirely positive tone about the Pope in his reply to Arn.[70] It is clear, though, not only that Arn had his doubts about Leo but also

ment is a lacunose twelfth-century copy), along with other churches and lands, to the monastery of St Martin at the Vatican (where Leo IV had been brought up), and includes the properties belonging to those *scholae*. Although the document is a later copy, it was evidently transcribed with great care: see Carbonetti Venditelli, '"Sicut inveni in thomo carticineo"', at p. 60 with n. 41.

[68] There are good brief accounts of Leo's vicissitudes in 799–800 in McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 115–18; Collins, *Charlemagne*, pp. 141–46; for a full analysis, see Schieffer, 'Das Attentat auf Papst Leo III', and Becher, 'Die Reise Papst Leos III'.

[69] See Diesenberger and Wolfram, 'Arn und Alkuin', p. 84, with references at n. 25. Alcuin was clear that Arn had faced personal danger in Rome: *Ep*. 179.

[70] Alcuin, *Epp*. 179, 184, and 208 (see n. 22 above). See also *Epp*. 177, 178, and Becher, 'Die Reise Papst Leos III', pp. 103–05.

that Alcuin entertained similar misgivings, albeit ultimately to dismiss them. There are other signs of the latter's disquiet about Leo that deserve notice. Some of Alcuin's exegesis, for instance, is quite pointed on the subject of the conduct not just of bishops but of the senior bishop. In his commentary on Paul's letter to Titus (Titus 1. 6: 'For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God' (Oportet enim episcopum sine crimine esse, tanquam Dei dispensatorem)), while opining in general on 'how a priest or bishop is to be ordained', he also invoked scriptural justification for a single leader of the priesthood ('it is decreed that one chosen from among the priests be placed above the rest, to whom might belong the care of the whole church') — a reference, clearly, to the papal office, and a hint at the need for propriety there.[71] Some of his letters of this period also include alongside long disquisitions on pastoral duties some oblique but pointed references: thus a letter to Arn probably written in the autumn of 798 includes his remark that 'your wisdom may recognize what our devotion means' (cognoscat sapientia vestra, quid significant devotio nostra): Alcuin was continuing slightly cryptically a private conversation, apparently (in context) about the conduct of the current pope.[72]

One very well-known piece of surviving evidence suggests that Leo was aware of these criticisms and took steps to respond. This evidence is not a manuscript text but a work of public art: the famous mosaic originally made for the apse-end of Leo III's banqueting hall (*triclinium*) at the Lateran palace, one of two such halls that Leo had built there in the later 790s, at the same time as Charlemagne's palace was taking shape at Aachen, and making clear architectural associations with the reception halls of the imperial palace at Constantinople.[73] The mosaic, which would have confronted visitors as they entered the hall from its opposite end, had to be heavily restored in the seventeenth century, and was reconstructed in the eighteenth, surviving today on the outer wall of the building that houses the Scala Sancta.[74] It has been much

[71] Alcuin, 'Explanatio in epistolam Pauli ad Titum', cols 1012–13: 'decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur caeteris, ad quem omnis cura Ecclesiae pertineret'. Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 415 n. 264, observes that these must be Alcuin's own views, and not those of his sources.

[72] Alcuin, *Ep*. 158.

[73] Goodson and Nelson, 'Review Article', p. 462. For general architectural analysis, see Luchterhandt, 'Famulus Petri', and Luchterhandt, 'Päpstlicher Palastbau und höfisches Zeremoniell'; see also Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom*, pp. 68–72.

[74] Goodson and Nelson, 'Review Article', p. 463. On the seventeenth-century restoration, see Herklotz, 'Francesco Barberini', and for apposite comment, Luchterhandt, 'Famulus Petri', p. 63.

discussed in scholarship surrounding the imperial coronation, but most of that discussion has focused on the figures on either side of the apse: those to the right are identified by *tituli* as a seated St Peter with Charlemagne and Leo III kneeling at his feet. The identities of the figures to the left are less easy to establish: they may have represented a seated Christ with Constantine and Pope Silvester, or St Peter, kneeling before him; alternatively, this side may have been blank.[75] The real interest for us, however, comes from the image that draws the gaze of viewers first, that in the apse. There, a standing Christ is flanked by the apostles as he delivers the so-called Great Commission, inscribed below their feet: 'Docete omnes gentes vaptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus s[an]c[tu]s | Et ecce ego voviscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consumationem seculi' (Matt. 28. 19–20: '[Go ye therefore, and] teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit | And lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world'). The relevance of such an image in a context of missionizing is obvious, but the significance of its appearance here has not been sufficiently emphasized. It needs to be stressed that this image is by far the strongest direct echo from the papal side of the concern for missionizing that we find often in this period in Frankish sources, and especially in Alcuin's letters. Alcuin invariably quoted the Great Commission when discussing mission, though in a form that differs slightly from the standard Vulgate one.[76] Either way, though, the coincidence of the erection of the mosaic inscription with Alcuin's frequent citation of the verse can hardly be accidental. Leo's predecessor Hadrian had shown some interest in Charlemagne's victories over the Saxons — chiefly to assert St Peter's role in

[75] Goodson and Nelson, 'Review Article', pp. 464–65. The identification of a kneeling figure on the right as St Peter is that of Luchterhandt, 'Famulus Petri'. Franz Alto Bauer argues that this side was blank: Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom*, pp. 113–14.

[76] Alcuin's version was 'Ite docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eas in nomine Patris', as opposed to the Vulgate 'Euntes docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris'. The point belongs to Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 188–89, who notes citations in, e.g., Alcuin, *Epp*. 110, 111, 113, all written in 796. It is an irresoluble question whether the form of the verse in the Lateran mosaic, omitting the initial imperative ('Go'), results from uneasiness on the part of early modern reconstructors about the divergence of their original from the standard Vulgate or from a recognition of divergent current practice in the late eighth century, and an attempt to smooth it over. I rule out a third possibility — that it was mere oversight — because biblical verses were taken rather too seriously for that, in both the eighth and the seventeenth centuries. The spelling of 'vaptizantes', on the other hand, as also of 'bictoria' in the *tabula ansata* accompanying the images of Peter, Leo, and Charlemagne, reflects the fact that in several Romance language-speaking areas there was no longer a consistent phonetic distinction between words originally written with an initial letter 'b-' and words originally written with a letter 'v-' (Roger Wright, *pers. comm.*).

them — but there is no other contemporary sign of papal interest in the effort to bring Christianity either to the Saxons or to the Avars.[77] The impression that the mosaic was aimed at northern visitors is reinforced by the fact that the *triclinium*'s first known use was to house the hearing of the case against Leo's assailants by a group of Frankish dignitaries in the autumn of 799.[78]

In its concern with mission to unbaptized *gentes*, the Lateran *triclinium* mosaic seems closely to parallel the ideas in Alcuin's correspondence with Arn, and in the composition of ÖNB, Cvp 795. But there is a crucial difference. For the northern intellectuals, the expansion of the church drew on Rome as a source of holiness, in the form of martyrs and their relics. In commissioning his mosaic, on the other hand, Leo was seeking to place not Rome but the papacy at the heart of Frankish hegemonic ideology, not only as the fount of imperial rule (by having St Peter hand the *vexillum* to Charlemagne, who is charged with defending the church) but also as the ideological spearhead for the spread of Christianity into new lands. The 'apostolic lord', it implied, was the bearer in the here-and-now of the apostolic commission to teach and baptize all *gentes*.[79] The 'causa sancti Pauli' shows that these contrasting ideas had very practical implications for Rome itself. The requirements of their northern and eastern frontiers meant that northerners wanted not only access to but ownership of symbols of Roman holiness: they wanted bases in Rome, and they wanted martyr relics. Their concern with establishing a monastery at a major suburban basilica suggests a desire on the part of Alcuin and Arn to see many more of their fellows repeat their experience of being able to travel to Rome and back, to sojourn comfortably in the city, and to take back with them the symbols of holiness — apostolic in the sense of their association with Sts Peter and Paul — that would provide physical links between the far-flung new churches and their spiritual base. Leo's reluctance in the 'causa sancti Pauli' underlines that they could not depend on the popes in this regard. Like all gift exchange, that between popes and Frankish rulers was an unreliable means for each side to get what it wanted, as mutually critical correspondence on the subject between Charlemagne and Hadrian shows.[80]

[77] 'Codex Carolinus', ed. by Gundlach, nos 76 and 77, pp. 607–09, both written in 786 (and therefore rather premature). When Leo established the baptistery at S. Susanna in 797 or 798, among his gifts were 'Saxon silver bowls', but these were probably Anglo-Saxon, since that is what 'Saxon' references tend to denote elsewhere in *LP*, II (1955), p. 3 ('gabathas argenteas saxisca').

[78] *LP*, II (1955), pp. 6–7.

[79] It may be significant that Leo's pontificate also saw the first visits to Rome of Anglo-Saxon bishops since the early eighth century: see Nelson, 'England and the Continent', p. 20.

[80] Nelson, 'The Settings of the Gift', pp. 134–40.

Alcuin's Ambivalent Images of Rome

Tensions between northern pilgrims and the popes over the presence of visitors at Rome's holy sites and the removal of objects from them therefore suggest a reason why figures such as Arn and Alcuin nurtured the doubts about Pope Leo that we have already noted. They also provide a context for a detectable ambivalence in Alcuin's writings about the idea of Rome itself. It comes as no surprise to find that Alcuin often included literary images of Rome in his letters and poems. He himself had been there, as had many of those to whom he wrote;[81] and those visits were in part prompted by the ideas of Rome's status in the available texts, and in turn stimulated other ideas in those visitors' own writings. They had access to much of the very long and rich tradition of motifs and metaphors about the city. This is not the place to describe the Augustan heyday of that tradition, which has been perceptively examined by Catharine Edwards;[82] nor to discuss the adaptation of that tradition after the cultural triumph of Christianity, which made it more elaborate, and even contradictory: Augustine's likening of Rome to Babylon clashes with the beginnings of the effort to sanctify the city as a centre of martyrdom and holiness.[83] We should simply recognize that these developments had created, by Alcuin's time, a very diverse set of images which informed writers could bring into play when they were exploring the ideological meanings of Rome.

In Alcuin's selections from the tradition of Rome imagery, the most obvious tension is between some of the city's many historical connotations and some of its more contemporary resonances. This is clearest in the image of Rome's physical degradation. In his letter to the Northumbrian bishop Higbald lamenting the Viking sack of Lindisfarne in 793, Alcuin drew direct, if frankly rather far-

[81] For Alcuin's journeys to Rome, see Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 243–47 (late 770s), 333–36 (780–81); also Lebecq, 'Alcuin sur la route', and Jullien, 'Alcuin et l'Italie'. For different views on the extent to which Alcuin's knowledge of Rome was conditioned by, or reflected in, the surviving pilgrim itineraries, compare Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 246, and Diesenberger and Wolfram, 'Arn und Alkuin', pp. 101–02; also Diesenberger, 'Rom als virtueller Raum'.

[82] Edwards, *Writing Rome*; see also the collection of earlier twentieth-century essays in Kytzler, *Rom als Idee*.

[83] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. by Dombart and Kalb, XVIII. 22, see also XV. 5 (II, 616 and 457–58); for discussion of Augustine's critique of the Roman tradition, see Nees, *A Tainted Mantle*, pp. 77–109. On the beginnings of organized martyr cult in Rome, see, classically, Delehaye, *Les Origines du culte des martyrs*, pp. 260–99, and Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, I, 529–57; see now Cooper, 'The Martyr, the *Matrona* and the Bishop', Thacker, '"Loca sanctorum"', esp. pp. 3–5, 14–20, and Thacker, 'Rome of the Martyrs'.

fetched, comparison between the still-smoking monastery and the ruined city of Rome left by the Goths after the fifth-century sack: 'Rome, surrounded by its company of holy apostles and countless martyrs, was devastated by the heathen, but quickly recovered through the goodness of God.'[84] Alcuin's source for Rome's fifth-century 'devastation' is obscure. His sentence here picks up lines that he included, perhaps around the same time, in his poem on York about the turmoil that provoked the Romans to leave Britain, for which no direct source can be identified: it did not come directly either from Bede or from Gildas (via Bede).[85] In the letter to Higbald, he does echo Bede by reiterating the latter's then quite unusual conception of the Gothic sack as a catastrophe, as well as adopting an unfavourable attitude to the Goths that is also found, somewhat later, in the Alfredian Old English Boethius.[86] But Alcuin did not intend to portray the city's contemporary condition as ruinous: it had 'quickly recovered'. The fall of Rome acts here merely to highlight the support that the city received from its holy ornaments, the martyrs: a message of hope for Higbald, of course.

Yet in his poem on the destruction of Lindisfarne, written at much the same time, he was much more emphatic about Rome's dilapidation: 'Of Rome, capital and wonder of the world, golden Rome, | only a barbarous ruin now (*nunc*) remains.'[87] His point here — one that he also makes in the letter to Higbald — is that God 'tested the saints through savage blows':[88] the righteous demonstrated their righteousness through suffering; and a city as holy as Rome had to have suffered grievously. Peter Godman has even suggested that Alcuin is here implicitly comparing Rome's fifth-century tribulations with those that it

[84] Allot, *Alcuin of York*, no. 26, pp. 36–38. Alcuin, *Ep*. 20, pp. 56–58: 'Roma, sanctorum apostolorum et innumerabilium martyrum corona circumdata, paganorum vastatione disrupta est; sed pietate Dei cito recuperata.' The letter is transmitted in Wien, ÖNB, Cvp 808.

[85] Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. by Godman, pp. 6–7, ll. 38–41: 'Hinc Romana manus turbatis undique sceptris | postquam secessit cupiens depellere saevos | hostes Hesperiae regnum sedemque tueri, | urbis tunc tenuit sceptrum gens pigra Britonum'. As Malcolm Godden has noted, this is clearly not from Gildas; nor is it from Bede: Godden, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Goths', pp. 54–55. The date of the York poem is contested: traditionally put at 780–82, Peter Godman, in Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. by Godman, pp. xxxix–xlvii, argued that the text may have been finished as late as 792–93. For a critique, see McKitterick, review of *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. by Godman.

[86] Godden, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Goths', pp. 62–66.

[87] Alcuin, *Carmina*, ed. by Dümmler, no. IX, pp. 229–35 at 230, ll. 37–38: 'Roma, caput mundi, mundi decus, aurea Roma, | Nunc remanet tantum saeva ruina tibi'; trans. in *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, ed. and trans. by Godman, p. 129.

[88] Alcuin, *Carmina*, ed. by Dümmler, no. IX, p. 231, l. 95.

suffered from the Lombards in the middle of the eighth century: he describes St Peter's as having been devastated 'by hands of treachery' (perfidiae manibus), probably referring to the Lombard attack of 752.[89] This is a convincing parallel. Less plausible, however, is Godman's view that Alcuin 'does not mention the work of restoration sponsored by Hadrian I'.[90] On the contrary, not only is recovery expressed in general in the letter to Higbald, it is also attached specifically to Hadrian in a work that has been pretty generally accepted as Alcuin's, on sound stylistic, as well as circumstantial, grounds.[91] This is the famous epitaph composed and inscribed on black marble on Charlemagne's orders to commemorate Hadrian's death in 795: 'With learning, wealth, and walls thy battlements he reared, | Thrice honor'd Rome!, chief city through the world renowned.'[92] It is worth repeating that one of Alcuin's two trips to Rome had taken place in the pontificate of Hadrian.[93] Whether it was what he saw there that prompted him to attribute signs of improvement to that pope it is hard to say. Nevertheless, the tension in his work overall between the images of a renewed Rome and a still-damaged Rome is clear, and goes to the heart of Carolingian ambivalence towards the city.[94]

The differing tones of Alcuin's images of Rome reflect differences in the likely audiences of each text. The most 'public' — Hadrian's epitaph — unambiguously proposed the notion of Rome's renewal under contemporary popes. The same broad idea is expressed in a rather more nuanced way in the letter to Bishop Higbald back in England. But this letter, like the poem on Lindisfarne with its rather more negative image of *saeva ruina*, may have enjoyed a more limited readership. The only contemporary manuscript witness to either is ÖNB, Cvp 808, which includes the letter to Higbald and the last ten lines of the Lindisfarne poem: as we have seen, this was unquestionably copied at and for Salzburg. The full poem on Lindisfarne survives only in a fifteenth-century

[89] Alcuin, *Carmina*, ed. by Dümmler, no. IX, p. 231, l. 75; trans. in *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, ed. and trans. by Godman, p. 129.

[90] *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, ed. and trans. by Godman, pp. 128–29.

[91] Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, pp. 178–97; Story and others, 'Charlemagne's Black Marble'.

[92] 'Epitaphia Caeasarii et Hadriani papae', ed. by Dümmler, ll. 13–14: 'Doctrinis, opibus, muris erexerat arces, | Urbis et orbis honor, inclyta Roma, tuas'; translation in *Carolingian Civilization*, ed. by Dutton, pp. 54–55. For Hadrian's epitaph, see Story and others, 'Charlemagne's Black Marble'.

[93] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 333–35.

[94] On Rome's negative associations for Alcuin, see Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 245–46.

manuscript.[95] The other letters about Rome, including full expression of Alcuin's liking for Roman relics, likewise survive in manuscripts that seem to represent epistolary conversations within a relatively closed readership: either those with Arn in ÖNB, Cvp 795 and 808,[96] or those apparently preserved through his own abbey at Tours,[97] and those in Alcuin's so-called 'personal collection'.[98] The fact that in its contemporary context correspondents like Alcuin and Arn expected their letters to have very restricted readerships — and had little regard for the critical eye of distant posterity — is underlined by Alcuin's circumspection in dealing with Arn's more scathing comments about Pope Leo, burning his letters rather than risk his views becoming more widely known.

A Deficit of Imperial Authority: Instability in Rome

Alcuin was ready to acknowledge the problems with Leo, but he sought also to put them in the broader context of political instability in Rome. In his response to Arn's dangerous letter he observed that the latter had made 'some complaints about the behaviour of the Pope and your personal danger there because of the Romans':[99] that is, it was not just Leo who endangered Franks but 'the Romans'. Their unreliability when it came to visitors' safety was clearly still in his mind in the late spring of the following year, 799, after Leo was attacked. Charlemagne had evidently suggested that Alcuin should take part in the mission of inquiry that he sent to Rome once the wounded Pope Leo had arrived in Francia. But the Englishman (bravely, we might suggest) was having none of it:

> As to your wish to reproach me for preferring the sooty roofs of Tours to the gilded citadels of Rome, I know you have read Solomon's proverb: 'It is better to sit in the corner of a loft than in the house shared with a quarrelsome woman' (Prov. 21. 9). And if I may say so, swords hurt my eyes more than soot. For Tours with its sooty roofs remains at peace through God's grace and your kindly foresight. But Rome is

[95] See Alcuin, *Carmina*, ed. by Dümmler, pp. 167–68. On the limited surviving evidence for the poem, see Garrison, 'Alcuin, *Carmen IX* and Hrabanus, *Ad Bonosum*' at p. 67 n. 21.

[96] Alcuin, *Epp*. 11 and 20 survive in Wien, ÖNB, Cvp 808; *Ep*. 146 in Wien, ÖNB, Cvp 795.

[97] Alcuin, *Epp*. 75 and 97 are preserved in a Reims collection derived from a Tours exemplar: Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 58–59. These two, and *Ep*. 28, also appear in a copy of what Bullough dubbed the 'basic Tours collection': BL, MS Royal 8 E.xv: Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 57–66.

[98] Alcuin, *Epp*. 215, 230: see above, n. 19.

[99] Alcuin, *Ep*. 184: 'quaerimonias quasdam habens de moribus apostolici et de periculo tuo apud eum propter Romanos' (*a*. 798), trans. in Allott, *Alcuin of York*, no. 65, pp. 78–80.

> in the grip of fratricidal strife and incessantly poisoned by feuds, so that your Majesty has had to leave your pleasant home in Germany to check this ruinous infection.[100]

Charlemagne had not, in fact, left 'Germany' — he was still fighting the Saxons and was not to head south until the following year. But Alcuin's ignorance of the King's location is less important than his conviction that Charlemagne had the ability to resolve the problems in Rome.

A clearer idea of what Alcuin had in mind comes in a poem addressed to Charlemagne that must belong to these years: 'The City, head of the world, greatest Rome has you as master, | You ever have words of safety in your mouth.'[101] Moreover, a further letter to Charlemagne in 799 gives a more precise indication of what Alcuin thought was the King's proper sphere of action in this respect: 'See what has happened in the apostolic see in the chief of cities, most excellent in dignity. All is safeguarded by your judgement alone'.[102] The premonition here of the events that actually transpired is interesting and suggestive. In the event, Charlemagne took care to ensure that his pacification of Rome happened on a formal, judicial, level. Both the Pope and his assailants had made representations to the King in person in 799.[103] But it was only in 800, after the letter above had been written, that two judicial processes were held. One was certainly a formal trial that condemned Leo's attackers.[104] The other

[100] Alcuin, *Ep*. 178: 'Sed et de hoc, quod mihi inproperare voluistis me fumo sordentia Turonorum tecta auratis Romanorum arcibus praeponere, scio vestram legisse prudentiam Salomonicum illud elogiam: "Melius" inquit "sedere in angulo domatis, quam cum muliere litigiosa in domo communi". Et, ut cum pace dicam, magis ferrum nocet oculis quam fumus. Turonis enim, fumosis tectis contenta, Deo donante per vestrae bonitatis providentiam in pace permanet. Roma vero, quae fraterna discordia iniciata est, insitum dissensionis venenum hucusque tenere non cessat; vestraeque venerande dignitatis potentiam ad huius pestis conpescendam perniciem e dulcibus Germaniae sedibus festinare conpellit.' (*a*. 799), trans. from Allott, *Alcuin of York*, no. 71, pp. 86–88. See also Alcuin, *Carmina*, ed. by Dümmler, no. XLIV, pp. 255–57, in which he forbade his disciple Candidus from participating in processions in Rome, presumably out of fear for his safety.

[101] Alcuin, *Carmina*, ed. by Dümmler, no. XXI, pp. 242–43 at 242, ll. 5–6: 'Urbs, caput orbis, habet te maxima Roma magistrum | Verba salutis habes semper in ore tuo' (my translation); see also nos XXV, XLV.

[102] Alcuin, *Ep.* 177, pp. 292–93: 'Ecce quid actum est de apostolica sede in civitate praecipua, in dignitate excellentissima. Quae omnia vestro tantummodo servantur iudicio' (*a*. 799), trans. in Allott, *Alcuin of York*, no. 104, p. 112.

[103] For Leo's visit to the king in Paderborn, see in particular Becher, 'Die Reise Papst Leos III.'; *LP*, II (1955), p. 6 is the only source to report Leo's opponents' legation to Charles.

[104] *LP*, II (1955), pp. 6–7; *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. by Kurze, *s.a.* 800, p. 112, only

saw Leo himself undergo a hearing of the accusations against him and concluded with the Pope purging himself by oath. Whether this amounted to a formal court case — and therefore a violation of the principle that Alcuin himself stated in letters of this period, that no one could sit in judgement on the pope[105] — is perhaps less important than that it constituted a public airing and consideration of the allegations against Leo, even if ultimately to reject them. Alcuin's letter suggests that it had already been decided in 799 that Leo would have to undergo some sort of judicial process, and that that process could only be administered by a secular ruler who was recognized as exercising jurisdiction over Rome. By launching judicial processes for both Leo and his assailants, Charlemagne was safeguarding Rome's excellence in dignity through *iudicium*.

Conclusion

Rome's attraction was irresistible. By Alcuin's time, it was based on the city's unshakeable position at the heart of Frankish ideas of rulership, religion, and hegemony.[106] The constant traffic of north Europeans to Rome is testimony enough of its significance. As their sojourns became more frequent and sustained, a new dimension opened in its relationship with its pilgrim visitors. They wanted the opportunity not just to visit the holy places that were the focus of their devotion but also to live alongside them. Acquiring property in Rome, however, exposed them to the uncertainties of its politics. Factional violence may have endangered their persons, as in Arn's case, but in the late eighth century it was also symptomatic of a deeper uncertainty over where authority in the city lay. Although there may have been occasional nods in the direction of the emperors in Constantinople, as during the controversy surrounding the end of Pope Stephen III's pontificate,[107] it was generally apparent

mentions the hearing of the charges against Leo.

[105] Alcuin, *Ep.* 179; for comment, see Schieffer, 'Arn von Salzburg und die Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen', and Kerner, 'Der Reinigungseid Leos III', in response to the doubts as to the authenticity of the Salzburg copy of the oath expressed by Wallach, 'The Genuine and the Forged Oath'.

[106] McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, pp. 35–36, and McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 370–72.

[107] The author of the *Life* of Hadrian (*LP*, I, 490–91) relates how Hadrian wanted to send in exile to Constantinople those responsible for the murder of the blinded and imprisoned *secundicerius* Sergius during the aftermath of the latter's attempt to seize power in Rome. Hadrian's biographer spins this as an act of clemency on the Pope's part, but it rather betrays

that the emperors' writ no longer ran effectively in Rome: all the more so after the empress Eirene usurped power from her son.[108] Stephen III's successors, Hadrian and Leo, shared the clear aim of maximizing the jurisdiction of the bishops of Rome in the city, over secular as much as ecclesiastical affairs.[109] But it needs to be stressed that for the Carolingians this ambition was problematic, not least because at almost every vacancy the Romans could not agree on who should actually occupy their bishop's seat:[110] a distinction between the papal office, with its association with St Peter, and individual popes was as necessary for Charlemagne as it had been for the Anglo-Saxon kings.[111] The 'causa sancti Pauli' suggests that individual popes could not be relied upon to be the stable guarantors of their rights that new property owners in Rome required.

The controversy over the monastery at St Paul's was symptomatic of a much broader basic issue that lay at the heart of the tensions of these years: how was a city steeped in Roman law to be governed when the fount of that law was no longer available? The 'causa sancti Pauli' shows that determining how law could properly be administered — where *causae* could be judged, and by whom — was a pressing problem for those northerners like Alcuin and Arn who had interests in Roman property. There are other signs, too, of this fundamental concern with law. One Frankish annalist of this period stated that the title of *imperator* should be given to Charlemagne, 'who had in his power the city of Rome, normal residence of the Caesars'[112] — and, indeed, Charlemagne had himself become a property owner in Rome, having a residence at the Vatican.[113]

recognition of a role in the prosecution of capital crimes for the emperors in Constantinople: Costambeys, *Power and Patronage*, pp. 294–95; see also Classen, *Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz*, pp. 15–16.

[108] Nelson, 'Why Are There So Many Different Accounts?', pp. 16–18.

[109] For Hadrian in this respect, Hartmann, *Hadrian I. (772–795)*, pp. 77–79.

[110] There were contests over the elevation to the papacy of Stephen III, Hadrian, Leo III, Paschal I, Eugenius II, Sergius II, Benedict III, Nicholas I, and Hadrian II; i.e. nine of the thirteen popes between 768 and 872.

[111] Nelson, 'Charlemagne — pater optimus?'.

[112] 'Annales Laureshamenses', ed. by Pertz, *s.a.* 801, p. 38.

[113] On the palace, see Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom*, p. 177; Schieffer, 'Charlemagne and Rome', pp. 285–86; Brühl, 'Die Kaiserpfalz bei St Peter', repr. in Brühl, *Aus Mittelalter und Diplomatik*, I, 3–31. The fact that Charlemagne's residence was located at the Vatican rather than at the traditional seat of the emperors on the Palatine is surely an indication less of Pope Hadrian's reluctance to yield to him the traditional loci of power than of Charlemagne's desire to be near the source of his peculiar power as the new emperor: St Peter.

Pope Hadrian's concern for territorial jurisdiction is a recurring theme in his letters to the King,[114] and their shared responsibility for Rome itself is the subject of a poem inscribed on Hadrian's initiative on a votive crown in St Peter's.[115] Alcuin reflects the same broad interest in jurisdiction in a different way in his concern to establish a canonistic context for applying *iustitia* to Leo's case: arguing, implicitly, against those who wanted the Pope to undergo a secular legal process.[116] It may be, too, that the contrast between a secular Roman legal tradition and the Christian ideal of divine *iustitia* painted by Theodulf of Orléans in *On Judges* — written between 798 and 800 — reflects similarly contemporary discussion about the legal implications of Charlemagne's *imperium*.[117] Above all, the interest in legal jurisdiction is strongly reflected in that much-controverted document, the *Constitutum Constantini*, in which the emperor Constantine is said to have bestowed on Pope Silvester *potestas*, *ditio*, and *ius*.[118] Although these terms can convincingly be seen in context as indicating only limited jurisdiction for the popes, and chiefly of a spiritual kind, their appearance in the *Constitutum*, and the whole tone of the document, surely reflects a political climate in which jurisdictional authority was a central topic of debate.[119] Conversations about the legal basis for property naturally broadened into discussions about general legal authority in Rome, and these can only have been influential in pointing the Frankish ruler and his advisors towards the assumption of an imperial title as an indication of his adoption of that authority. Various episodes in the first decades of the ninth century — such

[114] 'Codex Carolinus', ed. by Gundlach, nos 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 63, pp. 567–90; for differing interpretations, see Costambeys, *Power and Patronage*, pp. 314–17, and Noble, *The Republic of St Peter*, pp. 138–48.

[115] *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, ed. by de Rossi, p. 146; the importance of the votive crown has been emphasized by Goodson and Nelson, 'Review Article', pp. 457–58, with notice of further signs of Charlemagne's prerogatives in Rome at p. 456, n. 31.

[116] Especially in Alcuin, *Ep*. 179; see also *Ep.* 159.

[117] Theodulf of Orléans, 'Versus contra iudices', ed. by Dümmler; for full analysis, see Nees, *A Tainted Mantle*, pp. 18–143. I owe the specific suggestion of Theodulf's participation in discussions about the meaning of *imperium* to Matthew Innes: see Innes, 'Charlemagne, Justice and Written Law'; also helpful in this context are Nelson, 'The *libera vox* of Theodulf of Orléans', and Nelson, 'Munera à l'époque de Charlemagne'.

[118] *Das Constitutum Constantini*, ed. by Fuhrmann.

[119] Most recently and controversially on the *Constitutum Constantini*, see Fried, *'Donation of Constantine'*; for effective criticism and a convincing interpretation of their own, see Goodson and Nelson, 'Review Article'.

as the negotiations with Stephen IV and Paschal,[120] the *Consitutio Romana*,[121] and a Roman court hearing held by Carolingian *missi* (and finding against Pope Gregory IV)[122] — show that the tussle over rights was assuredly not concluded by the imperial coronation. Nevertheless, it was a signal that the physical Carolingian presence in Rome could not but alter the city's government and administration.

[120] For different (and vague) reports of Stephen IV's negotiations with Louis the Pious, see *LP*, II (1955), p. 49; *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. by Kurze, *s.a.* 816, p. 144; and Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*, ed. by Tremp, p. 368; see further Costambeys, *Power and Patronage*, pp. 318–19.

[121] 'Constitutio Romana', ed. by Boretius. For full analysis, Geiselhart, *Die Kapitulariengesetzgebung Lothars I*, pp. 91–114.

[122] *Il Regesto di Farfa*, ed. by Giorgi and Balzani, II (1879), no. 270 (*I placiti del regnum Italiae*, ed. by Manaresi, I, no. 38).

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The Rise and Fall of the Archbishopric of Lichfield in English, Papal, and European Perspective

Thomas F. X. Noble

To those who do not specialize in early medieval history, it might come as a considerable surprise to learn that, for a brief time — roughly 787 to 803 —, England had not two archbishoprics, at Canterbury and York, but three, with the third one situated in the heart of the Mercian kingdom at Lichfield. There can be no doubt that King Offa was the driving force behind this démarche. The basic details on Lichfield's rise and fall are reasonably well known and I shall rehearse here only the most essential points. I have found no new evidence and have no original interpretations to offer on Lichfield's brief metropolitan status. What I want to do is suggest some ways in which that curious set of events can be placed into wider perspectives. These perspectives may shed some additional light on the English situation and, in turn, this English case may shed some light on wider developments.

The kingdom of Mercia achieved dominant status in eighth-century Britain, and Offa (757–96) was the greatest of the Mercian kings.[1] He was relentlessly ambitious and aggressive, inserting his authority into Northumbria by means of a marriage alliance, attacking Wales two or three times, and constantly pressing hard on Wessex and Kent, both of which he subjected for fairly extended periods. He had an exalted sense of his royal office, allegedly styling himself *rex Anglorum* and *rex totius Anglorum patriae*, which would have made him the

[1] For basic details, see Wormald, 'The Age of Offa and Alcuin', and Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 206–24. Wormald mentions Lichfield a few times and Stenton devotes one page to it.

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first king in England to so designate himself. The charters bearing these luminous titles are now believed to have been tenth-century forgeries. Nevertheless, Boniface addressed Æthelbald as 'wielding the scepter of imperial rule over the English'. No less might have been said for the more powerful Offa. Indeed, Alcuin called Offa 'the glory of Britain, the trumpet of proclamation, the sword against foes, the shield against enemies'.[2] Offa's coinage stressed reciprocal relationships between his kingdom and Rome, and Offa became the first — but not the last! — English king to send money to Rome.[3] Continental sources indicate that Offa maintained cordial relations with Pope Hadrian I (772–95).[4] Charlemagne's key adviser, the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, had a high opinion of Offa. Charlemagne himself, in the only surviving letter between two European monarchs from the early Middle Ages, called Offa 'brother' and dealt with him on terms of near equality.[5] Charlemagne and Offa had multiple interactions, involving a potential marriage alliance (nuptials were proposed between a daughter of Charlemagne and a son of Offa), commercial issues, and Anglo-Saxon fugitives that Charlemagne was harbouring. In 786 Offa became the first English king to participate in a church council presided over by papal legates; and he was the last to do so until 1070.[6] In 787 Offa had

[2] For the older views: Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 211–12; Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship*, pp. 111–13. See now Keynes, 'Offa', p. 341. A few years earlier Keynes was more circumspect: 'Since none of the charters in question is preserved in its original form, it is difficult to be sure that they represent genuine contemporary usage'; Keynes, 'England, 700–900', p. 29. Boniface, *Epistolae*, ed. by Tangl, no. 73, p. 146; Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 64, p. 107.

[3] Gannon, 'Three Coins in a Fountain'. See also Rory Naismith in this volume, esp. pp. 221, 232.

[4] At some point after 772, Hadrian inserted into the *Liber Diurnus* a privilege granting an unnamed king control over all monasteries that he had founded. Because the king's consort Cynedrida is mentioned, the king can only be Offa: *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*, ed. by Foerster, no. 93, pp. 172–73. See further Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 29–30; Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 184–85; Story, *Carolingian Connections*, pp. 197–98. In the mid-780s Hadrian wrote to Charlemagne to say that he had heard a distressing rumour that the Frankish king and Offa were plotting to remove him from the papal office. Charlemagne sent legates, accompanied by Offa's, to reassure the Pope: 'Codex Carolinus', ed. by Gundlach, no. 92, pp. 629–30; Jaffé, *RP*, no. 2476; Story, *Carolingian Connections*, p. 198.

[5] For Alcuin's good impression of Offa, see Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. by Dümmler, nos 64 and 101, pp. 107, 147–48. Charlemagne's letter to Offa is also preserved among the letters of Alcuin, no. 100, pp. 144–46. Translated in *EHD*, no. 197, pp. 848–49.

[6] Wormald, 'The Age of Offa and Alcuin', p. 106; Wallace-Hadrill, 'Charlemagne and England'. See further below on the legatine council.

his son anointed king, almost certainly following the precedent of the anointing of two of Charlemagne's sons in Rome in 781.[7] He was a formidable figure.

Let us turn now to the Lichfield case itself before coming to some ways of interpreting it.[8] Offa had experienced some political reverses in the 770s but, as the 780s dawned, he appeared to have achieved substantial influence in many parts of England. His daughters were married to Kings Beorhtric of Wessex and Æthelred of Northumbria. The local dynasties of Kent, Sussex, the Hwicce, and, briefly, East Anglia had died out. The death of Ecgberht II of Kent in 779 is particularly relevant to our story. Kent had stoutly resisted Mercian encroachment, and Ecgberht's death opened the possibility of Mercian intervention, perhaps even control. Thwarting Offa's plans was Archbishop Jænberht of Canterbury (765–92). A kinsman of Jænberht's had even been Ecgberht's reeve. Offa wanted his son Ecgfrith consecrated and associated with him in rule. As noted already, Offa probably had in mind the consecration of two of Charlemagne's sons in Rome in 781 (although one wonders why Offa did not take the step of sending his own son to Rome). Offa may have been thinking only of shoring up his dynastic succession, but he may have been contemplating making Ecgfrith a sub-king in Kent. After all, Hadrian had consecrated Charlemagne's sons Pippin and Louis as sub-kings of Italy and Aquitaine, respectively. Jænberht seems to have refused to go along with Offa's plans whatever their purpose may have been.[9]

The chronology is exceedingly hard to fix in these years. If Hadrian's letter to Charlemagne concerning plots to remove him from office and his monastic privilege for Offa can be dated to about 784–85, then the mission of Charlemagne and Offa to Rome to reassure the Pope must fall in the same period.[10] Moreover, it is entirely possible, albeit completely unprovable, that Jænberht or his allies were behind the ugly rumours.[11] Alcuin had been in Rome in 781 and might have advised Hadrian on English affairs.[12] Be that as it may, the disturbing events of, let us say, around 785 alerted Hadrian to troubles in England and perhaps

[7] The consensus view. See Story, *Carolingian Connections*, pp. 177–80.

[8] The only reasonably full treatment remains Godfrey, 'The Archbishopric of Lichfield'.

[9] See in general, Keynes, 'Jaenberht', and Keynes, 'Offa'; Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 111–18; Wormald, 'The Age of Offa and Alcuin', pp. 101, 106; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 206–12.

[10] Story, *Carolingian Connections*, pp. 198–99.

[11] In the thirteenth century, Matthew Paris thought so: Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 115 and 350, n. 24.

[12] 'Vita Alcuini', ed. by Arndt, chaps 9–10, pp. 189–90; Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 331–36.

led to his decision to send legates there. As Nicholas Brooks says, 'there seems to have been much politicking in Rome in 784 and 785'.[13] From the time of Gregory's mission to England, through the dispatch of Theodore as archbishop of Canterbury and the series of Anglo-Saxon missionaries to the Continent, the most prominent of whom, Willibrord and Boniface, visited Rome, and the sending of a pallium to York in 735, England's relations with the papacy had been numerous but sporadic. Hadrian may well have felt that it was high time to size up for himself the situation in this far corner of the Christian world.

Accordingly, the Pope sent a mission to England in 786. Almost everything that we know about the legatine mission comes from a report sent by its leader, Bishop George of Ostia (and of Amiens, for he had been in Francia since 753), to Hadrian.[14] The report survives in a single manuscript and we cannot be confident that it comes down to us integrally. George reports that Hadrian dispatched Bishop Theophylact of Todi to meet him and to accompany him to England. Charlemagne added his faithful man Wigbod to the company. They arrived in Kent and were received by Jænberht. They then met Offa and the King of Wessex and delivered letters to them from the Pope. The Kings agreed to remedy unspecified abuses. At this point the legates realized that England was larger than they had supposed and they split up. Theophylact went to Mercia and then to Britain (Wales?), while George and Wigbod went to Northumbria. Eventually they held a synod there and issued a 'capitulary' containing twenty decrees, ten on secular affairs and ten on ecclesiastical affairs. Their work in Northumbria completed, and joined by Alcuin and an otherwise unknown Pyttel, the papal envoys returned to Mercia. Offa, Jænberht, and other bishops agreed to receive the capitulary as well. George and Wigbod returned to Francia and presumably Theophylact went back to Rome. We might suppose that Theophylact took George's report back with him, and, of course, he was himself now a potentially valuable informant on matters English.

In the present context we need add no further details about the mission. But because, as we shall see presently, Lichfield became an archbishopric in 787, it

[13] Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 167.

[14] Preserved among Alcuin's letters: Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 3, pp. 19–29. The essential passages of the reportage are translated in *EHD*, no. 191, pp. 836–40. Whitelock omitted most of the conciliar decrees. They are lucidly translated in Wormald, 'In Search of King Offa's "Law Code"', pp. 206–08. On the mission itself the basic studies are, after Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 127–29, those of Vollrath, *Die Synoden Englands*, pp. 162–79, and Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, pp. 153–88. See also, more briefly, Godfrey, 'The Archbishopric of Lichfield', pp. 145–48, and Wormald, 'In Search of King Offa's "Law Code"', pp. 205–08.

is natural to ask whether the issue of the consecration of Ecgfrith was discussed in 786 in the presence of Hadrian's legates. Unfortunately, not a single source says so, and the possibility remains no more than a sound inference. Offa did send Hadrian 365 mancuses for St Peter's, apparently in thanks for services rendered. Did he do so in 786? We cannot say so confidently. In a letter from Pope Leo III (795–813) to Offa's successor Coenwulf concerning the division of the see of Canterbury, the Pope spoke as follows:

> He [Hadrian] did this for no other reason than because your most excellent King, Offa, testified in his letter that it was the united wish and unanimous position of all of you, both on account of the vast size of your lands and the extension of your kingdom, and for many more reasons and benefits.[15]

We shall return to this letter soon, but for the present it seems to me likely that the legatine mission in Mercia in 786 was the place where 'everyone' agreed, although it does rather strain credibility to imagine that Jænberht would have approved. Leo also states that Offa wrote to Hadrian. Might he have sent a letter back with the papal envoys?

The critical year was, therefore, 787. The key event was a synod held in Chelsea. Under the year 785, the E text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* contains the following report: 'In this year there was a contentious [*geflitfullic*] synod at Chelsea, and Archbishop Jænberht lost a certain part of his province, and Hygeberht was chosen by King Offa. And Ecgfrith was consecrated king.'[16] The date is no cause for concern because the E text is almost always two years off in this stretch of years. Brooks observes that the decrees of Chelsea were in a way a defeat for Offa because they signal that without extraordinary actions his authority could not be made good in Kent and his influence over Jænberht was nil.[17] Nevertheless, Hygeberht was made an archbishop, de facto in 787 and de jure in 788. That is, a decree of a synod held at *Clofesho* (803) says that Hadrian did mistakenly send a pallium to Lichfield: 'The charter sent from the Roman see by Pope Hadrian about the pallium and the archepiscopal see in the church of Lichfield is invalid.'[18] Normally the conferral of a pallium would have been

[15] Again preserved among Alcuin's letters: Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 127, pp. 187–89 (quotation at p. 188). I cite the translation in *EHD*, no. 205, p. 861. Cf. Jaffé, *RP*, no. 2494 (dated 797).

[16] *EHD*, p. 180.

[17] Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 117.

[18] *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. by Birch (hereafter Birch), no. 310; trans. in *EHD*, no. 210, p. 868. Cf. Jaffé, *RP*, no. 2456 (dated 786). For discussion, Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 118–19, 350 n. 31.

confirmed by a papal privilege for the recipient. No such document survives for Hygeberht. But, then, apart from one for Dunstan and one for Ealdred of York, whose authenticity is, however, uncertain,[19] there survive no such papal privileges for Anglo-Saxon England. Before the thirteenth century the papal archives are in a woeful state of preservation. This means that almost all surviving papal letters are recipient copies, and their fortunes varied immensely. The absence of a papal privilege in Hygeberht's case by itself proves nothing one way or the other. In two charters granted by Offa, both of which can only be dated to the year 788, Hygeberht signed, in one instance as bishop and in the other instance as archbishop. Presumably his pallium and its accompanying privilege had arrived in the interim.[20] In a letter written in 797 to Archbishop Æthelheard of Canterbury, when the legitimacy of Hygeberht's position was under discussion, Alcuin said that the archbishop of Lichfield should be allowed to retain his pallium during his lifetime.[21] So, Offa created for his Mercian kingdom a metropolitan see at Lichfield. The decision to do so was taken at Chelsea in 787, and Hygeberht received a pallium from Pope Hadrian at some point in 788.

The kaleidoscope that was English politics in the late eighth century changed again in 792. Jænberht died and was replaced by the Mercian Æthelheard. This was obviously a positive result from the Mercian point of view, but for the time being it did not call Hygeberht's legitimacy into question. Indeed, Alcuin advised Offa that Hygebehrt could participate in the ordination of Æthelheard because he represented a second archbishop as envisaged by Gregory's original plan.[22] In surviving charters, Hygeberht signed as archbishop and in almost all cases he signed ahead of Æthelheard.[23] Offa's plan appeared to be working.

[19] Jaffé, *RP*, nos 3687 and 4463. See also Francesca Tinti's essay in this volume, 319–20, 322, with n. 48.

[20] Sawyer, nos 128, 129. For the texts, see respectively Birch, no. 254, and *Charters of Rochester*, ed. by Campbell, no. 12. See further Godfrey, 'The Archbishopric of Lichfield', p. 148.

[21] Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 128, p. 190: 'ut pater pius pallio diebus suis non exuatur'.

[22] The relevant letter does not survive in the standard manuscript collections of Alcuin's letters. Paul Lehmann edited and printed it from a manuscript in the Royal Library of the Hague and Levison, *England and the Continent*, printed the pertinent sections (pp. 245–46).

[23] Sawyer, nos 130 (*Charters of Rochester*, ed. by Campbell, no. 14), 131 (*Charters of Rochester*, ed. by Campbell, no. 13), 133 (Birch, no. 259), 137 (Birch, no. 269), 138 (*Charters of St Albans*, ed. by Crick, no. 3), 139 (Birch, no. 274), 153 (Birch, no. 289), 155 (Birch, no. 293), 158 (*Charters of Selsey*, ed. by Kelly, no. 14), 1412 (Birch, no. 271), 1430 (Birch, no. 257). On three occasions Æthelheard signed ahead of Hygeberht (Sawyer, nos 137, 153, 155).

Then in 796 Offa died. Ecgfrith died soon after as well, and finally the succession fell upon a distant kinsman, Coenwulf.[24] Coenwulf inherited a rebellion in Kent that had broken out at the very end of Offa's reign and that installed a lapsed cleric, Eadbert Præn, as king. This is the 'Odbert' mentioned in Charlemagne's letter to Offa of 796. Eadbert was then an exile on the Continent whose interests Charlemagne was investigating and who had been sent by the Frankish king to Rome. Eadbert's rebellion caused Æthelheard to flee to Mercia. Alcuin wrote to him to criticize him for abandoning his see even as he, Alcuin, reprehended the situation in Kent. A couple of new details emerge from Alcuin's letter. First, he says that the unity of the church (of Canterbury, that is) was torn asunder 'not, as it seems, by reasonable consideration but by a certain desire for power'. Second, he says that the 'pious father' should not be deprived of his pallium during his lifetime.[25] Alcuin was exceptionally well informed about affairs in England, and his letter signals that the Lichfield scheme was now under discussion and that some thought had to be taken for the incumbent, Hygeberht.

By 798 Coenwulf had reestablished his authority in Kent. In that year Coenwulf wrote to Pope Leo III to seek responses to 'many inquiries'. In the letter he said that he had sent a mission in the previous year led by Abbot Wada, who bungled his job.[26] Æthelheard had also written to the Pope. There is something new in Coenwulf's letter to Leo. He proposed that the ecclesiastical geography of England revert to what had been Gregory's original plan. In other words, the southern archbishopric should be situated in London. Coenwulf said that Offa had split the province of Canterbury because of enmity for Jænberht and the people of Kent. Brooks suggests that the London plan might have provided a basis for negotiation with Eadbert Præn and the men of Kent before Coenwulf prevailed. In any case, London had been under effective Mercian control since the days of King Æthelbald (716–57), and Æthelheard may well have been more acceptable there than he was in Kent.[27] Leo declined to accede to Coenwulf's new plan.[28] To Coenwulf's — disingenuous? — inquiry about how Hadrian might have departed from tradition and divided the see of Canterbury, Leo responded (as quoted already above):

[24] For basic details, Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 225–26.

[25] Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 128, pp. 189–91; *EHD*, no. 203, pp. 856–58.

[26] Birch, no. 287; *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. by Haddan and Stubbs, pp. 521–23; *EHD*, no. 204, pp. 859–61.

[27] Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 124–25.

[28] Preserved in Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 127, pp. 187–89; *EHD*, no. 205, pp. 861.

> He did this for no other reason than because your most excellent King, Offa, testified in his letter that it was the united wish and unanimous petition of you all, both on account of the vast size of your lands and the extension of your kingdom, and also for many more reasons and advantages.

Leo excommunicated Eadbert Præn and reminded Coenwulf of Offa's promise to send Rome 365 mancuses each year.

The years 799 and 800 were extraordinarily challenging ones for Leo. The Pope was attacked in a Roman street, fled to Charlemagne in Saxony, was restored to his see by Frankish arms, and endured a Frankish inquiry into his conduct and the actions of his enemies. At the end of 800 he crowned Charlemagne emperor. All this while the English continued to press their case. In 801 Alcuin wrote to Archbishop Eanbald II of York to say, among other things, that his agents had met with Æthelheard at St-Josse where the Archbishop landed on the Continent on his way to Rome.[29] In the same year, Alcuin commended Æthelheard to Charlemagne.[30] Æthelheard had his day in court in Rome and on 18 January 802 Leo gave him a privilege restoring Canterbury's rights.[31] The letter makes absolutely no mention of Hygeberht or Lichfield. Leo also wrote to Coenwulf to inform him of his decision.[32] In 802 Alcuin wrote to Æthelheard to congratulate him.[33] Fortified by Leo's decision the English bishops met at *Clofesho* in October of 803 where they restored Canterbury's metropolitan rights and said that there should be no additional archbishops in Lichfield or anywhere else.[34] They declared Hadrian's privilege for Lichfield invalid on the grounds that it has been obtained by deception. Hygeberht did not sign the council records as archbishop or even as bishop. Rather, he signed as abbot beneath the signature of Bishop Aldulf of Lichfield.[35] Perhaps he had been given a Mercian monastery as compensation for his loss.

[29] Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 232, pp. 376–77; *EHD*, no. 207, p. 863.

[30] Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 231, pp. 375–76; *EHD*, no. 206, pp. 862–63.

[31] Birch, no. 305; *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. by Haddan and Stubbs, pp. 536–37; *EHD*, no. 209, pp. 866–67. Cf. Jaffé, *RP*, no. 2510.

[32] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. by Haddan and Stubbs, pp. 538–39. Cf. Jaffé, *RP*, no. 2511.

[33] Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 255, pp. 412–13.

[34] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. by Haddan and Stubbs, pp. 542–44; Vollrath, *Die Synoden Englands*, pp. 181–84; Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, does not dedicate a specific discussion to this council of *Clofesho*. There are apposite comments on specific points scattered throughout the book.

[35] Birch, no. 312.

As noted, in 796 Alcuin was aware of concerns about the legitimacy of Hygeberht's position but thought he should be left unmolested in his lifetime. By 798 Coenwulf and Æthelheard were proposing their London plan. During these years it seems that Hygeberht's authority was diminishing. In several charters issued between 796 and 801, Hygeberht did not sign at all among the bishops.[36] In 798 or 799 Æthelheard received the professions of faith and obedience of Bishops Eadwulf of Lindsey and Tidfirth of Dunwich. By 801 Deneberht of Worcester and Wulfheard of Hereford had done so as well.[37] The archbishopric of Lichfield exited history as quietly as it had entered.

I wish to draw three broad conclusions from the Lichfield case. The first concerns Offa's objectives and the inspiration behind them. I believe that Offa was aiming at a Carolingian-style, royal-episcopal partnership. In Anglo-Saxon England between, say 600 and 800, relations between kings and bishops ranged from collaborative to conflictual. It is difficult to generalize and impossible to see a clear pattern.[38] On the Continent, beginning with the work of Boniface and continuing right down to the days of Charlemagne and Offa, there had been successful efforts to create a functioning metropolitan system with one bishop in particular holding special papal authority. Boniface had wished to elevate three sees to metropolitan status, Mainz, Reims, and Rouen, but political and social dynamics precluded creating the last two in his lifetime. Nevertheless, an Anglo-Saxon model of metropolitans with pallia was introduced on the Continent.[39] Pippin III secured a pallium for Chrodegang of Metz, which meant that one of his most trusted associates was in a position to consecrate further bishops.[40] Right through the Carolingian period, one bishop in particular held this super-metropolitan status with full papal approval. Although there were some rocky moments in the middle decades of the ninth century,

[36] Sawyer, nos 132 (Birch, no. 265, spurious), 146 (Birch, no. 272, questionable), 148 (Birch, nos 277 and 278, of which the former is a later copy of the latter), 149 (*Charters of Malmesbury*, ed. by Kelly, no. 14), 150 (*Charters of St Albans*, ed. by Crick, no. 5), 151 (*Charters of St Albans*, ed. by Crick, no. 4), 154 (Birch, no. 295, authenticity uncertain), 157 (*Charters of Rochester*, ed. by Campbell, no. 16).

[37] Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 125. *Canterbury Professions*, ed. by Richter, nos 2–5, pp. 2–6. Brooks mentions Eadwulf of Lindsey (whose profession is not in Richter but is in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. by Haddan and Stubbs, pp. 506–07), but he misses Wigebeorht of Sherborne whose profession is Richter no. 5.

[38] See most recently Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, chaps 2 and 3.

[39] Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, chaps 8 to 11.

[40] Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, chap. 1.

kings and bishops were usually close allies in reforming the Frankish church, keeping the system functioning, implementing political and institutional programmes, and proclaiming the central ideology of the dynasty. Bearing in mind that Alcuin and Charlemagne praised Offa for his zeal in reform and in the promotion of learning, I think it is possible to say that Offa was aiming at a Carolingian-style polity. He knew that a fundamental prop of such a polity was royal-episcopal cooperation sealed by having key people at the crucial nodes of the system. Bishops controlled both land and people, so controlling bishoprics, and among them metropolitans especially, was a critical complement to relatively fragile secular institutions. Chelsea gave Offa his 'Chrodegang' in the person of Hygeberht. But Hygeberht probably controlled no more than six or seven midland dioceses; so, with the election of the Mercian Æthelheard to the see of Canterbury, Offa's successor could contemplate having his 'Chrodegang' control all the Southumbrian bishoprics from London. Pope Leo III would not approve this plan, and the primacy reverted to Canterbury. The Mercian kings finally got their Carolingian polity, but then dynastic instability and Viking incursions disrupted the further implantation and maturation of that polity.

A second conclusion requires an expansion of the chronological and geographical limits within which I have been working. Offa was not merely imitating the nearby Carolingians. He was engaging in a policy that was common all over the European world in the early Middle Ages. To return to Charlemagne for just a moment, it is worth mentioning that when his dynasty assumed power, there were two metropolitan sees in the Frankish world, Rome and Mainz, but that when Charlemagne died he left generous gifts to a total of twenty-one metropolitan sees.[41] In the middle decades of the ninth century the dukes of Brittany contrived to turn the bishopric of Dol into an archbishopric, at the expense of Tours, Dol's metropolitan.[42] Through all manner of twists and turns, the archbishopric of Dol was not finally suppressed until 1199. A little later Khan Boris of the Bulgars was negotiating with both Rome and Constantinople over his potential religious allegiance. One of his fundamental demands was for a metropolitan bishopric. Pope Nicholas I refused but Constantinople complied, and Bulgaria became Orthodox.[43] Not long after that secular and ecclesiastical authorities in Catalonia tried, in vain as it turned

[41] Einhard, *Vie de Charlemagne*, ed. and trans. by Halphen, chap. 33, p. 96.

[42] Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 155–61, with further literature.

[43] Jaffé, *RP*, no. 2812; Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom*, pp. 159–63.

out, to secure a metropolitan see for their region.[44] Beginning in the 980s the princes of Kiev pleaded, successfully in the end, for a metropolitan see.[45] As a final example, Magdeburg was erected by the Ottonians as a metropolitan see for Brandenburg and the Slavic lands to the east at Cologne's expense. Then in 1000, Otto III and Boleslav Chrobry elevated Gniezno as a metropolitan see for Poland at Magdeburg's expense.[46] My point is that Offa's Lichfield plan makes perfect sense when viewed within wide perspectives. He behaved no differently than countless other early medieval rulers.

Whether seeking 'pallium-pals' or metropolitan foundations, Rome's participation was essential. This brings me to my third and final conclusion which itself comes in four parts: what does the Lichfield case tell us about the papacy? Hanna Vollrath may exaggerate slightly in saying that the legatine commission of 786 substituted Roman primacy for earlier Anglo-Saxon episcopal collegiality, but I think the Lichfield case overall shows us the papacy heading in that direction.[47] The letters of Hadrian and Leo cited in this essay are full of references to the Petrine office and to papal authority. While the Carolingians were establishing generally peaceful, ordered conditions in Europe, the popes were taking advantage of the situation to begin expanding their own authority in both ideological (or ecclesiological) and institutional terms.

Yet the very documents that reveal the Lichfield case to us also put on display some of the concrete, practical dimensions of the limitations on the actual exercise of authority by the popes. By the time Alcuin wrote to Æthelheard, he had a sense that there was something wrong with the Lichfield case. Coenwulf, in his letters to Leo III, and the bishops gathered at *Clofesho* candidly admitted that Offa had used deception. Hadrian, we must presume, had acted in good faith. We may further presume that, unbeknownst to him, he was not in possession of all the relevant facts. Despite intense contacts between England and the Continent, and back and forth across the Alps too between Francia and Rome, the Lichfield case ultimately turned on poor information. This is a reminder to all who study the early Middle Ages that however hard it may be for *us* to penetrate the sources and figure out what was going on, it was no less difficult for *them*.

[44] Johrendt, *Papsttum und Landeskirchen*, pp. 71–72.

[45] Fennell, *A History of the Russian Church*, pp. 38–44; Martin, *Medieval Russia*, pp. 8–11.

[46] Noble, 'The Christian Church as an Institution'; Barford, *The Early Slavs*, pp. 217–18; Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom*, pp. 115–27.

[47] Vollrath, *Die Synoden Englands*, pp. 183–84.

In a related vein, the case demonstrates the loose grip we have on the evidence for the early medieval papacy. No complete papal register survives from the early Middle Ages.[48] Utter serendipity governs the survival of letters sent to Rome. We have plenty of evidence for the frequent consultation of the papal archives but that evidence does not authorize us to say anything very specific about the condition of the archives at any given moment. With only a handful of exceptions, all papal letters surviving from the early medieval period are recipient copies. It is a fair guess that more letters have been lost than now survive. Let us look at our Lichfield case with these details in mind. If Offa wrote to Hadrian in 787 after Chelsea, his letter has vanished. Leo III seems to have been able to quote it, but we no longer have that luxury. Hadrian's privilege has vanished and thus we have no idea about his thinking or reasoning. Coenwulf's important letter to Leo III of 798, with the London plan and Leo's crucial letter to Æthelheard of 802 restoring the rights of Canterbury, survives only in the pages of the twelfth-century historian William of Malmesbury. If Leo also wrote to Coenwulf in 802 informing him of the decision he communicated to Æthelheard, that letter has disappeared. Leo's earlier letter of 798 to Coenwulf, in which he declined to embrace the London plan, survives only among the manuscript collections of Alcuin's letters. The accidental and fragmentary nature of the evidence demands a certain modesty of those who would interpret it.

Finally, the suppression of Lichfield by Leo III tells us something about the role of precedent in papal decision making. All the sources pertaining to the Lichfield case go on at length on the original Gregorian settlement. It possessed immense authority, legitimacy, and even prestige. Nevertheless, for what he believed to be good and substantial reasons, Hadrian was prepared in 787 or 788 to modify decrees of Gregory I that had stood for nearly two centuries. In 798 Leo III declined one invitation further to alter Gregory's decrees and then in early 802 he abrogated a decision of his own immediate predecessor. This cannot have been easy for him, and his own language makes it clear that he agreed to rescind Hadrian's decree only because the Pope had been misled.

[48] I have discussed the papal correspondence with further literature in Noble, 'Literacy and the Papal Government', pp. 87–93.

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The Archiepiscopal Pallium in Late Anglo-Saxon England

Francesca Tinti

In the first half of the tenth century the archbishops of Canterbury, followed a few decades later by those of York, began to go regularly to Rome at the beginning of their episcopate to fetch in person their pallium, that is, the white woollen band marked with crosses which constituted the main symbol of their authority. While this practice has been known for a long time, few commentators have tried to explain why it started in this period and what may have made the English archbishops embark voluntarily on such a long and demanding journey at a time when the papacy was not normally requiring metropolitans to go to Rome in person. Most of what is known about such trips comes from the famous diary of Archbishop Sigeric, who went to Rome in 990 and noted down the churches he visited there as well as the itinerary that he followed on the way back. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* also normally records English archbishops' journeys to Rome, although the information it provides is usually very succinct. This paper will examine all the surviving evidence on this late Anglo-Saxon practice bearing in mind the more general context of development of metropolitan authority, but it will also shed new light on the role and significance of the pallium by paying special attention to the late Anglo-Saxon pontificals which contain the rite for its conferment, a type of source which has been very rarely considered in this kind of studies. In spite of their usually con-

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servative nature, these episcopal books demonstrate how the liturgy concerning the pallium and the archiepiscopal enthronement was adapted to the evolving practices of this crucial period. Furthermore, by comparing the evidence for Canterbury, the archiepiscopal see with which all such pontificals are related, with that for York, it is also possible to notice an interesting contrast in attitudes towards the prospect of a journey to Rome. The little that we know about the see of York mostly concerns Archbishop Wulfstan's apparent reluctance to go to fetch the pallium in person and his criticism towards the payments to the papacy that were normally associated with the delivery of the pallium. This attitude, which contrasts with the archbishops of Canterbury's readiness to embark on such a journey and interest in all things Roman, testifies to a more complex situation, as well as more variability in logic and action, than is usually assumed.

From at least the early sixth century, the pallium was worn during the celebration of mass as a symbol of authority derived from the pope. Its origins are not entirely clear, though it has been suggested that it evolved from the Roman pallium granted by the emperor as a sign of high authority into a scarf to be worn to imply superior authority within the church. In the East, where such a vestment was called an omophorion, all bishops wore it, whereas within western Christianity, it was always solely the pope who was by his own right entitled to wear the pallium; the other bishops who were also allowed to wear it could do so thanks to a privilege granted by the pope.[1] In the course of its history the pallium took various shapes, though it was mostly draped over the shoulders to signify the pastoral responsibility of those who wore it.[2] By being worn in this way, and because of its being made of wool, it was meant to represent the Gospel's lost sheep found by the Good Shepherd, who carries it on his shoulders.

The earliest papal privileges dealing with the concession of pallia date back to the sixth century, when the motivations for the grant varied noticeably. For instance, the bishop of Ostia was entitled to the pallium because he traditionally consecrated the pope; the bishop of Taormina in Sicily appears to have been granted it for his role as administrator of the Roman church's patrimony;

[1] On the origins and development of the pallium, see von Hacke, *Die Palliumverleihungen bis 1143*; Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, pp. 384–90; Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient*, pp. 620–76; Klauser, *Der Ursprung der bischöflichen Insignien*, pp. 17–19; Martí Bonet, *El palio*. For the omophorion, see Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, XIII (1937), cols 2089–90.

[2] During the period examined in this paper a strip hung down both front and back from the band around the shoulders. See Keefer, 'A Matter of Style', p. 15, fig. 2.4.

while the bishop of Arles was normally sent it because he was the pope's vicar in Gaul.[3] During Gregory the Great's pontificate (590–604), the evidence for the despatch of the pallium becomes much more telling, though the reasons behind its concession still appear to be rather diverse. It would seem that Gregory regarded the pallium as a distinction for specific bishops rather than a privilege systematically attached to the same sees.[4] The main novel element of his pontificate in this respect is represented by the despatch of the pallium to Augustine of Canterbury, as in this case the right to wear it is directly related to Augustine's role as metropolitan of his province and his responsibility to ordain bishops and create new sees within the same province.[5] The idea that a metropolitan must receive the pallium in order to exercise his authority seems to have originated in connection with the Gregorian mission to England and was employed again in the context of the Anglo-Saxon missions of Willibrord and Boniface to the Continent.[6]

Metropolitan Authority in the Earlier Anglo-Saxon Church

The importance of the metropolitan sees in the early Christian church was directly related to that of the cities in which they were based; for this reason, Gregory had wanted Augustine to base his episcopal see in London and to consecrate another bishop with metropolitan status in York, who, just like Augustine, was to receive the pallium and to have twelve suffragan bishops.[7] As is well known, Gregory's original plans for the organization of the English church were never accomplished: the metropolitan see of Augustine and his successors remained at Canterbury, while that at York, after a short stint, was

[3] Martí Bonet, *El palio*, pp. 12–18.

[4] Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', pp. 52–55. During Gregory the Great's pontificate, the pallium also acquired a special sacred significance, as it began to be placed in a niche within the redesigned Petrine *confessio* before being sent to its intended recipient; see below, at p. 320.

[5] Bede, *HE*, v. 29; Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 66–67.

[6] On the role of papal authority and the bestowing of the pallium in Germanic missionary contexts, see Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World*, pp. 215–47, and Story, 'Bede, Willibrord, and the Letters of Pope Honorius I'.

[7] As many scholars have maintained, Gregory's choice of London and York as the two cities appropriate for metropolitan bishops was most probably due to the role they had played in the late Roman administration of Britain. See, for instance, James, *Britain in the First Millennium*, pp. 41–45, 156–57.

only re-established in the eighth century and never acquired all its suffragans.[8] It should be stressed that at this stage there does not seem to have been any link between the pallium and the archiepiscopal rank; in fact, the title 'archbishop' is never used with reference to Augustine or his immediate successors in any of the letters which have been preserved in Gregory's *Registrum* or in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, although Bede did use the title retrospectively in his own narration.

As has been noted by various commentators, the title of archbishop appears to have been first used in England by Theodore of Canterbury (669–90), when he styled himself 'gratia dei archiepiscopus Britanniae insulae et ciuitatis Doruuernis' (by the grace of God archbishop of the island of Britain and of the city of Canterbury).[9] It was in his time that the metropolitan see of Canterbury began to be recognized by all the Christian English kingdoms, as Theodore managed to create a new model of episcopal power thanks to his metropolitan authority confirmed by the papal grant of the pallium and his archiepiscopal title. In many respects this was unprecedented in western Christianity and has been interpreted by Alan Thacker as partly due to Theodore's eastern provenance, which would have provided him with a 'maximal view of the role of metropolitans'.[10]

The extraordinary authority enjoyed by Theodore (and his immediate successors) appears to a have been confirmed by Pope Agatho at a council held in Rome in 679, when it was decreed that the church in the island of Britain should be governed by twelve bishops, of whom one would receive the pallium and rule as archbishop. Thacker has noted that Theodore probably needed to legitimate his drastic actions in the management of the controversy regarding Bishop Wilfrid and the diocesan organization of Northumbria.[11] Things changed, however, a few decades later when, in 735, Pope Gregory III sent the pallium to Ecgbert of York, who was thus granted metropolitan status and the authority to create new episcopal sees. Although very little is known of the activities of the mid-eighth-century archbishops as metropolitans, it would

[8] On Pope Honorius I's sending of the pallium to Paulinus of York in 634, see Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 67, and Story, 'Bede, Willibrord, and the Letters of Pope Honorius I'. See also below, at p. 325.

[9] Bede, *HE*, IV. 17; Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 76; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 430–31; Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', pp. 55–60.

[10] Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', p. 56.

[11] Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', p. 58.

seem that, with the institution of the archbishopric of York, the ecclesiastical map of Anglo-Saxon England was perceived as being made of two provinces and that the northern metropolitan was independent of the southern.

The next important step in the history of archbishoprics in England came in the late eighth century with the temporary institution of a third archiepiscopal see at Lichfield, which deprived Canterbury of part of its province.[12] Although this was a short-lived phase, mostly due to King Offa's political ambitions and his problematic relationship with the archbishop of Canterbury, the written exchanges that it generated and that have been preserved within the collections of Alcuin's correspondence certainly contributed to the definition of the archiepiscopal power as well as the role of the pallium, which had to be received from the pope for that power to be effective and recognized.[13]

Archiepiscopal Journeys to Rome

The principal late Anglo-Saxon development in the grant of the archiepiscopal pallium was the journey to Rome on which many English archbishops embarked in order to fetch it in person. Initially this practice was only followed at Canterbury, but later on in the tenth century the archbishops of York too began to go to Rome for the same purpose. With very few exceptions, since the time of Augustine the pallium had usually been sent: before the tenth century only Wighard in 667 or 668 and Berhtwald in 692 are known to have journeyed to Rome to fetch it. They were bishops-elect who needed to reinforce their authority and avoid any reason for possible disputes through the conferment of the pallium by the pope in person.[14] Normally, however, the pallium would have been sent from Rome to England, as well as other areas of western Christianity, after having been formally requested and upon receipt of a *professio fidei* carried by a legate on behalf of the archiepiscopal candidate. As noted by Wilhelm Levison, early evidence for this practice can be found in two for-

[12] See Thomas Noble's chapter in this volume.

[13] On these themes see, for instance, Story, *Carolingian Connections*, pp. 13, 66, 135, 197, 198, 201.

[14] Archbishop Æthelheard, who had already been sent the pallium at the start of his pontificate, also went to Rome in 801–02. He needed papal approval for the re-establishment of Canterbury's authority after the Lichfield parenthesis. In 814–15, his successor, Archbishop Wulfred, also travelled to Rome in the middle of his pontificate, though it is not clear for what reasons. On the journeys of these archbishops, see Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 133–34.

mulae of the *Liber Diurnus*, and a number of eighth- and early ninth-century sources show that that was clearly the case with Anglo-Saxon archbishops.[15] The same practice was confirmed at the Ravenna council of 877 summoned by Pope John VIII, where it was also decreed that all metropolitans must apply for the pallium and send their profession of faith within three months of their consecration.[16]

Archiepiscopal trips from Canterbury to Rome became very common in the tenth century, at a time when the papacy did not normally require such a practice for the bestowal of the pallium.[17] The first known case is that of Archbishop Wulfhelm of Canterbury (926–41), who went to Rome in 927 to collect the pallium in person (see Table 3).[18] For Wulfhelm's successor, Archbishop Oda (941–58), there is no explicit evidence that he went to Rome for this purpose; however, the presence of his name within a group of English people's names inserted in the *Liber Vitae* of Pfäfers suggests the possibility of a trip to the Continent made by the Archbishop in the early 940s.[19] Oda was succeeded by Ælfsige, who was translated from the see of Winchester to that of Canterbury in 958. He began his trip to collect the pallium in Rome but died in the Alps.[20]

[15] Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 233, 243–44. In 780–81 Alcuin acted as legate of Eanbald, archbishop of York, when he went to Rome to retrieve the pallium on his behalf; see Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 333–36. Interestingly, Jinty Nelson has noted that there is more evidence for eighth-century Anglo-Saxon archbishops receiving pallia than for contemporary Carolingian metropolitans: Nelson, 'England and the Continent', pp. 116–17.

[16] For an edition of the conciliar canons of 877, see *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. by Mansi, col. 337. See also Martí Bonet, *El Palio*, p. 129. The pallium could be denied if it was not properly applied for, as had indeed been the case in May 865, when Pope Nicholas I refused to send the pallium to Festinian of Dol in Brittany. In the letter that he sent to Salomon, duke of Brittany, the Pope also specified that the petition should be sent to Rome through a legate who must swear on the Gospels that his bishop believes and will observe his profession of faith: Jaffé, *RP*, no. 2789. The text of the papal letter is edited in Nicholas I, *Epistolae*, ed. by Perels, no. 122, p. 640. See Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 158–59.

[17] Cf. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient*, p. 630.

[18] The E version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers to the journey, while the Latin section of the F version makes explicit that Wulfhelm went to collect the pallium. Cf. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VII: MS E*, ed. by Irvine, p. 55, and *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VIII: MS F*, ed. by Baker, p. 79. For a translation, see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. by Swanton, p. 107. See also Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 216.

[19] Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', p. 201. See also Tinti, 'England and the Papacy', pp. 170–71.

[20] The earliest source to report this event is B's 'Vita S. Dunstani', ed. and trans. by Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 78–81. It is likely that Ælfsige left late in the year 958, thus

In 959, he was succeeded by Byrhthelm; this was shortly afterwards replaced by Dunstan, who went to Rome for the same reason in 960.[21]

Nicholas Brooks has noted that this new practice became widespread at a time in which the English kings often translated to Canterbury bishops who already held West Saxon bishoprics.[22] By going to collect their pallia directly from the pope, the archbishops would secure papal approval for their translation, as such transfers were considered uncanonical, and it was probably deemed necessary to ensure the additional authority of a Roman ceremony for the grant of the pallium.[23] Though uncanonical, episcopal translations were far from unusual in England as in other areas of western Christianity, and, as has been recently pointed out by Conrad Leyser, contemporary canonical collections, such as the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, were not completely against episcopal transfer, as they left room for exceptions dictated by *utilitas* or *necessitas*.[24] In other words, it seems that there may have been more than the need to repair possible uncanonical procedure behind the regularity with which the tenth-century archbishops of Canterbury went to Rome shortly after their election to collect the pallium in person, a regularity which at this stage does not seem to be matched by metropolitans from other areas of the western Christian world.

In the tenth century the few other cases of metropolitans who went to Rome in person for the pallium seem exceptional. For instance, in 921 Richer of Liège fetched it from Pope John X, after having been consecrated by the same pope. Richer was the first bishop of that see to be granted the pallium; his succession had been hotly disputed, as two different candidates had been elected, but the papacy's intervention ensured the episcopacy for Charles the Simple's chosen candidate. Other cases of delivery of the pallium in person concern southern

encountering the difficulties of crossing the Alps in winter: see Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 238. On the timing of archiepiscopal journeys to Rome, see below, n. 34.

[21] Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 239–40 and 244.

[22] Wulfhelm had been bishop of Wells before being translated to Canterbury and Dunstan had held the sees of both London and Worcester in plurality; see Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 216–17 and 244, and Brooks, 'Canterbury, Rome and the Construction of English Identity', p. 228.

[23] Nicholas Brooks has also pointed out that the new practice of the archiepiscopal trip to Rome is unlikely to have been required by the papacy; the change was more probably introduced by the English kings who were interested in securing papal support for their archbishops: Brooks, 'The Cathedral Community at Canterbury', pp. 128–29.

[24] Leyser, 'Episcopal Office in the Italy of Liudprand of Cremona'. On episcopal transfer, see also Sommar, 'Hincmar of Reims'.

Table 3. The succession of popes and archbishops of Canterbury and York in the late Anglo-Saxon period.

Popes	**Canterbury**	**York**
John X (914–28)	Wulfhelm (926–41) went to Rome to collect the pallium in 927.	
Leo VI (928)		
Stephen VII (928–31)		
John XI (931–35)		Wulfstan I (931–56)
Leo VII (936–39)		
Stephen VIII (939–42)		
Marinus II (942–46)	Oda (941–58) may have gone to Rome in the early 940s.	
Agapetus II (946–55)		
John XII (955–64)	Ælfsige (958–59) died in the Alps on his way to Rome.	Oscytel (958/59–71) possibly went to Rome to collect his pallium.
	Byrhthelm (959–59)	
	Dunstan (959–88) went to Rome in 960.	
Leo VIII (963–65)		
Benedict V (964)		
John XIII (965–72)		Oswald (971/72–92) went to Rome, most probably to fetch the pallium.
Benedict VI (973–74)		
Boniface VII (anti-pope)		
Benedict VII (974–83)		
John XIV (983–84)		
Boniface VII (anti-pope)		
John XV (985–96)	Æthelgar (988–89) went to Rome in 989.	
	Sigeric (990–94) went to Rome in 990.	Ealdwulf (992–1002)
Gregory V (996–99)	Ælfric (995–1005) went to fetch his pallium in 997.	

Popes	Canterbury	York
John XVI (anti-pope)		
Silvester II (999–1003)		Wulfstan the Homilist (1002–23)
John XVII (1003–03)		
John XVIII (1003–09)	Ælfheah (1006–12) went to Rome in 1007.	
Sergius IV (1009–12)		
Benedict VIII (1012–24)	Lyfing (1013–20) went to Rome in *c.* 1017.	
	Æthelnoth (1020–38) went to Rome in 1022.	
John XIX (1024–32)		Ælfric Puttoc (1023–51) received the pallium in Rome on 12 November 1026.
Benedict IX (elected pope three times) (1032–44) (first time)	Eadsige (1038–50) travelled to Rome in 1040.	
Silvester III (1045–45)		
Benedict IX (1045–45) (second time)		
Gregory VI (1045–46)		
Clement II (1046–47)		
Benedict IX (1047–48) (third time)		
Damasus II (1048–48)		
Leo IX (1049–54)	Robert of Jumièges (1051–52) went to Rome in 1051.	
Victor II (1055–57)	Stigand (1052–70) initially used the pallium which had been abandoned by his predecessor but was later sent another one by Benedict X.	Cynesige (1051–60) fetched his pallium from Victor II in 1055.
Stephen IX (1057–58)		
Benedict X (1058–59)		
Nicholas II (1059–61)		Ealdred (1061–69) went to Rome to fetch the pallium in 1061.

Italian archbishops, such as those of Benevento, Capua, Salerno, and Amalfi, who from the second half of the tenth century had to go to Rome to be consecrated by the pope and receive the pallium. These were at the head of newly established archbishoprics which had previously been subjected to the metropolitan authority of the Roman province. The requirement to go to Rome to fetch the pallium was in these cases related to the special link between the new archbishops and the Roman pontiff.[25] In the case of the archbishops of Canterbury, by contrast, it seems possible to envisage a deliberate and voluntary effort to link the beginning of their archiepiscopal office with a trip to Rome to fetch in person the principal symbol of their metropolitan authority. The surviving evidence for these archiepiscopal journeys, however, is rather scant and does not normally allow for a detailed analysis of the reasons which led many late Anglo-Saxon archbishops to make such a long, difficult, and dangerous trip, as it certainly was in Ælfsige's case.[26]

In the second half of the tenth century the archbishops of York also began to go to Rome to fetch the pallium in person (see Table 3). The first to do so would seem to have been Oscytel (958/59–971), though this is only attested in the twelfth-century Ramsey chronicle, which in spite of its late date might report genuine information on the Archbishop's trip.[27] That Archbishop Oswald (971/72–992) also went to Rome, most probably to fetch the pallium from Pope John XIII, is attested by Byrhtferth of Ramsey, his earliest biographer, though the pallium itself is only mentioned in later sources.[28] We do not know anything about the way in which his two immediate successors — Ealdwulf and Wulfstan the Homilist — obtained their pallia, though the latter, as will emerge below, appears to have been the author of a letter of protest to the

[25] *Papsteregesten*, ed. by Zimmermann, no. 61; Martí Bonet, *El palio*, pp. 152–53 and 137–43. On the creation of several southern Italian metropolitans in the second half of the tenth century, see Ramseyer, *The Transformation of a Religious Landscape*, pp. 127–29.

[26] The 'long distance by sea and land' (longa terrarum marisque interualla) which separated Britain from Rome is referred to in a letter of 634 from Pope Honorius I to Archbishop Honorius of Canterbury, explaining that the Pope had sent the pallium to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to spare them a long journey: Bede, *HE*, II. 18. On the difficulties of the journey, see Matthews, *The Road to Rome*.

[27] *Chronicon abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. by Macray, pp. 24–25. Cf. Bullough, 'St Oswald', pp. 7–8, 16, and Brooks, 'Canterbury, Rome and the Construction of English Identity', pp. 228–29, with n. 22, where it is noted that Oscytel was the first archbishop of York to have been translated from another see.

[28] Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, ed. and trans. by Lapidge, pp. 102–05.

papacy concerning the very practice of going to Rome to collect the pallium. If the letter of protest was written to try to stop a demanding practice which was already very common for the Canterbury archbishop-elect and had also become more frequent for his York archiepiscopal colleague, it must be said that the attempt was not very successful, as Wulfstan's successors — Ælfric, Cynesige, and Ealdred — all went to Rome to fetch the pallium in person.[29]

From the late tenth century onwards the evidence for all these archiepiscopal journeys (both from Canterbury and York) is mostly provided by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, whose annals, however, do not normally say more than simply signalling an archbishop's journey to Rome. One significant exception concerns Ælfric of Canterbury, who went to fetch the pallium in the year 997, as reported by the F version of the *Chronicle*. This version presents a detailed account of Ælfric's journey and meeting with the pope under the year 995, that is, that of his election. The *Chronicle* says that two of the secular clerics of Christ Church had raced the Archbishop to Rome in the attempt to collect the pallium for a member of their community. It should be stressed, however, that this is a very tendentious account, which was inserted on a separate folio of the manuscript to demonstrate Ælfric's presumed role in the expulsion of the secular clerics from Christ Church, an event which, according to this report, would have also been reinforced by papal approval.[30] A further problem is posed by the fact that Pope Gregory V was in Pavia rather than in Rome in 997, as he had been forced to leave the city in the autumn of 996. It would seem that the two met in Pavia, though one wonders how the ceremony for the consigning of the pallium would have been conducted far from Rome. That Gregory and Ælfric did meet, however, seems to be confirmed by a letter that the Pope sent to Abbo of Fleury in 997 asking, among other things, about the Archbishop's safety ('de Cantuariorum archiepiscopi incolumitate'), probably referring to the latter's trip back from Italy.[31]

[29] On the letter of protest, see below at pp. 329–32.

[30] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VIII: MS F*, ed. by Baker, pp. 89–95; for a translation, see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. by Swanton, pp. 128–31. Cf. Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 103 (maintaining that there might be some truth in the story), and Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 259.

[31] Gregory V, *Epistolae et privilegia*, no. 11, col. 920. Mostert, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury*, p. 41 has interpreted the word *incolumitas* as meaning 'health', whereas I think that in this context it is more likely to mean 'safety'. On Gregory V and Ælfric's meeting in Pavia, see Moehs, *Gregorius V*, p. 55.

The journey about which we know most, however, is undoubtedly that of Sigeric of Canterbury (990–94), who went to Rome in 990 and took some important notes during his trip (or immediately after returning to England), which cast precious light on travel between England and Rome in the late tenth century and which have been preserved in an early eleventh-century manuscript from Christ Church, Canterbury (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B. v, part 1, fols 23v–24r).[32] The section of the manuscript within which the diary was copied contains a series of catalogue texts which display a particular interest in Rome: as well as a list of Roman emperors (on fol. 20r), it also contains a catalogue of popes in two sections; the first one, on fol. 19v ends with Hadrian III (884–85), whereas the second list, on fol. 23v, immediately preceding Sigeric's diary, extends from John X (914–28) to John XV (985–96).[33] It is probably not by chance that the second list should begin with the very pope who granted the pallium to Wulfhelm, the first known tenth-century archbishop of Canterbury to have gone to Rome in person to fetch it: this should probably be interpreted as an indication of the interest with which the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury was following the succession of the popes in Rome throughout a period in which it had become common practice to go there for the pallium. Moreover, for the last pope named there is also a reference to the duration of his pontificate up to the time when the list was drafted, which brings one to July 990, possibly the time of Sigeric's visit to Rome.[34]

The detailed information on the sites that Sigeric visited in Rome, as well as the itinerary that he followed on his way home, have allowed for the reconstruction of many aspects of such journeys.[35] It is especially interesting for present purposes that St Peter's was the first church he went to, followed by a visit 'ad Sanctam Mariam Scolam Anglorum', that is, the church which had

[32] For a facsimile edition, see *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany*, ed. by McGurk and others.

[33] For Canterbury's tradition of interest in Rome, see Brooks, 'Canterbury and Rome'.

[34] Dumville, 'The Catalogue Texts', p. 57; *Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. by Stubbs, p. 391 n. 1. The evidence collected by Stephen Matthews indicates that, if possible, a spring-summer journey to Rome was normally preferred during the Anglo-Saxon period, even though a number of archbishops, including the above-mentioned Ælfsige, would have attempted to cross the Alps in autumn or winter: Matthews, *The Road to Rome*, pp. 7–11 and 72–74. On the duration of Sigeric's stay in Rome, see Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990', p. 207.

[35] For a detailed analysis of Sigeric's journey, see Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990', who has noted (at p. 200) that Sigeric's is the only extant list of Roman churches in the period between the eighth and the twelfth century.

been built on the site of the English quarter in Rome, where it would seem that Sigeric spent the night.[36] Sigeric's diary also reports that during his stay in Rome he had a midday meal with Pope John XV, at which they possibly discussed important international matters.[37] The second part of the itinerary, detailing the route taken by Sigeric on his way home, refers to eighty different places between Rome and the Channel, which are probably to be interpreted as the Archbishop's night-stops, thus providing valuable information on the possible duration of the journey.[38]

The Rite for the Conferment of the Pallium

What Sigeric's diary does not refer to, however, is where, when, or how he received his pallium, which, after all, was the main aim of his journey. Some information on the ways in which such a rite was conducted can be gathered thanks to the evidence preserved for Archbishop Dunstan's visit to Rome, which had taken place thirty years earlier. When he was back in Canterbury, Dunstan had the privilege by means of which he was granted the pallium on 21 September 960 by Pope John XII (955–64), copied at the beginning of his personal pontifical, that is, the liturgical book containing the rites that only a bishop could perform.[39] This is the earliest surviving version of the document, which was copied into the manuscript by the same scribe who wrote the rest of the pontifical. The text of the privilege is preceded by a few lines describing the way in which Dunstan fetched his pallium by specifying that, while the

[36] On the *schola Anglorum* (formerly called *schola Saxonum*), see Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum*, pp. 90–125, and Howe, 'Rome: Capital of Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 147–48; see also Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, in this volume.

[37] See Tinti, 'England and the Papacy', pp. 180–81.

[38] Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990', 245. Cf. Matthews, *The Road to Rome*, p. 51. Sigeric's route seems to have been predominant in the later Anglo-Saxon period, though various other routes were also possible: see Pelteret's essay in this volume and Matthews, *The Road to Rome*, pp. 39–44.

[39] Dunstan's pontifical (now BnF, MS lat. 943) is also known as the 'Sherborne Pontifical' because in the later tenth century it reached that episcopal see, where several texts were added to it. The pontifical proper is contained within fols 9r–154v, whereas the papal privilege can be found on fols 7r–8v (edited in *Councils and Synods*, I, 88–92). The first four folios of the manuscript contain later insertions made at Sherborne; fol. 5r was left blank, whereas fols 5v, 6r, and 6v contain three full-page drawings of Christ as King, God, and Man, coming in triumph. Dunstan's pontifical is described in Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux manuscrits*, II, 6–10; Rasmussen, *Les Pontificaux*, ed. by Haverals, pp. 257–317. See also Rosenthal, 'The Pontifical of St Dunstan'.

Archbishop received the privilege from the Pope's hands, he took the pallium from the altar of St Peter.[40]

The relation between the pallium and the altar of St Peter had probably originated with Gregory the Great, who included in the redesigned Petrine shrine a special niche, immediately above the tomb, in which pallia were placed before being sent to their recipients.[41] In this way they would acquire the added value of contact relics and become physical signifiers of a sacred authority derived from St Peter's tomb. The introductory lines to Dunstan's privilege included at the beginning of his pontifical were most likely meant to refer to that very authority, which the Archbishop received directly from St Peter as he took his pallium from the altar with his own hands rather than from the Pope.[42] That these should have been the contents of the first lines of his pontifical indicates how important this rite and this experience were for Dunstan: the ceremonies that he was going to celebrate by means of his pontifical were to be understood as the fruit of the authority that he enjoyed thanks to the liturgical vestment that he had fetched in Rome.[43]

The taking of the pallium with one's own hands from St Peter's altar seems to have been a particularly significant aspect of the rite, as it is also mentioned in the D version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* with reference to Archbishop Æthelnoth (1020–38), who went to Rome in 1022. Given the exceptionally detailed account provided by the *Chronicle* for this event, it is worth reporting it in full:

> Bishop Æthelnoth went to Rome and was received there with great honour by the very reverend Pope Benedict; and he put the pallium on him with his own hands,

[40] 'Incipit æpistola privilegii quam iubente Iohanne papa suscepta benedictione ab eo Dunstan archiepiscopus a suis manibus accepit. Sed pallium a suis manibus non accepit, sed eo iubente ab altare sancti Petri apostoli' (Here begins the letter of privilege which by order of Pope John, Archbishop Dunstan took from his hands after receiving his blessing; but he did not receive the pallium from the Pope's hands, but by order of the Pope, he took it from the altar of St Peter the Apostle): *Councils and Synods*, I, 90. Translation is mine.

[41] Thacker, 'Gallic or Greek?', pp. 52–53. On the reconstruction of the shrine in Gregory's time, see Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St Peter*, pp. 214–24.

[42] Cf. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 41 n. 43, where it is noted that the taking of the pallium from the altar with one's own hands was meant 'to free the presentation of any taint of favouritism or simony'.

[43] It should be stressed that, following the formula of the *Liber Diurnus* on which it is based, the papal privilege only allowed Dunstan to wear the pallium for the most solemn celebrations, namely at Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, the Virgin's Assumption, and the feasts of the Apostles, as well as when consecrating bishops and churches.

> and very reverently consecrated and blessed [him] as archbishop on 7 October, and therewith the Archbishop straightway sang mass on that same day, and then thereafter feasted with the Pope himself; and also himself took the pallium on St Peter's altar, and afterwards happily travelled home to his country.[44]

This account has been interpreted as referring to two pallia as a special honour accorded to Æthelnoth, the same that would happen later on to Lanfranc, who in 1071 was given an extra pallium by Pope Alexander II as a sign of special friendship.[45] What is especially relevant for present purposes, however, is the apparent reference to two separate rites and the explicit mentioning of Æthelnoth's taking of the pallium from St Peter's altar with his own hands before going back to England. It is also noticeable that while Æthelnoth's trip to Rome is also referred to at some length in the E and F versions of the *Chronicle*, in D only is it possible to find the reference to the taking of the pallium from the altar. The relation between the D and the E text is especially interesting given that their wording is nearly identical, except for this reference and the date (7 October), which is also only in D.[46] Archbishop Ealdred of York's possible role in the compilation of the eleventh-century section of D has been observed and discussed by several scholars because of the substantial amount of material referring to events which concerned him, York, and the diocese of Worcester, which he held from 1046 to 1062, in plurality with York between 1060 and 1062, when he was forced to renounce Worcester to go on to hold York until his death in 1069.[47]

[44] 'Æþelnoð biscop for to Rome, 7 wæs þær underfangen mid mycclan weorðscype fram Benedicte, þam arwurðan papan. 7 he mid his agenum handum him pallium on asette, 7 to arcebiscope swiðe arwurðlice gehalgade 7 gebletsade on nonas Octobris. 7 se arcebiscop sona þærmid mæssan sang on þam sylfan dæge, 7 syððan þæræfter mid þam sylfan papan arwurðlice gereordade, 7 eac him seolf þone pallium genam on sancte Petres weofode, 7 þa seoððan bliðelice ham to his earde ferde': *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VI: MS D*, ed. by Cubbin, pp. 63–64. The translation is from *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. by Swanton, pp. 154–56.

[45] *Councils and Synods*, I, 448 n. 5; Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 291.

[46] E and F also refer to the presence of Abbot Leofwine, who after having been unjustly driven from Ely, went to Rome with Æthelnoth. Cf. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VII: MS E*, ed. by Irvine, p. 75 and *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VIII: MS F*, ed. by Baker, pp. 111–12.

[47] Cf. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 690; *EHD*, pp. 113–17; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VI: MS D*, ed. by Cubbin, pp. lxv–lxxiv; Wormald, 'How Do We Know So Much?', pp. 235–40. See also Stafford, 'Archbishop Ealdred'.

That Ealdred himself, or someone in his circle, should have been interested in providing further details on Æthelnoth's taking of the pallium would make perfect sense, given that Ealdred too embarked on a journey to Rome for the same purpose in 1061. In his case the papal reception was not as welcoming as that given to Æthelnoth, as Nicholas II initially refused to give him the pallium because of Ealdred's having transferred from Worcester to York, two sees that at the time he was in fact still holding in plurality.[48] There might have been, therefore, a strong interest on Ealdred's part in pointing out that in Æthelnoth's case the pallium came directly from St Peter's altar rather than any given pope, and it would not be difficult to envisage a situation in which the sentence referring to the taking of the pallium from the altar was added to a received passage which, instead, placed emphasis on the Pope giving the pallium to Æthelnoth with his own hands.[49]

Liturgical manuscripts cast further light on this rite, even though the rubrics for the ordo for the conferment of the pallium are not explicit as to whether the pallium was given to or taken by the archbishop. Several pontificals from the mid-eleventh to the first half of the twelfth century preserve prayers to be said by the pope during the pallium rite. In his seminal work on pontificals, Michel Andrieu described these manuscripts, most of which originated in Germany, as copies of the so-called Romano-German Pontifical, that is, the episcopal book which was put together at Mainz in the mid-tenth century by merging ancient elements of the Roman liturgy with other 'Germanic' materials, thanks to a

[48] The papacy's attitude had changed in this respect, as can also be evinced from the text of the privilege through which Ealdred was eventually granted the pallium (Jaffé, *RP*, no. 4463): *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. by Raine, pp. 5–7. Although Nicholas's bull has not received much attention and some suspicion has been raised about its authenticity (*Councils and Synods*, I, 560 n. 1), it should be noted that its account of the events which took place in Rome is particularly close to that provided in *The Life of King Edward*, ed. and trans. by Barlow, pp. 52–57, composed, according to its editor, *c.* 1066 by an anonymous foreign author, possibly from St-Bertin. A slightly different, though fairly detailed report, is given both in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Winterbottom and Thompson, pp. 380–83, and William of Malmesbury, 'Vita Wulfstani', ed. and trans. by Winterbottom and Thompson, pp. 40–43. Ealdred's trip to Rome, accompanied by Earl Tostig, is referred to in several sources, including *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VI: MS D*, ed. by Cubbin, p. 76, and *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, pp. 586–87.

[49] On the complicated relations between the various versions of the *Chronicle* for the annals covering this period, see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VI: MS D*, ed. by Cubbin, pp. lxviii–liii. See especially p. lii, where it is maintained that the source for E can account for the essence of the D text up to 1031.

reform project sponsored by the emperor Otto I.[50] This theory has been more recently challenged for different sets of reasons by various scholars who are less inclined to accept such a centralized and deliberate effort to create and impose the Romano-German Pontifical.[51] At any rate, we can safely assume that the rite for the conferment of the pallium originated in Rome, though it is difficult to establish when exactly that happened or when the corresponding prayers became part of the Romano-German Pontifical tradition. It is worth noticing, however, that the earliest extant copies of the Romano-German Pontifical containing the prayers for the conferment of the pallium are two eleventh-century manuscripts from the southern Italian abbey of Montecassino, whose area of cultural, political, and religious influence covered the very region where, as mentioned above, in the second half of the tenth century a number of bishoprics were raised to the status of archbishoprics directly dependent on Rome.[52] As the archbishops from this region were required to go to Rome to be ordained and obtain the pallium from the pope in person, they probably needed to be familiar with this rite, hence its inclusion in these early manuscripts. Later on, that is, in the later eleventh and twelfth century, the same prayers would also appear in several German pontificals belonging to the same tradition.[53] This seems to fit in very well with the changing attitude of the reforming papacy

[50] Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani*, I: *Les Manuscrits*, pp. 494–532; *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, ed. by Vogel and Elze, III: *Introduction générale et tables*, pp. 3–28.

[51] See, for instance, Reynolds, 'The Ritual of Clerical Ordination', and Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance*, pp. 211–19.

[52] The two manuscripts are Montecassino, Arch. dell'Abbazia, MS 451, and Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana, MS D. 5. Though the former had been traditionally considered the earlier of the two, more detailed palaeographical analysis has assigned primacy to the latter manuscript. Montecassino, MS 451 has been firmly assigned to the first half of the abbacy of Desiderius (1058–87), while the exact date of the other manuscript has not been properly addressed, though it has been suggested that it may have been copied under Abbot Theobald II (1022–35), late in his abbacy. Cf. Gyug, 'The Pontificals of Monte Cassino', p. 418; Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino*, pp. 85–86, 380 (for Montecassino, Arch. dell'Abbazia, MS 451) and 144, 147 (for Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana, MS D. 5); Gyug, 'From Beneventan to Gothic', pp. 295–96. Among all the manuscripts which contain the pallium prayers, these are the only two which both because of their date and the ordering of their contents were selected by Vogel and Elze for their edition of the Romano-German Pontifical: see *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, ed. by Vogel and Elze, III, 28–35. I thank Henry Parkes for very useful discussion on these issues and for help with bibliographical references.

[53] For a description of the manuscripts which contain the rite for the papal consigning of the pallium, see Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani*, I: *Les Manuscrits*, pp. 38–41, 63–78, 96–99, 144–54, 166–211, 388–97, 419–41.

which in the second half of the eleventh century began to require all metropolitans to go to Rome in person for the pallium.[54]

The prayers were to be said 'a domno papa super archiepiscopum ante pallium'; the first two were to be recited before the conferment of the pallium and another one was to be said after the pallium had been 'given' (dato pallio).[55] The first prayer underlines the importance of the archbishop's pastoral role ('Tribue ei [...] digne tibi persolvere ministerium sacerdotalis officii et ecclesiasticis convenienter servire misteriis plebemque commissam [...] gubernare concede'), while the last one highlights the spiritual significance of such a vestment ('Sit ei honor pallii ornamentum animae et, unde advenit fastigium visibile, inde florescat amor invisibilis').[56]

A different recension of these same prayers can also be found in several Anglo-Saxon pontificals, some of which actually predate the surviving manuscripts of the Romano-German Pontifical tradition.[57] The earliest of these pontificals is contained within the section of the so-called Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579) which is known as Leofric A. According to Nicholas Orchard, its latest editor, Leofric A was made on the Continent for an archbishop of Canterbury (probably Plegmund (890–923)) in the first decades of the tenth century. The prayers to be said over an archbishop as he receives the pallium are on fols 306^{r}–307^{v}; it is noticeable that in this case they are preceded by a slightly different rubric, from which the reference to the pope is omitted ('Orationes quae dicendae sunt super archiepiscopo antequam pallium accipiat' (Prayers which are to be said over an archbishop before he receives the pallium)). The manuscript thus seems to provide evidence for the use of the pallium rite in England (or at least at Canterbury) by the early tenth century, when the pallium was still being sent from Rome,

[54] Schoenig, 'Withholding the Pallium'.

[55] For the text of the prayers, see *Le Pontifical romano-germanique*, ed. by Vogel and Elze, I, 229–30 (no. LXIV). The edition of these prayers is based on the above-mentioned Montecassino manuscripts.

[56] The passages from the two prayers can be translated as follows: 'Allow him to fulfil worthily the ministry of the priestly office and be appropriately devoted to the ecclesiastical mysteries, and permit him to guide the people committed [to him]'; 'May the honour of the pallium be for him an adornment of the soul and, whereas it has come into his possession as supreme dignity that is visible, on that account may an invisible love begin to blossom.'

[57] Nicholas Orchard has identified two early recensions of the prayers: one English and the other Continental, corresponding to that contained in the copies of the Romano-German Pontifical: *The Leofric Missal*, ed. by Orchard, I, 107.

as was indeed the case for Plegmund, who does not seem to have gone to fetch it in person.[58]

The same recension of the pallium rite, including a slightly longer version of the third prayer, can also be found in some later Anglo-Saxon pontificals, where they are introduced by a different rubric which makes explicit that the pope is not the one conducting the rite.[59] The earliest occurrence of this rubric can be found in the above-mentioned Dunstan Pontifical on fols 59^{r-v}: 'Hoc additamentum sit, si archiepiscopus ecclesiae Christi uel ecclesiae Sancti Petri archiepiscopum hinc uel inde secundum decretum Honorii papae ad Honorium archiaepiscopum ordinare uoluerit, ut legitur in xviii. capitulo libri ii. historiarum Anglorum.'[60] The rubric, which is contained within the rite for episcopal consecration, introduces these 'added' prayers (on fols 59^{v}–61^{r}) specifying that they have to be said when the archbishop of Canterbury (described as 'archiepiscopus aecclesiae Christi') is consecrating that of York ('archiepiscopus [...] aecclesiae Sancti Petri') and vice versa. It also adds that such a practice was in accordance with what Pope Honorius I had written in his letter to Archbishop Honorius of Canterbury contained in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. In this letter, sent in 634, the Pope had reiterated the Gregorian precept which had established that when one of the two metropolitans died, the other should consecrate the late archbishop's successor. For this reason, and to avoid a trip to Rome, both Honorius of Canterbury and Paulinus of York had been sent the pallium.[61]

[58] *The Leofric Missal*, ed. by Orchard, II, 432–33; on Plegmund, see Tinti, 'England and the Papacy', p. 167. The pontifical section of the Sacramentary of Ratoldus also contains the English recension of the prayers, nearly exactly matching the version preserved in the Leofric Missal, but a different rubric, referring to the pope as the officiating person, as in the Romano-German Pontifical. Among the sources for this manuscript, which was written under the supervision of the abbot of Corbie in the third or fourth quarter of the tenth century, there was certainly a tenth-century Canterbury pontifical, possibly taken to the Continent by Oswald, nephew of Archbishop Oda of Canterbury. See *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. by Orchard, pp. xiv, xxxi–xxxiii, 46–47.

[59] Nicholas Orchard (*The Leofric Missal*, ed. by Orchard, I, 108) has suggested that the interpolations in the third prayer may be the work of Archbishop Oda, as they are characteristic of his wordy style.

[60] 'Let this be the addition if the archbishop of Christ Church or of York should wish to ordain the other according to the decree of Pope Honorius to Archbishop Honorius, as we read in the eighteenth chapter of Book 2 of the History of the English.' The translation is that provided in *The Leofric Missal*, ed. by Orchard, I, 107.

[61] Bede, *HE*, II. 18

The reference to this passage of Bede's work in a tenth-century liturgical manuscript testifies to the English church's deliberate adherence to an ancient tradition, but at the same time the rubric also shows how the rite for the conferment of the pallium was adapted for use in England, where an archbishop would be consecrating the other. As was mentioned above, however, Dunstan received the pallium in Rome directly from the pope, as some of his predecessors had already done and all his Anglo-Saxon successors (with the exception of Stigand) would also do. It seems most likely that he never made use of this section of his episcopal book for the consigning of the pallium to another archbishop, if, as it seems, Oswald (the only archbishop of York to have been elected during Dunstan's pontificate) went to Rome in person to fetch the pallium (see Table 3).[62] But as the archbishops of York were just beginning to follow such a practice, and as this was still a voluntary choice rather than a papal requirement, the same rubric and the following prayers kept on being reproduced in later pontificals. With very little variations these can also be found in the Anderson Pontifical of *c*. 1000 (London, British Library, MS Additional 57337, fols 50^{r}–51^{v}), and in the early eleventh-century portion of the Samson Pontifical (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146, pp. 136–38).[63]

The mid-eleventh-century Canterbury pontifical which is now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 44, contains at pp. 260–78 a much longer and more developed pallium rite, as well as a mass 'in consecratione archyepiscopi', and, most interestingly, provisions for the enthronement of an archbishop entitled 'Ad processionem archypresulis de Roma uenienti palliumque offerenti'. This last rite was also contained in the mid-eleventh-century Claudius Pontifical II (London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A. iii, fols 9^{r}–18^{v}, 87^{r}–105^{v}), also from Canterbury, which is now fragmentary and only preserves on fol. 9^{r} the very last portion of the archiepiscopal enthronement.[64] The latest

[62] Cf. *The Leofric Missal*, ed. by Orchard, I, 107–08, where it is maintained that the rubric must have been attached to the prayers by one of his predecessors, as Dunstan went to Rome to fetch the pallium in person. While this is certainly possible, it should be noted that this statement does not take into account that these prayers were most probably inserted in the Dunstan Pontifical bearing in mind his possible future role as the archbishop officiating at the consecration of an archbishop of York.

[63] For both these manuscripts there has been some discussion among scholars about their origin, as some seem to prefer Winchester over Canterbury. See, however, Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 72–73, 77.

[64] *The Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii and 89. See Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 77–78.

surviving Anglo-Saxon pontificals thus show some significant and innovative features which must be interpreted as the result of the frequency with which the English archbishops went to Rome in person to fetch the pallium. In view of this development, a new ceremony was designed for the enthronement, at least at Canterbury, as can be deduced from the several references to various parts of Christ Church cathedral contained in the rite in Corpus Christi College, MS 44.[65] It is worth noticing, however, that the enthronement rite is preceded by the rite for the consigning of the pallium which, though much more developed than that in the earlier Anglo-Saxon pontificals, still contains the traditional three prayers, introduced by the rubric referring to Pope Honorius's letter contained in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. In other words, Corpus Christi College, MS 44 was not designed to replace the old practice altogether. In this manuscript the first two traditional prayers are followed by a new one which begins on p. 262 with the words 'Accipe pallium summi sacerdotii'. In its turn, this is followed by the antiphon *Firmetur manus tua* and the rubric 'Consecratio post pallium' which introduces various prayers, including the traditional third prayer of the other pontificals, that is, the one to be recited after consigning the pallium, which is here inserted within a longer rite.[66] This is followed by the blessing of the newly consecrated archbishop (pp. 268–71) and the above-mentioned ordo for the mass 'in consecratione archyepiscopi' (pp. 272–74a).

The enthronement rite (pp. 274a–278) is introduced by the rubric referring to the procession of an archbishop who has come back from Rome with the pallium. To the singing of the *Te Deum* the archbishop is taken into Christ Church ('in aecclesiam Christi'). Following a psalm, the *Kyrie eleison*, and various prayers, he has to go to the altar of Christ, where he must offer the pallium that he has received from the pope by placing it on top of the altar ('Surgat dehinc altare Christi adeundo palliumque a domno papa suscepto

[65] *The Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii. The short surviving portion of the rite in Claudius Pontifical II does not contain any topographical reference.

[66] The term *consecratio* can also be found in the rubric introducing the third prayer of the pallium rite in some of the other above-mentioned Anglo-Saxon pontificals. In both Dunstan (BnF, MS lat. 943, fol. 60^{r}) and Anderson (BL, MS Addit. 57337, fol. 50^{v}), this rubric reads 'Hic detur pallium. Consecratio post pallium', while the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (BnF, MS lat. 12052, fol. 20^{v}) has the variant 'palleum' (see *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. by Orchard, p. 46). It would seem that the concluding part of the pallium rite marked the actual 'consecration' of an archbishop, an aspect which is particularly relevant in those cases in which the same person had already been a bishop of another see and did not need to be ordained again. I am grateful to Nicholas Brooks for useful discussion on this issue.

altari superponendo').[67] After another antiphon and prayers, the archbishop has to wear the pallium while standing before the altar of Christ ('pallium sanctum sibi circumdet coram Christi altare'). He then proceeds to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin ('porticum genitricis Christi'), in the western apse of the cathedral, where further prayers are recited. He is then led to the throne ('ad pontificalem cathedram'), which stood against the wall of the western apse.[68] This is where the rite reaches its concluding phase — the actual enthronement —, starting with the prayers which are to be said by the archbishop himself 'ad dedicandum solium archyepiscopale' (p. 275).

The many novel elements contained in this section of the pontifical (and possibly also originally contained in the Claudius Pontifical II) are particularly indicative of the enthusiasm with which the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury had embraced the idea of the need for a personal journey to Rome to fetch the pallium. Moreover, the enthronement rite, including the procession of an archbishop recently returned from Rome, shows how what had begun as a voluntary practice later turned into a regular feature which demanded the creation of new liturgical arrangements.

For various reasons, it is not possible to assign with certainty each of the above-mentioned pontificals to a specific archbishop, with the notable exception of Dunstan.[69] In fact, an attempt to do so would be probably misleading, since one should not invariably think of pontificals as personal books. As Richard W. Pfaff has noted, pontificals may have belonged to a cathedral see rather than a single bishop, and were sometimes copied for use at monastic communities where the episcopal book would be fetched when the bishop was visiting.[70] Admittedly, the prayers for the conferment of the pallium would have only been used by an archbishop, but this does not automatically imply that such prayers did not end up being copied also in episcopal books used by suffragan bishops.[71] In general, however, it would seem that all those which

[67] The altar of Christ was in the front part of the eastern apse of the pre-Conquest cathedral. See *The Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, p. xxxvii, and Brooks, 'The Cathedral Community at Canterbury', pp. 149–54.

[68] *The Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, p. xxxviii.

[69] For some suggestions of possible owners, see Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 91–95.

[70] Pfaff, 'The Anglo-Saxon Bishop'.

[71] One should also bear in mind that in several cases pontificals moved from a cathedral see to another one, as in the case of the Dunstan Pontifical, whose prayers for the consigning of the pallium would not have been of much use when the book reached Sherborne.

contain the pallium prayers have at least some connection with Canterbury, if they were not actually all written there.

Payment and Protest

While highlighting the spiritual significance of the pallium and the frequency with which the late Anglo-Saxon archbishops of Canterbury and some of those of York diligently went to Rome to fetch this important liturgical vestment and papal insignia, one should not ignore another significant aspect of the role played by the pallium in the relations between England and Rome, namely, the payments to the papacy which seem to have become increasingly associated with its delivery. Alms and offerings to St Peter's, as well as other churches in Rome and on the way to Rome, were part and parcel of any pilgrim's experience,[72] and it is likely that the English archbishops who began to go to Rome in the first half of the tenth century to fetch the pallium left payments in the form of offerings to St Peter's. With time, however, this seems to have become too demanding a practice, as emerges from a letter of protest from 'the bishops of Britain' to the papacy preserved in a portable book of Archbishop Wulfstan (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, fols 178r–179r).[73] The letter, which does not name a specific addressee (as instead of the pope's name contains the abbreviated form of the pronoun *illi*) complains about the convention of archbishops travelling to Rome for the pallium by pointing out, through extended references to Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and a letter of Alcuin to King Offa, that in the early days of the English church the pallium was sent from Rome. In the very last section the letter also appears to refer to the money which was required for the conferment of the papal insignia, practically blaming the papacy of simony.[74]

[72] See Rory Naismith's contribution to this volume.

[73] On the significance of the size of this manuscript, see Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 97.

[74] 'Tunc temporis impleverunt sancti et apostolici viri illud laudabile preceptum Salvatoris nostri, dicentis: "Gratis accepistis, gratis date." Tunc sine viribus elanguit simoniaca hæresis, quia non pecunia emebatur donum Dei, sed gratis, sicut ipse iusserat, donabatur. Timendum est tamen vendentibus gratiam Dei hoc quod Petrus apostolus Simoni dicebat: "Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditione; non est tibi pars, neque sors in sermone hoc"' (At that time holy popes fulfilled that praiseworthy precept of our Saviour which says: 'Freely ye have received; freely give'. Then the Simoniac heresy languished without force, because God's gift was not bought by money, but was granted freely, as He himself had ordered. Yet, those who sell God's kindness have to fear what the apostle Peter said to Simon: 'May your money perish with you; you have no part or share in this ministry'). For the whole text, see *Councils and Synods*, I, 441–47. Translation is mine.

Such a complaint becomes much more explicit in the letter that King Cnut wrote to the English people in 1027, after his journey to Rome to attend the coronation of Emperor Conrad. Cnut wrote that he had taken this opportunity to speak with the Emperor and the other princes who were also present to make sure that his subjects, on their way to Rome, would not encounter the barriers and the toll-gatherers who had caused hindrances in the past. The letter also says that the King had spoken to the Pope (John XIX) to complain that his 'archbishops were so much oppressed by the immensity of the sums of money which were exacted from them when according to custom they came to the apostolic see to receive the pallium'. Cnut adds that 'it was decided that this should not be done in the future'.[75] Whether or not these promises were kept is impossible to establish, but what these letters are especially interesting for is the different perspective they offer on the practice of the archiepiscopal journey to Rome in the early decades of the eleventh century.

The letter of protest which can be associated with Archbishop Wulfstan is particularly interesting because, unlike Cnut's letter, it is especially critical of the archiepiscopal journeys rather than just the financial aspects which were associated with them. Although its formulaic character, its lack of a preamble, and the absence of a named addressee suggest that it was probably never sent, its survival testifies to some uneasiness on the part of at least some English higher ecclesiastics with respect to the archiepiscopal journey to Rome to fetch the pallium.[76] On stylistic grounds, it was suggested many years ago that it was most probably drafted by Wulfstan himself, although it is difficult to identify the exact occasion on which he would have found necessary to write such a text.[77] As was mentioned above, we know nothing of the way in which Wulfstan acquired his pallium, though he undoubtedly had one.[78] It is possi-

[75] *EHD*, no. 53, p. 477. It should be noticed that between Cnut's accession to the English throne and the writing of this letter, two archbishop of Canterbury (Lyfing and Æthelnoth) and one archbishop of York (Ælfric Puttoc) had gone to Rome for the pallium (see Table 3).

[76] Wilhelm Levison was the first to point out that the letter belonged to a later period than had previously been thought: previous editors had misinterpreted the abbreviated form of *illi* as a reference to Pope Leo, that is, the author of a letter contained in the same quire of the Vespasian manuscript: Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 241–48. For a more detailed analysis of the letter, bearing in mind its manuscript context, see Tinti, 'The Preservation, Transmission and Use of Papal Letters'. On the manuscript, see also Mann, 'The Development of Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript'.

[77] Bethurum, 'A Letter of Protest'.

[78] A bronze pin with traces of silver found in the Archbishop's grave at Ely has been

ble, however, that his own archiepiscopal election in 1002 prompted him to start thinking in the direction of the letter's contents. Of his predecessors, only Oswald, and possibly Oscytel, had embarked on the journey, while all his three Anglo-Saxon successors certainly did go to Rome (see Table 3). There may have been some pressure on him to do the same, but other, later circumstances may have also contributed to the development of Wulfstan's ideas on the fetching of the pallium.

During his archiepiscopate Wulfstan witnessed the succession of three archbishops of Canterbury. While the election of the first one, Ælfheah, in 1006 was shortly afterwards followed by a trip to Rome, his successor, Lyfing, though elected in 1013, only fetched his pallium some years later, probably in 1017. In the interval, he witnessed charters simply as 'bishop', rather than 'archbishop', was regularly listed after Archbishop Wulfstan, and could not consecrate bishops in his province, as can be deduced from the fact that Ælfwig was consecrated bishop of London in 1014 by Wulfstan at York, rather than by Lyfing.[79] It should be remembered that this was a period of great upheaval and that only after the death of Edmund Ironside at the end of November 1016 was there an uncontested successor to the English throne in the person of Cnut.[80] Given the senior advisory role an archbishop-designate would have held within the councils of the king, one could see why Lyfing was probably in no position to leave England until 1017. As Wulfstan was certainly affected by the delay with which his colleague received the pallium, he may have developed his ideas on the archiepiscopal journey during this interval. In his turn, Lyfing's successor, the above-mentioned Æthelnoth, though elected in 1020, did not travel to Rome until 1022.[81] We do know that Æthelnoth was consecrated on 13 November 1020 by Wulfstan, as is attested in a letter by Wulfstan himself to Cnut which

identified as one of the gilt spinulae used to attach the pallium to his chasuble. See Crook, '"Vir optimus Wlfstanus"', pp. 517–18.

[79] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VI: MS D*, ed. by Cubbin, p. 59. On this event, see also Wilcox, 'Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi*', p. 380.

[80] Swegn Forkbeard had attacked England and had been acknowledged as king from the autumn of 1013 until his death in February the next year. Cnut had managed to gain the submission of Wessex in 1015, while Æthelred the Unready died on 23 April 1016, leading to the sharing of the kingdom between Edmund Ironside and Cnut. For more details on the political turmoil of this period, see John, 'The Return of the Vikings', p. 199.

[81] See *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. V: MS C*, ed. by O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 104; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VI: MS D*, ed. by Cubbin, pp. 63–64; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. VII: MS E*, ed. by Irvine, p. 75.

was entered into the MacDurnan Gospels (London, Lambeth Palace, MS 1370).[82] Brooks has suggested that the letter of protest, probably drafted at the time of Wulfstan's archiepiscopal election, may have been intended for reuse, given its formulary character, on an occasion such as Æthelnoth's election.[83]

In this context it is also important to point out that the main body of the letter, with the exclusion of the opening address and the last paragraph on simony, is also preserved at pp. 103–05 of Corpus Christi College, MS 190, Part A, an early eleventh-century Worcester manuscript attesting to what is generally called Wulfstan's 'commonplace book'. The text is entitled 'De ordinatione archiepiscopi' and begins with the words 'Legimus in Istoriis Anglorum scribente Beda'. It appears within a section of the manuscript containing various texts concerning the election and ordination of bishops and priests.[84] It is not possible to establish whether this text is earlier than the longer, epistolary one preserved in the Vespasian manuscript, but the existence of two versions, of which one lacks the epistolary address, would seem to suggest that Wulfstan had been developing ideas on the archiepiscopal consecration and the delivery of the pallium independently of the actual drafting of a letter to be possibly sent to the pope. By contrast, the Vespasian manuscript nearly exclusively contains letters and epistolary formulae, among which the letter of protest can be considered as yet another example of the various template letters which appear in the manuscript.[85] Moreover, as in this manuscript the text is surrounded by a number of other pieces on the alienation of church property, including a text entitled 'De rapinis aeclesiasticarum rerum' largely drawn from Atto of Vercelli's *De pressuris ecclesiasticis*, one can understand where Wulfstan's inspiration came from when he decided to add at the end of the letter a polemical passage hinting at the payment which the early eleventh-century papacy requested in exchange for the pallium.[86]

[82] The letter is edited and translated in *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. and trans. by Harmer, no. 27, pp. 182–83. The exact date of Æthelnoth's consecration is provided by the D, E, and F versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

[83] Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, p. 291.

[84] See Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 214–15. A description of this section of the manuscript can be found in Bateson, 'A Worcester Cathedral Book', pp. 715–17. For a more recent catalogue description of Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., MS 190, see Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art*, I, 535–44.

[85] Mann, 'The Development of Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript', p. 262.

[86] Mann, 'The Development of Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript', pp. 257–65.

Conclusion

With the advent of the reform papacy in the second half of the eleventh century, the English archbishops' journeys to Rome to fetch the pallium cease to appear as exceptional as they were in the earlier period. Among the means employed to exercise a more stringent control over especially important episcopal sees, the popes began to require all archbishops to go to Rome in person to fetch this important liturgical vestment, as well as powerful political and juridical tool. The popes' personal encounter with each archbishop would provide them with an opportunity to check the legitimacy of their promotion and the regularity of their position. Various examples from the 1060s onwards show the papacy's new attitude, including the above-mentioned case of Archbishop Ealdred, who was initially denied the pallium by Pope Nicholas II and was only able to obtain it after renouncing the diocese of Worcester which he was holding in plurality with York, as several of his predecessors had done without ever being denied the pallium.[87] That the journey to Rome became a more regular feature for archbishops coming from other areas of Europe also seems to be confirmed by the survival of several later eleventh- and twelfth-century copies of the Romano-German Pontifical, which contain a rite officiated by the pope for the consigning of the pallium.

The English case remains exceptional in the period between the early decades of the tenth century and the mid-eleventh century, when the papacy does not appear to have normally required the personal presence of an archbishop in Rome for the conferment of the pallium. Sources never say explicitly why such a demanding practice as the long journey from England to Rome was considered necessary or at least highly recommendable by so many archbishops, but they do show the importance it held, at least at Canterbury. The main piece of evidence in this respect is the copy of the papal privilege which opens the Dunstan Pontifical and the introductory words which refer to the taking of the pallium from St Peter's altar, highlighting the spiritual significance of the vestment. The addition on the taking of the pallium from the altar which characterizes the 1022 annal of the D version of the *Chronicle* dealing with Archbishop Æthelnoth's journey to Rome points in the same direction, that is, the importance of the veneration for St Peter and his tomb beneath the altar, seen as the ultimate source of archiepiscopal power and pastoral responsibility. As was noted above, this specific sentence may have been added to the D version of the

[87] Schoenig, 'Withholding the Pallium'.

Chronicle by Archbishop Ealdred's circle to distinguish between the spiritual significance of the pallium and the person of the pope. In a sense, the letter of protest which appears to have been drafted by Archbishop Wulfstan can also be interpreted in the same way, especially its last portion referring to the money which had to be paid by the archbishops to obtain the pallium and thus blaming the popes of simony.

The surviving evidence, though admittedly rather scanty in the case of the archbishopric of York, would seem to point towards a significant difference between Canterbury and York. Not only did the archbishops of the former cathedral begin to go to Rome earlier and more regularly than their York colleagues, but they also seem to have preserved a genuine interest in Rome, the popes' succession, the churches to be visited in the city, and so on. Imitation of Rome was very important at Canterbury, not just at the time of the Gregorian missions but throughout its Anglo-Saxon history.[88] From York, by contrast, the little that survives is almost entirely negative or critical towards the papacy. It should be remembered that Ealdred and his party were robbed on their way back from Rome after having been first denied the pallium by Nicholas II because of the Archbishop's irregular situation; it was only after that unfortunate event that Ealdred returned to Rome, agreed to renounce Worcester, and finally managed to obtain his pallium.[89]

Wulfstan's attitude is perhaps more complex, given his very open criticism which, however, is unlikely to have reached the papacy, certainly not in the form of the template letter which has survived. He was obviously a very busy man involved in the main political and ecclesiastical affairs of his time. A dangerous journey to Rome, which would have taken him away from his principal activities for many months, does not seem to have been among his priorities. A similar attitude also emerges from the way in which he dealt with one of the requirements of earlier law-codes concerning the payment of the annual due to the papacy which was called Peter's Pence in the later Middle

[88] Archaeological excavations have revealed that some of the 'Roman' features of the cathedral were acquired in the late Anglo-Saxon period; see Brooks, 'Canterbury and Rome', p. 808 and bibliography there cited. See also Brooks, 'The Cathedral Community at Canterbury', pp. 149–54. On the influence of Roman money on the archiepiscopal coinage of Canterbury, see Rory Naismith in this volume.

[89] *The Life of King Edward*, ed. and trans. by Barlow, pp. 54–57; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Winterbottom and Thompson, pp. 382–83; William of Malmesbury, 'Vita Wulfstani', ed. and trans. by Winterbottom and Thompson, pp. 42–43.

Ages. Edgar's Andover law-code had required those who did not meet the 29 June annual deadline to take their penny to Rome, add thirty pence to it, bring back a statement confirming the delivery, and pay 120 shillings to the king by way of fine on their return. By contrast, Æthelred's law-codes, which were composed by Wulfstan, do not enforce a journey to Rome on recalcitrant payers.[90] Although Edgar's sanction is repeated in a homily contained in the York Gospels, which says that 'he who does not pay Rome-money is to hand over in addition thirty pence and bring it to Rome', it is noticeable that the Archbishop himself glossed this by adding 'uel sende', that is, send the payment instead of taking it to Rome, thus offering, as Simon Keynes has noted, an easier alternative to the journey.[91]

The attitude of the English archbishops towards the journey to Rome to fetch the pallium was therefore more diversified than might seem at first sight by simply considering the number of people who went there at a time when the papacy had not yet made such a practice compulsory. By taking into account the relatively neglected evidence concerning Archbishop Wulfstan, one can appreciate that the relations between the English church and the papacy in the early decades of the eleventh century were more complex than normally assumed. Wulfstan's criticism can probably be interpreted as a response to the unsettled circumstances of the period, although it should be stressed that the pallium itself continued to play an important role. In the first place, it contributed to reinforce the relations with the papacy, especially when, thanks to the journeys undertaken by the English archbishops, an actual encounter took place. Sources refer to the meals and feasts that accompanied such occasions and that in some cases may have also allowed for the discussion of important political matters. The offerings and payments to the papacy which were taken to Rome by the archbishops also contributed to cement the relationship between the popes and the English nation, which already had a rather long and significant tradition of regular payments to the papacy.[92] On the other hand, the pallium could also be used by the papacy as a juridical and political tool, especially when, as in the case of Ealdred, it began to be denied by the

[90] Cf. *Councils and Synods*, I, 100–01 and 392.

[91] Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', p. 94. The only circumstances in which Wulfstan seems to have thought that a journey to Rome was indeed necessary were those concerning very serious sinners who were required to go to Rome on a penitential pilgrimage so as to have the imposition of a suitable penance decided upon by the pope himself. See Tinti, 'The Preservation, Transmission and Use of Papal Letters'.

[92] See Rory Naismith in this volume.

reforming popes because of irregular situations, which had not caused similar problems in the past.

In late Anglo-Saxon England, the archiepiscopal pallium was much more than just a liturgical vestment which marked superior authority within the church, and the efforts made by the majority of the archbishops elected in this period to travel to Rome to fetch it remain the most telling aspect of the role played by the pallium in the last 140 years or so of Anglo-Saxon history. However, some of the eleventh-century sources which refer to these journeys also show that their practical and financial implications were not in all cases considered worthy the spiritual, political, and symbolic significance of the archiepiscopal journey to Rome. The letter of protest in particular can be seen as representative of a more conservative view calling for the reintroduction of the old tradition which allowed for the pallium to be sent from the pope, as had indeed been the case for several centuries since the very beginning of English Christianity. In spite of its being presented as a letter from all the British bishops, however, the archbishops of Canterbury appear to have thought of such a trip as the necessary event with which one was expected to mark the beginning of their new office. The development of a brand new rite to accompany the solemn procession of an archbishop who came back from Rome with the pallium and his subsequent enthronement testifies to the importance with which such a practice was held at Canterbury by the mid-eleventh century: the offering of the pallium on the main altar of the cathedral church in Canterbury before proceeding to the archiepiscopal enthronement was most likely meant to match the ceremony of the taking of the pallium from St Peter's altar, thus providing a highly significant closure to a journey which had allowed the same archbishop to go to the very source of his and his people's Christianity and to bring back the principal symbol of his sacred authority.

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The Performance of Piety: Cnut, Rome, and England

Elaine Treharne

The Old Norse *Fargrskinna* contains the unique Skaldic stanza by Sigvatr Þórðarson detailing Cnut's journey to Rome in 1027. In that manuscript, the whole poem is referred to as an *erfidrápa*, a eulogistic *drápa*. Following the narration of Cnut's conquest of England and victory in the Battle of Helgeå in 1027, the tenth stanza reveals the impetus for Cnut's journey south from Denmark to Rome:

Kom á fylki	Desire for travel
farlyst, þeims bar	came to the king, he
hervíg í hug,	carried warfare in his heart,
hafanda staf.	staff in hand.
Rauf ræsir af	The leader, broke off [enjoyed]
Rúms veg suman	some of Rome's honour,
kærr keisara	dear to the emperor,
klúss Pétrúsi.[1]	close to Peter.

[1] This edition is Matt Townend's (Sigvatr, *Knútsdrápa* ('*Drápa* about Knútr'), no. 11, <http://skaldic.arts.usyd.edu.au/db.php?table=verses&id=3810> [accessed 29 April 2013]), though I have tinkered with the translation. Dr Townend's work is part of the major collaborative project, *Skaldic Poetry*, ed. by Whaley and others. I am deeply indebted to Dr Townend for sending me his editions, translations, and notes prior to publication, and for permission to use them here. The poem is widely discussed, most recently by Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great*, pp. 294–95.

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The fragmentary eleventh stanza completes the journey:

Svá mun fár feril	Thus with their steps few ring-givers
fetum suðr metinn	will have measured
hringdrífr hafa.	the route south.
Hǫfuðfremstr jǫfurr.	The most eminent prince.

Panegyric of this kind is genre-bound to make its subject incomparable, as is the case in the latter stanza with the use of superlative 'Hǫfuðfremstr' and the litotic 'Svá' (None at all),[2] but notwithstanding the poetic laudation, Cnut's journey to Rome, and the way in which it subsequently shaped his international reputation is of immense significance. The complexity of his politically expedient attendance upon the Pope, John XIX, and the Emperor, Conrad II, in early 1027 is skillfully exposed by Sigvatr's tenth stanza. Here, the duality of Cnut's person — warrior king and pious Christian — is sylleptically emphasized (at least in translation) by the depiction of the King as carrying 'warfare in his heart' and a 'staff in his hand'. The interiorized violence, perhaps the true nature of Cnut, is hidden beneath the exterior guise of a pilgrim holding his staff as testimony to his spiritual journey for Christ. Herein lies the paradox of Cnut that acts as a theme to the later years of his reign from 1027 to 1035 (he had acceded to the throne in 1016): a reign that witnessed the growth of the young Viking from a warlord to a wise and generous leader; from an adulterous murderer to a loyal benefactor; and from a usurper king to a self-styled emperor, monarch of four realms, and equal of the greatest Continental noble.

The turning point in this decade-long transition comes, without a doubt, with his journey from Denmark to Rome. This paper will explore the role of this pilgrimage in Cnut's image transformation and consider how his Roman holiday might have influenced his presentation and image in the last years of his reign, a presentation that ultimately ensured his reputation at the hands of historians in the centuries that followed.

'Kærr keisara': Dear to the Emperor

The duality of Cnut, the Warrior Christian, is highlighted in the condensed phrase, 'kærr keisara'. His closeness to the Emperor, Conrad II, is testified by the marriage in 1036 of Cnut's daughter, Gunhilde, to Conrad's son, the future

[2] Matt Townend regards this as a possible instance of litotes; see Sigvatr, *Knútsdrápa* ('*Drápa* about Knútr'), no. 10 <http://skaldic.arts.usyd.edu.au/db.php?table=verses&id=3811> [accessed 29 April 2013].

emperor, Henry III, though the marriage lasted only two years before her death. Negotiations for this marriage contract might have begun when Cnut travelled to Rome in 1027 for the coronation of the Emperor by Pope John XIX.[3] The contract was possibly sealed by a land deal between Cnut and Conrad, in which Cnut ceded his rights to land north of the Eider River, though Timothy Bolton doubts the accuracy of this account.[4] The relationship between the Emperor and the King, however, seems to reach its most public apogee in the spectacle of the coronation of Conrad. Even Wipo, the chronicler of Conrad's reign and a writer who seemed generally to have little to say about Cnut, revels in the description of the ceremony:

> And on the holy day of Easter [1027], [Conrad] was elected emperor by the Romans, and he received the imperial benediction from the Pope, called Caesar and Augustus by the Roman name. And more, Queen Gisela received at the same time the consecration and the name of empress. After these things were done thus in the presence of two kings — of Rudolf, king of Burgundy, and of Canute, king of the Angles — and after the divine office was ended, the Emperor was led to his chamber in the place of honor between the two kings.[5]

Here, there is no doubting Cnut's closeness to Conrad, made visible by their literal proximity in the processional *exeunt*. Here, Cnut is styled simply 'king of the Angles', but his imperial pretensions may have been fuelled by this visit to Rome. Certainly, in the letter of 1027 that Cnut wrote to his many subjects,[6] his self-proclaimed empire was made apparent in the salutation of the text: 'Cnut, king of all England and Denmark and the Norwegians and part of the Swedes, to Æthelnoth the metropolitan and Ælfric, archbishop of York, and to all his bishops and chief men, and to all the English people, both nobles and ceorls, greetings.'[7] Although it seems unlikely that Cnut could lay real claim to

[3] All of the standard works on Cnut discuss this episode in some detail: Larson, *Canute the Great*; Lawson, *Cnut*; Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great*; Treharne, 'The Politics of Early English'.

[4] Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great*, pp. 181–82.

[5] *Imperial Lives and Letters*, trans. by Mommsen and Morrison, p. 79.

[6] Both William of Malmesbury and John of Worcester date the pilgrimage to Rome as 1031. The evidence of the letter itself, which shows Cnut to have been present at Conrad II's coronation in 1027, suggests these early sources got the date wrong. *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, *s.a.* 1031, pp. 513–19; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 327.

[7] 'Canutus, rex totius Anglie et Denemarcie et Norreganorum et partis Suanorum,

Norway at this time, since he did not defeat Olaf until 1030, the two surviving records of the letter hyperbolize his realm, perhaps because he *considered* himself the rightful king at this point. The same might be broadly said about his claim to rule parts of Sweden, as Bolton and others note.[8] The aggrandizement here, solely for the purpose of his English subjects one might suppose, nevertheless helps consolidate a view of Cnut's ambition in northern Europe, an ambition to reign over all the Scandinavian countries, as well as England, that had come true by 1031, when Cnut returned to England.

The relationship fostered between Cnut and Conrad, then, became of the utmost importance: Cnut's desire to be recognized as a counterpart to Conrad, acknowledged by the other European princes, subsequently informed the rest of his reign's actions and propaganda. This set of desires was clearly expressed in his letter of 1027, where the claims and aims are set out in a rhetorical balancing act, equally weighted between the secular and the religious, the warrior-defender, and the pious ruler:

> And I would have you know that there was a great gathering of nobles there at the Easter solemnity with our lord Pope John and the Emperor Conrad, to wit, all the princes of the peoples from Monte Gargano to this the nearest sea, who all gave me a respectful welcome and honoured me with magnificent gifts. However, I was most honoured by the emperor with sundry gifts and precious presents: vessels of gold and silver and very precious fabrics and robes. I spoke therefore with the emperor himself and with my lord the pope and the princes who were there about the needs of all my people, both English and Danes, that they should be granted more equitable law and more secure peace on the road to Rome, and not be harassed by so many barriers on the way and afflicted by unjust tolls; and the emperor consented to my requests, and so did Rudolf, the king who controls most of these said barriers, and all the princes; and they confirmed with edicts that all my people, both merchants and others who travel to say their prayers, should be allowed to go and return from Rome without any hindrance of barriers and toll-collectors, in firm peace and secure in a just law.[9]

Athelnotho metropolitano et Alfrico Eboracensi archiepiscopo omnibusque episcopis et primatibus, et toti genti Anglorum, tam nobilibus quam plebeiis, salutem': *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, p. 512. The translation here is based on that in *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, pp. 512–19, but with a number of minor modifications.

[8] Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great*, pp. 246–47.

[9] 'Sit autem uobis notum quia magna congregatio et nobilium in ipsa Paschali sollemnitate ibi cum domno papa Iohanne et imperatore Conrado erat, scilicet omnes principes gentium a Monte Gargano usque ad istud proximum mare; qui omnes me et honorifice suscepere et magnificis donis honorauere. Maxime autem ab imperatore donis uariis et muneribus pretiosis

The legitimization of his reign occasioned by his acceptance into this group of 'all the princes of the peoples' has been widely discussed, and the scene that is set is highly effective, staged as a grand entrance by Cnut into the midst of the assembled nobles — the entirety of Europe's princes. The focus on him continues as they honour him with singular consideration and exceptional gifts. And while Cnut is the centre of attention, a slight shift brings in the (other) emperor, Conrad II, who 'maxime autem' (most, however) honoured the visitor. The rhetoric is unremittingly positive, charged with a political resonance that would have been easily discerned by those whose opinions counted, especially if the text were originally written in Latin *and* Old English, and not just Old English as is always supposed, but with very little evidence.[10] What seems to really matter to Cnut in his negotiations with the European rulers is free passage for the English and Danes through the Continent — particularly free passage to Rome. What Cnut thus seeks to make available is not simply a tax-reduction in established trade routes and a trouble-free passage through tolls and barriers but a wholesale right of way for his subjects to be pilgrims, in imitation of his own pilgrimage, which is how this journey is framed and remembered.

Hringdrífr: Treasure-Giver at the Altar

The *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, in a chapter declaring that Cnut 'gave his attention to things pleasing to God' (Deo omnimodis placita studuit), reveals that Cnut undertook his journey to Rome by way of Italy, Gaul, and Flanders.[11] The

honoratus sum, tam in uasis aureis et argenteis quam in palliis et uestibus ualde pretiosis. Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore et domno papa et principibus, qui ibi erant de necessitatibus totius populi mei tam Angli quam Dani, ut eis concederetur lex aequior et pax securior in uia Romam adeundi, et ne tot clausuris per uiam arctentur, et propter iniusteum theloneum fatigentur; annuitque postulatis imperator et Rodulfus rex qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominator cunctique principes, edictisque firmarunt ut homines mei, tam mercatores quam alii orandi gratia uiatores, absque omni angaria clausurarum et thelonearíorum cum firma pace Roma meant et redeant.': William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 326–27, with minor modifications to the translation.

[10] On the discussion of the possible Old English original of this letter, see *Councils and Synods*, I, 506–13; Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 66; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 348, even reconstructs the address of the '"vicecomitibus et prepositis", who were presumably "scirgerefan 7 gerefan" in the Old English original'. Wormald suggests that as well as bringing the letter to the nation, Lyfing, abbot of Tavistock and later bishop of Crediton and Worcester, actually wrote it too. See especially Treharne, 'The Politics of Early English', chap. 2.

[11] *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. by Campbell, pp. 36–37.

emphasis in this source, written relatively soon after Cnut's death in praise, of course, of his wife, Emma, is on Cnut's liberal generosity to the church, and not explicitly his political credibility: 'what church', the Encomiast asks, 'does not still rejoice in his gifts?'[12] Moreover, the depiction of Cnut in the *Encomium* is of the ideal king, living up to the promises that one might declare at a coronation. The Encomiast comments of Cnut that '[h]e diligently defended wards and widows, he supported orphans and strangers, he suppressed unjust laws and those who applied them, he exalted and cherished justice and equity, he built and dignified churches'.[13] In the *Promissio Regis*, administered by Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, to Edgar, but preserved in the later manuscript, London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, the King swears

> [I]n the name of the Holy Trinity, I promise three things to all Christian people and my subjects: the first is to hold God's church and all Christians under my protection in true peace [...]. It is the obligation of a consecrated king that he does not condemn any person (unjustly), and that he defend and protect widows and orphans and foreigners.[14]

This fulfilment of kingly promises shows Cnut as the ideal king-under-Christ, and more, indeed, *vicarius Christi*. In his role as Christ's representative, Cnut is dressed in a metaphor that owes much to his imperial predecessors — Constantine and Charlemagne, in particular. Indeed, this is reinforced, as Elizabeth M. Tyler has so perceptively shown, by the *Encomium*'s ideology, which 'asserts an imperial and civilized European identity for Cnut'.[15] Part of the consolidation of that European identity involves the demonstration of Cnut's alms-giving and demonstration of largesse to churches throughout the Continent, as well as to those in his own realms. Mindful of how much Emma needed the support of the churches patronized by Cnut after his death, the Encomiast narrates a sequence of episodes in which Cnut is shown devotedly donating gifts to European churches, including one elaborate set of gestures by

[12] *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. by Campbell, pp. 36–37.

[13] 'Defensabat sedulo pupillos et uiduas, sustentabat orphanos et aduenas, leges oppressit iniquas earumque sequaces, iustitiam et equitatem extulit et coluit, ecclesias extruxit': *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. by Campbell, pp. 36–37.

[14] 'On þære halgan þrynnesse naman, Ic þreo þing behate cristenum folce and me underþeoddum: an ærest þæt Godes cyrice and eall cristen folc minra gewealda soðe sibbe healed [...]. Gehalgodes cynges riht is þæt he nænig man ne fordeme and þæt he wuduwan and steopcild and ælðeodige werige and amundige': Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book', p. 534 and n. 47.

[15] Tyler, 'Talking about History', p. 363.

Cnut to which the Encomiast himself bore witness at St-Omer ('quod etiam oculis meis me uidisse recordor').

In this episode, the Encomiast describes the theatricality of Cnut's piety, where the King's tearful devotion is all-encompassing, even indiscriminate. Having entered the monastery of St-Bertin, Cnut

> advanced humbly, and with complete concentration prayed for the intercession of the saints in a manner wonderfully reverent, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and freely pouring forth, so to speak, rivers of tears. But when the time came when he desired to heap the holy altars with royal offerings, how often did he first with tears press kisses on the pavement, how often did self-inflicted blows punish that reverend breast, what signs he gave, how often did he pray that the heavenly mercy might not be displeased with him! At length, when he gave the sign, his offering was presented to him by his followers, not a mean one, nor such as might be shut in any bag, but a man brought it, huge as it was, in the ample fold of his cloak, and this the king himself placed on the altar with his own hand, a cheerful giver according to the apostolic exhortation. But why do I say on the altar, when I recall that I saw him going round every corner of the monasteries, and passing no altar, small though it may be, without giving gifts and pressing sweet kisses upon it?[16]

This performance of piety is abundant with gestures of humility and penitence. Through the repetition of 'quotiens' the succession of tears, kisses, self-mortification, symbolic movement, and prayers creates a scene of noise and action, of the public display of devotion and the supplicant's overwhelming sense of sinfulness. The 'lacrimarum ut ita dicam flumina' is, as Alistair Campbell reminds us, a phrase also used in Astronomus's *Life of Louis the Pious* — the *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*,[17] and in many other medieval texts, including the lament on the death of Charlemagne — *Planctus de obitu Karoli*, where the

[16] 'humiliter incedebat, et mira cum reuerentia in terram defixus lumina et ubertim fundens lacrimarum ut ita dicam flumina tota intentione sanctorum expetiit suffragia. Ad ubi ad hoc peruentum est, ut oblationibus regiis sacra uellet cumulare altaria, o quotiens primum pauimento lacrimosa infixit oscula, quotiens illud pectus uenerabile propria puniebant uerbera, qualia dabat suspiria, quotiens precabatur ut sibi non indignaretur superna clementia! Tandem a suis ei innuenti sua porrigebatur oblatio, non mediocris, nec quae aliquot clauderetur in marsupio, sed ingens allata est palleati extento in gremio, quam ipse rex suis manibus altari imposuit, largitor hilaris monitu apostolico. "Altari" autem cur dico, cum uidesse me meminerim, eum omnes angulos monasteriorum circuisse, nullumque altare licet exiguum preterisse, cui non munera daret et dulcia oscula infingeret?': *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. by Campbell, pp. 36–37. The phrase 'largitor hilaris' is paralleled in Heriger of Lobbes, continued by Anselm of Liège: *Qui gesta pontificum Tungrensium*, ed. by Chapeauville, I, 306.

[17] *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. by Campbell, p. 37, n. 3.

author bewails, 'rivers of tears are endless now | for the world laments the death of Charlemagne' (Iamian non cessant lacrimarum flumina, | nam plangit orbis interitum Karoli).[18] These texts, with their imperial subjects, provide interesting comparanda for the *Encomium*, which depicts Cnut first as warlike, then as imperial, and finally as pious, as if this evolution of the King had an inevitability about it: the way in which an ideal king matures. His tears, then, become the tears of compunction, inspired by the 'gratia lacrimarum', a phenomenon evinced in medieval monastic hagiography and other texts, where it is closely connected with confession.[19] One might also speculate about possible Byzantine influence on Cnut's public piety: did Cnut, here, practice a form of Christianity that owed something to eastern Mediterranean practices? The elements of his movements around the church, with the sequence of *aspasmos* (the kiss) and *proskynesis* (lighting of a candle, sign of the cross, and prostration) are part of the Byzantine performance of piety in the face of a reliquary or icon.[20] Given the role that Lotharingians played in the conversion of Poland, where Cnut might have spent some of his youth (and from where his mother hailed), and given the influence of the eastern empress Theophanu on the Lotharingian church at that time, any such discoverable links might prove interesting and enlightening.

Cnut's exhibition of profuse penitence and veneration is made more visible and tangible by the donation of the gift brought to him by a servant to place on the altar: a gift so large (wonderfully expressed as 'non mediocris') that it had to be hidden underneath the cloak of the servant. This moment of revelation, when the object was placed by the King on the altar with his own hands ('suis manibus'), obviously calls to mind the illustrative frontispiece of London, British Library, MS Stowe 944, depicting Cnut and Emma donating a golden cross to New Minster, Winchester, in which Cnut has a hand to the cross, and thus, indirectly to the altar, where God's presence and that of any saints, is made real.[21] It is not enough for Cnut to give once, however. As the Encomiast nar-

[18] 'Planctus de obitu Karoli', ed. by Dümmler, p. 435.

[19] Zola, 'Radbertus's Monastic Voice', pp. 197–98. A Bedan example, inspired by the Psalms, is discussed by Lapidge, 'Bede the Poet', pp. 317–18.

[20] Pentcheva, 'The Performative Icon'.

[21] This is one of the most widely discussed images from Anglo-Saxon England. For the facsimile, see *The 'Liber Vitae' of the New Minster*, ed. by Keynes, pl. v. See, also, Owen-Crocker, 'Pomp, Piety, and Keeping the Woman in her Place'; Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits*, pp. 121–40; and Gerchow, 'Prayers for King Cnut'. Ælfgifu-Emma does not place her hand on the cross or altar, since, as Arnold Angenendt explains in relation to the donation of charters, no women were permitted to touch the altar (Angenendt, 'How Was a Confraternity Made?', p. 216).

rates further, Cnut did not miss an altar in his supplications, similarly leaving gifts and kisses. This demonstration of gift-giving (recalling the 'hringdrífr' of Sigvatr's *Knutsdrápa*) is, perhaps, an eyewitness foreshadowing of what Cnut performed as similar devotional acts in Rome. The Encomiast's observation of Cnut's visit to *all* the altars at St-Bertin's also lends credibility to Cnut's own claim in his subsequent letter to the English of 1027 that he sought 'out the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul and *every* sanctuary that I could learn of within the city of Rome or outside it'.[22]

Klúss Pétrúsi: Close to Peter

Thanks to the Encomiast's first-hand account of Cnut's visit to St-Bertin, the image of the King as the penitent is detailed and replete with signs of the most devout practices. His desire for expiation through the provision of gifts and alms, and the direct contact with shrines through touch — either by hand or mouth — intimates a King's quite justified concern for his spiritual well-being. The deeds of the penitent King ensure a vicarious piety, too: the acquisition of holiness through the actions of others, those monks and priests effectively moved by the King's financial generosity. The Encomiast himself explicitly confirms this: 'and for these benefits, [may St-Omer and St-Bertin] cause so great a King to live in the heavenly dwellings, as your inmates, both canons and monks, pray in their daily supplications'.[23]

To be remembered in order to achieve salvation was clearly Cnut's aim in the later years of his reign, when his campaign to support the church and its saints was highly public and concerted. As well as personally performing piety, he cultivated the prayers of religious orders, both at home and abroad. His desire to imbibe salvific reward was seen in his literal ingestion of the saints' merits through the kisses that he bestowed on holy ground and holy altar, but also in his capturing of spiritual glory on his visit to Rome, suggested by the use of 'vegr' ('sever', 'break off', and metaphorically, 'enjoy') in Sigvatr's verse:

Rauf ræsir af	The leader, broke off [enjoyed]
Rúms veg suman	some of Rome's honour

[22] *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, *s.a.* 1031, pp. 513–19; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 327.

[23] 'pro quibus bonus tantum regem impetrate uiuere in caelestibus habitaculis, ut uestri famuli canonici et monachi sunt orantes orationibus cotidianis': *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. by Campbell, pp. 36–37.

The wonderful multivalency of 'vegr', so appropriate for a martial king like Cnut, conjures up multiple images — of the acquisition of relics (even their theft), the gathering of bits of the saints through their physical dismemberment, the collection of saintly merit to oneself, and its transference elsewhere.

Cnut's successful journey to Rome, ostensibly to engage in a penitential pilgrimage, but conveniently coinciding with the coronation of Conrad II, is likely to have begun in Denmark rather than England as the Encomiast suggests, though his visit to the shrine of Heribert at Deutz, near Cologne, either on his way to Rome, or on his way back, does suggest that he toured the Lotharingian region in the same months as his Roman pilgrimage, and might have made the stop at St-Omer during this time.[24] Michael Hare discusses in meticulous detail the evidence for Cnut's visit to Deutz and considers the gifts Cnut may have donated to the shrine of St Heribert — the Arenberg Gospels and the Staff of St Heribert.[25] The evidence for the donation of these English artefacts to St Heribert's is speculative (though Sigvatr's depiction of Cnut as 'hafanda staf' might be more than metaphorical), but it is interesting to note that one side of the walrus-ivory and silver staff, made in Anglo-Saxon England in the earlier eleventh century, contains a relief carving of Christ Pantocrator that is similar to the depiction of Christ in the frontispiece of the Winchester *Liber Vitae*, while the opposite side of the staff contains Christ's crucifixion. The silver stem into which the ivory Tau cross is fitted (and from which a wooden pole would descend) contains both text and image related to St Christopher, Mary, and other saints. The emphasis on St Christopher, patron of travellers, is especially apt if the staff was a gift from a pilgrim, like Cnut, to the saint *en route* to or from Rome. His itinerary to the Holy City is not clear, but it seems likely that he followed an established route, taking in many of France's or Germany's and then Italy's major pilgrimage sites, as David A. E. Pelteret's essay in this current volume explains. The motif of pilgrimage provides the dominant theme of the journey, and it is, moreover, a penitential pilgrimage. This is particularly notable in the opening section of Cnut's letter of 1027, as preserved by John of Worcester and William of Malmesbury,[26] where Cnut tells all of his subjects, throughout his realms: 'I give you notice that I have lately gone to Rome to

[24] Hare, 'Cnut and Lotharingia'; Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great*, pp. 102–03.

[25] Hare, 'Cnut and Lotharingia', pp. 276–78.

[26] *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, pp. 512–19; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 324–39.

pray for the redemption of my sins and for the salvation of my kingdoms and of the peoples who are subject to my rule.'[27]

In the Middle Ages, Rome was the centre of penitential pilgrimages for those who had committed particularly heinous crimes (like the parricide committed by Cnut earlier in 1027, when he apparently murdered his brother-in-law).[28] Cnut aims to obtain expiation for the sins he committed in years past and, simultaneously, to acquire salvation — both in terms of erasure of financial penalties for English travellers through Europe and in terms of a vicarious spiritual salvation for his people, though he does not mention salvation for himself. That grace could be acquired from visiting the place of Peter was widely understood and can be exemplified by Lucian's twelfth-century contemplation of Rome contained in his *Liber de laude Cestrie*, which elucidates Rome's establishment under Romulus and its enhancement under Peter:

> This one [Romulus] painstakingly crowned the circle of walls, but that one [Peter] established the foundations of morals. The one built palaces which would perish, the other the merits of piety which will remain [...]. The ornament of the merits of these two is as different as their monuments are dissimilar. For all the power of Romulus has passed and decayed, but the piety of Peter has endured and lives.[29]

The transience of Romulus's city — ephemeral, temporal, earthly — is compared negatively to the permanent and celestial nature of Peter's spiritual foundation. The merits and piety of Peter suffuse the architecture and ornament of the city, meaning that Peter himself can act as mediator for Christians visiting the city, allowing the penitent pilgrim to draw upon his intercessory grace, thereby themselves attaining merit and some degree of expiation for sins committed. For Cnut, the imbibing of *charis*, of grace, from the relics of Peter and all the other shrines that he was able to visit in Rome was crucial to his salvation, crucial to his realm in that grace could then be passed on through the being of the King to his subjects (he is the people's saviour here), and crucial to the performance of kingship in the years that followed. One of the main keys to

[27] 'Notifico uobis me nouiter isse Romam, oratum pro redemptione peccaminum meorum et pro salute regnorum quique meo subiacent regimini populorum': William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 324–25.

[28] Lawson, *Cnut*, pp. 93–94, considers the identity of Ulf. On penitential pilgrimages, see Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome'.

[29] Cited and extensively discussed by Doran, 'Authority and Care', p. 324. The text is translated by Doran from the Latin work in Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Bodley 672.

the journey to Rome and all subsequent events and reports relating to Cnut is not only 'performance' but also, most crucially, intercession.

In order to attain the intercession of the saints, their assistance in ensuring salvation, Cnut reveals that God 'has allowed me in my lifetime to seek out the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul and every sanctuary that I could learn of within the city of Rome or outside it, and there according to my desire to venerate and adore them in my own person'.[30] Such a full itinerary, presumably taking in churches from S. Giovanni in Laterano and S. Croce in Gerusalemme to S. Maria Maggiore, S. Prassede, and S. Lorenzo fuori le mura would have provided sights of extraordinary iconographic and theological sophistication for Cnut and his retinue.[31] The triumphal arch in S. Prassede, for example, with its richly detailed scene of Heavenly Jerusalem, might have had some visual influence on the procession of hopefuls at fol. 6^{v} of the Winchester *Liber Vitae*,[32] drawn directly on the verso behind the donation frontispiece of Cnut and Emma at fol. 6^{r}, while S. Prassede's triple register is echoed by that of the composition of the Cnut and Emma image. The apsidal arch of S. Lorenzo, meanwhile, exhibits Christ in Majesty in a sixth-century mosaic, though the Byzantine Christ Pantocrator — seated in a mandorla with his right hand in the sign of a blessing and a book in left hand — might be closer to the Christ of the *Liber Vitae* frontispiece.

Hǫfuðfremstr jǫfurr: Most Eminent Prince

The years after Cnut's pilgrimage to Rome are marked by a theme of intercession that performs complex cultural work involving not only the image-making of the King by his advisors but also his own involvement in political affairs to expand and protect his empire.[33] In relation to the making of his own image,

[30] 'concessit in uita mea beatos apostolos Petrum et Paulum et omne sanctuarium quod intra urbem Romam aut extra addiscere potui expetere et secundum desiderium meum presentialiter uenerari et adorare': William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 324–25.

[31] On artistic, literary, political, and ideological links between Rome and Anglo-Scandinavian England, see, *inter alia*, Ortenberg, *The English Church*, especially chap. 5.

[32] For this folio, and the manuscript facsimile, see *The 'Liber Vitae' of the New Minster*, ed. by Keynes.

[33] One thinks here, for example, of the intervention in Norway in the three years following the pilgrimage to Rome, where Cnut was certainly involved in the murder of Olaf, king of Norway. See Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great*, especially chap. 9. These events are difficult to disentangle from the available sources. Olaf is mentioned very briefly in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I,

there is no avoiding the dominance of the *Liber Vitae* frontispiece in MS Stowe 944, where Cnut is depicted as the imperial deputy of Christ, under the direct patronage of Peter, whom he venerated. This multivalent image captures the paradox of Cnut as Viking warrior and Christan emperor, *vicarius Christi*. The possible allusion — visually — to the Byzantine Deesis in the top register reminds the viewer of the significance of the Deesis for intercession.[34] The angels, interceding between King and Queen beneath Peter and Mary, respectively, are providing eternal salvation to Emma and the heavenly crown to Cnut. Their upper hands are open and pointing heavenwards, perhaps not only, as Owen-Crocker suggests, as if 'saying that Cnut is king by divine right',[35] but also intimating intercession — a request directly from the King beseeching St Peter's mediation on his behalf, cognisant of Peter's responsibility to loose and bind.[36] This injunction directly links to Cnut's letter of 1027, where he reveals that '[I] learnt from wise men of the great power which the holy Apostle Peter had received from our Lord of binding and loosing; and that it is he who bears the keys of the kingdom of Heaven; and for this I thought it very profitable to seek his advocacy in particular with God'.[37] These 'wise men', Cnut's advisers, might have included Lyfing, abbot of Tavistock and later bishop of Crediton and Worcester, who carried the letter of Cnut back to his English subjects, as William of Malmesbury comments,[38] and it is probably other wise men, perhaps like Dudoc of Lotharingia or Saxony, a foreign cleric and later bishop of

324–25, and *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, pp. 510–11. See also Poole, 'How Óláfr Haraldsson Became St Olaf of Norway'. Since Olaf apparently assisted Æthelred on his return to England from exile in 1014, it may be that Cnut held a long-standing grudge against his Norwegian counterpart; Poole comments, too, on Skaldic verse that portrays Cnut as the disciple of Mammon in bribing noblemen away from Olaf, Christ-like in his holiness and martyrdom.

[34] The typical Deesis includes Christ flanked by the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, not Peter, but the composition here is, *prima facie*, similar.

[35] Owen-Crocker, 'Pomp, Piety, and Keeping the Woman in her Place', p. 48.

[36] Matthew 16. 19, where Jesus tells Peter: 'And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.'

[37] 'quia a sapientibus didici sanctum Petrum apostolum magnam potestatem accepisse a Domino ligandi et soluendi clauigerumque esse caelestis regni; et ideo spetialiter eius patrocinium apud Deum expetere ualde utile duxi': William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 324–27. This is also discussed in the detailed analysis in Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits*, pp. 133–38.

[38] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 324–25.

Wells (and possibly an advisor to Cnut as Alcuin was to Charlemagne), who assisted in the fashioning of the King's image in the years after his pilgrimage.

This fashioning of Cnut in his transformation from Viking king-by-conquest to venerated northern emperor, Sigvatr's 'Hǫfuðfremstr jǫfurr' (most eminent prince), turned on his trip to Rome and its political and ideological explication in the letter of 1027. From unequivocal statements of the King's desire for salvation to more subtle references underscoring the penitential nature of his journey, the public relations exercise is a masterpiece of self-promotion. Thus, for example, in depicting the extent of European nobility gathered for the coronation of Conrad II, Cnut mentions that present were 'all the princes of the peoples from Monte Gargano to this the nearest sea, who all gave me a respectful welcome and honoured me with magnificent gifts'.[39] Here, the repetition of 'omnes' and the validation of Cnut through his acceptance as one of the nobles legitimizes his reign without exception. Perhaps most interestingly, too, the point of reference for the geographical range of attendees is Mount Gargano in Italy, the once-pagan shrine devoted to the archangel Michael (the protector angel, the guardian of the Chosen People, and the archetype of the spiritual warrior) after he left an imprint of his foot on the mountain in *c*. 490, when he visited the bishop of Siponto.[40] Referring to Mount Gargano must indicate the expectation of Cnut (or his epistolary advisor) that his constructed audience will have some knowledge of this pilgrimage site. Moreover, at a more erudite level, there might be hints of a useful analogy of transformation from pagan to Christian for Cnut's own elevation as a type of spiritual warrior. The political and referential range of the letter is, moreover, visualized in the Winchester *Liber Vitae* in the Judgement Day scene at fols 6^{v}–7^{r} following the Cnut and Emma frontispiece. Here, in the left hand of the bottom register, St Michael himself appears, locking the gates of Hell, disposing of the souls for whom no intercession had been desired or granted. The transformation of Cnut into one of the souls for whom intercession had great effect is seen in the frontispiece depiction at fol. 6^{r} with his wife. He piously grasps the cross that he donates to the New Minster with his right hand, directly ciphering the merits of the holy,

[39] 'omnes principes gentium a Monte Gargano usque ad istud proximum mare, qui omnes me et honorifice suscepere et magnificis donis honorauere': William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by Mynors, Thomson, and Winterbottom, I, 326–27.

[40] Arnold, 'Arcadia Becomes Jerusalem', pp. 570–73. On the cult of Michael in Anglo-Saxon England, and the devotion to him of the Ottonian Emperors, see Ortenberg, *The English Church*, and Johnson, *Saint Michael the Archangel*. See also Lucia Sinisi's contribution to this volume.

while with his left hand he holds a long-sword that, rather tellingly, pierces the boundary of the frame of the image. This suggestion of the inability to contain the King reminds the viewer of his warlike nature and the reverberative nature of early medieval kingship, caught between two poles of piety and warfare, in some respects just like the archangel Michael ferociously defending the Chosen, the exemplum of the solider-saint. Almost certainly, too, fused in this image of Cnut is the Gelasian doctrine of the 'two swords', that of Peter and that of Constantine. The relationship of church and state in the early medieval period informed every aspect of politics, both theoretical and practical and the most famous and formative statement is that of Pope Gelasius I in his letter to the emperor Anastasius, written in 494 (*Famuli vestrae pietatis*), which led to the concept of 'Gelasian dualism':

> There are two orders, august Emperor, by which this world is chiefly ruled: namely, the sacred authority of the priests and the royal power ['auctoritas sacrata pontificum, et regalis potestas']. Of these that of the priests is the more weighty, since they have to render an account for even the kings of men in the divine judgment. You are also aware, dear son, that while you are permitted honourably to rule over human kind, yet in things divine you bow your head humbly before the leaders of the clergy and await from their hands the means of your salvation.[41]

The 'auctoritas' of the pope and 'potestas' of the king, and the interdependency of these elements of primacy were long debated, and significantly modified in the Carolingian era, which, at its apogee, under Charlemagne, led to the development of the *unum corpus mysticum*, the aim of *Respublica gentium christianarum*.[42] Cnut's careful self-fashioning, modelled on the imperial exempla of the Ottonian dynasty, might also owe more than a little to Carolingian influences.

For Catherine Karkov, in relation to the Winchester *Liber Vitae* as a whole, '[t]he donor portrait of Ælfigifu and Cnut is in many ways a microcosm of the book itself with its combination of languages, church and court, gift and reward, present and future time, the here-and-how of the New Minster and the eternity of heaven'.[43] We can, however, see the image of Cnut in the Winchester *Liber Vitae*, completed in 1031 just as he returned to England from years on the European Continent, as even grander in conception, particularly when cou-

[41] Jaffé, *RP*, no. 632; Gelasius I, *Epistolae*, no. 8, col. 42; translated by Robinson, *Readings in European History*, pp. 72–73.

[42] See Burns, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, esp. Section 4 (pp. 157–340); Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, p. 210.

[43] Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits*, p. 145.

pled with the inclusion of St Peter and St Michael into the crucial scenes of intercession and reconciliation that follow; in essence, the image represents the zenith of the King's policies and practices, the efficacy of his very public penitence and pilgrimage. And, together with the narration of the journey to Rome in the letter of 1027, these images in Stowe 944 provide the key to understanding Cnut's acceptance by virtually all later historians as the epitome of a good Christian king, and as the exemplar of performed piety.

For Simon Keynes in his extensive work on Stowe 944, the codex

> is a unique Anglo-Saxon example of a manuscript of which it can be said that we know exactly where it was written (the New Minster, Winchester), by whom it was written (a monk and priest of the New Minster, called Ælfsige), and in what precise year it was written (1031); moreover we know who must have commissioned it (Ælfwine, as abbot, at the outset of his abbacy), and we also have a pretty good idea for what purpose it was written (to commemorate the members, friends, and benefactors of his community).[44]

Keynes reminds the reader of the institution that is at the heart of the *Liber Vitae*'s production and subsequent transmission and of the propaganda value of the illustrations, particularly the first, depicting the main benefactors of the Minster at the time of the book's creation.[45] Keynes is probably right, but the manuscript has now come to be principally about Cnut and those who metaphorically, and in real terms, crowd into the book that he presently leads. Ultimately, the book becomes part of the testimony to Cnut and his achievements: his past, present, and future. His past concerned the need for penitence and reconciliation, in part effected through his role as benefactor of the church in England and abroad, and in part achieved through his pilgrimage to Rome; his present concerned, in 1031, the desire to prove himself an emperor of two ostensibly paradoxical halves, yet reconciled in his soldier-saint stance in the frontispiece of the *Liber Vitae*, with his direct link to the intercession of Peter above him and God's presence in the altar that he indirectly touches; the future — a promise of salvation — must have seemed assured by his many generous acts of charity towards churches, but there was also the future of a reputation well established and that in many respects depended on the acceptance by subsequent historians, perhaps of the King's own image, but certainly of the story of the Roman pilgrimage.

[44] Keynes, 'The *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester', p. 150.

[45] Keynes, 'The *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester', pp. 156–60.

All Roads Lead to Rome

In his very public act of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* represented by his expiatory journey to Rome as a result of his own sins and in a desire to save his nation, Cnut ensured his future prosperity, though not his own sanctity.[46] In his letter, Cnut applauds his own ability to lead his chosen people into the promised land of the eternal city, Rome, and through his vicarious acquisition of saints' merits, Cnut also leads his people upwards to celestial salvation, despite his impious and aggressive beginnings as king. Certainly, many subsequent commentators on Cnut seemed keen to remember him in this way, such that the event of the Roman pilgrimage is the dominant imprint of his reign. In the thirteenth-century Old Norse *Fargrskinna*, for example, one reads the laudatory account of Cnut's journey:

> King Knutr set off by sea from England on a pilgrimage to the Holy See; he and all his men who were there took staff and scrip and walked south to Rome, and the emperor himself came to meet him and accompanied him all the way to the city of Rome. King Knutr established hospitals all along the route and gave money to church establishments, and it is said that he made provision for all the people who were in need of money on the way to Rome, so that no one who took that path to the south and back again needed to beg. King Knutr had taken with him many horses laden with gold and silver, and he took what he needed from the emperor's money.[47]

The accomplishment of Cnut here is the generous benefaction of the entire pilgrimage route from England to Rome so that subsequent travellers permanently felt the advantage of the King's beneficence (or, at least, that was the idea, though the practice might have been very different). The piety of the King in the *Fargrskinna* is evinced in his journey on foot, dressed as a pilgrim; the peer esteem of this noble King is established by Conrad's effort to meet Cnut 'on the way'.

Centuries later, in the seventh book of Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Cnut's reign is succinctly, but much more panegyrically, described thus:

> The trespuissance of Cnute, the amplenesse of his dominions, the good and charitable fruits of his voiage to Rome redounding to the common benefit of all trauel-

[46] Rather ironically, given Cnut's involvement in Olaf of Norway's martyrdom, quite quickly after Olaf's death at Stiklastaðir, Olaf was canonized, and his shrine at Nidaros Cathedral (modern-day Trondheim) quickly became, as it still is, a destination for pilgrims.

[47] *Fargrskinna*, trans. by Finlay, p. 164.

> lers from England thither, with what great personages he had conference, and the honour that was doone him there, his intollerable pride in commanding the waters of the flouds not to rise, he humbleth himselfe and confesseth Christ Iesus to be king of kings, he refuseth to weare the crowne during his life.[48]

Again, the journey to Rome, with its performance of piety and successful acquisition of financial and spiritual benefits for all the English, forms the focus of the account. An even more succinct account a little later, composed in sonnet form, uses its final verse-line to remind all readers of the suddenness of death and the usefulness of being at peace with one's Maker. The sixteenth sonnet of the Reverend William Slatyer's *The history of Great Britanie* published in 1621 reads:

Canz. XVI

Canute *the* Danes *famous reigne ouer* England, Scotland, Denmarke *and* Norway.

NOw Edmond slaine, and his sonnes fate
Exil'd, Knute meant should mend his state,
For Norwayes join'd to th'Danish Crowne
And King Olaue, and Scots pull'd downe,
English, Scots, Danes and Norwayes they,
Foure mighty people him obey;
More to make friends to th'Norman Duke,
His sister giues to wife, and tooke
Ethelreds widdow Emme! entailes
The crowne, they say, t'her issue males;
This Cnute commands the seas to shew,
His Sycophants flattering termes vntrew,
And knowledging Christ his only trust,
Return'd from Rome, returnes to dust.[49]

Here, the opening verses narrate in a highly compressed and nonlinear fashion how Cnut set about building his northern empire. The King's martial expertise gives way to his political acumen at line 7, providing a synoptic account of his marital negotiations for his own sister and his own wife. The subsequent couplet at lines 11–12 reminds us of the legendary status of Cnut, in the episode of

[48] Holinshed and others, *The first and second volumes of Chronicles*.

[49] Slayter, *The History of Great Britanie*, p. 217.

the King, his chair, and the waves; and the denouement majestically announces Cnut's religious revelation — acknowledging 'Christ his only trust' — and repenting in his final act, a pilgrimage to Rome. Cnut, in Slatyer's poem, saves the best till last: his avowal of Christianity and dedication to Christ. Indeed, and most emphatically, the placing of the journey to Rome at the very end of the sonnet ensures it is seen as the highlight of Cnut's reign, and thus his performance as a modest, pious, truly reverent Christian fittingly has the final word.

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