Roma Felix – Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome

Edited by

Éamonn Ó Carragáin and
Carol Neuman de Vegvar

Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West

General Editors
Brenda Bolton, Anne J. Duggan
and Damian J. Smith

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About the volume

After the Roman empire fell, medieval Europe continued to be fascinated by Rome itself, 'the Chief of Cities', once the centre of empire: its history, its buildings, and above all its early Christian martyrs, and the papacy, central to the western Latin church. This book explores ways in which the city itself was preserved, envisioned, and transformed not only by its residents, but also by the many pilgrims who flocked to Rome, and by northern European cultures (in particular, the Irish and English) who imagined and imitated the city as they understood it.

About the editors

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Acknowledgements

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Introduction

Carol Neuman de Vegvar and Éamonn Ó Carragáin

O Roma felix, quae tantorum principum
es purpurata pretioso sanguine!
Excellis omnem mundi pulchritudinem
non laude tua, sed sanctorum meritis,
quos cruentatis iugulasti gladiis.[1]

O happy Rome, stained purple with the precious blood of so many princes!
You excel all the beauty of the world, not by your own glory,
but by the merits of the saints whose throats you cut with bloody swords.

This book takes its title from a Carolingian hymn, still sung in the Latin liturgy on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul (29 June). The hymn encapsulates the ambiguity with which the city of Rome was viewed by medieval Christians. Rome is 'happy', it 'excels all the beauty of the world' neither because of its long-lost military conquests nor because of the remains of its ancient monuments, but from the virtues of the saints who were martyred in the days of Rome's imperial greatness. Once Rome was ruled by a *princeps*, the emperor, and purple was the colour particularly associated with emperors. However, what matters to the Carolingian hymnist is not the imperial purple, but the royal purple of the blood spilt by Peter and Paul, 'such great princes', 'the triumphant soldiers of the hall of heaven' ('cælestis aulæ triumphales milites'), whom Christ has appointed to be princes to the Churches ('Ecclesiarum deputavit principes').[2] It is to Saints Peter and Paul, as the greatest of the martyrs, that Christians may now look for that fruitful prosperity, enlightenment, freedom and eternal security that the old Empire promised in vain. After an emperor had died, the Senate used to proclaim him a god; but now, 'in the presence of the Lord', Peter and Paul can bring to all Christians the assurance of an ascent to Olympus:

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1   Stanza 7 of the Carolingian hymn 'Felix per omnes', tentatively attributed to Paulinus II of Aquileia (d. 802 CE). The hymn is sung in the modern Roman liturgy; the opening stanzas during the vigil-Office of Readings, and later stanzas (starting with 'O Roma felix [...]') during second Vespers, on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul (29 June): *Liber Hymnarius* (Solesmes, 1983), 390–93; for dating and possible author, see A. Lentini (ed.), *Te Decet Hymnus: L'Innario della 'Liturgia Horarum'* (Vatican, 1984), nos. 173 (p. 178) and 175 (p. 180).

2   *Liber Hymnarius*, 390, 392; Lentini, *Te Decet Hymnus*, 178, 180; on Christian polemical satires on imperial purple, see C. Pietri, *Roma Christiana: Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 224, 2 vols (Rome, 1976), 2:1638.

Hi sunt olivæ duæ coram Domino
et candelabra luce radiantia,
præclara cæli duo luminaria;
fortia solvunt peccatorum vincula
portas Olympi reserant fidelibus.[3]

These are two olive-trees in the presence of the Lord,
and candelabra radiating light: the two brightest
lights of heaven.[4] They break the strong chains of sin,
and open the gates of Olympus to the faithful.

Already in the early Middle Ages, the prestige of Saints Peter and Paul made Rome and its bishop of central importance to places at the ends of the earth, areas which had never formed part of the old Roman Empire. The prestige of the city, and the way in which this prestige was centred on the basilicas of the martyrs, is vividly encapsulated in a seventh-century Irish text. In 631 CE, the Synod of Mag Léne (in Munster, in the south of Ireland) decided to send a delegation to Rome to help them decide on the best practice to be followed when calculating the date of Easter:

> Then it seemed proper to our elders, according to the command, that if disagreement arises between one side and another, and judgement vary between leper and non-leper, they should go to the place which the Lord has chosen; and that 'if the matters are major', according to the synodical decree, 'they should be referred to the chief of cities'. Hence we sent those whom we knew to be wise and humble as children to their mother, and having had a prosperous journey through the will of God, some of them arrived in Rome, and returned to us in the third year. And they saw all things just as they had heard about them, but they found them more certain inasmuch as they were seen rather than heard. And they were in one lodging in the church of St Peter with a Greek, a Hebrew, a Scythian and an Egyptian at the same time at Easter, in which we differed by a whole month. And so they testified to us before the holy relics, saying: 'As far as we know, this Easter is celebrated throughout the whole world'. And we have tested that the power of God is in the relics of the holy martyrs and in the writings which they brought back. We saw with our eyes a totally blind girl opening her eyes at these relics, and a paralytic walking and many demons cast out.[5]

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3   For modern liturgical use, Anselmo Lentini smoothed the all-too-pagan-sounding metaphor 'portas Olympi' to the less startling 'portasque caeli': Lentini, *Te Decet Hymnus*, 178; *Liber Hymnarius*, 390.

4   The hymn combines a reminiscence of Genesis 1:14, the creation of the sun and moon ('fecitque Deus duo magna luminaria') with Apocalypse 11:4: 'hii sunt duo olivae et duo candelabra in conspectu Domini terrae stantes'). This comes from the episode of the two witnesses whom the beast, coming forth from the abyss, slays in the streets of the great evil city known as Sodom and Egypt 'in which their lord was crucified'. Later the pair are brought to life again and taken up to heaven in a cloud (Apocalypse 11:1–14); immediately after their apotheosis, the seventh trumpet announces the war in which the beast with seven heads (Babylon, Rome) is destroyed (Apocalypse 11:15 to 13:18). For further references to the 'duo olivae', see J. O'Reilly, 'The Book of Kells, folio 114r: A Mystery Revealed yet Concealed', in R. M. Spearman and J. Higgitt (eds), *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland* (Edinburgh and Stroud, 1993), 106–14, at 109–10.

5   'Deinde uisum est senioribus nostris iuxta mandatum, ut si diuersitas oborta fuerit inter causam et causam, et uariauerit iudicium inter lepram et non lepram, irent ad locum quem elegit

This passage also encapsulates part of the rationale for the present book: to explore the fascination which Rome had for the rest of Europe: as the 'mother' to which the 'children' should turn for instruction; the city-microcosm which gave a single fatherland to many diverse peoples; the place *par excellence* where the various nations could come together and learn from each other.[6] Cummian did not transcribe his list of nationalities dwelling in a single lodging from the diary of one of the returned Irish pilgrims; his account is not a simple piece of reporting; instead, he chose to paraphrase Colossians 3:9–11:

> Do not lie to one another, seeing that you have stripped off the old self with its practices and have clothed yourselves with the new self, which is being renewed in knowledge according to the image of its creator. In that renewal there is no longer Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave and free; but Christ is all and in all!

Cummian saw the lodging at St Peter's as an image of the Christian Church, in which many nations were brought, by conversion, into a new unity. By an increased awareness of their part in this universal Church the Irish, also, could now be renewed, and put off their old provincial ways. But the lodging 'in' St Peter's is, in all probability, not merely a symbolic invention. The lodging assigned to the Irish delegates may have actually stood under the shadow of St Peter's, because we know from the *Liber Pontificalis* that pilgrim-dwellings were clustered so close to the ancient basilica in the late seventh century that some of them were damaged by rain dripping and tiles falling from the roof.[7] Clerics far from Rome, like these Irish, tried in imagination to get as close as possible to the city: as it were, if they could not travel in the body, they travelled in the spirit. On occasion, when travel to Rome was impossible, Rome and the great ceremonies of its basilicas could be seen by means of visions.[8] One way in which travellers to Rome could enable

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Dominus; ut "si causae fuerint maiores", iuxta decretum sinodicum, "ad capud urbium sint referendae." Inde misimus quos nouimus sapientes et humiles esse, uelut natos ad matrem, et prosperum iter in uoluntate Dei habentes, et ad Romam urbem aliqui ex eis uenientes, tertio anno ad nos usque peruenerunt. Et sic omnia uederunt sicut audierunt, sed et ualde certiora utpote uisa quam audita inuenerunt. Et in uno hospicio cum Greco et Hebreo, Scita et Aegiptiaco in aecclesia sancti Petri simul in pascha, in quo mense integro disiuncti sumus, fuerunt. Et ante sancta sic testati sunt nostris, dicentes: "Per totum orbem terrarum hoc pascha, ut scimus, celebratur." Et nos in reliquiis sanctorum martyrum et scripturis quas attulerunt probauimus inesse uirtutem Dei. Uidimus oculis nostris puellam caecam omnino ad has reliquias oculos aperientem, et paraclitum ambulantem, et multa demonia eiecta': M. Walsh and D. Ó Cróinín (eds), *Cummian's Letter 'De Controversia Paschali' and the 'De Ratione Conputandi'* (Toronto, 1988), 92–4.

6   On Rome as microcosm, see Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu Suo*, lines 63, 66: 'Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam. […] Vrbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat'; 'You [Rome] made one homeland for many peoples. […] You made a city of what formerly belonged to the world': A. van Heck (ed.), *Breviarium Urbis Romae Antiquae Viatorum in Usum*, 2nd edn (Leiden and Boston, 2002), 50.

7   L. Duchesne (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols (Paris, 1886–92), 1:375; see also R. Davis (trans.), *The Book of Pontiffs*, rev. edn (Liverpool, 2000), 88.

8   See C. Plummer (ed.), *Life of St Berach*, in *Bethada Náem nÉrenn; Lives of Irish Saints*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1922), 2:41–42, Ch. XXX; and St Brigid, *Vita Prima*, trans. Seán Connolly, 'Vita Prima Sanctae Brigitae: Background and Historical Value', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of*

their native communities to experience the aura of Rome was to bring home books and relics for them: Cummian makes it clear that the messianic promises of sacred scripture came to fulfilment when such Roman treasures reached his Irish community – in their presence, the blind received sight, the lame walked, demons were cast out.[9]

In this book, we begin with aspects of how the city itself was preserved, constructed and understood, and move to ways in which the city made an impact on the imagination of educated people (primarily clerics and monks or nuns, but also the laity) throughout Europe. The book brings together papers from three recent scholarly gatherings which had Rome as a major theme: the Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo in May 2003, the International Medieval Congress at Leeds in July of the same year, and the Medieval Academy of America meetings held in Miami in 2005. We wish to thank the organizers of these congresses, and in particular Kirstin Noreen and John Osborne, the organizers of the three 'Medieval Rome' sessions at Kalamazoo, who consented that some of the papers offered there should be published under the aegis of the present volume.

Alan Thacker fittingly opens the volume with a comprehensive survey of that aspect of Rome which ensured that, for the rest of Europe in the early Middle Ages, it was indeed *Roma felix*, a blessed city: the cult of the martyrs, their basilicas, and their relics. Thacker argues that the physical features of the cult of the martyrs, in particular the great monumental basilicas and the series of monumental inscriptions such as those of Pope Damasus, determined which martyrs would become famous and which would never be 'discovered'. Thacker provides an object lesson on the interaction between the physical topography of Rome, its ecclesiastical politics, and the way Rome was imagined throughout Europe. The interaction between Roman topography, architecture and the cult of the martyrs is further explored in the contribution by Caroline J. Goodson: juxtaposing these two papers serves to emphasize their distinct and independent perspectives on this important subject. Whereas Thacker concentrates on the conceptual development of the earliest cults of the martyrs and the architectural expressions of this cult, Goodson brings the story down to the Carolingian period: she vividly describes how Pope Paschal I ordered the relics of St Caecilia to be brought in procession from the Via Appia to the saint's newly built basilica in Trastevere, and places that event in the context of changing papal policies towards the cult of relics. Dorothy Verkerk focuses on one physical expression of the martyr-cult: the re-use of ancient sarcophagi, not only to house the bodily relics of the saints, but also the bodies of popes, bishops and emperors.

The volume now moves on to how cultic observance was experienced in Rome in the early Middle Ages. Carol Neuman de Vegvar helps us to imagine how the congregation in Santa Maria Maggiore, on a major feast such as the papal stational Mass on Easter Sunday morning or on the mornings of the four major Marian feasts (2 February, 25 March, 15 August, 8 September) could see themselves reflected in the fifth-century Old Testament mosaics above the pillars of the nave. As the congregation faced the altar, the morning sun would have struck in from the southeast (that is, from the left side of the basilica), illuminating the row of mosaics on the right side where the women stood.

Ireland, 119 (1989): 5–49, at 41. These passages are discussed in É. Ó Carragáin, *The City of Rome and the World of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture 1994 (Jarrow, 1995), 1–2 and 37–8.

9   Cummian refers to gospel passages such as Mark 16:17–18.

The men, standing on the left half of the basilica, could see themselves reflected in the mosaics' opposite side, where male figures predominate; the women, standing on the right half, would have been able to contemplate the mosaic scenes on the left side of the basilica: on that side, men and women of the Old Testament figure together as equal participants in biblical history.

Next, Joseph Dyer shows how penitential processions on the days of Litany, developed in the sixth and early seventh centuries, built on and transformed the ancient classical processions of the Robigalia; and how the differing routes assigned to these annual processions, between the early and later medieval periods, reflected the ambitions of the papal court to assert its political and social control over the city.

Stephen J. Lucey also studies the social and political factors that inspired the ecclesiastical sites which survive even to the present day. He examines the patronage behind the construction and successive campaigns of decoration in Santa Maria Antiqua, a church in the Roman Forum which was clearly used by the Greek colony in Rome: both the church and the nearby Schola Greca, the centre of that colony, stand in the shadow of the Palatine Hill. In the early Middle Ages, the Palatine was still the official residence of the eastern emperors. Santa Maria was initially a Greek church: as this article points out, of the many inscriptions in the building, all are in Greek until the reign of John VII (705–707). The commissioners and community of the church were, therefore, of particular importance in Rome during the political, christological and ecclesiological tensions of the late seventh and early eighth centuries. Lucey also demonstrates that while Santa Maria Antiqua attracted papal and aristocratic patronage, as a *diaconia* the church was commissioned to serve the poor and pilgrims.

If a city is to remain alive, it needs to be continually recreated by the living communities who inhabit it. Kirstin Noreen provides an object lesson in how this principle worked in medieval Rome. Through a detailed survey of the history of the Confraternity of the Santissimo Salvatore, and of their insignia which are still to be seen, in sculpted plaques, in the streets around St John Lateran, she shows how the significance of the two most important early Christian images of Christ in Rome was publicized: that of the icon in the papal chapel of the Lateran palace (the chapel known as the 'Sancta Sanctorum' or 'Holy of Holies') and that at the centre of the great apse-mosaic of the Lateran basilica. The importance of these images was proclaimed, not only through liturgical ceremonies, but eventually through visual insignia which preserved throughout the year, and across the contiguous urban spaces, the memory of these ceremonies. From the twelfth century onwards the confraternity, whose job it was to celebrate and propagate the Lateran cults of the true image of Christ, ensured the continuity of that cult. Noreen shows how, through the work of the confraternity, the two ancient images were closely associated, so that the silver casing which Innocent III provided for the icon made it more closely resemble the bust-portrait in the Lateran apse. She also demonstrates how, during the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation, the ornaments and plaques, still to be seen on the Caelian Hill, kept the liturgical ceremonies of 15 August before the imaginations of Romans throughout the year. Noreen's paper shows the vital connection between surviving visual images and the history of cult practices which expressed the importance of these images in the life of the Medieval and Renaissance city.

　　The article which opens the second part of the book demonstrates that an awareness of the history of cult is an essential factor in dating works of visual art. Without such awareness, dating by means of notions of style can prove to be very unreliable. John Osborne shows that, in dating the murals of Crescentius in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, a concentration on stylistic analysis in isolation has led earlier scholars to a completely mistaken dating, which his own examination of the development of the cult of St Catherine enables him to correct. The murals should then be dated not to the eighth century, as earlier scholars had proposed, but to the twelfth. Osborne's messages, concerning the necessary range of data to be applied in the dating of visual images and the revisions that this methodological shift will generate in the chronology of the city's art, together have the potential to change historians' understanding of the impact of such images on the cultic life of the city and the impressions they made on pilgrims and other visitors.

　　Martina Bagnoli shows that an artistic dialogue existed, in the early thirteenth century, between the work of artists in the city of Rome itself and those working on the crypt of the cathedral at Anagni. She demonstrates that, at Anagni, abstract ornamental patterns are structurally and iconographically significant, guiding the onlooker to an appreciation of the meaning of the iconographic programme. Some of the artists at Anagni formed part of a workshop that also worked on what is now the lower church at San Clemente in Rome. Bagnoli also underlines how traditions formed in Rome could be developed in provincial Italian cities.

　　Dale Kinney asks the important question, to what extent can we trust the descriptions of Rome in the twelfth-century *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, the most widely read medieval account of the city? The article begins with a masterly analysis of the procedures employed by the author of the *Mirabilia*: 'he was selective, focusing on sites of power, both pagan and Christian' (p. 237). Kinney then proceeds to make a detailed comparison between the way in which the streets between St Peter's and St Paul's were presented in the *Mirabilia* and in other twelfth-century texts, such as the *Ordo* of Canon Benedict and the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae*, and an earlier text, the Carolingian Itinerary of Einsiedeln. She demonstrates that 'despite its fantastic appearance […], the *Ordo*'s route is still traceable and still practicable' (p. 245). This article is a model of how an intimate knowledge of the history of the ancient and medieval buildings that still survive in the modern topography of Rome can be used to illuminate and make sense of medieval descriptions of the city, too often dismissed as merely rhetorical exercises.

　　The final four articles give examples of how Rome was imagined and echoed in the Atlantic Isles: first Ireland and then Britain. Damian Bracken shows how important papal primacy was to two Irish ecclesiastics of the early seventh century, Columbanus and Cummian. They saw Rome as the river from which peripheral churches, such as the Irish who were understood to be at the ends of the earth, imbibed the true faith; and they accepted Rome's role as the touchstone, as well as the source, of orthodoxy: particularism and provinciality were seen as sure paths to heresy. Paradoxically, this acknowledgement of the centrality of the papacy was an important factor in the criticisms Columbanus addressed to Pope Boniface IV in 613 CE. A junior, such as Columbanus, had a filial and fraternal duty to correct the pope when the pope was in error: such honesty testified to the vital purity of the faith that the Irish had originally received, and had faithfully preserved.

Charles Doherty shows us that Irish writers were well able to adapt the Roman model to rewrite the topography of power in their own island. At the same time that Armagh came to be seen as the ecclesiastical capital of Ireland, and so the Rome of Ireland, Christian writers increasingly mythologized Tara (by the mid-seventh century a deserted site) as the ancient pagan capital of Ireland. Like Rome, Ireland came to be seen to have two foundations. Pagan Rome had been founded by Romulus and Remus, and Romulus had famously killed his brother Remus; Rome, however, had been refounded by Saints Peter and Paul: this pair of heroes was not fratricidal, but together gave their lives for the salvation of the city.[10] In Christian Rome, power shifted from the ancient Palatine and Capitol Hills to the Caelian (on which stood the pope's cathedral, the *Basilica Salvatoris*) and to the graves of Peter and Paul, outside the boundaries of the city. In Christian Ireland, it was fitting that power and divine favour should shift from the ancient Tara to Armagh, the new centre of the little world that was Ireland. If Irish ecclesiastics imitated Rome, in such imitation there was no slavish subservience. Rome provided the Irish with a blueprint that they could use creatively to rethink and remodel their own island microcosm with its own political and ecclesiastical realities.

Anna Gannon gives another object lesson in how there could be a dialogue of ideas between Rome and the Atlantic Islands to the north. She examines how Roman images, such as the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus, were adapted in Anglo-Saxon coins to develop local political and religious ideologies. As she demonstrates, Anglo-Saxon 'imitations' of Roman objects 'go well beyond the mere copying of prestige items: they are actively engaged in a dialogue with the originals, translating them into an intelligible and sympathetic idiom that carries powerful connotations for their Germanic cultural context' (p. 288); and again, 'Christian iconography feeds on its Classical heritage and effortlessly translates its motifs' (p. 292). Gannon has a particularly valuable examination of Offa's famous gold dinar or mancus which copies an Islamic coin of Caliph Al-Mansur (773–74 CE). It was possibly coined to pay Peter's pence to the Papacy, and seems to have been found, in the nineteenth century, in Rome itself. Gannon ends by examining later Anglo-Saxon coinage, covered in inscriptions: in these coins, she argues, the text may have been construed as a visual image in its own right.

The final paper, the fourth to examine the dialogue between Rome and the Atlantic Islands, takes that dialogue to the end of the twelfth century. John Doran shows the monk Lucian of Chester seeing St Peter as the protector not only of Rome, but also of Chester. Doran shows that at a time when there was intense criticism of the growing ecclesiastical powers of Rome, and of the avarice of the Roman curia, Lucian still held to older ideas of Rome: founded indeed by the fratricidal Romulus and Remus, but refounded by the martyrs Peter and Paul. Although Lucian gives us a valuable insight into the survival, in popular spirituality, of early English attitudes towards papal Rome, there was nevertheless a particular reason why the Benedictines of Chester should idealize St Peter's power and patronage: papal privileges ensured their relative independence from local episcopal interference. In the same way, long before, Wearmouth-Jarrow had taken

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10   On this theme of Christian polemic, see Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, 2:1571, 1638, 1641.

care to emphasize their dependence on St Peter so as to affirm their independence from local potentates, secular and ecclesiastical.[11]

It is worthwhile, finally, to remark how practical and cotidian was the presence of Rome for any medieval nun, monk or cleric. Every single Mass contained prayers which listed the early popes and the chief basilicas: 'Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian'; 'Lucy, Agnes, Caecilia, Anastasia'.[12] The chants and choice of readings for the yearly Mass-liturgy, particularly during Advent, Lent and Holy Week, but also on major feasts such as the four 'Marian' feasts, could not properly be understood without reference to the Roman papal stational system in which the pope and his retinue solemnly visited particular basilicas on symbolically significant days.[13] As late as the 1450s, the Benedictine John Capgrave, who visited Rome for the holy year of 1450, would provide for his brethren in the monastery at Bury St Edmunds a detailed meditation on the Roman stational basilica for each day in Lent.[14] On Mid-Lent Sunday, the fourth Sunday in Lent, the papal stational Mass was celebrated at the basilica called *Hierusalem* (later known as Santa Croce in Gerusalemme). *Hierusalem* was the equivalent, at Rome, of Golgotha: before the ninth hour (3 p.m.) on Good Friday, less than three weeks later, the papal court would go there again, in barefoot procession this time, for the service of readings which commemorated Christ's death.[15] The station at *Hierusalem* on the fourth Sunday of Lent was thus in part a preparation for Good Friday; but the atmosphere of that Sunday was very different. The Sunday was known throughout the Middle Ages (and later, in Catholic congregations) as '*Laetare* Sunday', from the Introit or Entrance Psalm, 'Laetare Hierusalem': 'Rejoice, Jerusalem, and gather together, all you who love her: rejoice for joy with her, all you who were in mourning, so that you may exult and be satisfied by the breasts which will console you'.[16] This maternal image looked forward to the Epistle of the Mass on that Sunday, taken from the passage in Galatians (4:22 to 5:1) in which St Paul, using the contrast between the slave-woman Hagar and the freeborn Sarah, contrasts the earthly Jerusalem unfavourably with the heavenly Jerusalem: 'but the other woman [Sarah] corresponds to the Jerusalem above; she is free, and she is our mother' (4:26). The name 'Hierusalem' was interpreted as *visio pacis*, 'the vision of peace': the heavenly Jerusalem symbolized the vision of peace for

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11　See P. Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', in G. Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976), 141–69.

12　See the Canon of the Roman Mass, the *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* prayers. For a detailed commentary on the cults of the saints listed in these prayers, see V. L. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 14, 2nd edn (Rome, 1963); their significance for the way in which Insular clerics imagined Rome is discussed by Ó Carragáin, *The City of Rome and the World of Bede*, 4–5.

13　See J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 228 (Rome, 1987); É. Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the 'Dream of the Rood' Tradition* (London and Toronto, 2005), 148–50, 183–4, 237–40.

14　C.A. Mills (ed.), John Capgrave, *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes* (Oxford, 1911), 85–156.

15　Baldovin, *Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 148, 153–5; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, 148–50, 192–5.

16　Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood,* 149: there the other Mass-chants, which also refer to Jerusalem, are examined.

which Christians long, and of which the Eucharist is a pledge.[17] The theme of joyful refreshment in the midst of a season of fasting was continued in the Gospel for the day, the feeding of the five thousand in the desert (John 6:1–15). *Laetare* Sunday was a day of hope and celebration at mid-Lent: in Rome itself, the joy of that day would, from the eleventh century (if not earlier), be symbolized in the golden rose which the popes blessed on the fourth Sunday, and then used as a chivalrous and diplomatic gift. Adam of Usk, who was in Rome in 1405, tells us that,

> On the Sunday in mid-Lent on which 'Laetare Ierusalem' is sung – for some relief, now that it is half way through Lent – the pope during mass holds up in his hands a very valuable and astonishingly ornate gold and silver rose, which has been rubbed with fresh myrrh and balsam so that it fills the air with a fragrance of the utmost sweetness, and when the mass is over he makes a gift of it to the most noble knight who has been present at Mass; then later that same day this knight, accompanied by his friends, there to honour him, rides about in great state carrying it in his hand.[18]

From the papal tradition of presenting the golden rose, that Sunday is sometimes called *der Rosentag* in German lands.[19] The Roman papal Mass-chants and readings were preserved in the antiphonary and in the Gregorian sacramentary, from which they passed into the Sarum Missal. The readings, though not the chants, were taken into the Anglican Book of Common Prayer: from its Epistle, celebrating the heavenly Jerusalem as 'our mother', the fourth Sunday of Lent came to be known in England as 'mothering Sunday'. This idea inspired a number of English traditional customs.[20] Hence it happens in Britain and Ireland (though not in North America) that 'Mother's Day' is still celebrated on the fourth Sunday in Lent. Even in secularized societies of

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17   M.L. Gatti Perer (ed.), *'La dimora di Dio con gli uomini' (Ap. 21:3). Immagini della Gerusalemme celeste dal III al XIV secolo* (Milan, 1983), especially 33–47.

18   'Dominica in medio Quadragesime, qua cantatur, "Letare Ierusalem", ad alleuiamen Quadragesime iam mediate, papa in missa unum magni precii rosarium, auro et argento mira arte conpositum, ac musta mirra et balsamo ad maximum suauitatis odorem per locum redolentem delinitum, manu sua gerit; ac post missam nobiliori militi misse interessenti elargitur, cum quo et ipse ac amici sui in sui honorem, ipsum in manu gerendo, ipso die postea phallerati equitant': C. Given-Wilson (ed. and trans.), *The Chronicle of Adam Usk 1377–1421* (Oxford, 1997), 198–9. The editor points out that 'it was musk, not myrrh, that was placed in the cusp of the rose with the balsam; the gold represented the incorruptible divine nature of the son of God, the balsam his soul, and the musk Christ's human nature'. See also C. Burns, *Golden Rose and Blessed Sword* (Glasgow, 1970), 2–10.

19   B. Blackburn and L. Holford-Strevens (eds), *The Oxford Companion to the Year* (Oxford, 1999), 615. They point out that the papal gift of the golden rose was already called 'ancient' by Pope Leo IX in 1049 CE. There is a bittersweet modern variant of the rose as a chivalric gift in the silver rose which, in the hand of the 'knight of the rose', accompanies the marriage-proposal of the aristocratic Baron Ochs to the middle-class Sophie in *Der Rosenkavalier* (libretto by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, composed by Richard Strauss, 1911): for the origins and plot of that libretto, see D. Murray, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 vols (London, 1992), 4:43–7.

20   From the gospel, the feeding of the five thousand, one obtains the alternative name of 'Refreshment Sunday' (*Dominica refectionis*), and the custom of bringing simnel cakes to one's mother as a gift: Blackburn and Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion to the Year*, 612–15, who give a useful recipe for simnel cake (614).

the twenty-first century, secular ritual, however commercialized, can still unwittingly preserve evidence of how deeply the imagination of Europe was for centuries stamped by the effort to recreate in imagination the symbolic landscape of 'Felix Roma'.

PART I
Articulating the City: Communities, Congregations, Cults and Processions

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Rome of the Martyrs
Saints, Cults and Relics, Fourth to Seventh Centuries

Alan Thacker

Rome, Relics and Pilgrims in the Seventh Century

In the Insular world of the seventh century, Rome, seat of apostles and martyrs and fount of holy relics, undoubtedly enjoyed the status of *caput urbium*, 'the chief of cities'. Benedict Biscop's and Wilfrid's trips to the city in search of the necessaries of worship and cult are so well-known as scarcely to bear repeating. For the purposes of this chapter, I wish only to stress that the English writers who recounted those journeys – Bede, Stephen of Ripon, and the anonymous author of the *Life of Abbot Ceolfrith* – all take Rome's primacy in these matters for granted. It is clear from Bede's *Historia Abbatum* that, while builders, books, sacred vessels and vestments could be obtained from Gaul, Rome and Rome alone was the proper place to obtain relics.[1] The dedications of the churches and oratories of Biscop's twin foundations are all eloquent of the 'sweet memorial of the relics of the blessed martyrs'[2] brought back from the Eternal City: the apostles Peter and Paul themselves, the Virgin Mary, and Lawrence, the Roman patron and proto-deacon.[3] Wilfrid's Roman relic-gathering was probably even more wide-ranging. He adopted as his special patron Peter's brother Andrew, whose cult had been focused on a basilica attached to the Vatican since the time of Pope

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1   Bede, *Historia Abbatum* ['*Hist. Abb.*'], ed. C. Plummer, *Baedae Venerablis Opera Historica*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1896), 1:364–87, caps 2, 4, 6. St Martin of Tours, to whom there were dedications in Canterbury and Whithorn, might appear to be an exception. But in both places they are expressly attributed by Bede to the British (although those at Canterbury may well have been established by King Æthelberht of Kent's Frankish queen, Bertha). And in any case, the cult of St Martin had also been established in Rome at an early date – at the *titulus* founded by Pope Silvester by the sixth century, and at one of the monasteries which serviced St Peter's itself by the later seventh: Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* ['*HE*'], ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1991), 1:26, 2:5, 3:4, 4:18; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Paris, 1955–57), 1:262, 267–8.

2   *reliquiarum beatorum martyrum dulcem*: *Vita Ceolfridi*, ed. Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica*, 1:388–404, cap. 9.

3   Bede, *Hist. Abb.*, caps 4, 6, 7, 9, 17; *Vita Ceolfridi*, caps 18, 25.

Symmachus (498–514),[4] but he also toured the circuit of *loca sancta*, collecting relics. That is made clear in Stephen's description of his visit in 680:

> Going round [*circumiens*] the holy places of the saints [*loca sanctorum*] to pray over a period of several days, he obtained a great number of holy relics from authorized men [*ab electis viris*] …, writing down the name of each, and the saint whose relic it was.[5]

Biscop and Wilfrid were simply the earliest and most famous exemplars of a much larger group of English pilgrims. We know, of course, of very high status figures, such as the West Saxon kings Cædwalla and Ine, King Coenred of Northumbria, King Offa of the East Saxons, and Abbot Ceolfrith of Wearmouth-Jarrow, who resigned their offices and went on pilgrimage to Rome to end their days.[6] But there were also many lesser folk whose devotion is reflected in graffiti inscribed in the cult sites in the catacombs.[7]

One reason for this focusing upon Roman relics was, of course, that in the early period after their conversion the English had no martyrs and almost no saints of their own.[8] By contrast, since the peace of the church, the Christian communities of Italy, including (as we shall see) that in Rome, had looked back on their Christian past, and found there innumerable holy witnesses who had died for the faith. Similarly, in fifth-century France their equivalents had rediscovered or invented the Christian martyrs whom they believed to be their founding bishops. By the seventh century, such processes had furnished very many local communities with venerated remains, whose tombs, and the secondary relics derived therefrom, were a powerful source of healings and wonders.[9] These developments were not, however, open to the English who had been pagan in the days of the imperial persecutions. For them, therefore, initially at least, Rome had especial importance as the means by which they could furnish their churches with relics derived from especially admired saints.[10]

The relics so acquired might be displayed for veneration. That surely is the purpose of Wilfrid's strange crypts which so powerfully evoke the catacombs, the main location

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4   *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:261.

5   *Vita Wilfridi*, ed. W. Levison, Monumenta Germaniae Historica ['MGH'], Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum ['SRM'] 6, 163–263, cap. 33. Cf. idem cap. 55.

6   Bede, *HE*, 5:7, 19; *Vita Ceolfridi*, cap. 21; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a.*, 726; R. Sharpe, 'King Ceadwalla's Epitaph', in K. O'Brien O'Keefe and A. Orchard (eds), *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge* (University of Toronto Press, 2005), 171–93.

7   C. Carletti, '"Scrivere i santi": Epigrafia del pellegrinaggio a Roma nei secoli vii–ix', in *Roma fra oriente e occidente*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 49 (Spoleto, 2002), 323–62.

8   Although King Oswald of Northumbria was later classed as a martyr, Bede, as Victoria Gunn has pointed out, was careful never to treat him as such: 'Bede and the Martyrdom of St Oswald', in D. Wood (ed.), *Studies in Church History*, 30 (Oxford, 1993), 57–66. Alban, the only martyr culted on English soil mentioned in the *HE*, was of course British: *HE*, 1:7.

9   A.T. Thacker, '*Loca sanctorum*: The Significance of Place in the Study of the Saints', in Thacker and R. Sharpe (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), 1–43, at 24–31.

10   A.T. Thacker, 'In Search of Saints: The English Church and the Cult of Roman Apostles and Martyrs in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', in J. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald Bullough* (Leiden, 2000), 247–8, 256–64.

of the *loca sanctorum* of Rome.[11] At Lindisfarne too relics of the holy martyrs were on display and were expected to effect cures.[12] Equally significantly, however, relics might play an important part in the dedication of a church. The Roman rite in particular assigned a crucial role to the sealing of relics within the altar,[13] and Gregory the Great himself instructed his missionaries that they should convert the pagan temples of the English into churches by building altars and placing relics sent from Rome within them.[14] Wilfrid's disciple Willibrord, before embarking on the conversion of the Frisians, hastened to Pope Sergius (687–701) in Rome with a similar project in mind. According to Bede, he hoped to obtain there relics of the apostles and martyrs to introduce into newly established churches, which would then bear the dedication of the saint whose relics they enshrined.[15]

Before his departure to Frisia in 690, Willibrord had spent many years in Ireland. There too he would have encountered a similar identification of Rome as the paradigmatic source of relics. In 632 or 633, some twenty years before the arrival of the first English visitors, Irish envoys returned from the Eternal City to testify about what they regarded as the universal date of Easter, *ante sancta*, before sacred objects. These, we are told, were relics of the holy martyrs, brought back from Rome and known to have effected cures in their new home.[16] Ireland, of course, had never been part of the Roman Empire, and hence like the English the Irish had no martyrs of their own. It is not surprising, therefore, that Roman relics had a particular role and especial prestige there.[17]

At the heart of Rome's pre-eminence lay the Petrine cult. For Bede and his English contemporaries, the city was apostolic: above all, the seat of Peter, *princeps apostolorum*.[18] King Cædwalla, whose purpose in journeying thither Bede expressly says was to rest *ad … sacratissimum corpus*, adopted Peter as his baptismal name and was indeed buried in St Peter's.[19] At Wearmouth-Jarrow, one of the three great Bibles or Pandects produced there in the early eighth century was dedicated to the apostle. Abbot Ceolfrith intended

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11   A.T. Thacker, 'Making of a Local Saint', in Thacker and Sharpe (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches*, 45–73, at 63; Richard Gem, 'Towards an Iconography of Anglo-Saxon Architecture', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 46 (1983): 1–18, at 3.

12   Bede, *Vita Cuthberti prosaica*, ed. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940), cap. 41.

13   H.M. Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Pennsylvania, 1991), 180–81.

14   Bede, *HE*, 1:29, 30.

15   'simul et reliquias beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum Christi ab eo se sperans accipere, ut dum in gente cui praediceret destructis idolis ecclesias institueret, haberet in promptu reliquias sanctorum quas ibi introduceret, quibus ibidem depositis, consequenter in eorum honorem, quorum essent illae, singula quaeque loca dedicaret': Bede, *HE*, 5:11.

16   M. Walsh and D. Ó Cróinín (eds), *Cummian's Letter* De Controversia Paschali *and the* De Ratione Conputandi, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies (Toronto, 1988), 92–4.

17   Thacker, 'In Search of Saints', 264–5.

18   See, for example, Bede, *Hist Abb.*, cap. 19.

19   Bede, *HE*, 5:7.

Extramural

1. St Lawrence in Lucina
2. St Peter *ad vincula*
3. *Titulus Vestinae* (St Vitalis)
4. St Mary Major
5. St Stephen *Rotondo*
6/7. Lateran basilica and baptistery
8. *Hierusalem*
9. St Valentinus
10. Bassilla cemetery
11. Thrason cemetery
12. Jordani cemetery
13. Priscilla cemetery
14. St Agnes on the Via Nomentana
15. St Lawrence on the Via Tiburtina
16. St Hippolytus
17. Anonymous basilica
18. Sts Marcellinus and Peter *ad duos lauros*

N

19. St Stephen on the Via Latina
20. Praetextatus cemetery
21. Basilica Apostolorum *ad catacumbas*
22. Callistus cemetery
23. Basilica of Pope Mark
24. Funerary basilica of Pope Damasus
25. Domitilla cemetery
26. Commodilla cemetery
27. St Paul on the Via Ostiense
28. Basilica of Pope Julius
29. St Pancras
30. Basilica *ad Callistum*
31. St Peter, Vatican

Via Flaminia
Via Salaria Vetus
Via Lata
QUIRINAL
Alta Semita
PANTHEON (ST MARY AD MARTYRES)
CAMPUS MARTIUS
Via Cornelia
Via Aurelia
TRASTEVERE
CIRCUS MAXIMUS
AVENTINE
THERMAE ANTONINIANAE
Via Portuense
Via Ostiense
Via delle Sette Chiese
Via Portuense

9
10
31
30
29
1
3
2
26
28
27

0   500 metres
0   547 yards

Fig. 1.1   Rome and surrounding cemeterial areas (map: author). Thanks are due to the Isobel Thornley Bequest Fund for a grant covering the cost of drafting this map

Titulus church
(Non-titulus) church
Papal basilica
Circus-form basilica
Martyrium
Cemetery
Cemetery with subterranean basilica
Cemetery with basilica

13
12
11
14
Via Salaria Nova
Via Nomentana
Via Tiburtina
16
15
THERMAE DIOCLETIANAE
4
Via Labicana
THERMAE TRAJAN
ESQUILINE
Via Prenestina
17
8
6/7
Via Labicana
CAELIAN
5
18
Via Appia
Via Latina
23
24
22
20
19
25
Via Ardeatina
21
Via Appia

to present it personally *ad corpus eximii Petri*, that is, at St Peter's tomb itself.[20] Almost certainly, at the end of the sixth century, after Gregory the Great's remodelling of the shrine, such gifts were presented and perhaps displayed in the *confessio* around the Niche of the Pallia.[21] By the seventh century, however, the prayers, masses and offerings at the Vatican were only the culminating moment in a complex and elaborate round of visits. Peter and Paul kept company with a crowd of fellow martyrs, at once the local saints of Rome and an expression of its universal role. Elaborate itineraries mapped the routes by which visitors might tour the *loca sancta*.

The fullest and most systematic example, the *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, is arranged in an orderly fashion, cemetery by cemetery, grouped outside the Aurelian walls along the main roads leading out of the city. Starting with SS John and Paul, uniquely buried intramurally, it moves to the Via Flaminia in the north and proceeds clockwise to conclude in the west with the Via Aurelia and finally the ultimate goal, the Vatican. It encompasses some 106 holy sites, excluding the Vatican itself, the existing itinerary of which is a later (mid-eighth-century) appendix.[22] The main body of the text dates from the time of Pope Honorius I (625–38) or shortly afterwards, and other similar compositions are of like date or slightly later.[23]

Beside the itineraries must be set a related group of texts, the *syllogae*, collections of epitaphs culled from the famous tombs of Rome, in particular those of the apostles and martyrs.[24] These too were arranged topographically; the seventh-century material in the *Sylloge Turonensis*, for example, begins in the north of the city, on the Via Salaria Nova, and moves clockwise through the Viae Nomentana, Tiburtina, Labicana, Praenestina, Latina, Appia, Ardeatina, to end (in its surviving form) at the basilica of St Paul on the Via Ostiense.[25] The purpose of these new genres is not altogether clear. The itineraries themselves may perhaps have served as *aide-mémoires* to the guides who took pilgrims around the holy sites. They survive, however, in few manuscripts, mostly not from Rome, and perhaps more probably they served as a record for important visitors of what they had seen or collected, like the *syllogae* and the schedule (*notula*) which we know

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20   Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatinus 1, f. I; *Vita Ceolfridi*, cap. 37.

21   Pers. com. Richard Gem. Cf. Arator's presentation to the Roman clergy in 544 of a copy of his poem on the apostles *ante confessionem beati domini Petri*: *De Actibus Apostolorum*, ed. A.P. McKinlay, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum ['CSEL'] 72 (Vienna, 1951), xxviii. For the Niche of the Pallia and Gregory's remodelling, see J. Toynbee and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *The Shrine of St Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (London, 1956), esp. 220–24.

22   R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, 4 vols (*Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, 81, 88, 90, 91), 2:67–99. For a detailed analysis of the route, see V. Fiocchi Nicolai, '*Sacra martyrum loca circuire*: Percorsi di visita dei pellegrini nei santuari martiriali del suburbio', in L. Pani Ermini (ed.), *Christiana Loca. Lo spazio cristiano nella Roma del primo millenio* (Rome, 2000), 221–30.

23   Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:49–66, 101–31, 133–53.

24   For texts, see J.B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, 2 vols (Rome, 1857–88), 2:1. For recent discussion, see Sharpe, 'King Ceadwalla's Epitaph', 171–93. Cf. A. Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana* (Rome, 1942), 13–17.

25   De Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, 2:1, no. 6, pp. 58–71.

accompanied at least one relic collection.[26] In any event, they mark a crucial moment in Rome's development as a pilgrimage centre in the century or so after the Gothic Wars. They appear just after a period of renewed building at the holy sites which had seen the construction of opulent new basilicas *ad corpus* by Popes Pelagius II (579–90) and Honorius I, and restoration and renewal in the catacombs.[27] All this activity was to evoke a significant response in the Insular world. By the early eighth century, for example, texts of *syllogae* were probably known in Wearmouth-Jarrow, Malmesbury and Worcester, and were almost certainly, as Sharpe suggests, the source of English knowledge of the epitaphs of Pope Gregory or King Cædwalla.[28] Wilfrid was thus very much in tune with new modes of piety in his ostentatious and systematic pilgrimage around the holy places.

This newly developing literature supplemented a more ancient genre, the romances commonly known as the *gesta martyrum*. These have recently been the subject of a major research project and it is not proposed to discuss them in detail here.[29] Suffice it to say that although they are notoriously difficult to date, they are now thought to have originated mostly in the fifth and sixth centuries.[30] Some writing, however, was clearly still going on in the later sixth and seventh centuries and was linked with the promotional activities of that period, just described.[31] It seems highly probable that collections of relevant *gesta* were brought back from Rome along with relics, schedules and itineraries. Bede's *Martyrology*, for example, shows that he had access to quite a number of these compilations. Some two-fifths of the hagiographical sources used in that work were *passiones* of Roman martyrs or of martyrs that had been adopted by Rome.[32]

The new fashion set by Rome with these developments achieved such prestige that by the mid-seventh century its ancient rival Milan was following suit with its own pilgrim itinerary. That, however, was such a modest text in comparison with the elaborate lists from Rome that it serves only to demonstrate Rome's pre-eminence.[33] The papal city

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26 On the manuscripts, see Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:71, 101–2, 134. For the *notula*, see below (at n.188). The itineraries were not necessarily compiled in Rome. The inaccurate statement in one of them, the *Epitome de locis sanctis*, that the body of St Lawrence had been moved from the earlier *ecclesia maior* to the new basilica of Pelagius II, is clearly more likely to have been the record of an uninformed visitor than of an experienced Roman guide, especially in the light of contemporary papal resistance to interference in sacred graves: *Codice topografico*, 2:114. Cf. A. Amore's comments on the same text's identification of the Quattuor Coronati: 'I santi Quattro Coronati', *Antonianum*, 40 (1965): 177–243, at 184–5.

27 See below, 'The Emergence of the Pilgrimage City'.

28 Sharpe, 'King Ceadwalla's Epitaph', 171–93; Bede, *HE*, 2:1, 5:7.

29 Roman Martyrs Research Project, Centre of Late Antiquity, University of Manchester, led by Dr Kate Cooper and Dr Conrad Leyser. For some preliminary analysis and discussion, see the papers assembled in K. Cooper (ed.), 'The Roman Martyrs and the Politics of Memory', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9:3 (2000): 271–365.

30 K. Cooper, 'Preface', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9:3 (2000): 271; C. Pilsworth, 'Dating the *Gesta martyrum*: A Manuscript-based Approach', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9:3 (2000): 309–24, esp. 313.

31 See below, 'The Emergence of the Pilgrimage City'.

32 H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1980), 57–97, 111–12.

33 For the text and discussion of its date, see J.-C. Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 268 (Rome, 1988), 19–24.

had emerged as custodian of the greatest deposit of holy remains and as the principal source of relics in the Christian world, a true *caput urbium*. Such a position has often been regarded as the inevitable outcome of Rome's imperial past. But it was by no means as straightforward and predictable an achievement as from hindsight it might seem. Even the Petrine cult itself had its obscurities and fluctuations. It is the purpose of this chapter to look afresh at the complex origins and early development of Rome's spectacular success in establishing itself as Christendom's leading *locus* of martyrial sanctity.

The Origins of Martyr Cult in Rome

Rome did not, in fact, have as many proven early martyrs as is often supposed. Cities in Africa and the East – places such as Alexandria, Antioch and Nicomedia – appear to have suffered far more than any city in the West during the imperial persecutions.[34] Moreover, Rome's Christian communities had preserved remarkably few memories of their first witnesses to the faith. The earliest records of the martyrs, the *Acta* recording their stoic response to examination, torture and execution, rarely emanate from the imperial city. Of the twenty-eight texts recorded by Musurillo, only three relate martyrdoms that took place in Rome.[35] No record survives of the sufferings of even the best-known Roman figures of the first and second centuries, such as the aristocrats Glabrio and Domitilla or Pope Telesphorus.[36]

The Philocalian Calendar

The earliest records of the Roman sanctoral – that part of its liturgical year concerned with the commemoration of its holy dead – date from the mid-fourth century and take the form of two lists, both arranged according to a calendar beginning on 25 December. One commemorates the laying to rest (*depositiones*) of almost all popes from Lucius (253–4) through to Julius I (337–52), the other a relatively limited group of some fifty-two named martyred individuals. Except for three from Carthage, the latter were all from Rome and the suburbicarian sees and included at least four third-century popes. Altogether this required some 35 feast days, 23 of them devoted to the martyrs. The dating of these lists is complicated and not fully resolved. They were included in a compilation known as the *Chronograph* assembled by the epigraphist Furius Dionysius Philocalus (d. *c.* 382) in 354. Almost certainly, the list of popes, the *Depositio episcoporum*, was in its earliest form compiled in 336, since the last name in the calendared entries

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34   See, for example, H. Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyres*, 2nd edn (Brussels, 1933), 148–51, 192–206, 216–29; Eusebius, *History of the Church*, trans. G.A. Williamson, rev. edn (A. Louth, 1989), 6:41, 8:6, 10 and 12–13, 9:5; A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1964), 1:74–5, 2:1079.

35   The three are H. Musurillo (ed.), *Martyrdom of Ptolemaeus and Lucius*, *Acts of Justin and His Companions*, and more doubtfully *Apollonius*: *Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford, 1972), 38–41, 42–61, 90–105. All died in the second century and none was commemorated in the earliest Roman (Philocalian) calendar: see below.

36   Delehaye, *Origines*, 262–3.

was Sylvester I (d. 31 December 335). It was then updated by the addition – out of calendrical sequence – of the two popes to die between then and 354. Scholars have generally assumed that the list of martyrs, the *Depositio martyrum*, similarly originated in 336, but there is no means of determining this and the latest date of its compilation must remain 354.[37]

The lists generally included place of deposition as well as name. Apart from the apostolic tombs, the martyrial calendar referred to cult sites in the cemeteries along the Viae Salaria Vetus, Salaria Nova and Nomentana to the north of Rome, the Viae Tiburtina and Labicana to the east, and the Via Appia to the south, with particularly heavy concentrations along the Viae Appia and Salaria, old and new. The authenticity of the record was confirmed by the discovery in 1845 of the original *loculus* of one of the more obscure of those commemorated: Hyacinthus. Closed by a slab inscribed with the saint's name, date of death (11 September, in accordance with the calendar), and the simple appellation 'martyr', it was located (again in accordance with the calendar) in the cemetery of Bassilla on the Via Salaria Vetus. The grave still contained the saint's carbonized bones – evidently untranslated.[38]

The *Depositio martyrum* strongly suggests that interest in recording and venerating Rome's local martyrs began in the earlier fourth century and that it was closely associated with the developing role of the papacy. It was evidently a working document, reflecting experimental liturgical arrangements still to be stabilized. That is especially apparent in its celebrated entry for 29 June relating to SS Peter and Paul.[39] Although as it stands it is barely comprehensible, it appears to describe a joint commemoration of the two apostles, established during the consulship of Tuscus and Bassus, that is, in the highly significant

37   *Depositio Episcoporum et Depositio Martyrum*, ed. T. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, 1:70–76; *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:vi–vii, 11–12. For fundamental discussion, see V. Saxer, 'L'utilisation par la liturgie de l'espace urbain et suburbain: L'example de Rome dans l'antiquité et le haut moyen âge', in *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne: Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble et Aosta, 21 Septembre 1986*, 3 vols (Rome and Vatican, 1989), 2:919–1031, esp. 920–23, 932–3, 987–8; idem, 'Damase et le calendrier des fêtes des martyrs de l'église romaine', in *Saecularia Damasiana*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale per il XVI centenario della morte di papa Dammaso, Studi di antichità cristiana 34 (Città del Vaticano, 1986), 59–88. See now, F. Scorza Barcellona, 'Il santorale romano', in Ermini (ed.), *Christiana Loca*, 9–12.

38   V. Fiocchi Nicolai, F. Bisconti and D. Mazzoleni, *Les catacombes chrétiennes de Rome*, trans. and rev. Jean Guyon (Regensburg, 1999), 175; Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 47. For a possible translation by Pope Symmachus (498–514), see A.T. Thacker, 'Martyr Cult Within the Walls: Saints and Relics in the Roman *tituli* of the Fourth to Seventh Centuries', in A. Minnis and J. Roberts (eds), *Text Image, Interpretation* (Turnhout, 2007), 31–70, at 53–4.

39   *Depositio*, 1:71. The vast literature devoted to this famous text includes the following: Duchesne, in *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:civ–cvii; H. Delehaye, 'Le sanctuaire des Apôtres sur la Voie Appienne', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 45 (1927): 297–310; idem, *Origines*, 263–9; Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, *Shrine of St Peter*, 167–82; H. Chadwick, 'St Peter and St Paul in Rome: The Problem of the Memoria Apostolorum ad Catacumbas', *Journal of Theological Studies*, new ser. 8 (1957), 31–52; C. Pietri, *Roma Christiana. Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Militiade à Sixte III (311–440)*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 224, 2 vols (Paris, 1976), 1:40–46, 366–80. For a recent summary, see V. Saxer, 'Il culto degli apostoli Pietro e Paolo dalle origini all'epoca carolingia', in A. Donati (ed.), *Pietro e Paolo. La storia, il culto, la memoria nei primi secoli* (Rome, 2000), 73–84, at 76–7.

year 258 when Pope Sixtus II and several of his clergy were killed in the Emperor Valerian's persecution. While the primary location of this festival was *ad catacumbas*, the cemetery on the Via Appia in which the martyr Sebastian was later venerated, the calendar refers also to the commemoration of St Paul on the Via Ostiense, clearly at the site where according to Eusebius his monument had been known at latest by the early third century.[40] There is no mention of the cult site at the Vatican, although it too was known to Eusebius and it is clear from graffiti on the monument that it was the object of veneration from the second century.[41]

The monument by the Via Appia that has come to be known as the *memoria apostolorum ad catacumbas* is also marked by numerous graffiti; over 600 survive, all dated to the late third and early fourth centuries. Curiously, while those at the Vatican never call on Peter by name, both he and Paul are personally invoked *ad catacumbas*. There, the graffiti refer unambiguously to funeral feasts, *refrigeria*, customarily then held at the tombs of the dead, and the *memoria* itself – at least in the form which survives after its reconstruction in the early fourth century – appears to have comprised an eating space (the so-called *triclia*) suitable for such observances. Whether or not the physical remains of the apostles had been brought thither, it seems clear that in the mid-third century a new cult site had been established on the Via Appia, probably in connexion with the development of formal liturgical veneration of the two apostles by means of a new joint feast.[42] Significantly, the site thus chosen lay not far from the Pauline monument on the Via Ostiense, with which it was directly connected by a road running a couple of miles or so westwards past the cemetery of Domitilla and now known as the Via delle Sette Chiese.[43] Even nearer, on the Via Appia itself, was another of the earliest and most important of Roman cult sites, the famous crypt in the catacomb of Callistus, eventually the burial-place of nine third-century popes.[44] The status of this site seems to have been enhanced by the burial there of the martyred Sixtus II, who was interred in a tomb *a mensa* which occupied the whole of the end wall of the *cubiculum*. Although it is by no means likely that at this early date the tomb was in fact integrated into an

40   Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 25, 7.

41   Eusebius, loc. cit.; Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, *Shrine of St Peter*, 165–7. For the inscriptions at the Via Appia site, see D. Mazzoleni, 'Pietro e Paolo nell'epigrafia cristiana', in Donati (ed.), *Pietro e Paolo*, 67–72; A. Silvagni, A Ferrua, D. Mazzoleni and C. Carletti, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* ['*ICUR*'], new ser., 10 vols (Roma and Città del Vaticano, 1922–92), 5: nos. 12907–13096.

42   Although Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 25, 7, quotes a letter from Dionysius, a late second-century bishop of Corinth, to the effect that the two apostles died at the same time, there is no evidence of a joint feast from this time and the calendar seems expressly to connect it with 258. Cf. Chadwick, 'St Peter and St Paul in Rome', 50. Probably the day on which Peter was initially commemorated by the Christian community of Rome was the 22 February, the concluding day of the *parentalia*, the annual pagan commemoration of the dead. It appears in the *Depositio martyrum* as the *natale Petri de cathedra*. Cf. Scorza Barcellona, 'Il santorale romano', 9–10.

43   It was anciently, though not at this date, known as the Via di San Sebastiano: Fiocchi Nicolai, '*Sacra martyrum loca circuire*', 226 (fig. 1), 227.

44   Besides Sixtus himself, those venerated there according to the Philocalian calendar include Pontian (230–35), Fabian (236–50), Lucius (253–4), Stephen I (254–7), Felix I (269–74) and Eutychian (275–83).

altar, its high status in relation to the other papal tombs nearby is clear.[45] The *memoria ad catacumbas* looks as if it was part of an area of developing Christian cult in the mid-third century. The Vatican by contrast may have remained the scene of purely private devotion.

It has been argued that the *Depositio martyrum* was selective or incomplete.[46] There seems, however, no good reason for this view. The much enlarged Roman calendar, which may be reconstructed from the Hieronymian martyrology and is reflected in the numerous cult sites of the seventh century, was probably largely established in the period between 354 and 450.[47] In fact, the treatment of the apostles in the *Depositio* suggests that in the Rome of the earlier fourth century the whole phenomenon of martyr cult was still highly experimental. It is particularly striking how little we know of the early Roman martyrs. Not only were there were almost no early Roman *acta*, but often we do not know the date when martyrs suffered – even such celebrated figures as Agnes and Hippolytus. That doubtless is in part to be explained by the fact that it was probably especially difficult to commemorate the subjects of official persecution in the imperial capital itself. But at the very least it is strange that those martyrs commemorated in the calendar of the mid-fourth century and identified as having suffered under Diocletian only some thirty years earlier should have remained so obscure; if veneration had been continuous, their memory would surely have been sufficiently fresh for more individual details to have survived than was patently the case. For most of the early martyrs of Rome, the fabulous histories later ascribed to them suggest that their lives were *tabulae rasae* on which the romancers of the fourth and later centuries could project whatever they wished. The obscurity veiling the actual lives and deaths even of those who had died only a generation or so before the compilation of the earliest calendar is an indication that either their sufferings had not seemed very important at the time, or that their promotion had to await a time when those who knew them were safely dead.

The Impact of Constantine

The most crucial development in the cult of the saints was, of course, the conversion of the Emperor Constantine following his victory at the Milvian Bridge. In particular, Constantine and his immediate family are credited with the construction of a number of great basilicas honouring the apostles and martyrs of Rome, including St Peter on the Vatican Hill; St Paul on the Via Ostiense; St Lawrence on the Via Tiburtina; St Agnes on the Via Nomentana; and SS Marcellinus and Peter on the Via Labicana. The emperor's biographer and contemporary, Eusebius, presents him as extremely interested in martyr cult. The emperor, he says, 'never ceased honouring the memorials of the holy martyrs

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45   J.B. Ward-Perkins, 'Memoria, Martyr's Tomb and Church', *Journal of Theological Studies*, new ser. 17 (1966): 20–37, at 23. Cf. R. Krautheimer's discussion of *mensa* in 'Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium', *Cahiers Archéologiques. Fin de l'antiquité et moyen âge*, 11 (1960): 15–40, at 26–7. On the 'crypt', see Fiocchi Nicolai, Bisconti and Mazzoleni, *Les catacombs chretiénnes de Rome*, 32–5.

46   For example, Delehaye, *Origines*, 260

47   Saxer, 'L'utilisation par la liturgie', 919–23; idem, 'Damase et le calendrier', 71–87; Scorza Barcellona, 'Il santorale romano', 11.

of God.'[48] Shortly before his death, Constantine prepared for baptism in the *martyrion* or chapel of the martyrs at Drepanum, presumably a cult site associated with the martyr Lucian of Antioch (d. 312).[49] In Constantinople, he was said to have enriched the city with 'very large martyr shrines', through which 'he at the same time honoured the tombs of the martyrs and dedicated the city to the martyrs of God'.[50] Not all of this rests on Eusebius' sole testimony. There is, however, no evidence outside Eusebius that Constantine's great churches in Constantinople, or indeed elsewhere, except in Rome itself, were dedicated to local martyrs.[51] It was the apostles, a distinct and separate category of saints, who loomed largest in the emperor's mind and with whom in death he sought to be associated. His church–mausoleum of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople was termed a *martyrion* by Eusebius, even though it contained no relics but only cenotaphs of the Twelve. There in the midst of their emblematic tombs the emperor lay: implicitly a second Christ.[52]

It is worth comparing this evidence with that from contemporary Rome itself. There, apart from the Lateran basilica and its baptistery, Constantine's greatest gifts were again reserved for the two apostles. At the Vatican, the traditional site of Peter's martyrdom and tomb, the emperor built one of his grandest basilicas. According to the Life of Pope Silvester in the *Liber Pontificalis*, which incorporated early material although compiled in the early sixth century, its endowments, in terms of liturgical vessels and furnishings and landed property, appear to have been on a scale much closer to the Lateran than to those of the lesser basilicas of SS Lawrence and Agnes.[53] To St Paul the emperor may have been less generous. The *Liber Pontificalis* asserts that his basilica was as well-endowed as St Peter's, if not indeed slightly better, but, as Krautheimer has pointed out, the entry is suspicious, almost certainly 'intended to make San Paolo appear as important as Old St Peter's'.[54] The fact that the early basilica itself appears to have been a relatively modest structure, which the Emperor Theodosius found necessary to replace in the late fourth century, would support this view.[55]

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48   F. Scorza Barcellona, 'Le fondazioni ecclesiastiche di Costantino e il culto dei martyri', in A. Donati and G. Gentili (eds), *Costantino il Grande. La civiltà antica al bivio tra Occidente e Oriente* (Milan, 2005), 125–9; Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. and commentary by A. Cameron and S.G. Hall (Oxford, 1999), II, 21, 28, 40; III, 1.6.

49   Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, IV.61.

50   Ibid., III.48.1.

51   Scorza Barcellona, 'Le fondazioni ecclesiastiche', 127. One exception may be the Diocletianic martyr Mocius, on whose day Constantinople, the New Rome, was formally inaugurated in 330. Constantine may have been responsible for the large extramural basilica there dedicated to the saint. If so, Mocius may owe his exceptional treatment to the fact that he was personally known to Constantine: T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA, 1981), 222; Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 255, 297.

52   Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, IV.58–61. Cf. C. Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 83 (1990): 51–61.

53   *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:176–8.

54   R. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, 5 vols (Città del Vaticano, 1937–77), 5:97.

55   *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:178–9; Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, *Shrine of St Peter*, 167–8.

The Life of Silvester's account of the arrangements for St Peter's monument at the Vatican was especially circumstantial. The tomb, together with the body which it contained, was enclosed in plates of copper which were then buried, the site being marked with a gold cross and marble and porphyry columns. Allegedly, Paul's body on the Via Ostiense was treated in an exactly similar fashion.[56] Much of this is wrong. Excavations at St Peter's have revealed that the Constantinian reordering of the apostle's *tropaeum* cannot have been as the Life of Silvester alleges.[57] Clearly, at the time that this source was compiled, in the early sixth century, it was not possible to see the monuments. The unreliability of the tradition relating to this supremely important subject, together with the evidence of the *Depositio martyrum* and of the numerous graffiti at the site, prompts us to take seriously the evidence that in the late third and early fourth century the bodies of the apostles (or at least of St Peter) were believed to rest *ad catacumbas*; they had perhaps been taken there as part of a concentration of Christian cult along the Via Appia, the Via Ostiense, and the connecting Via delle Sette Chiese.[58] For what it is worth, the *Liber Pontificalis* alleges that the bodies of the two apostles were still there in the time of Pope Damasus (366–84),[59] and Gregory the Great believed that they had rested there, albeit at a much earlier date.[60] Clearly too Constantine himself was not concerned about the presence or otherwise of physical remains in his apostolic church in Constantinople. It may well be therefore that, initially at least, his great basilica on the Vatican similarly enclosed a cenotaph, albeit one that in this case had actually once housed apostolic remains.[61]

The two apostolic basilicas just discussed were built over tombs open to the air. There is, however, another group of similar structures, attributed also to Constantine, but associated with subterranean burial in the catacombs and above all with the cult of local martyrs in Rome: the so-called 'funerary' (*cimiteriali*) or 'circus-form' (*circiformi*) basilicas of the city's immediate suburbs.[62] To date, six of these are known. They comprise an unnamed building on the Via Prenestina, that in which Pope Mark (d. 336) was buried on the Via Ardeatina, and the four basilicas which came to bear apostolic or martyrial dedications: SS Marcellinus and Peter on the Via Labicana; St Lawrence on the Via Tiburtina; St Agnes on the Via Nomentana; and the Holy Apostles on the Via Appia. All except those on the Via Appia and the Via Ardeatina were imperial

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56   *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:178–9.

57   Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, *Shrine of St Peter*, 200–205.

58   See above, at footnotes 43–44.

59   *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:212.

60   Gregory the Great, *Registrum*, ed. D. Norberg, Corpus Christianorum Series Latinorum 140–140A (Turnhout, 1982), IV.30.

61   For a different view, see Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, 1:57.

62   For a recent discussion, see U. Fusco, 'Sant'Agnese nel quadro delle basiliche circiformi di età costantiniana a Roma e nel suo contesto topografico: Lo stato degli studi', in M. Magnani Cianetti and C. Pavolini (eds), *La Basilica Costantiniana di Sant' Agnese. Lavori archeologici et di restauro* (Milan, 2004), 10–29. See also J. Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers. Recherches sur les catacombes romaines*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 264 (Rome, 1987), 250–63; M. Torelli, 'Le basiliche circiformi di Roma. Iconografia, funzione, simbolo', in G. Senna Chiesa and E.A. Arslan (eds), *Felix Temporis Reparatio. Atti del convegno archeologico internazionale 'Milano capitale dell'impero romano'* (Milan, 1992), 203–17.

foundations on the great imperial estates and gardens to the north-east of the city. Simple apsidal buildings with an inner nave enveloped in an ambulatory except on the eastern (entrance) side, they all date from the early to mid-fourth century, and three (SS Lawrence, Agnes, and Marcellinus and Peter) are expressly attributed by the Life of Silvester to Constantine. Their functions have been much discussed. They both enclose graves and (usually) are associated with important – mainly imperial – funerary annexes.[63] Those mentioned in the Life are said to have been richly endowed with imperial property and with the furnishings and vessels for cult.[64] Almost certainly, their functions were, as Krautheimer long ago emphasized, primarily concerned with burial – they served for the celebration of funerary rites, for the interments themselves, and for funerary banquets, *refrigeria*.[65]

Because these structures are expressly connected by the *Liber Pontificalis* with Roman martyrs, earlier studies have laid much emphasis on their functions as cult centres. They have been interpreted as large covered spaces where appropriate commemorations could be made on the martyr's feast day. Recently, however, it has been argued that the link with martyr cult was probably not a fundamental element in their construction. None of them was actually focused on a martyr tomb. The basilica of Pope Mark, for example, although next to a martyrial sanctuary, was not connected with it, while the anonymous basilica on the Via Prenestina was not dedicated to any known cult and may not have been a Christian building.[66] A third early member of the group, that on the Via Labicana, was built in the 320s as a funerary basilica to accompany the mausoleum of the emperor's mother, Helena.[67] The account of its foundation in the *Liber Pontificalis* suggests that this complex was the best endowed of the *basiliche circiformi*. Indeed, the furnishings, sacred vessels and landed endowments of the two main structures initially rivalled and perhaps indeed surpassed those of St Peter's.[68] The relative richness of the furnishings (175 pounds of gold as compared with 60) suggests that the empress's mausoleum was the primary element in the complex. The dedication to SS Marcellinus and Peter, first recorded in the Life of Silvester, that is to say in the sixth century, almost certainly came later. Significantly, the crypt which had housed their remains since their interment there *c.* 315 was not modified by Constantine.[69] It did not form the focus of

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63   The important exception is St Lawrence on the Via Tiburtina, but perhaps there too an imperial mausoleum awaits discovery. As Guyon notes, there 'la topographie est fort mal connue': *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 256. Cf. G.V. Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West* (Toronto, 2003), 56.

64   *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:170–201.

65   Krautheimer, 'Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium', 15–40; Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 259–60, pushes this argument even further.

66   Fusco, 'Sant'Agnese nel quadro delle basiliche circiformi', 14, quoting Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 261–3; H. Brandenburg, 'Die konstantinischen Kirchen in Rom', in O. Brehm and S. Klie (eds), *MOUSIKOS ANHR. Festschrift für Max Wegner zum 90 Geburtstag, Antiquitas* 3, Bd. 32 (Bonn, 1992), 27–58, at 50–51; Torelli, 'Le basiliche circiformi di Roma', 210–11.

67   For a comprehensive discussion of the Constantinian building, see Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 207–39.

68   *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:182–3. Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, ranks it fourth among Constantine's endowments after the Lateran, St Paul's and St Peter's: 239–50, at 249–50.

69   Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 362–3.

the basilica, although it lay extremely close to it and could presumably have been given a central position if desired. In fact, its location was such that when the cult of the two saints had achieved recognition, it proved extremely difficult to connect the structures. Everything therefore suggests that the builders of the basilica were not interested in Marcellinus and Peter. If proximity to martyrial remains played any part in the location of the Constantinian complex, the most important figure may have been Gorgonius, also interred in the cemetery on the Via Labicana, and unlike Marcellinus and Peter recorded in the Philocalian calendar.[70]

Two somewhat later *basiliche circiformi* are also associated with Roman martyrs. The buildings dedicated to St Agnes and St Lawrence are larger and of a similar very distinctive form. Almost certainly, therefore, they are more or less contemporaneous. Although the Life of Silvester ascribes the complex on the Via Nomentana to Constantine himself, the dedicatory inscription, recorded by Baronius in the late sixteenth century, and perhaps located on the triumphal arch preceding the apse within the basilica, makes it plain that the *templum* to which it refers was in fact founded not by the emperor but by his daughter Constantina, to whose splendid mausoleum it was attached.[71] Almost certainly the complex dates from after Constantine's death, perhaps around 350. The related basilica of St Lawrence, although similarly ascribed by the *Liber Pontificalis* to Constantine, may also therefore have been built after the emperor's death.[72]

The dedicatory inscription from the basilica on the Via Nomentana shows that it was certainly dedicated *ab initio* to St Agnes, 'felix virgo memorandi nominis';[73] it has also been suggested that a mysterious apsidal structure located at the east end of the central nave may have been a *memoria* protecting a *mensa* intended to receive offerings and for the celebration of Mass in honour of the martyr.[74] It is therefore reasonably clear that one of its major functions was to serve the local martyr cult. That the sister church on the Via Tiburtina had a similar role from its foundation is perhaps less well-established. The ascription of its dedication to Constantine depends largely upon the unreliable evidence of the Life of Silvester that the emperor caused steps to be built descending to and ascending from the burial chamber and greatly enriched the tomb itself and its immediate surroundings with marble and precious metals. But while the

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70 Ibid., 256–8, 261–3. Cf. Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, 1:30–31.

71 Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 1:16–17; *ICUR*, 8:no. 20752; *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:180–81; C. Carletti, 'L'epigrafia di apparato negli edifici di culto da Costantino al Gregorio Magno', in L. Pani Ermini and P. Siniscalco (eds), *La communità cristiana di Roma* (Città del Vaticano, 2000), 439–59, at 443–4.

72 This question might perhaps be resolved if excavation were to reveal the mausoleum almost certainly attached to the basilica: see above, n.63. For recent discussion, see Torelli, 'Le basiliche circiformi di Roma', 206–7; Fusco, 'Sant'Agnese nel quadro delle basiliche circiformi', 13; Brandenburg, 'Die konstantinischen Kirchen', 50–51. Cf. Krautheimer, 'Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium', 22; idem, *Corpus*, 2:33–5, 117–23.

73 'Happy virgin with a name worthy of remembrance'.

74 Krautheimer, 'Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium', 36. Cf. the recent comments by Fusco, 'Sant'Agnese nel quadro delle basiliche circiformi', 16–17; Carlo Pavolini, 'Sant'Agnese: Aspetti della documentazione storico-archeologica', in Magnani Cianetti and Pavolini (eds), *La Basilica Costantina di Sant'Agnese*, 133–5.

fact that there were early interventions at the tomb is confirmed by recent archaeology, their nature, date and purpose remain uncertain.[75]

Since both Agnes and Lawrence were in the Philocalian calendar, we can be sure that they were venerated in the earlier fourth century. Nevertheless, it is worth emphasizing that their role as the focus of worship only achieved architectural expression when they were incorporated in the new basilicas *ad corpus*, built by Pelagius II and Honorius I in the late sixth and early seventh centuries.[76] We should perhaps be wary of thinking that their choice as titulars in the fourth century necessarily reflected their high standing among Roman saints. The martyrial images on the contemporary gold-glass discs found in the catacombs indicate a more complex process. They suggest that in the later fourth century, after Peter and Paul, Agnes and Pope Sixtus II were the most popular saints, followed by Timotheus (presumably the martyr recorded in *Depositio* as buried on the Via Ostiense), and only then by Lawrence; Marcellinus and Peter do not apparently feature at all.[77] Agnes' cult perhaps received a mid-century boost from Pope Liberius, but clearly the most plausible long-term reason for her continuing popularity, and for the rise of Lawrence and later of Marcellinus and Peter, must be the association with great imperial monuments. Sixtus and Timotheus, who lacked such an association, were correspondingly eclipsed. Certainly, in the case of Marcellinus and Peter, as Guyon has pointed out, 'ce n'est pas pour ces martyrs qu'aurait été créée la basilique et c'est au contraire la basilique qui aurait créé les saints.'[78]

The most relic-centred of the *basiliche circiformi* was probably one of the latest and, perhaps unsurprisingly, had apostolic titulars. The *Basilica Apostolorum* appears to have been a rather different foundation from the other members of the group. In the first place (like the basilicas on the Vatican and the Via Ostiense), it seems to have been built over an acknowledged pre-existing cult site, the *memoria apostolorum ad catacumbas*; secondly, unlike them and unlike all the other *basiliche circiformi*, it does not seem to have been an imperial foundation. The *memoria* itself with its *mensa* was reconstructed in the early fourth century by a Christian patron, who built his own tomb on the southern side. Then, probably around 340, it was enclosed within a new basilica, at its focal point, albeit buried below the floor and inaccessible. This was not an imperial undertaking. Almost certainly it was the work of the personage buried in the large tomb attached to the middle of the south side.[79] At the time that the Philocalian calendar was compiled, the *memoria* seems to have been the principal location of the liturgical celebrations for the joint feast of SS Peter and Paul on 29 June. Presumably the *Basilica Apostolorum* was built with these observances in mind.[80]

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75   *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:181–2; Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 2:117–23; Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 261–2. But cf. Krautheimer, 'Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium', 27.

76   Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 1:18–38; 2:44–68.

77   C.R. Morey, *The Gold-Glass Collection of the Vatican Library*, ed. G. Ferrari (Città del Vaticano, 1959), 82; F. Zanchi, *Vetri paleocristiani a figure d'oro conservati in Italia*, Studi di antichità cristiane (Bologna, 1969).

78   Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 262.

79   Torelli, 'Le basiliche circiformi di Roma', 205; Krautheimer, 'Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium', 26.

80   For the date of the basilica and its functions, see esp. Torelli, 'Le basiliche circiformi di Roma', 205–6, accepted by Fusco, 'Sant'Agnese nel quadro delle basiliche circiformi', 13. Cf.

Conclusions: The Position in the Mid-Fourth Century

Apart from the Lateran basilica and baptistery and the basilica housing relics of the Holy Cross in the Sessorian palace, the earliest foci of liturgical cult in Rome can be divided into two groups – those associated with the apostles Peter and Paul and those associated with local martyrs buried in the catacombs. Two of the apostolic churches, St Paul's and the basilica on the Via Appia, were certainly the scene of formal liturgical commemoration of their patrons in the earlier fourth century. Situated in the south of the city, their status in imperial eyes is not entirely clear. One was not at an imperial foundation at all, while the nature of the endowment of the other at this time must remain doubtful. Constantine's main investment in this group was St Peter's, where he built a great basilica focused upon the crucial monument, destroying a cemetery in the process. Curiously, however, there is no evidence for St Peter's functioning as a centre of formal liturgical commemoration of the eponymous apostle until the late fourth century.[81]

The two basilicas with the strongest associations with martyr cult are both probably relatively late in date. They belong to the group of imperial foundations located on imperial land in or near suburban cemeteries and linked with important imperial mausolea. Although these burial complexes were thus primarily expressions of imperial status and patronage, they proved crucial to the success of the martyr cults which came to be associated with them. In the case of St Agnes on the Via Nomentana and probably St Lawrence on the Via Tiburtina, the founder plucked a local martyr from obscurity to become titular of the basilica. In the case of the basilica on the Via Labicana, there is no indication that the presence of graves subsequently identified as martyrial played any part in the location, design or nomenclature of the complex. Almost certainly, the association with the saints who subsequently became titulars developed later. The fact that those saints came to play a significant role in Roman liturgy is to be assigned to their links with the richly endowed complex honouring the remains of the empress-mother.[82] The experimental nature of cult in these churches is also suggested by the fact that after its foundation the basilica on the Via Tiburtina was the site of the commemoration of St Hippolytus as well as St Lawrence.[83]

All this indicates that – as might be expected – veneration for the local martyrs of Rome was only just beginning to achieve official expression in the mid-fourth century. An important figure here may have been Pope Julius I (337–52). According to the Liberian catalogue, a section of the *Chronograph* which can only have achieved its final form between 352 and 354, Julius built many churches, including what were presumably funerary basilicas on the Viae Aurelia, Flaminia and Portuense. Of these, one, that on the Via Aurelia *ad Callistum*, was probably dedicated to Pope Callistus I (217–22), who

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F. Tolotti, 'Le basiliche cimeteriali con deambulatorio del suburbio romano: Questione ancora aperta', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römischen Abteilung*, 89 (1982): 153–211. Cf. the numerous joint portraits of Peter and Paul on fourth-century gold-glass medallions: Morey, *Gold-Glass*, 82.

81   See below, 'The Role of Pope Damasus'.
82   See below, 'The Role of Pope Damasus'.
83   Brandenburg, 'Die konstantinischen Kirchen', 51; below.

was commemorated as a martyr in the Philocalian calendar. Another, that on the Via Flaminia, bore the name of Valentinus, who in contrast was ignored by the calendar, although certainly later regarded as a martyr.[84] Such developments brought with them a growing awareness among the Romans of the catacombs as places to visit. The mature Jerome, for example, remembered how in his youth, when he was being educated in the city, he was accustomed on Sundays to go round the tombs of the apostles and martyrs with his fellow students. But Jerome's early memories are of the catacombs in general as potentially full of holy sites; he writes of descending into darkness to enter crypts dug deep in the earth and lined on both sides with the bodies of the dead, rather than of devotions focused upon specific martyrial sites.[85] The figures of the martyrs themselves remained veiled in obscurity.

By the mid-fourth century, the nascent local martyr cults boosted by the great new basilicas had started to play a significant role in the strife-torn local politics of Rome. During his disputes with Constantius, Pope Liberius (352–66) had lived under the protection of the emperor's sister Constantina at the great imperial complex on the Via Nomentana; indeed, according to the *Liber Pontificalis* he had enriched the virgin martyr's tomb with marble adornments.[86] His successor, Damasus (366–84), achieved power only after the violent and bloody expulsion of a rival, and his pontificate remained troubled, although in the end he proved vigorous and adroit in manipulating and pacifying the vicious factionalism of his city. Promotion of Roman martyrs played a crucial role in his strategy.[87] Indeed, one of his earliest acts as pope was a violent ejection of his enemies from their base at St Agnes.[88] His pontificate was to prove a crucial turning point for martyr-cult in Rome.

The Role of Pope Damasus

Damasus was undoubtedly remembered for multiplying and publicizing the new cults in Rome. We are told, for example, by the *Liber Pontificalis* (admittedly not a contemporary source) that he 'searched for and discovered the bodies of many saints, and also proclaimed their [acts] in verses.'[89] Although the *Liber Pontificalis* gives him a Spanish origin, Damasus was in fact a Roman of Rome, born into the Roman clergy. His political difficulties gave him good reason to express his identification with his city and its inhabitants, and he made much of the Roman nature of the cults which he

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84   *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:vi–vii, 8.

85   'Dum essem Romae puer, et liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam cum caeteris eiusdem aetatis et propositi, diebus Dominicis sepulcra apostolorum et martyrum circuire, crebroque cryptas ingredi, quae in terrarum profunda defossae, ex utraque parte ingredientium per parietas habent corpora sepultorum et ita obscura sunt omnia […]': *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, XII.40 (Patrologia Latina XXV, col. 375).

86   *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:207–8.

87   On Damasus' pontificate, see Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, esp. 1:407–31, 461–8, 575–884; idem, 'Damase, évêque de Rome', in *Saecularia Damasiana*, 29–58; M. Sághy, '*Scinditur in partes populus*: Damasus and the Martyrs of Rome', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9:3 (2000), 273–87.

88   Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 13.

89   *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:212.

sponsored. As Saxer and more recently John Curran have pointed out, even where the martyr in question was of foreign origin Damasus was concerned to emphasize that his sufferings had rendered him Roman.[90] Although this activity had its genesis in the complexities of contemporary local politics, it associated martyrial status with Rome and being Roman and thereby took a major step towards making the imperial city the acknowledged primary centre of martyrial sanctity in the Latin West.

The main elements of Damasus' activity as impresario of the Christian cults of Rome are well known. Where he could, the pope established new churches, both within the city and (less certainly) at the martyrial sites in the cemeteries and catacombs outside the walls. Elsewhere, he set in train the reconstruction of the environment around or near a number of graves to provide better access and space for liturgical celebration. His principal method of appropriating existing *loca sancta* or proclaiming new ones was, however, the erection of the famous inscriptions exquisitely carved by his friend Philocalus.[91]

Before looking in more detail at Damasus' promotion of local martyr cult in Rome, we must first examine his treatment of the apostles. One of Damasus' most celebrated inscriptions is that erected *ad catacumbas* in which he commemorated the site where, he claimed, SS Peter and Paul had formerly dwelt together.[92] It is notable, however, that the pope used the past tense when referring to the apostles' presence there. Clearly by the time that he wrote St Peter's had asserted itself as the home of Peter's remains. That is consistent with Athanasius' account of an imperial offering made at the martyrium of the apostle in Liberius' time.[93] It also accords with a late fourth-century hymn ascribed to Ambrose of Milan which relates that the *passio* of the apostles was celebrated on a single day at three distinct sites.[94] Presumably by then the arrangement later recorded in the Bern version of the Hieronymian martyrology was already in operation, namely the commemoration of St Peter at the Vatican, St Paul on the Via Ostiense, and both *ad catacumbas*.[95] By then too, as Jerome noted, altars had been installed at the apostolic tombs.[96]

Damasus seems to have been active in some degree at all these cult sites. Nevertheless, the most significant intervention honouring the apostles during his pontificate, the opulent rebuilding of St Paul's on the Via Ostiense, was primarily an

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90 Saxer, 'Damase et le calendrier', 67–8; J. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital* (Oxford, 2000), 152–5. Cf. Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, 2:1554–5.

91 For a good summary, see Curran, *Pagan City*, 137–55.

92 Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 20; below.

93 Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos*, 37 (Patrologia Graeca XXV, col. 735).

94 'Apostolorum passio/ Diem sacravit saeculis/ Petri triumphum nobilem/ Pauli coronam praeferens./ … Tantae per urbis ambitum/ stipata tendunt agmina,/ Trinis celebratur viis/ Festum sacrorum martyrum': *Hymni Ambrosio Attributi*, no. 71 (Patrologia Latina XVII, col. 1253–4). Cf. Saxer, 'Damase et le calendrier', 71, 83–5.

95 *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* ['*Mart. Hieron.*'], ed. H. Delehaye and H. Quentin, Acta Sanctorum Novembris II, 2 (Brussels, 1931), 342–3.

96 'Male facit ergo Romanus episcopus, qui super mortuorum hominum Petri et Pauli, secundum nos ossa veneranda, secundum te vilem pulvisculum, offert Domino sacrificia, et tumulos eorum Christi arbitratur altaria?', *Contra Vigilantium*, 8 (Patrologia Latina XXIII, col. 361–2), quoted by Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, *Shrine of St Peter*, 214.

imperial initiative and was remembered as such; St Paul's was after all known as `the basilica of the three emperors'. While we have a reliable record of a Damasan poem honouring Paul, it derives entirely from the Pauline epistles and there is nothing to connect it with the basilica on the Via Ostiense.[97] At the Vatican, the position is less clear. Before Damasus' time, the guardian of the martyrium had defied Liberius by accepting a gift from the pope's imperial enemy Constantius; the gift, however, had ultimately been rejected.[98] Such tensions did not prevent Damasus from erecting an inscription which proudly proclaims his personal contribution. Nevertheless, the pope's intervention was limited to the draining of the Vatican hill and the establishment of a new baptistery rather than to any direct enhancement of the cult itself.[99] Almost certainly, in both these exceptionally richly endowed imperial foundations, with their probably far from subservient administrators, Damasus' freedom of action was limited. It was in surroundings far less grand, at the site *ad catacumbas*, where significantly there had been no imperial endowment, that he expressed his cultic programme most clearly. Here the bishop of Rome could assert his own control over the joint cult on which his episcopal authority was principally founded. Here the name of Damasus could be proprietorially evident in a way that would have been impossible at the Vatican or on the Via Ostiense. And here, most revealingly, the pope was primarily concerned to stress the Roman identity of the apostles. Although they had been sent from the East, he appropriated them as Rome's own citizens:

> Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives.
> Haec Damasus vestras referat nova sidera laudes. [100]

His personal investment in this area is apparent from his choice of a site between the Via Appia and the Via Ardeatina and just to the north of the *Basilica Apostolorum* for his own funerary church.[101]

Alongside the imperially sponsored apostolic cults, Damasus promoted the local saints of Rome, both by strengthening existing sites and developing new ones, spread widely throughout the city and the main cemeteries. At the cult site of St Agnes on the Via Nomentana, the scene of considerable conflict shortly after his election, he erected

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97   Curran, *Pagan City*, 146–7; Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5:97–8; G. Filippi, 'La basilica di San Paolo fuori le mura', in Donati (ed.), *Pietro e Paolo*, 59–62; Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 1. Prudentius unambiguously attributes the work to the emperor: *Peristephanon*, ed. and trans. H.J. Thomson, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 398 (Cambridge, MA, 1949–53), Bk XII, lines 45–50.

98   Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum*, 37. Cf., however, S. De Blaauw, who takes this as evidence of St Peter's complete dependence on the Vatican: *Cultus et Decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, Studi e Testi 355, 2 vols (Città del Vaticano, 1994), 2:454–5.

99   Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 4; Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, 520–21. Prudentius mentions the baptismal pool but does not ascribe it to Damasus: *Peristephanon*, Bk XII, lines 37–8, 43–4.

100   'Rome deserves more than any other to defend these as her own citizens. New stars, let Damasus render your praises in these verses': Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 20; Curran, *Pagan City*, 152.

101   *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:212; V. Fiocchi Nicolai, 'Gli spazi delle sepolture cristiane tra il III e il V secolo: Genesi e dinamica di una scelta insediativa', in Pani Ermini and Siniscalco (eds), *La communità cristiana di Roma*, 341–62, at 360 and figs 7 and 8.

an important inscription presenting himself as a supplicant under the protection of the *inclyta martyr*.[102] At that of St Lawrence on the Via Tiburtina he placed an epigram which refers to the saint's suffering torment by fire and also implies that he, the pope, was responsible for the erection there of *altaria*, or at least for their enrichment.[103] Nearby, he erected an inscription to, and renewed the *domus* of, the martyr Hippolytus, works perhaps completed by his successor Siricius which issued in the shrine and *mensa* of silver and marble and the pictorial decoration recorded by Prudentius.[104] Damasus may also have been responsible for the arrangements described by Prudentius at the end of the fourth century, whereby the crowded ceremonies which marked the feast day of Hippolytus (13 August) were accommodated in the imperial basilica rather than the cramped space at the tomb.[105] Within the city, on his own patrimony, he founded a *titulus* as a vow to Lawrence, who was also to become the titular of the church.[106]

Clearly Damasus did what he could to appropriate the cults associated with the great imperial basilicas, which at his accession formed the principal foyers for veneration of the Roman martyrs. Elsewhere, he promoted new cult churches in the catacombs. On the Via Salaria Vetus, for example, he was probably responsible for a subterranean basilica at the grave of St Hermes, and in the cemetery of Domitilla he may also have begun the interventions at the grave of SS Nereus and Achilleus, although the extant semi-subterranean basilica is generally thought to have been later.[107]

All these works represented the adoption of saints already commemorated in the Roman calendar. Damasus, however, went well beyond enlisting such relatively established allies in his quest to imprint his mark on Rome. Through his inscriptions he offered formal recognition to many new cults. All told, some thirty of his inscriptions celebrating the martyrs survive or have been recorded, of which eleven commemorate 77 saints (including the 62 unknown martyrs of the Via Salaria Nova) not mentioned in the Philocalian calendar. Erected at the cult sites themselves, they all carefully named Damasus, effectively interposing him as intermediary between the martyr and his clients.[108]

As examples of this entrepreneurial activity, we will focus on two important groups among the Damasan martyrs, those located in the cemeteries of the Two Laurels (*ad duos lauros*) and of Thrason.

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102 Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 37. Certainly there was an altar *ad corpus* by the end of the century, the resort of supplicants on the saint's feast day (10 August): *Vita Sanctae Melaniae Junioris, Analecta Bollandiana*, 13 (1889): 16–63, at 24; Krautheimer, 'Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium', 26–7

103 Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 33; Krautheimer, 'Mensa-Coemeterium-Martyrium', 15–16, 26–7.

104 Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, Bk XI, lines 125–44, 169–88.

105 Ibid., Bk XI, lines 189–234.

106 San Lorenzo in Damaso: Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, 464–5; Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 58; *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:212; Thacker, 'Martyr Cult', 51.

107 Curran, *Pagan City*, 147; Ph. Pergola, 'Nereus et Achilleus martyres: L'intervention de Damase à Domitilla', in *Saecularia Damasiana*, 203–24; Krautherimer, *Corpus*, 1:195–208, esp. 207; Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, nos. 8, 48.

108 Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, nos. 6, 7, 8, 15, 21, 28, 31, 43, 44, 45, 59.

The Cemetery of the Two Laurels

The cemetery *Ad duos lauros* lay to the east of the city on the Via Labicana and was the site of the basilica associated with the mausoleum of the Emperor Constantine's mother Helena, already discussed. At the time that the complex was founded, the cemetery contained the tomb of a martyr already commemorated in the Roman calendar – the obscure Gorgonius. He, however, was soon to be eclipsed by two other equally obscure saints, Marcellinus and Peter, the eventual titulars of the basilica. Although there had been no imperial intervention at the saints' *loculus* when the basilica was established, between the 330s and *c.* 360 there were significant changes: the *cubiculum* was enlarged and fitted out with staircases leading in and out, and thereafter there was a marked increase in burials around the tombs.[109] These developments either post-dated the compilation of the Philocalian calendar or were not sufficiently significant to ensure that the saints were included in it.

With Damasus things were much changed. The eastern wall of the *cubiculum* and the tombs which it enclosed were remodelled and decorated in marble, a process evidently regarded as of high importance, since it involved the sacrifice of adjacent burials. The tombs themselves were framed with an inscribed arch supported by columns, above which was placed Damasus' poem commemorating the saints. Immediately to the north of the arch the pope built a *mensa*, the function of which was not clear but whose importance is reflected in the fact that it too involved the destruction of earlier burials. All this is paralleled elsewhere. In particular, a recent investigation of the *spelunca magna* in the cemetery of Praetextatus has shown that there the tomb of St Januarius was adorned in a very similar manner, with an arch supported by porphyry columns of almost identical dimensions to that at the Via Labicana. The arch moreover was created by cutting out the tufa of the wall enclosing the tomb in utter disregard of the burials it contained.[110]

Damasus clearly focused upon the tombs themselves, which had hitherto received no especial distinguishing adornment. His celebrated inscription was part of this process. In it, he recorded that as a boy he had himself heard the tale of the saints' martyrdom from the lips of their executioner (*percussor*). They had been taken out into the midst of thorn bushes and forced to dig their own grave before they were beheaded, and there they lay hidden until a certain Lucilla brought them to their burial place in the cemetery on the Via Labicana.[111] This sounds like a classic *inventio*, such as those soon to be masterminded by Ambrose in Milan and Bologna.[112] Marcellinus and Peter, it seems, were largely the creation of Damasus himself. At the very least we may infer that, while the bodies may have been honoured (perhaps privately) before his time, Damasus installed the apparatus of formal public liturgical cult.[113]

109 Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 365–81.

110 Ibid., 381–97; idem, 'L'oeuvre de Damase dans le cimetière "aux deux lauriers" sur la Via Labicana', in *Saecularia Damasiana*, 225–58.

111 Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 28.

112 See my recent discussion in '*Loca Sanctorum*: The Significance of Place', in Thacker and Sharpe (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches*, 5–12.

113 Cf the absence of Peter and Marcellinus from among the saints commemorated on the cemeterial gold-glass medallions of the later fourth century.

In promoting Marcellinus and Peter with whom he claimed an especial personal connexion, Damasus was stamping his presence on a major imperial complex, and one at which, unlike St Peter's, he was able to intervene at the cult-site itself. Two other inscriptions provide further evidence of the pope's particular interest in the complex. One was to another new martyr, Tiburtius, who by the seventh century at least rested above ground in an oratory on the north side of the church.[114] The other was to the already-established Gorgonius in his subterranean cavern. Interestingly, the inscription to Gorgonius records that he had other equally holy neighbours:

> inveniet vicina in sede habitare beatos.[115]

The implication that Damasus had chosen to commemorate only a selection of the martyrs resting in the cemetery suggests he was intending further entrepreneurial activity to strengthen the Church's presence at this important site. Almost certainly he or one of his immediate successors succeeded, for the Hieronymian Martyrology records a further forty martyrs on 13 January and yet another group of thirty on 22 December. That corresponds with notices in the seventh-century *Notitia Ecclesiarum* in its entry relating to the underground sites at the basilica (by then known as the church of St Helena). After Gorgonius in his cavern, it records forty martyrs 'in an inner cavern' (*in interiore spelunca*), a further thirty more 'in altero', and the Four Crowned Martyrs in a third.[116] By then the cemetery was indeed reputed to house a countless host of saints.[117]

The Cemetery of Thrason

An even larger grouping of Damasan inscriptions than that *ad duos lauros* was located at the cemetery of Thrason on the Via Salaria Nova. There Damasus memorialized the martyr Saturninus, already in the Philocalian calendar.[118] And there he also made some of his most notable and revealing additions to the sanctoral, erecting inscriptions to a whole group of new martyrs: Chrysanthus and Daria,[119] Maurus,[120] and the Sixty-Two Unnamed.[121] An inscription to all the martyrs venerated at the site in which the pope again stressed their anonymity supplemented these: 'Time', he proclaimed 'was not able to preserve their name or their number.'[122] Although the record is confused,

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114 Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 31; Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:83.

115 '[Whosoever comes] should find saints dwelling in a place nearby'.

116 Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 32; Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:83.; *Mart. Hieron.*, 38–9, 661.

117 'ibi et in cryptis sub terra innumera martyrum multitudo sepulta iacet': Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:113.

118 Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 46.

119 Ibid., no. 45.

120 Ibid., no. 44.

121 Ibid., no. 43.

122 Ibid, no. 42: 'nomina nec numerum potuit retinere vestustas', quoted by Curran, *Pagan City*, 149. Cf. *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 16, in which Damasus refers to the crowding of the

it seems likely that originally all these saints shared the same feast day: 29 November, that of Saturninus as recorded in the calendar of 354. According to the Hieronymian Martyrology, the Roman elements of which were probably compiled in the earlier fifth century, all these martyrs were venerated in a basilica dedicated to Chrysanthus and Daria, although one of the seventh-century itineraries refers to two churches – one dedicated to Chrysanthus and Daria, the other to Saturninus.[123] The tomb of Chrysanthus and Daria seems to have lain beside that of the anonymous martyrs, separated from it by a wall.[124] The Via Salaria Nova and its cemeteries suffered especially during the Gothic Wars, and the impact of these cults is now obscure. However, they undoubtedly achieved considerable contemporary éclat. Prudentius in the early fifth century was clearly impressed by the number and anonymity of the Sixty-Two.[125]

Damasus' inscriptions are very rarely informative, and the great French scholar Duchesne has accused him of 'blotting out' the local martyrial traditions of Rome. Others have considered that he was confronted by an impossible array of opportunities, that he had to choose among innumerable martyr sites and responded by restricting himself to only the most prominent in the more important cemeteries.[126] But it is permissible to read the evidence in quite another way. Everything suggests that in the late fourth century almost nothing was known of the Roman martyrs. Damasus in fact had very little to work with; his saints have no history and often no name. Far from blotting out, or selecting from a countless multitude, he was adding and elaborating, seriously enriching Rome's martyrial traditions by providing the city with saints and feast days that had never before existed or had been remembered so dimly that they had to be reinvented. In this activity, Damasus' primary concern was not, as has recently been suggested, to promote the clergy as martyrs.[127] He was more concerned to offer incontrovertible evidence that the Roman civic community as a whole had suffered for the faith. All around the city lay innumerable unacknowledged martyrs – all now implicitly within the pope's sphere of action, as the impresario of their cults. Damasus' patronage of the martyrs enhanced the papal presence throughout the city and gave new emphasis to Rome as a Christian capital. His activities placed the tomb and associated altar or *mensa* at the centre of cult. Henceforth Christian devotion would focus as much upon the dark subterranean world of the catacombs as upon the opulent surface spaces of the imperial basilicas.

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entire cemetery of Callistus with the bodies of saints – the companions of Pope Sixtus, the numerous servants of Rome's Christian altars, the holy confessors from Greece, the chaste, both young and old.

123 *Mart. Hieron.*, 626–7; Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:76. Cf. Saxer, 'Damase et le calendrier', 85–6.

124 Gregory of Tours, *In gloria martyrum*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SRM 1 (Hannover, 1885), cap. 37. Cf. op. cit., cap. 82.

125 See below, 'The Impact: Prudentius'.

126 Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 410–15.

127 Sághy, '*Scinditur in partes populus*', 278, 286–7.

The Impact: Prudentius

Damasus' implicit contention that the catacombs contained innumerable unnamed martyrs was taken up by his immediate successors, establishing a pattern of invention and elaboration, the liturgical fruits of which became evident in the greatly enlarged number of entries relating to Rome in the Hieronymian Martyrology.[128] Jerome himself, who admired Damasus's epigrams,[129] noted the more concrete results of the pope's work. The city of Rome, he claimed in a letter written in 403, was 'stirred to its depths and the people pour past their half-ruined [pagan] shrines to visit the tombs of the saints.'[130] The impact of the new developments upon the Romans themselves is confirmed by the number of burials *ad sanctos* within the catacombs (despite the decline in their overall use) and more especially by burial within or near the great extramural funerary basilicas. The early fifth-century popes themselves set an example.[131]

Damasus' activities left their impact on a world far wider than Rome itself. In his *Liber Peristephanon*, written about 400, the Spanish poet and administrator Prudentius characterized Rome as the home of innumerable martyrs, whose names and deeds, published in numerous inscriptions and epitaphs, were just becoming known in his native land. He invokes, for example, St Lawrence:

> Blessed the inhabitant of the city who is near enough to venerate you and the resting-place of your bones! … It is hardly [even] known [among us] by rumour how full of entombed saints Rome is, how richly the city's soil flourishes with holy tombs.[132]

Damasus had won the day. For Prudentius the martyrs of Rome were not simply those whose graves were identified and who were venerated in the liturgy, but countless other unknowns enclosed in mute marble. He expressly mentions the unknown Sixty of the Via Salaria (presumably Damasus' Sixty-Two), buried under one massive stone:

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128 Saxer, 'L'utilisation par la liturgie', 932–6.

129 'Damasus, Romanae urbis episcopus, elegans in versibus componendis, ingenium habuit, multaque et brevia metro edidit, et prope octogenarius sub Theodosio principe mortuus est': Jerome, *De viris illustribus* (Patrologia Latina XXIII), cap. 103, col. 701.

130 'Movetur urbs sedibus suis, et inundans populus ante delubra semiruta, currit ad martyrum tumulos': Jerome, *Epistolae* (Patrologia Latina XXII) no. 107, cap. 1, col. 867. Cf. the earlier (387 CE) *Commentarii in Epistolam ad Galatas* (Patrologia Latina XXVI), II, col. 381, where Jerome praises the faith of the Roman *plebs*, especially their zeal in frequenting the tombs of the martyrs.

131 V. Fiocchi Nicolai, 'L'organizzazione dello spazio funerario', in Pani Ermini (ed.), *Christiana Loca*, 43–58, esp. 52–4; Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 265–359, esp. 318; *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:223, 228, 235.

132 Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, Bk II, lines 530–32, 541–4: 'Beatus urbis incola,/ qui te ac tuorum comminus/ sedem celebrat ossuum/…vix fama nota est, abditis/ quam plena sanctis Roma sit,/ quam dives urbanum solum/ sacris sepulcris floreat.'

sexaginta illic defossas mole sub una
reliquias memini me didicisse hominum,
quorum solus habet conperta vocabula Christus,
utpote quos propriae iunxit amicitiae.[133]

They formed the type and opened the way to the belief that the catacombs were stuffed with countless forgotten martyrs. Prudentius regarded Rome as the primary abode of sanctity. Among his cast of predominantly Spanish martyrs, he includes a goodly quota of Roman saints: Peter and Paul, Lawrence, Hippolytus, and Agnes (all, be it noted, in the 354 calendar).[134] Interestingly, despite his connections with the imperial court he made no mention of the activities of Ambrose at Milan. As Michael Roberts has pointed out, it was Rome which provided him with the standard to which his local martyrs could be compared.[135] Rome had established itself as a pilgrimage centre. Although undoubtedly the great majority of visitors to the martyrial sites were from the city, after Damasus they were joined by numbers of distinguished strangers.[136]

Ambrose and the Cult of Relics

Prudentius was a member of an educated élite with a nostalgia for the glories of ancient Rome. He was only too willing to welcome the imperial city as a focus for the veneration of the new heroes of the new Christian empire.[137] Others, however, responded rather differently to Damasus' activities. The pope's near contemporary, Ambrose, bishop of Milan, then imperial capital in the West, masterminded a campaign to enhance his own city's deposit of sanctity. In so doing, he became the most flamboyant of the martyrs' promoters in the Latin West.[138] Quite brazen in his expressed desire to remedy Milan's lack of martyrs, his first moves were to import relics, especially apostolic relics, from the East. In 386, however, he went further with his celebrated *inventio* (literally, one is tempted to think, an invention) of the bloody remains of the hitherto unknown martyrs Protasius and Gervasius. Although in some ways this may well have been comparable with the activities of Damasus in Rome, it was used to promote Milan and its local saints much more aggressively. For Ambrose had fully absorbed the eastern practice of relic distribution. He and his circle spread abroad small fragments of bone or blood-soaked dust, claiming that they encapsulated the personality of the saints and were as capable of working wonders as the bodies in the tomb. The cult of Protasius and Gervasius was rapidly diffused among Ambrose's followers by this means, and relics were soon installed in northern Italy at Brescia and Fundi and in Gaul at Rouen, Vienne and Tours.

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133 'I remember finding that the remains of sixty persons were buried under one massive stone, whose names Christ alone knows, since he added them to the company of his friends': Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, Bk XI, lines 13–16.

134 Ibid., Bks II, XI, XII, XIV.

135 M. Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The* Liber Peristephanon *of Prudentius* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1993), 16, 36.

136 See, for example, Paulinus of Nola: below. Cf. Fiocchi Nicolai, '*Sacra martyrum loca circuire*', 222.

137 A.-M. Palmer, *Prudentius on the Martyrs* (Oxford, 1989), 29–30, 109–10, 121–41.

138 For a detailed discussion of what follows, see Thacker, 'Significance of Place', 5–12.

In Rome itself, Pope Innocent I (401–17) established an important and well-endowed basilica and *titulus* in honour of the saints, founded in accordance with the bequest of a rich female citizen called Vestina.[139] All this is testimony partly to the personality of Ambrose and to the prestige of Milan as the imperial capital. Even more significantly, however, it testifies to the effectiveness of the new taste for distributing relics.

Ambrose had taken his role of martyrial impresario much further than Damasus; we must question now whether his activities in turn had an impact in Rome. That similar attitudes to corporeal relics probably prevailed in the Eternal City is suggested by some paintings adorning the shrine of the martyr Hippolytus and seen by Prudentius around 400 CE. Clearly inspired by the death of the classical hero, Hippolytus, according to Prudentius they illustrated the martyrdom of the saint, dragged to his death tied to runaway wild horses; for our purposes, however, the most interesting imagery depicted his disciples, who not only collected the shattered flesh but used cloths and sponges to gather up the blood-soaked sand or to wipe clean the bespattered vegetation.[140] Such a death thus recorded provided the popes with a perfect pretext to emulate the bloody relics of Milan. Nothing in the written record, however, suggests that they took advantage of it. It is true that the great collection of sacred treasure from the papal chapel of St Lawrence in the Lateran, in existence by the mid-eighth century and later known as the Sancta Sanctorum, appears to have included many fragmentary corporeal relics of the kind favoured by Ambrose and his circle. According to a seventeenth-century schedule, dependent on earlier sources (mostly lost), the treasure contained reliquaries stuffed with pieces of cloth or sponge soaked with martyrs' blood, small pieces of bone, and ashes.[141] However, the date at which they were acquired is unknown and, almost certainly, they came into papal hands largely after the mid-eighth century. The earliest authenticating tags, which probably date from the sixth or seventh century, relate to relics of Christ and other biblical characters or to angelic figures rather than martyrs.[142] Only one or two items, small pieces of cloth apparently stained with blood and worn away by the kisses of the faithful, are almost certainly early; even in these instances, however, there is no evidence that they were created in Rome and most probably they were obtained from the East, like the well-recorded apostolic relics with which Ambrose endowed his *Basilica Apostolorum* in 386.[143]

It has been assumed that from a very early date, instead of such essentially corporeal fragmentary relics, the popes developed a wholly non-corporeal form of contact relic, manufactured from incubating small strips of cloth on the sacred tomb, of the kind termed *brandea* in late sixth-century sources.[144] The only textual evidence to support this view is, however, a letter of Gregory the Great which relates that Leo I (440–61) created *brandea* for some Greek clients, and in the face of their scepticism cut into them causing them to bleed – an anecdote that seems to reflect the cultic preoccupations of the late

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139 The *Titulus Vestinae*, later San Vitale: *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:220–22.

140 Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, Bk XI, lines 125–44; Palmer, *Prudemtius*, 188–93, 248–50.

141 De Blaauw, *Cultus et Décor*, 1:166–7; Ph. Lauer, *Le trésor du Sancta Sanctorum*, Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres XV (Paris, 1906).

142 Lauer, *Le trésor*, 34–6, 125–35.

143 W.F. Volbach, *I tessuti del Museo Sacro Vaticano* (Città del Vaticano, 1942), 15–17, 24.

144 See, for example, Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, 2:1556–7.

sixth century rather than the mid-fifth.[145] Even so, some objects have been taken to imply the early existence of apostolic *brandea*. One such is the silver casket, adorned with an image of Christ among the apostles (with Peter and Paul very prominent among them), excavated in 1578 from the altar of San Nazaro (originally Ambrose's *Basilica Apostolorum*). Said to have contained strips of cloth, it has therefore been supposed to be a gift of contact relics, sent by Pope Damasus to form an initial deposit in Ambrose's new basilica.[146] It is, of course, not impossible that we have here an early papal experiment for a very important client, repeated rarely if at all in the succeeding century. On the other hand, if Ambrose did have relics of the Roman apostles in his new basilica he kept very quiet about them, unlike his well-advertised acquisition of eastern relics for the same basilica in 386. His distributions to his immediate circle – to Victricius of Rouen, Gaudentius of Brescia and Paulinus of Nola – exhibit a remarkable consistency. They all involve relics of eastern apostles or quasi-apostles – Thomas, John the Baptist, Luke – and of the subjects of his own *inventiones*. There is no hint of any Roman saint or apostle.[147] In addition, as we have seen, the relics favoured by this circle were on the whole corporeal – or at least quasi-corporeal in the sense that they comprised some medium soaked in blood. There is no evidence that strictly non-corporeal *brandea* would have been regarded as genuine secondary relics by Ambrose and his circle in the 380s.

Another object that has been associated with Roman contact relics is the opulent ivory casket found under a reliquary altar in the church of St Hermagoras of Samagher near Pola in Istria. It has been argued that the scenes with which sides and lid were adorned all derive from cult structures and mosaics in the three greatest churches of fifth-century Rome: the Lateran, St Peter's, and St Paul's on the Via Ostiense. At the very least it is clear that three of the five scenes record events in the life of a couple visiting sacred locations. The back of the casket shows them praying at the *confessio* of St Peter's, while the two sides show the baptism of their infant in the Lateran baptistery, and a third the consecration of the infant in another church, possibly St Paul's. The cover and the front are less personal – they show respectively the *Traditio legis* and the Lamb of God with the celestial throne flanked by Peter, Paul, and other apostles. The most recent analysis interprets the casket as made in Rome about 440 to contain contact relics from the city's *loca sancta*.[148] If so, it was clearly privately commissioned by a wealthy collector. To my mind, however, an earlier suggestion that it was made for commemorative purposes, like the marriage casket in the Esquiline treasure, remains equally plausible.[149]

Where there are indisputably early instances of the Roman authorities making a gift of portable relics, they relate to highly important figures and are probably not *brandea*. The objects involved were very probably formed from the chains worn by the

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145 Gregory the Great, *Registrum*, IV.30. Cf. A.T. Thacker, 'Memorialising Gregory the Great: The Origin and Transmission of a Papal Cult', *Early Medieval Europe*, 7:1 (1998): 59–84, at 63–7.

146 N.B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan* (Berkeley, 1994), 231–2; P.L. Zovatto, 'L'urnetta argentea di San Ambrogio nell' ambito della "Rinascenza Teodosiana"', *Critica d'Arte*, nuova serie III, fasc. 13–18 (1956): 2–12. Cf. M. Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed* (Oxford, 1999), 157, 201.

147 Thacker, 'Significance of Place', 7.

148 T. Buddensieg, 'Le coffret en ivoire de Pola, Saint-Pierre at le Latran', *Cahiers Archéologiques. Fin de l'antiquité et moyen âge*, 10 (1959): 157–201.

149 Made by A. Gnirs, cited ibid., 188.

apostles during their imprisonment in Rome. Similar inanimate objects, the nails used in the saints' martyrdom, were among the items which accompanied the invention of SS Agricola and Vitalis in Bologna in 393.[150] As we shall see, the apostolic chains may emerge in Rome at much the same time. The earliest securely dated record of their existence, however, comes from the second or third decade of the fifth century, and the location is not the imperial city but Spoleto, in the church of St Peter erected by Bishop Achilleus, a protégé of the Emperor Honorius. Achilleus adorned his church with a group of inscriptions, in which he proudly proclaimed that there the cross and the chains of Peter held sway and Peter was as fully present as in Rome itself.[151] We cannot of course be certain that these Petrine relics came from Rome,[152] but the fact that a Roman church, the *Basilica Apostolorum* rebuilt by Sixtus III in the 430s, had by 500 became known as St Peter ad vincula, St Peter in Chains, rather suggests that they did.[153]

Another early recipient of the chains may have been Theodosius' prefect of the East, Rufinus Flavius. Around 390, Rufinus established an important martyrium in Chalcedon, dedicated to SS Peter and Paul and known as the Apostoleion, to house relics of the two apostles which he had obtained in Rome, probably when he accompanied Theodosius on his state visit to the city in 389.[154]We do not know what these relics were, but they were clearly important. There is no evidence that they were *brandea*, and at this early date it is perhaps more likely that they derived from apostolic chains. At all events, whatever their provenance, relics of this nature seem by the mid-fifth century to have found a permanent home in Sixtus III's Basilica Apostolorum and to have been commemorated there in a mosaic inscription as 'iron more precious than gold'.[155]

By the early sixth century, Rome possessed two distinct sets of such chains, one for each of the apostles, both envisaged as a source of relics for another important client, the Emperor Justinian. Although eventually the Petrine chains were to become more famous, in Gregory the Great's time filings from those of Paul alone still had sufficient

150 Thacker, 'Significance of Place', 5; Ambrose, *Exhortatio Virginitatis*, Patrologia Latina 16, cols 351–4.

151 De Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, 2:1, nos. 79–81, p. 113; H. Grisar, 'Della insigne tradizione romana intorno alla catena di San Pietro nella basilica Eudossiana', *Civiltà Cattolica*, 47 (1898): 205–21, at 211–13.

152 An eighth-century homiliary refers to a tradition that there were chains from both Rome and Jerusalem: Grisar, 'Della insigne tradizione', 219.

153 Ibid. 205–11; Krauthheimer, *Corpus*, 3:178–231; *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:261; Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:125; Otto Guenther (ed.), *Epistulae Imperatorum Pontificium Aliorum, Avellana quae dicitur Collectio*, CSEL 35, 2 vols (Vienna, 1895–98), nos. 21–2, 29, 32, pp. 68–9, 75, 79. For further discussion of this church and the cult of the chains, see Thacker, 'Martyr Cult', 47–8.

154 Callinicos, *Vie d'Hypatie*, ed. G.J.M. Bartelinck, Sources chrétiennes 177 (Paris, 1971), 98–9; Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, VIII.17, trans. C.D. Hartranft, Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ser. II, 2 (New York, 1890); J. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D. 364–425* (Oxford, 1975), 134–6, 227–8.

155 Krauthheimer, *Corpus*, 3:178–231; Thacker, 'Martyr Cult', 47–8.

status to be offered to the Empress Constantina.[156] By then clearly the pope would only part with minute abraded particles, but the highly valued relics which Rufinus acquired in 389 may have been more substantial – perhaps an entire link or links.

I would argue, then, that in fact there are no convincing examples of the Roman authorities distributing quasi-corporeal relics or the contact relics known as *brandea* before the late fifth or early sixth century. In fact, there is little sign that they distributed relics at all, except to one or two very important imperial protégés, who may have been favoured with inanimate relics in the form of links from the apostolic chains. Rome remained conservative, reluctant to disturb the holy dead. It must be significant that at least until the eclipse of Milan in the later fifth century, the cult of Protasius and Gervasius spread more widely in the Christian West than that of any Roman martyr and even perhaps of the apostles themselves.[157] As we shall see, when Rome finally did follow the example of Milan and move into relic creation on a large scale, it was clear that the objects it dispensed were created solely from inanimate matter. For recipients accustomed to corporeal relics, however, such gifts lacked glamour and it was to reinforce their appeal that Gregory confected the story to show that *brandea* could bleed.

The Development of the Petrine Cult

The equality of the two apostolic founders of the Roman church, implicit in the cult site *ad catacumbas* and in the iconography of Roman sarcophagi of the early fourth century, reached its ultimate physical expression in the 390s with the magnificent rebuilding of St Paul's on the Via Ostiense to rival the basilica on the Vatican. But already by the early fifth century there are signs that the Petrine cult enjoyed especial esteem. Some insight into the importance which the feast of 29 June, and the cult of St Peter in particular, had acquired by the early fifth century is provided by the correspondence of Paulinus of Nola. Born in 355, Paulinus was a devotee of the two Roman apostles, and in maturity was in the habit of travelling to Rome to pay his respects on 29 June. Although he does not name the main theatre of liturgical celebration, he does on one occasion tell us that he spent part of his trip paying his respects to the *sacrae memoriae* of the apostles and martyrs.[158] From another letter we learn something of the impression made by St Peter's and the use to which it was put at this time. Writing to the rich aristocrat Pammachius, shortly after the death of the latter's wife, Paulinus mentions the huge size of the basilica, its venerable colonnade, its gleaming atrium with its fountain, and most importantly – the focus of the whole complex – the 'apostolic seat' (*apostolicum solium*), 'glittering from afar'. Pammachius is praised for his gifts to the basilica and for the great funeral feast for his wife, which he held there. Paulinus conjures up the vast crowds thronging the basilica, the tables laden with abundant fare, and his friend's generosity to the dense crowds of the needy. Peter himself was expressly invoked at the funeral

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156 *Collectio Avellana*, ed. Guenther, no. 218, p. 680; Gregory the Great, *Registrum*, IV.30; XIII.43.

157 Thacker, 'Significance of Place', 9–10.

158 Paulinus of Nola, *Epistulae*, ed. G. de Hartel, CSEL 29 (Vienna, 1894), Epist. 17, p. 125. Cf. Epist. 20, 43.

mass.[159] The Petrine cult – by then clearly flourishing in the Vatican basilica – obviously provided a very different experience from the more private and austere environment of the catacombs. So conspicuous indeed was the feasting at the Vatican that it attracted criticism from distinguished quarters. In 395, Augustine noted that although initially such practices in honour of the martyrs had been permitted to win over the heathen, now, with the church securely established, they were no longer appropriate. The 'instances of daily drunkenness' (*cotidianae vinulentiae … exempla*) in the basilica of St Peter had often been forbidden, but had not been suppressed because the place was 'remote from the bishop's presence' (*remotus … ab episcope conversatione*).[160] It looks then as if Pope Siricius (384–99), like most probably his predecessor Damasus, had difficulty in bringing the Vatican under his control.

The cult site *ad catacumbas* disappears from the record in the earlier fifth century, and by the seventh the *Basilica Apostolorum* had been reinvented as the church of St Sebastian.[161] In the fifth century, the Lateran and its exceptionally well-endowed baptistery were clearly at the centre of papal interest. Leo I, for example, associated the baptistery with SS Peter and Paul, invoked as fathers of the city, in effect a replacement for Romulus and Remus.[162] Moreover, as Gillian Mackie has pointed out, the three chapels established there by Leo's successor, Hilarus (461–68) 'head the record of his patronage' and were exceptionally lavishly endowed. Almost certainly they contained relics quite as precious as those at the Vatican: corporeal relics of John the Baptist (blood, ashes, hair, teeth), the tunic of John the Evangelist and manna that had issued from his body in the grave, and a relic of the Cross itself.[163] It was only perhaps in the troubled pontificate of Symmachus (498–514), when the pope was for a while practically confined to the Vatican, that St Peter's emerged as the rival of the Lateran in liturgy and cult. Significantly, it was then that St Peter's was provided with a basilica dedicated to Peter's brother, the apostle Andrew, and with a similar group of chapels in the baptistery Damasus had established there.[164]

Relic Distribution at Rome

This period of change left its imprint on another development of the early sixth century: Rome's emergence as a leading distributor of holy relics *per omnem terram*. Whatever the practice earlier, it is only under Popes Symmachus (498–514) and Hormisdas (514–23) that such activity definitively enters the record. Almost certainly it is to be associated

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159 Ibid., Epist. 13, pp. 92–5: 'Primo de apostoli veneratione, cuius fidem ac memoriam tam multiplicata opulentiae celebrasti, sacras primum hostias, casta libamina cum acceptissima ipsius commemoratione deo deferens…'.

160 Augustine, *Epistulae I–XXX*, ed. Al. Goldbacher, CSEL 30.1 (Vienna, 1895), Ep. XXIX. 9–10 (pp. 119–20).

161 Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:62, 85, 111.

162 V. Grossi, 'La cristianizzaione del tempo a Roma. Dal culto cristiano all'anno liturgico', in Pani Ermini and Siniscalco (eds), *La comunità cristiana di Roma*, 171–91, at 187; Leo I, *Tractatus septem et nonaginta*, ed. A. Chavasse, CCSL 138A (Turnhout, 1973), no. 82, p. 508.

163 Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels*, 195–211; *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:242–3.

164 Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels*, 72, 195, 235–6; *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:261–2.

with the popes' difficulties both external and internal: the problems with the emperor and patriarch (the Acacian schism) and the struggle for power in Rome (the Lawrentian schism).[165] The relics sought and distributed derived from Rome's principal patrons, the two apostles (above all St Peter) and St Lawrence. They were not corporeal. Those which Bishop Avitus of Vienne requested on behalf of his Burgundian masters comprised dust and oil sanctified by association with holy tombs, almost certainly primarily dust which had been in contact with the Petrine monument itself or oil derived from the lamps which burned before it.[166] Those which Pope Hormisdas' legates at Constantinople sought on behalf of the Byzantine emperor were envisaged primarily as *sanctuaria*, formed from contact with the apostolic monuments, *ad secundam cataractam*.[167] They also included, however, requests for relics formed from incontrovertibly inanimate objects, such as filings from the chains of Peter and Paul and the gridiron of St Lawrence, thereby setting an example to be much followed in the late sixth century. Significantly, Sixtus' *Basilica Apostolorum* is defined in the record as 'a vincula sancti Petri' at precisely this period.[168]

The identification in Rome of the gridiron on which Lawrence was supposedly roasted to death provided a ready source of relics and may well explain the saint's growing popularity in the later fifth and sixth centuries.[169] The ramifications of this process are illustrated by a find from the early, long ruined, church of St Lawrence (Lovre), Lovreçina, on the island of Braç (Brattia) just off-shore from the important city of Salona (Croatia). The *confessio* beneath the altar of this church has yielded a stone reliquary casket adorned with crosses and dating from the sixth century.[170] Presumably, the casket contained a relic of St Lawrence obtained either directly from Rome or from the emperor, who elevated Salona to archiepiscopal status, probably in the 520s.[171] In Milan, the splendid late fourth-century church originally known as the Portiana and later as San Lorenzo sheltered an active cult of St Lawrence.[172] Undoubtedly, in place by the late sixth century, it may well have been in place for a hundred years or more; one plausible sponsor is Bishop Lawrence I (489–510/12), who certainly added to the

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165 It is interesting, for example, that the priest of the church which was to supply the pope with Petrine relics derived from the apostle's chains (see below) was slain by Symmachus' Lawrentian opponents in 501/502: *Liber Pontificalis*, I: 261.

166 Avitus, *Opera*, ed. R. Peiper, MGH, Auctores antiquissimi (Berlin, 1883), Epistulae 8, 29.

167 Guenther (ed.), *Collectio Avellana*, no. 218, pp. 679–80.

168 *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:261.

169 First mentioned in the letter of Pope Hormisdas' legates and by the seventh century kept in the intramural *titulus* of San Lorenzo in Lucina: Valentini and Zucchetti (eds) *Codice topografico*, II:214. Cf. Thacker, 'Martyr Cult', 51–2. Cf. B. Pesci, 'L'itinerario romano di Sigerico arcivescovo di Canterbury e la lista dei papi da lui portata in Inghilterra', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 13 (1936): 43–60, at 51–5; E. Follieri, 'Antiche chiese romane nella *Passio* greca di Sisto, Lorenzo e Ippolito', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neollenici*, 27–9 (1980–82): 43–71, at 55.

170 Split, Archaeological Museum: case 34, no. 19.

171 D. Ch. Segvié, 'Chronologie des êveques de Salone', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 33 (1914): 275–83,

172 R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals* (Berkeley, 1983), 82–92. Gregory of Tours, *In Gloria Martyrum*, cap. 45.

Portiana complex a chapel dedicated to St Lawrence's pope, Sixtus, and – as Ennodius tells us – thereby revived connexions between the two martyrs.[173] He may also have introduced into Milan the Lawrentian cult itself. Interestingly, the bishop was buried in another chapel annexed to the same church, later recorded as dedicated to Hippolytus, St Lawrence's neighbour on the Via Tiburtina.[174] Another early dedication to Lawrence comes from the basilica at Fossombrone, some 164 miles outside Rome on the Via Flaminia. That dedication was clearly a significant event, recorded in the Hieronymian Martyrology, albeit in a conflicting way under three separate dates.[175] The original entry may have commemorated an important fifth-century transfer of relics to a church outside Rome, like that at St Peter's, Spoleto (also on the Via Flaminia). Against this, however, we should set the confusion in the record in the martyrology and the fact that, as at Milan, at Fossombrone Lawrence was associated with Sixtus and Hippolytus. A date around 500 is perhaps more likely. [176]

In Gaul, such evidence as there is from the fifth century suggests that when they needed relics of especial prestige to consecrate a new basilica or cathedral, bishops applied to Milan, or to one of the other north Italian cities housing relics of Ambrosian saints, rather than to Rome.[177] By 500, however, as in Italy, the picture was changing. By then Bishop Avitus of Vienne was not simply requesting relics from Rome; he seems to have been founding churches dedicated to St Peter and celebrating the Roman feast of the apostles (29 June) with especial solemnity.[178] At much the same time, relics of Peter, Paul and Andrew were sent to the monastery of Condat in the Jura. Significantly, Gallic churches dedicated to the apostles Peter and Andrew and to major Roman martyrs such as Lawrence begin to emerge in the record in the later fifth and more particularly the sixth century.[179]

The Emergence of the Pilgrimage City

In Rome itself, papal distribution of relics intensified interest in the martyrial sites; Fulgentius of Ruspe's biographer, for example, tells us that when in 500 Fulgentius came to Rome, 'truly called *caput urbium*', the saint piously went round the holy places

173 F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (eds), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et liturgie*, 11 (Paris, 1933), cols 1011–12.

174 Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, 82, 86, 147, n.26; J.-C. Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 268 (Paris, 1988), 62–5.

175 *Mart. Hieron.*, 74, 421, 583; H. Delehaye, 'La dédicace de la basilique de Fossombrone', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, 6 (1930): 109–11.

176 For the association of Lawrence with Sixtus and Hippolytus, see H. Delehaye, 'Recherches sur le légendier romain', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 51 (1933): 34–98, at 43–9, 71; Follieri, 'Antiche chiese', 44–5; V.L. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass* (Studi di antichità cristiana, Città del Vaticano, 1938), 192–7.

177 Thacker, 'Significance of Place', 25.

178 Avitus, *Opera*, Epist. 50.

179 M. Vieillard-Troiekouroff, *Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après les œuvres de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1976), 98–9, 177, 193, 206–7, 209–10, 256, 324–5, 349.

of the martyrs, by then clearly regarded as crucial to the city's status.[180] There was renewed investment in the catacombs and their sanctuaries. Pope Symmachus effected much restoration and reconstruction, in particular after the earthquake of 508, and further work took place under John I (523–26), Felix IV (526–30), and in the early years of Pope Vigilius (537–55).[181] Such developments, however, were interrupted by the catastrophes of the Gothic Wars, which rendered the need to consolidate and reconstruct even greater, since many of the catacombs had suffered during the sieges.[182] John III (561–74) resumed the work of restoration, but by then it is clear that the catacombs were largely places of cult rather than of burial.[183] The systematic development of the potential of these sites, which placed extramural Rome at the very centre of Western martyr cult, soon followed.[184] The pontificate of Pelagius II (579–90) saw the emergence of the relatively small but opulent basilica *ad corpus*, inserted into the catacomb with the martyrial grave as its altar and focus; the celebrated eastern church of Saint Lawrence on the Via Tiburtina is its finest expression.[185] By then the apostolic tombs and the catacombs were becoming the focus of international pilgrimage, of which relic distribution formed an integral part. A Frankish bishop like Gregory of Tours (d. 594), for example, was well-informed about how relics (*pignora*) were manufactured from little cloths (*palliola*) lowered for incubation on to the tomb of St Peter.[186] One of his deacons had brought back relics of the apostles and martyrs given to him by Pelagius II, and had clearly been taken on a tour of the catacombs; in particular, he told of a crypt of wonderful workmanship constructed over the tombs of the martyrs Chrysanthus and Daria, rediscovered after being lost for a long period and associated with Damasus, who had adorned it with commemorative verses. Relics of those saints were included among those received from Pelagius.[187] We know of similar quests under Pelagius' successor Gregory the Great (590–604), most notably that of a certain John, who on behalf of the Lombard queen Theodelinda collected ampullae of oil from the martyrial tombs of Rome. Almost all of these ampullae contained oil sanctified by several martyrs, whose sixty-odd names were carefully noted in labels attached to the neck of each vessel. The whole reflected a sequence of broadly topographical visits,

180 *Vita Sancti Fulgentii, a quodam eius discipulo conscripta* (Patrologia Latina LXV), cap. 13 (col. 130).

181 Ph. Pergola, 'Santuari dei martiri romani e pellegrinaggio tra IV e IX secolo', in Pani Ermini and Siniscalco (eds), *La comunità cristiana di Roma*, 385–96, at 392–3; Carletti, '"Scrivere i santi"', 334–5; *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:262, 276, 279; Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 41.

182 S. Rota, 'La Chiesa di Roma di fronte ai barbari (V–VIII secolo)', in Pani Ermini and Siniscalco (eds), *La comunità cristiana di Roma*, 139–70, at 151–4.

183 See, for example, *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:305; J. Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs in the Middle Ages', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 53 (1985): 278–328, at 281–3; Fiocchi Nicolai, 'L'organizzazione dello spazio funerario', 56–7; Pergola, 'Santuari dei martiri romani', 393.

184 See, for example, Carletti, '"Scrivere i santi"', 335–40.

185 *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:309; Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Notitia ecclesiarum*, 2:74–5, 80; Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 2:44–68.

186 Gregory of Tours, *In Gloria Martyrum*, cap. 27.

187 Ibid., caps 37, 82.

recorded in an accompanying *notula*.[188] All this clearly foreshadows Wilfrid's activities half a century later.

Gregory the Great himself, however, was perhaps more than a little ambivalent about some of the contemporary manifestations of martyr cult in the catacombs.[189] He invested primarily in the great apostolic shrines where he reordered arrangements at the tombs so that Mass could be celebrated above them.[190] At St Peter's his *confessio* offered a new means of access to the Petrine monument, and his Niche of the Pallia a prime place for the incubation of secondary relics.[191] There he continued to receive Frankish pilgrims in quest of such material, and a story in his earliest biography, written at Whitby around 700, suggests that he had solemnized and ritualized the process by which Petrine relics were manufactured from pieces of cloth (*panna*). At the new papal altar above the apostolic tomb, the period of contact was accompanied not just by prayer but by the solemn celebration of Mass over the *palliola*. The relics thus produced acquired such corporeality that, like those in the Leonine story, when cut they bled. [192]

As Conrad Leyser has pointed out, Gregory was far from ignoring the major martyr shrines. Indeed, he preached at most of them at the beginning of his pontificate. It should be noted, however, that he scarcely if ever said much about the martyrs themselves. Leyser, moreover, has also remarked that Gregory's distribution of relics was dominated by those of St Peter, especially filings from the apostle's chains, and that the collections of relics which he sent to petitioners were drawn from a surprisingly small 'palette of saints'.[193] Clearly, the internal politics of Rome mattered here. Gregory would have found it easier to obtain relics from some shrines than from others, and may have wished to promote some cults more than others. We are faced with an important question: who authorized the dispatch of relics from a particular shrine? While Leyser must be right in assuming that a great assemblage, such as that brought by John to Queen Theodelinda, was in some sense permitted by the pope,[194] many other authorities may have been involved. We have only to think of Stephen of Ripon's statement that Wilfrid obtained his relics from authorized men (*electi viri*). The contrast between the queen's collection drawn from over sixty saints and Gregory's parsimonious 'palette' of martyrs revealed in the *Registrum* is very marked.

Structural interventions in the catacombs were resumed under Gregory's successors, most notably Honorius I (625–38), who built admired basilicas *ad corpus* at St Agnes on the Via Nomentana and St Pancras on the Via Aurelia, and restored the cemetery of SS

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188 Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:29–47.

189 C. Leyser, 'The Temptations of Cult: Roman Martyr Piety in the Age of Gregory the Great', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9:3 (2000): 289–307 at 291–2, 303–4.

190 In the matter of location (as opposed to access), Gregory's reordering may have been less radical than is often supposed. In particular, the papal altar seems to have been located above the tomb since Jerome's time (above, n.96) and was recorded in the same position by Gregory of Tours in a passage that appears to describe the pre-Gregorian arrangements: *In Gloria Martyrum*, cap. 27.

191 *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:312; Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, *Shrine of St Peter*, 212–220.

192 B. Colgrave (ed.), *Earliest Life of Gregory the Great* (Kansas, 1968), cap. 21. Cf. Gregory the Great, *Registrum*, IV.30.

193 Leyser, 'Temptations of Cult', 293–303.

194 Ibid., 298–9, 303.

Marcellinus and Peter; and Theodore (642–49), who restored the basilica of St Valentinus on the Via Flaminia.[195] By then, the growing trade in relics required regulation. Boniface V (619–25), for example, decreed that acolytes should not presume to 'elevate'[196] relics of the martyrs, a function henceforth reserved to priests.[197] The later sixth and seventh centuries perhaps also saw some intensification of, or at least something of a revival in, the writing of the *gesta martyrum*, especially in instances where the cult centre itself had been embellished or reconstructed. It seems likely, for example, that the literature relating to the cult of SS Marcellinus and Peter originated in the mid-sixth century and the various recensions of the passion of St Pancras in the early seventh.[198]

The evident increase in pilgrim activity in Rome, from the mid-seventh century if not before, undoubtedly owed much to more settled conditions in Italy, with the establishment of a lasting peace with the Lombards. It also probably owed something to the increased difficulty and danger in visiting the Holy Land after the collapse of Byzantine power in the east. The *ampullae* delivered to Queen Theodelinda perhaps consciously evoked the phials of sanctified oil brought back by pilgrims from the Holy Land, for which they were a substitute.[199] The new corpus of literature which emerged to record for pilgrims the restored and reconfigured catacombs was founded upon the initial enterprise of Damasus. The great inscriptions had never been forgotten. Indeed, in the 540s when the *titulus* which marked the tomb of the martyrs Vitalis, Martialis and Alexander in the catacomb of the Jordani was wrecked by the besieging Goths, Pope Vigilius (537–55) had taken care to record the whole text, expressly noting its Damasan authorship.[200] *Syllogae*, such as that of Tours, still contained a notably high proportion of Damasan inscriptions.[201] Nevertheless, there had been many changes. Most obvious of course is the enormous expansion in the numbers of the martyrs – although that had always been implicit in the Damasan project. Equally significantly, however, the catacombs had largely ceased to be used for burial in the fifth and sixth centuries, and the great imperial basilicas had lost a primary function: the provision of space for *refrigeria*. These developments brought changes both to the catacombs and to the imperial structures embedded within them. The *basiliche circiformi* were abandoned or acquired a new role. On the Via Nomentana and the Via Tiburtina, the churches of St Agnes and St Lawrence were replaced by much smaller structures focused on the martyrial tomb itself. On the Via Labicana, Constantine's foundation was reinvented as

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195 *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:323–4, 332–3; Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:73, 79, 93; Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 439–55.

196 The verb used, *levare*, presumably alludes to the raising of secondary relics from contact with the holy tomb.

197 *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:321.

198 Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 435–9; Leyser, 'Temptations of Cult', 304–5. Cf. Pilsworth, 'Dating the *Gesta martyrum*', 313–16.

199 Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:29. Cf. Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *History of the Monks of Syria*, trans. R.M. Price (Kalamazoo, 1985), XXI.16, where the author mentions 'a flask of oil of the martyrs, with a blessing gathered from very many martyrs', which hung by his bed.

200 Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, no. 41.

201 Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, 2:1, pp. 58–71. The mid-seventh-century section includes nine Damasan inscriptions: Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, 28, 31, 32, 39, 40.

the shrine-church of the Empress Helena, while a new *basilica ad corpus* was fashioned around the tombs of Marcellinus and Peter.[202] For seventh-century pilgrims, although Damasus' famous *titulus* still featured in the *syllogae*, the *Basilica Apostolorum* had become the shrine-church of San Sebastian. Gregory the Great's reconfiguration of the shrines of SS Peter and Paul marked the final stage in the refocusing of the cult of the two apostles on the monuments at the Vatican and the Via Ostiense.

The enhancement of Rome as a rich treasury of relics created a curious dichotomy. On the one hand, the apostolic status of the Eternal City was all-important; in the later seventh and earlier eighth centuries, Anglo-Saxon princes and prelates went thither to be *ad corpus Petri*. On the other hand, the recording literature makes strangely little of St Peter's and St Paul's and their shrines.[203] They appear simply as two among many – albeit that St Peter's was given the dignity of being first or last on the itinerary. Evidently, it was the sheer number of Rome's martyrs that impressed. Perhaps the vast spaces of the imperial basilicas and the invisibility of their shrines seemed daunting and impersonal. The catacombs and the new, small but opulent, basilicas offered more intimacy and immediacy. The tombs before which the sacred lamps burned and from which sacred dust was collected could be seen and touched. Here was archetypal Rome. Wilfrid, even if he had wished to, could not have recreated St Peter's, but he could and did recreate a catacomb and (perhaps) his version of a basilica *ad corpus*. The moment was a relatively brief one; by the earlier eighth century activity in the catacombs was already in decline.[204] But for over a century-and-a-half, extramural Rome enjoyed remarkable fame as a variegated seat of sanctity and a prolific fount of relics. It was in that role above all that the city could then truly be viewed as *caput urbium*.

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202 Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 439–55.

203 Cf. the lack of interest in the great imperial basilicas in general, noted by G. Bertonière, *The Cult Centre of the Martyr Hippolytus on the Via Tiburtina*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 260 (Oxford, 1985), 53–4.

204 Osborne, 'Roman Catacombs in the Middle Ages', 286–91.

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Building for Bodies
The Architecture of Saint Veneration in Early Medieval Rome[1]

Caroline J. Goodson

Pope Paschal I (817–24) had a vision. Under duress from various external and local forces, he was struggling to assert his authority as leader of the city of Rome and of the Holy See. The answer came to him one night when, during a night vigil at St Peter's, he was visited by a vision of St Cecilia, the extremely popular Roman martyr. In the episode reported by Paschal's biographer in the *Liber Pontificalis* (hereafter *LP*), the saint thanked Paschal for having sought the resting place of her holy body, which he had apparently been unable to find. Paschal explained that he understood that the body of Cecilia had been stolen by Aistulf's Lombards, who had held the city under siege in 756, some sixty-five years earlier. Cecilia assured him, however, that her body had remained safe. She encouraged the pope to continue seeking her body so that he might find it where the Lombards had not, and remove and rebury her in a church he was then rebuilding in her honour, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere.[2] This text is unusual within the chronicle of the *LP*, which in these decades is more typically filled with accounts of building projects, donations to institutions, or political wrangling. But more unusual than the descriptions of the pope's dream vision are the actions that it provoked. The very next morning, Paschal sought and found the body of Santa Cecilia, as well as those of her companions Valerianus, Tiburtius, Maximus, her confessor Pope Urban (222–30), and the early pope Lucius (253–4). All of these were brought by Paschal to the crypt of his new basilica in the bustling neighborhood of Trastevere. This translation of six saints' bodies was modest compared to those which Paschal brought to the church of Santa Prassede. Paschal translated some 2,300 bodies into that church, deposited in sarcophagi under the altar and in oratories or chapels within the monastery and church.[3] At both Santa Cecilia and Santa Prassede, the bodies were rendered accessible to the faithful through annular crypts under the basilicas, where the *confessiones* holding the bodies were pierced with *fenestellae* facing onto the nave and the annular ambulatory of the crypt.

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1   Earlier versions of this project were presented at the 38th Annual International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 2003 and 'Incontri con AIAC', American Academy in Rome, November 2002, and I would like to thank Elizabeth Fentress, Chris Wood, and especially Kristina Sessa for critical comments on earlier drafts. I am, of course, responsible for any errors contained herein.

2   *LP*, 100, §15–17.

3   On the relic translations and their architectural context, see C. Goodson, 'The Relic Translations of Paschal I: Transforming City and Cult', in A. Hopkins and M. Wyke (eds), *Roman Bodies* (London, 2005), 123–41.
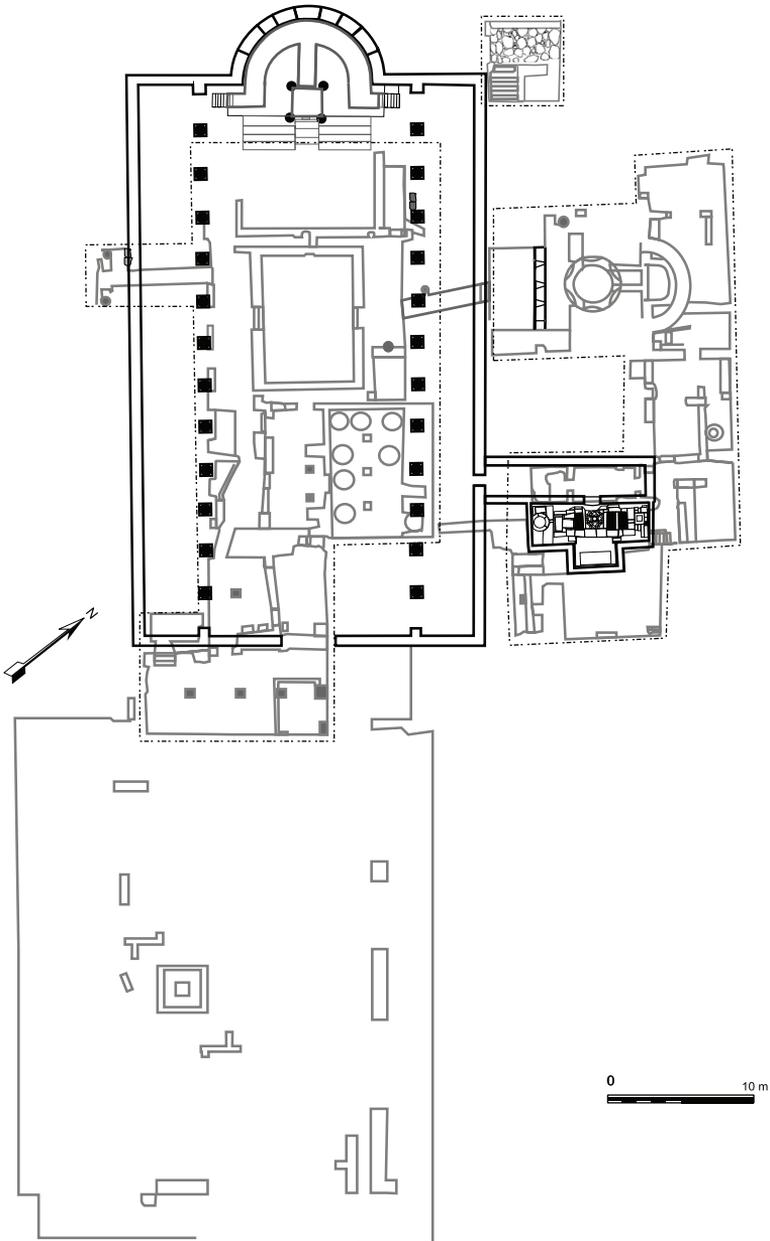
Fig. 2.1   Rome, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere and Santa Prassede. Plans of the
                  basilicas erected by Pope Paschal I (plans: author) (scale, 1:500)
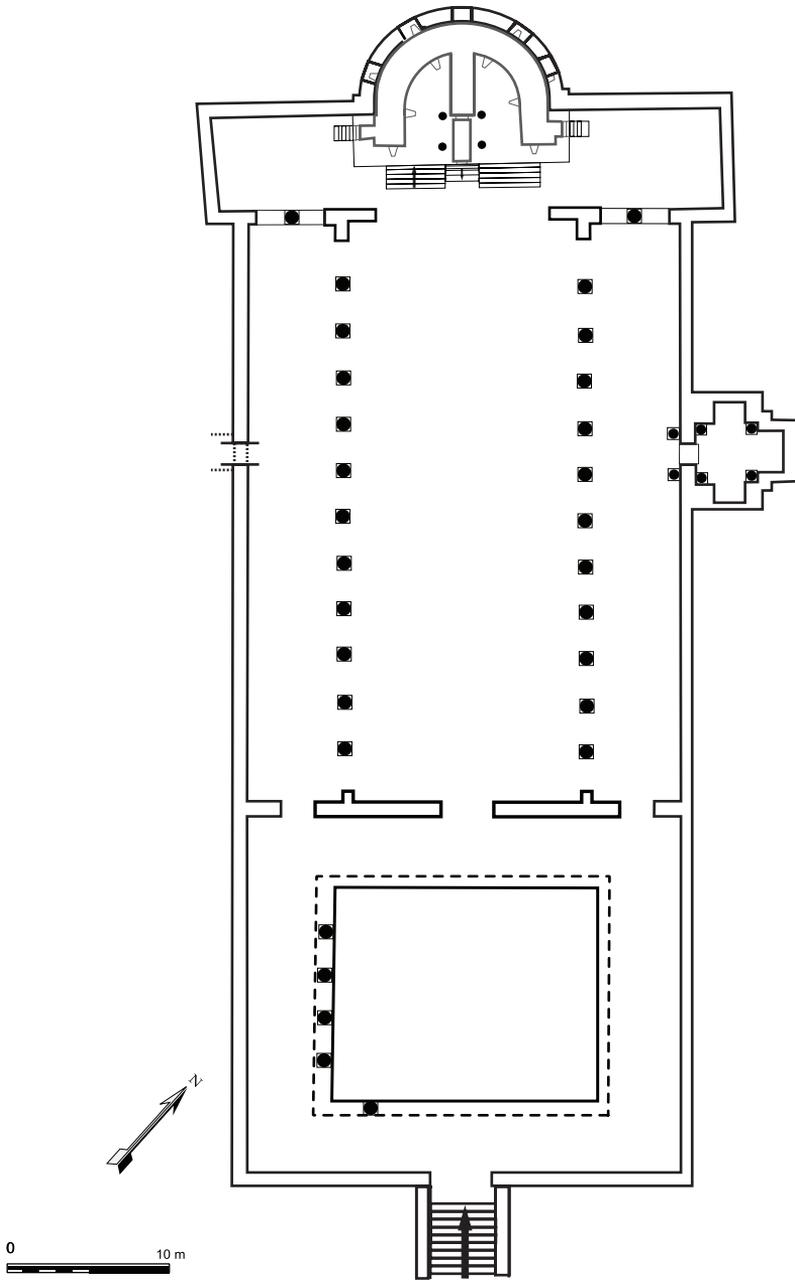
In both churches, the bodies were crowned by *ciboria* and the presbyteries were surrounded by porphyry and *rosso antico* marble. The shrines included mosaic and pressed metal images of the saints, and at Santa Prassede, the transept was lined with paintings of hagiographic narratives. Thus, with the aid of the saint herself, Paschal deployed the *virtus* of the saints and the glory of architecture in deft combination to impress upon Rome and the world his authority.

The unprecedented magnitude of Paschal's translations notwithstanding, the architectural vocabulary deployed by Paschal in his urban shrines to the saints is the product of a long evolution of buildings for saints in early medieval Rome. Similarly, the political and spiritual context of Paschal's translations – the reasons for his translating and building shrines to these saints – follow patterns that appear to have begun many centuries earlier. These two aspects of relic translations, the formal architectural frame and the social resonance, developed in Rome differently than elsewhere in the early medieval world. The study of relic veneration in Rome, while ubiquitously present in general works on the cult of relics and saints, has not been systematically treated in modern scholarship.[4] This is a particularly unfortunate fact, given that the Roman example, though unique, was important as a model for other patterns of translation. It served as both the exception and the rule of early medieval translations. All the more important, then, to try to determine how the Roman model evolved, and trace its own changes and developments. What follows is an attempt to bring to light salient moments in the history of relic translation and veneration at Rome, from the earliest translations of saints' bodies and the shrines in which they were housed, up to Paschal's revolutionary translations.

In the examination of this history of buildings and their motivations, attention is paid to two issues that I believe to have been concerns for the early medieval builders and venerators. These are the distinction between Roman and non-Roman relics, and the distinction between bodies and their shrines within the walls and without. Tracing origin of relics or of saints whose relics are venerated and the arrival and incorporation of foreign bodies into the hagiographic cityscape of Rome helps to bring to light the roles played by relics and their shrines in the life of the city. The second distinction was topographic and it was carefully maintained in early

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4　　One of the few systematic studies that considers material evidence remains F. Grossi-Gondi, *Principi e problemi di critica agiografica: Atti e spoglie dei martiri* (Rome, 1919). Also important are P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981), and N. Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints: Formation coutumière d'un droit* (Paris, 1975). Recent scholarship has made great strides towards clarifying specific translations or specific moments in the history – among the most useful to the present project have been J. Alchermes, 'Petrine Politics: Pope Symmachus and the Rotunda of St. Andrew at Old St. Peter's', *Catholic Historical Review*, 81:1 (January 1995): 1–40; C. Davis-Weyer, 'S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome and the Oratory of Theodore I', in W. Tronzo (ed.), *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (Bologna, 1989), 61–80; and F.A. Bauer, 'La frammentazione liturgica nella chiesa romana del primo medioevo', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 75 (1999): 385–446. More general studies that focus, in part, on Rome include G. Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function, and Patronage* (Toronto, 2003), 195–230; J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c.300–1200* (Oxford, 2000); and C. Hahn, 'Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saints' Shrines', *Speculum*, 72:4 (1997): 1079–1106.

Roman hagiographic sources, especially the topographic ones such as the *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, which begins by itemizing the bodies of the saints within the city ('Primum in urbe Roma beatorum martirum corpora Iohannis et Pauli tantum quiescent…') before passing through the Porta Flaminia and enumerating the bodies lying outside the walls, organized in order around the roads next to which they lie.[5] Recording the attention dedicated to maintaining, and ultimately abandoning, this distinction provides evidence for the evolving urbanism of Rome in these centuries.[6] The language used here will follow that of the medieval sources, inside the walls and outside the walls, intending specifically the circuit of walls erected by Aurelian in 271–75 and restored by Honorius and Arcadius *c.* 403, and by subsequent potentates.[7] The significance of whether a shrine is located within the city walls or without, however, lies not in vocabulary but rather in whether a shrine participated in the urban life of the city or functioned as an extraurban node.[8] The present study will attempt to touch upon the larger issue of the ways in which building for bodies shaped the city of Rome.

We should note from the outset the vagaries of early medieval sources about relics. The rhetorical fluidity of words like *corpora*, *ossa*, *reliquia* and *membra*, used with only minimal distinction in the guides, epigraphy and references to relics was preserved, to a degree, in the architectural language of the shrines, which tended to employ a very consistent and general vocabulary of sanctity.[9] It is the development of that language of architecture and the ways in which it was employed that is the subject of what follows. The majority of our evidence comes from papal projects, in part because the textual record of early medieval Rome is heavily episcopal in nature, and in part because, arguably, it was the popes who were responsible for most of the ecclesiastical construction in Rome during the period in question.[10]

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5   'Firstly, in the city of Rome, the bodies of the blessed martyrs Giovanni and Paolo rest…'; R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico della città Roma* (Rome, 1940–43), 2:72. My thanks go to Janneke Raaijmakers for checking the manuscripts of the *Notitia* in the ÖNB.

6   The description of the city inside and outside the walls appeared in other early medieval records of the city, note *LP*, 97, §52: 'And as a good shepherd he restored and decorated for the praise of God all God's churches both outside and inside this city of Rome's walls'.

7   On the walls in the early Middle Ages, see R. Coates-Stephens, 'The Walls and Aqueducts of Rome in the Early Middle Ages', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 88 (1998): 166–78.

8   In fact, there is reason to believe that sometimes, right next to and inside the walls was as good as outside the walls; see below, n.21.

9   On the terminology of relics, see J. McCulloh, 'The Cult of Relics in the Letters and "Dialogues" of Pope Gregory the Great: A Lexicographical Study', *Traditio*, 32 (1976): 145–84.

10   This is a long-held assumption that warrants further exploration. On this, see R. Meneghini and R. Santangeli-Valenzani, *Roma nell'altomedioevo: Topografia e urbanistica della città dal V al X secolo* (Rome, 2004); K. Bowes, '"Make of your House a Church": Private Churches and Private Piety in Late Antiquity', in V. Burrus (ed.), *Late Ancient Christianity*, A People's History of Christianity 2 (Minneapolis, 2005); R. Coates-Stephens, 'Byzantine Building Patronage in Post-Reconquest Rome', in C. Goddard (ed.), *Les cités de l'Italie tardo-antique: Institution, économie, société, culture et religion* (Rome, 2006), 149–66. My thanks go to Bowes for having shared her article with me prior to publication, as well as to Coates-Stephens for sharing this article and his insight on so many occasions.

Map with labels including: N, 0, 1, 2 Km, 1 Roman Mile; VIA FLAMINIA, VIA SALARIA VETUS, VIA SALARIA, VIA NOMENTANA, VIA TIBURTINA, VIA PRAENESTINA, VIA LABICANA, VIA LATINA, VIA APPIA, VIA ARDEATINA, VIA OSTIENSIS, VIA PORTUENSIS, VIA AURELIA, VIA CORNELIA, VIA TRIUMPHALIS; S. Peter's, S. Lorenzo, S. Paolo; and numbered points 1–30 and lettered points A–N.
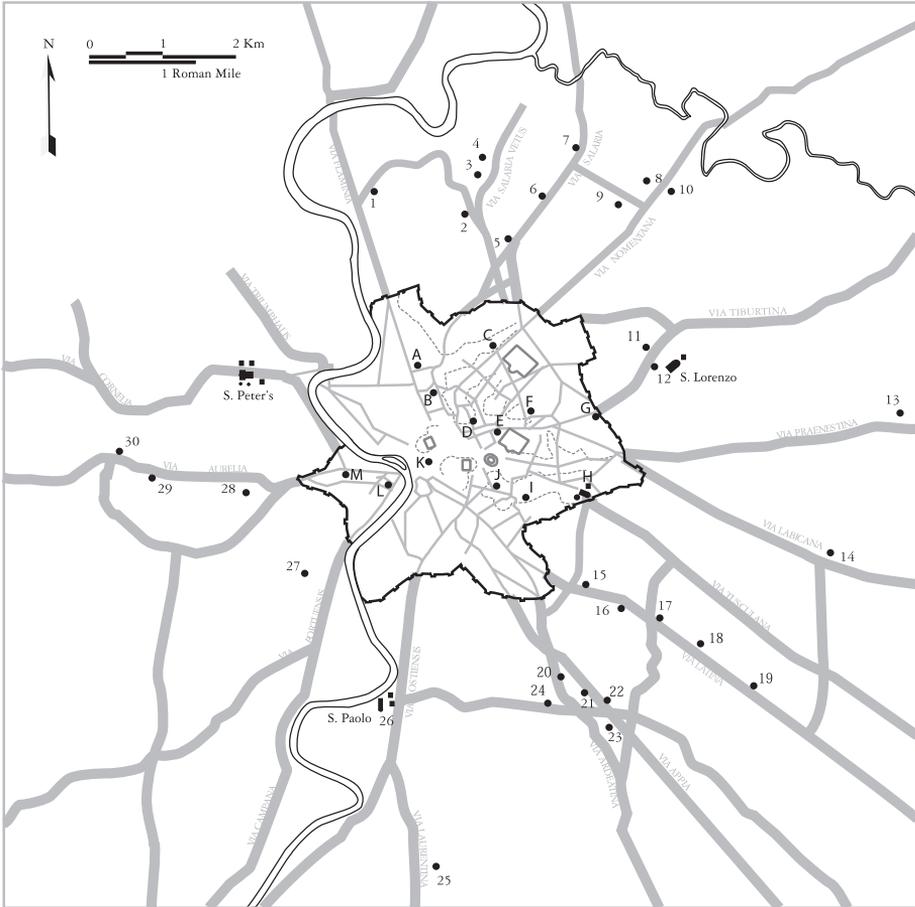
1 Cemetery of Valentiuns	15 Cemetery of Gordianus and Epimachus	A S. Silvestro
2 Cemetery of Basilla	16 Cemetery of Tertullinus	B SS. Apostoli
3 In Clivum Cucumeris	17 Cemetery of Apronianus	C S. Susanna
4 Ad Septem Palumbas	18 Cemetery of Stephanus	D S. Agata dei Goti
5 Cemetery of Trasone	19 Via Latina	E S. Pietro in Vincoli
6 Cemetery of Iordani	21 Cemetery of Balbina	F S. Prassede
7 Cemetery of Priscilla	21 Cemetry of Callixtus	G S. Bibiana
8 Maius	22 Cemetery of Praetextatus	H Lateran basilica, baptistery
9 S. Agnese	23 S. Sebastiano	S. Venanzio
10 Minus	24 Domitilla, Basilica of SS. Nereo ed Achiello	I S. Stefano Rotondo,
11 Cemetery of Yppolitus	25 Ad Aquas Salvias (Tre Fontane)	SS. Primus and Felicianus
12 S. Lorenzo	26 S. Paolo	J SS. Giovanni and Paolo
13 Anonima	27 Cemetery of Pontianus	K S. Giorgio in Velabro
14 SS. Pietroe Marcellino	28 Cemetery of Processus and Martinien	L S. Cecilia
	29 Duo Felices	N S. Maria in Trastevere
	30 Cemetery of Calepodius	

Fig. 2.2   Map of Rome with significant saints' shrines (map: author)

Early Relic Veneration at Rome

Nearly twenty shrines to saints' bodies were constructed by the year 500 outside the walls of Rome, and most of these were dedicated to Roman saints buried nearby.[11]

In these first centuries of public Christian building at Rome, significant attention was paid to the tomb and to the original space where the body was laid to rest; as we shall see, this shaped later medieval construction practice. Among these early buildings major newly built shrines followed basilical ground plans, such as the circus-form basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le mura (early fifth century[12]) and the subterranean basilica of Santi Nereo ed Achilleo (late fourth century[13]). There were also structural interventions around martyrs' tombs, such as those of Pope Damasus (366–84). While these were not necessarily new constructions, they were architectural projects that included decorative programmes featuring marble and inscriptions.[14] Consistent among most of these shrines was a precise attention to the area around the body, provided by means of passageways and/or windows facing into the tomb itself. At Rome, our sources point both to this focus on rendering the body somewhat more accessible and to the rich decorations lavished upon the shrines. The walls were decorated with coloured marbles, glittering figurative and ornamental mosaics, and, in the larger basilicas and oratories, imported liturgical textiles and silver and gold ornaments. This material and spiritual conglomeration was infused with further splendour by ephemeral elements such as candles, incense and sacred chanting, as a monastery or convent at the site of the saints' tomb or tombs administered each of these extramural basilicas.[15]

The initial shrines to the saints outside the walls at the tombs became magnets for subsequent constructions, such as oratories, baptisteries and hospices. In this way, the bodies also attracted other bodies, either burials *ad sanctos*, or bodies of other martyrs brought to Rome for ultimate burial, reunited or united for the first time with the community of saints. One particular example of a holy body brought to Rome serves to illustrate how tightly bound together were familial, community and economic motivations in early treatment of the saints' bodies in Rome. In the third century, the Roman bishop Pontianus (230–35) was sent to Sardinia and sentenced to work in the mines during the persecutions of Maximinus Thrax. He died there, apparently of ill-

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11   L. Reekmans, 'L'implantation chrétienne de 300 à 850 à Rome', in *Actes du XI Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne. Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève, 21–28 Septembre 1986* (Rome, 1989), 861–916, at 907, gives the number of monasteries as 15, maybe 17.

12   For this dating, revised from previously hypothesized Constantinian dating, see H. Geertman, 'La Basilica Maior di San Lorenzo F.L.M.', in F. Guidobaldi and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi (eds), *Ecclesiae Urbis. Atti del congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo). Roma 4–10 settembre 2000* (Vatican City, 2002), 1225–47.

13   At the cemetery of Domitilla; see P. Pergola, *Le catacombe romane. Storia e topografia* (Rome, 1998), 211–16. On the catacomb shrines, see ibid., 95–101.

14   Ibid., 97–8.

15   The building of monasteries at the tombs of the saints followed somewhat later than the erection of basilicas and other shrines. The first monasteries date from the second quarter of the fourth century: Ad Catacumbas and Santi Giovanni e Paolo at the Vatican; see Reekmans, 'L'implantation chrétienne', 908, and G. Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries* (Vatican City, 1957), 163–5.
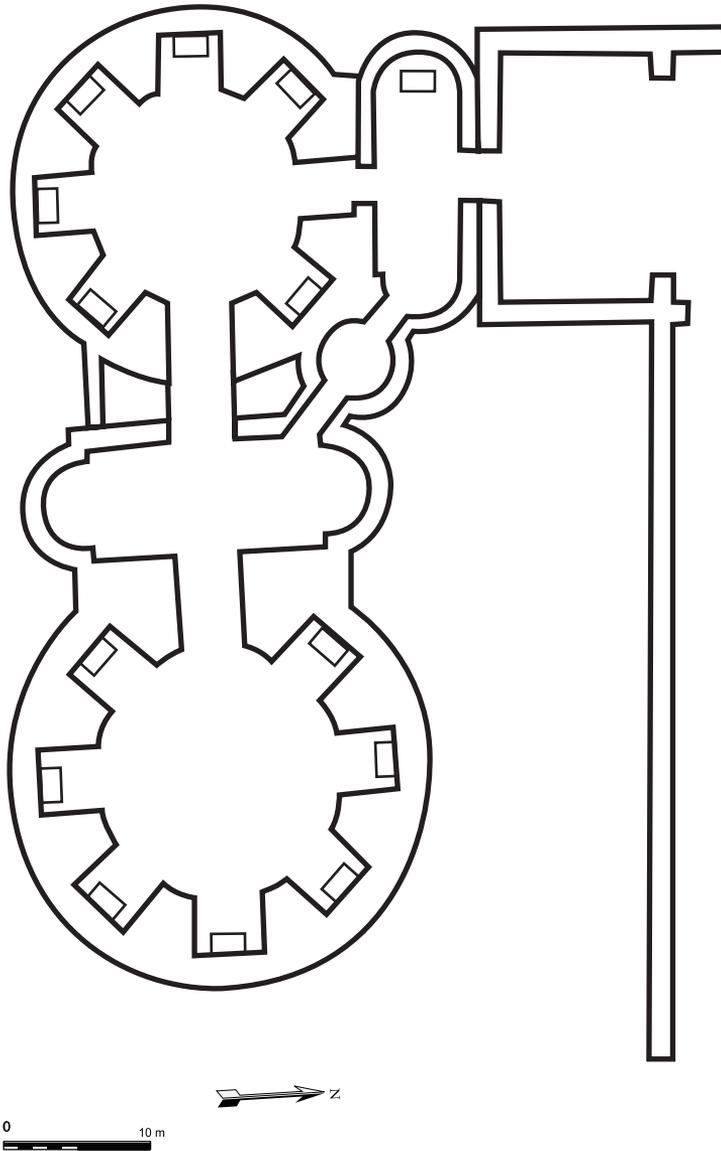
Fig. 2.3   Rome, St Peter's. Plan of the oratory of Sant' Andrea, as created by Pope Symmachus, and the later oratory of S. Petronilla, as created by Pope Paul I (plans: author, after de Blaauw) (scale, 1:500)

treatment and the insalubrious climate of the island.[16] Pope Fabian (236–50) brought his body back to Rome and interred it in the catacombs of Callixtus, with the bodies of other early bishops in what we call the Crypt of the Popes.[17] We should understand these actions as the appropriate bringing home of a body designated to be buried in Rome, the repatriation of the body of an important citizen.[18] Indeed, it is perhaps also the translation of the body of a saint as part of an endeavour to encourage the veneration of pope-martyr-saints.[19] Pope Fabian was in those years organizing the administrative structure of the catacombs in order to facilitate the veneration of martyrs of Christ. His attention to the body of Pontianus might thus be seen as an effort to aid the soul of his predecessor by giving him suitable burial among his fellow martyrs of Christ, with a secondary function of collecting the bodies of Roman bishops and other martyrs together with an aim to facilitating their veneration.[20]

Fifth Century[21]

A centre of veneration of foreign saints at Rome, this time with clear political significance, is the oratory of Sant'Andrea constructed by Symmachus in the end of

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16   s.v. 'Ponziano', *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome, 1968), 10:1014–15.

17   See A. Ferrua and A. Silvagni (eds), *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquores*, n.s. (Rome, 1922–), 4:10670; O. Marucchi, 'Osservazioni sull'iscrizione di papa Ponziano recentemente scoperta e su quelle degli altri papi del III secolo', *Nuovo bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, 15 (1909): 35–50, for the fragmentary inscription discovered in a well near the Crypt of the Popes, which suggests that Pontianus was buried there. Most recently, see J. Janssens, 'Le tombe e gli edifici funerari dei papi dell'antichità', in Guidobaldi and Guiglia Guidobaldi (eds), *Ecclesiae Urbis*, 221–63, esp. 227.

18   There are notable Roman precedents for the return to Rome of the remains of famous dead, including Germanicus (d. 19). I would like to thank the editors of this volume for this observation.

19   Conventional histories of relic veneration cite the first actual translation of relics as Constans' translation of the relics of St Timothy and the Apostle Andrew to the Apostoleion in Constantinople in the years 356–57, on which see below, n.26; Herrmann-Mascard, *Reliques des saints*, 29.

20   It might be that Rome was considered an important place to bury bishops of other dioceses. There are inscriptions of Bishop Optatus of Numidia (= *c.* 428), in the Catacombs of Callixtus, and a Bishop Quirinus of Siscia (= early fifth century), Ad Catacumbas, on the Via Appia. Note, however, that another reason for the translation of Optatus' body could have been the Vandal invasions, which prompted the removal of other holy bodies to Rome, such as that of St Panphilus, venerated on the Via Salaria after the fifth century.

21   I exclude here one of the most famous example of bodies venerated in the city, SS Giovanni and Paolo, who were buried on the Caelian Hill, because in the main, their veneration followed the pattern of all bodies outside the city: their bodies were not moved from their primary burial – in this case in the cellar of their home – and the building around the graves was furnished with windows and passageways for people and a cataract for access to the relics. On the shrine, see most recently B. Brenk, 'L'anno 410 e il suo effetto sull'arte chiesastica a Roma', in Guidobaldi and Guiglia Guidobaldi (eds), *Ecclesiae Urbis*, 1001–31, esp. 13–14, with earlier bibliography. Likewise, I forego discussion of Pope Simplicius' (468–83) construction of a shrine to St Bibiana 'iuxta palatium Licinianum … ubi corpus eius requiescit' ('near the Licinian palace,

the fifth century adjacent to the basilica of St Peter's.[22] In this case, examination of the political climate of Symmachus' patronage has helped to explain the elaborate shrine he created for these relics, which despite its particular circumstances derives from a kind of shrine that originated at the tombs of saints and that came to be canonical. Recent work on the monument has demonstrated that Symmachus was in the process of building up St Peter's as an pole opposite to the Lateran patriarchate, controlled by the Antipope Laurence. Part of this process was the general amelioration of the facilities for residents and visitors at the basilica, but another part of it was a deliberate mapping of the saintly topography of the Lateran onto that of the Vatican.[23] Alchermes has shown how Symmachus created a constellation of oratories and chapels around the baptistery at St Peter's mirroring those at the Lateran Baptistery.[24] The altars of the Sant'Andrea rotunda are not an analogous recreation of an existing collection of saints, but rather an entirely new installation representing a web of geographic and topographic associations both within Rome and beyond. The relics in the new oratory of Sant'Andrea express Symmachus' network of political allegiances.[25]

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where her body lay'), *LP*, 49, §1. The location of this shrine beyond a vast park area in the ancient city, snug up against the walls, effectively removes it from the economic and topographic reality of urban Rome. Even going to the church today feels a bit like a trek outside the walls, on the other side of the tracks. Mention should be made, however, of the seventh-century translations of saints' bodies to an oratory located there. The *LP* indicates that Leo II (682–83) translated the bodies of SS Simplicius, Faustinus and Beatrix from the cemetery of Generosa (on the Via Portuensis, on the opposite side of town) to the new oratory of St Paul at Santa Bibiana (*LP*, 82, §5), which appears to be confirmed by an inscription; see G.-B. De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea cristiana* (Rome, 1864–77), 3:662. Duchesne gives the plausible suggestion that Leo II did this because he knew the church of S. Bibiana to have been constructed by Pope Simplicius, 'homonyme de l'un d'entre eux', L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire* (Paris, 1886–92), 1:361, n.9. In the chronology of translations outlined here, this translation can be understood as part of the gradually escalating translation of saints' relics, and the fact that Leo II might have paid attention to the onomastics of saints and popes fits in with the ways in which other seventh-century popes were constructing new families of saints and relatives, infra.

22   See most recently, M. Cecchelli, 'Sulla traslazione dei martiri Proto e Giacinto da S. Ermete al Vaticano', in Guidobaldi and Guiglia Guidobaldi (eds), *Ecclesiae Urbis*, 645–59, with recent bibliography in Italian in n.2. This article does not in any way supersede the essential work of Alchermes, 'Petrine Politics'.

23   These included new *episcopia*, pavement in the atrium hospices, fountains and toilets: Alchermes, 'Petrine Politics', 14–15.

24   Symmachus created chapels dedicated to St John the Baptist, St John the Evangelist, and the Holy Cross: ibid., 16. (NB: throughout, I am using the words chapel and oratory indistinguishably and indiscriminately. The *LP* describes Sant'Andrea as *basilica*, in which were *oratoria* and *confessiones*, *LP*, 53, §6. Cecchelli tried to distinguish among the terminologies in the *LP*, suggesting that for an altar that contained relics the author of the *LP* used the term *confessio*, whereas for the others he used *oratorium*. However, even the *oratoria* at Sant'Andrea had *confessiones*, thus her distinction has no relevance.)

25   K. Cooper, 'The Martyr, the Matrona and the Bishop: The Matron Lucina and the Politics of Martyr Cult in Fifth- and Sixth-century Rome', *Early Medieval Europe*, 8:3 (1999): 297–319, at 302; S. de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale: Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri* (Vatican City, 1994), 487.

The main altar and the rotunda itself were dedicated to the apostle Andrew, one of the patron saints of Constantinople, and we might view this as a statement directed at the Antipope Laurence's supporters there, claiming the veneration of the apostle of Constantinople for the *locus sancti Petri*.[26] One of the other altars in the rotunda is dedicated to St Thomas, whose relics were housed in the Apostoleion at Constantinople with those of the apostle Andrew. United with Andrew were relics of SS Protus and Hyacinth, who had been venerated on the Via Salaria.[27] The other altars placed in the niches were dedicated to the most important saints from bishoprics from whom Symmachus sought political allegiance: St Cassianus (of Forum Cornelii, Imola), Bishop Apollinaris (of Ravenna), and St Sossius (from Misenum, Campania).[28]

These relics were housed in a shrine carved out of an ancient mausoleum or rotunda on the flank of the Vatican basilica. (The entire structure was lost in the early modern renovations of the Vatican.) The project involved the partial restoration of the walls and vault of the structure[29] and the installation of a new interior system of altars (referred to as *oratoria* and *confessiones* in the texts associated with the building) with the collection of relics described above, dispersed in the niches around the rotunda. The main, axial niche, in the easternmost part of the rotunda, was dedicated to St Andrew and it was furnished with an altar, with *confessio*, and a *ciborium*, the first attested altar baldachin in Rome.[30] Descriptions from the *LP* and other inscriptions record that the new interior arrangement included nearly six hundred pounds of silver and gold, covering the *ciborium* over the altar of Andrew, and panels around the *confessiones* of the smaller altars in lateral niches.[31] This system of marble columns supporting domes over the

26 Relics of Andrew had been translated from Patras to the Apostoleion in Constantinople by Constantius in 357. They were subsequently translated to Milan, Brescia, Rouen, Nola and Fondi in the fifth century, and the textual sources associated with those translations give the distinct impression that the relics were corporeal. See C. Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 83 (1990): 51–61, at 60. For the literary sources of the translations, see Gaudentius, 'Sermo 17', pl. 20, cols 960–61; Victricius, 'De laude sanctorum', 6, pl. 20, col. 448; and P.G. Walsh (ed.), Paulinus, 'Carmen 27', in *The Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola* (New York, 1975).

27 The 'Depositio Martyrum' of the mid-fourth century gives the date and location of their veneration: '.III. IDUS SEPT. Proti et Iacincti, in Basillae', Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:26, with bibliographic references to the discovery of their tombs. These saints continued to be venerated at the catacombs, according to hagiographic guides to the city. Indeed, in the mid-nineteenth century, there was an altar discovered, which presumably stood before the loculus of Hyacinth, with a hole passing through. See V. Fiocchi Nicolai, 'Un altare paleocristiano dal santuario dei martiri Mario, Marta, Audiface e Abacuc sulla via Cornelia', in *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* s. III 57 (1984–85), 89–110, at 100.

28 Alchermes, 'Petrine Politics', 32. These are the names of the saints reported in the *LP*. On the possibility of other saints being venerated at the rotunda, including SS Laurence, Vitus and Sixtus, as reported in the eighth-century *Enchiridion de sacellis et altaribus basilicae vaticanae*, see ibid., 19–20.

29 On the renovations, see P. Liverani, 'La topografia vaticana nell'antichità', in Letizia Pani Ermini (ed.), *Christiana loca, Lo spazio cristiano nella Roma del primo millennio* (Rome, 2000), 39–41.

30 De Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor*, 487.

31 The apse inscription is recorded in an antiquarian manuscript:
    Templa micant plus compta fide quam luce metalli

altars, mosaic images in the niches, and altars constructed of coloured marbles lined with precious metals, is clearly rooted in Constantine's first monumental shrines at the bodies of saints, such as the apse of St Peter's itself with its aedicule, marble and mosaics. By Symmachus' day, however, the constellation of rich materials and images around the tomb of St Peter and the altar of the basilica would have increased with the donations of the later fourth and fifth centuries.

Sixth Century

Popes Pelagius I (556–61) and Pelagius II (579–90) both travelled to Constantinople in the mid- to late sixth century. Back in Rome, they rebuilt or founded anew churches inside the walls to house corporeal relics of saints brought from the east. Given the prestige of these relics, we might imagine even that they had been given as gifts to them from heads of state.[32] Under either Pelagius I or Pelagius II, the relics of the seven Maccabean brothers arrived in Rome from Constantinople and were placed at the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, which had long housed fragments of Peter's chains. The seven Maccabean brothers, persecuted in the second century BCE for their resistance of paganism and steadfast Jewish faith, were celebrated by Christians as protomartyrs.[33] Their cult had grown in popularity in the course of the fifth century, and there was a shrine at their tombs in the suburbs of Antioch.[34]

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constructumque nitet lege Tonantis opus
Concordes quos regna tenent caelestia semper
iunxit et in terris una domus fidei
quam tamen antistes sancti confessor honoris
et meritis voluit nobilitare suis
Symmache quapropter vivax iam fama per aevum
narrabit titulis amplificata piis.
(The shrine sparkles more brightly adorned with faith than with the gleam of polished stone
and the building shines, constructed by the law of the thunderer.
Those like-minded who forever hold the heavenly realms,
a single house of faith has joined as well on earth,
a house which in any case the bishop, a confessor of holy honor,
has also wished to ennoble with accounts of their merits.
For which reason, O Symmachus, enduring renown enhanced
by pious inscriptions will recount their merits for all time.)
Translation by Alchermes, 'Petrine Politics', 21. Other inscriptions are reported and discussed in ibid., 22–9; G.-B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquores* (Rome, 1857–61), 2:205.

32   A. Cutler, s.v. 'Gifts and Gift giving', in G.W. Bowersock, P. Brown and O. Grabar (eds), *Late Antiquity. A Guide to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 469–70.

33   E. Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees, Studies on the Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt* (Leiden, 1979), A. Ferrua, s.i., 'Della Festa dei SS. Maccabei e di un antico sermone in loro onore', *Civiltà Cattolica*, 89:3 (1938), 234–47, 318–327.

34   On the presumed basilica in Cerazia, see M. Rampolla del Tindaro, 'Del luogo del martirio e del sepolcro dei Maccabei', *Bessarione*, 1:10–12 (1897): 655–62, 751–64, 853–66, and 2:13 (1897): 9–22.

The Piacenza pilgrim reports a visit to their sepulchres at Antioch *c.* 560–70.[35] Subsequently, relics of the Maccabees apparently moved from Antioch (and perhaps via Constantinople) to Rome in the mid-sixth century.[36]

The evidence for the translations to Rome is as troubled as the rest: a monumental inscription from San Pietro in Vincoli was recorded in only one antiquarian guide, reporting that Pope Pelagius brought the '*corpora*' of the saints there.[37] The church of San Pietro in Vincoli celebrated the feast of St Peter in chains on the same day as the Maccabees' feast. Thus there is a certain logic that they would be deposited in the basilica on the Esquiline.[38] Despite the problematic evidence for their translation, it seems that relics actually were brought to Rome, and they might even have been corporeal relics. In the nineteenth century, the original deposit for the relics was discovered when, during renovations to the main altar of San Pietro in Vincoli, a marble sarcophagus came to light.[39] This sarcophagus was carved with scenes of the life of Christ and the *Traditio Legis*, and was covered with a marble slab. The inside of the sarcophagus was separated into seven compartments with pieces of Phrygian marble. Black markings on the sarcophagus indicated six of the compartments in sequential numbers. Two lead sheets inside identified the contents that the excavators found: a thin layer of ashes and fragments of bone.[40]

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35   C. Milani, *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini, Un Viaggio in Terra Santa del 560–570 d. C.* (Milan, 1977), §6. It should be noted that there was an early tradition that the sepulchres were located at Modin (El Mediyeh), near Lidda in Judea; indeed, Jerome marvelled that Antioch would claim their relics, in light of their obvious location elsewhere. This has been explained as a confusion of the seven Maccabeean sons of Samuna, who were martyrs, and the seven Maccabeean sons of Matatia, who were not; Ferrua, 'Della Festa', 234, n.4.

36   Rampolla, 'Del luogo del martirio', 14–15, suggests that the relics had moved to Constantinople under Justinian, though the evidence is very tangential.

37   '… Pelagius rursus sacravit papa beatus/ corpora sanctorum condens ibi Machabaeorum…', F. Martinelli, *Roma ex ethnica sacra* (Rome, 1653), 73.

38   A sermon of Pope Leo I (440–61) celebrates the Maccabees on their feast day of 1 August, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 138A, 'Sermo 84bis', 527–32, and was said at the church of San Pietro in Vincoli in Rome (if we can take the titulus Eudoxiae as the earlier foundation of San Pietro in Vincoli). My thanks go to Kristina Sessa for sharing her thoughts on this sermon and bibliographic references.

39   G.-B. De Rossi, 'Scoperta di un sarcofago colle reliquie dei Maccabei', *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, series 3, 1(1876): 73–6. De Rossi reported a date of the second half of the fourth to the fifth centuries, 74.

40   Ibid., 75, is unclear whether the lead authentics are still in the altar, though the sarcophagus is. Ferrua pointed out the parallels between the identifying authentics and the descriptions of the relics given by John Chrysostom (of Antioch) in his homilies on the Maccabees; Ferrua, 'Della Festa', 18–19. Ferrua also suggests that the mention of the parents of the Brothers proves that the relics came via Constantinople, as it was there that the relics of the parents came to be venerated along with those of the Brothers, 20–22. However, he clearly did not know both strands of the Piacenza pilgrim's account, one of which, the *recensa prior*, gives nine sepulchres of the Maccabees at Antioch (i.e., the Brothers and their parents), and the other, *recensa altera*, gives seven. See Milani, *Itinerarium Antonini*, 47–69.

A
IN• HIS•SEPTEM•LOCV[m]
CONDITA•SVNT•OS
SA•ET•CINERES•S[an]C[t]OR[um]
SEPTEM•FRATRVM•MA
CHABEOR[um]•ET•AMBOR[um]
PARENTV[m]•EOR[um]•ACIN[n]V
MERABILIV[m]•ALIOR[um]
S[an]C[t]OR[um]•

B
IN•HIS•LOCVLIS•SVNT•RE
SIDVA•OSSIV[m]•ET•CINER[um[
S[an]C[t]OR[um]•SEPTEM•FRATRV[m]
MACHABEOR[um]•ET•AMBOR[um]
PARENTV[m]•EOR[um]AC•INNV
MERABILIUM•ALIOR[ium]
SACNTORVM

Fig. 2.4   Rome, S. Pietro in Vincoli. Text of the lead plaques identifying the relics in the altar
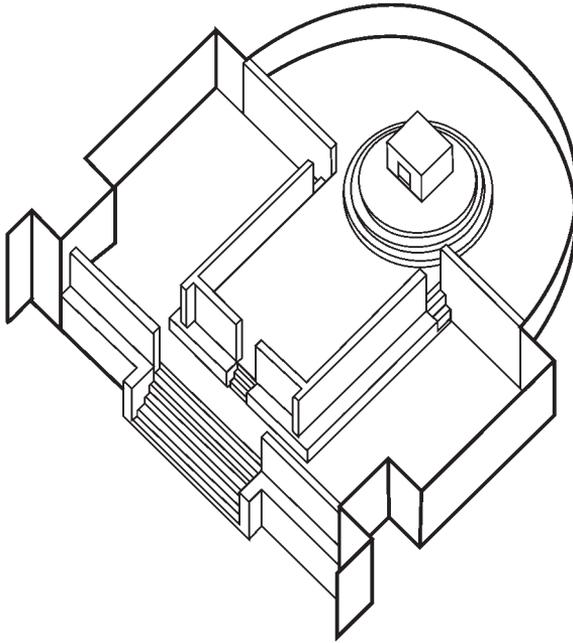
Fig. 2.5   Rome, Santi Apostoli. Reconstruction of the sixth-century altar (drawing: author, after Mazzucco)

The architectural setting for these relics beyond their actual marble container cannot be determined by the available evidence: the nineteenth-century and then subsequent twentieth-century excavations brought to light Roman structures below the altar, but no clear evidence for the setting of the altar in the early Middle Ages.[41] The relics of the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, however, help us to remember that the relics in Rome have diverse origins, and from the sixth century, while popes took pains to prevent the translation of relics, choosing to give as political gifts contact relics instead, they had little aversion to the incorporation of foreign relics into the saintly topography of the city. In preserving the integrity of each individual, insofar as the bits were separated into seven discrete compartments, we might be witnessing the persistence of papal attitudes towards preserving corporeal relics as remains of individual bodies.

Another contemporary example of the adoption of foreign relics is the translation of the relics of the apostles James and Philip at the church now known as the Dodici Apostoli. In this case, the original setting for the shrine was rediscovered in the nineteenth century, and it allows us at least a partial reconstruction.[42] The altar of the sixth-century church stood at the chord of the apse. According to the nineteenth-century discoverers, it was a rectangular block placed with long face towards the nave. The altar stood atop a round platform, raised above the floor of the presbytery, the level of which was marked by partially preserved marble paving.

The top surface of the *confessio*, where the relics were held, was formed by two large pieces of *pavonazzetto*, one of which had a cornice and a large cross, carved in low relief.[43] Beneath these was another cavity, divided in two by an upright panel of marble with a preserved *fenestella*. Inside the *confessio* were found 'gleaming white human bones', which caused the discoverers to exclaim, 'Ecco i santi Apostoli!'[44] In addition, the discoverers found wood, fabric, nails, iron pins, coins and, deeper down, two small *capsellae* of silver, with fabric and balsam within.[45] The bones were examined upon the request of the bishop of Ancona (it must be noted that he had

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41   For discussion of the excavations, see R. Krautheimer *et al.*, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianorum Romae* (Rome, 1937–77), 3:178–231.

42   The apostles Philip and James the Less were venerated in Phrygia, at Gerapolis and Jerusalem respectively, though neither of their cults was very well developed by the sixth century. On the excavations that brought the altar and relics to light, see I. Mazzucco, *Filippo e Giacomo Apostoli nel loro santuario romano. Il sepolcro, le reliquie, il culto* (Rome, 1982).

43   Ibid., 15. There is an interesting formal resemblance between the panel and the *plutei* common in Rome in the mid-sixth century, such as those found in excavations or secondary use at Santa Cecilia, San Clemente, Santo Stefano Romano, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, the Vatican Grottoes, Santa Maria Antiqua, and Santa Prisca. See F. Guidobaldi, C. Barsanti and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, *San Clemente: La scultura del VI secolo* (Rome, 1992) – for dating, see 72; for descriptions of the comparable panels, see 176–86. For discussion of the sculpture of the liturgical furniture of the sixth century at Rome, see A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, 'La scultura di arredo liturgico nelle chiese di Roma: Il momento bizantino', in Guidobaldi and Guiglia Guidobaldi (eds), *Ecclesiae Urbis*, 1479–1524, and Coates-Stephens, 'Byzantine Building', 149–50.

44   The narrative of the discovery is preserved in G.A. Bonelli, *Memorie storiche della Basilica Costantiniana dei SS. XII Apostoli di Roma* (Rome, 1879), 47–8; Mazzucco, *Filippo e Giacomo*, 15.

45   Mazzucco, *Filippo e Giacomo*, 16.

particular claim to the rest of the body of James), and it was determined that they pertained (conveniently) to two separate male adult individuals.[46]

For these translated corporeal relics, the model for the architectural setting of choice was that of the primitive altars of the apostles, both in Rome at St Peter's and St Paul's, and the free-standing cenotaphs of the Apostles at the Apostoleion at Constantinople.[47] In this case, the shrine incorporated the elements now familiar to Rome: the marble container for the relics, the *fenestella* that gave access to the contents of the shrine, protected in their marble shrine, as well as elements particular to the shrines to the apostles.

Roman Contact Relics and Gregory the Great

Corporeal relics, as we have seen, were on the whole much more prestigious than contact relics and were preserved where they had originally been deposited. When corporeal relics happened to arrive in Rome from elsewhere, they were venerated, sometimes in existing sanctuaries dedicated to the saints in question, or otherwise incorporated into the extant fabric of the city and its cult.[48]

Roman bodies were not dismembered or translated from their original place of burial. During the sixth century, popes were besieged by requests for corporeal relics, requests that were consistently denied. Emperor Justinian asked Pope Hormisdas for corporeal relics of the Apostles to place in his new basilica dedicated to them, and in return he was sent contact relics. Papal advisors who argued that it was the Greek, not the Roman, custom to translate corporeal relics justified the decision. Justinian was given part of the grill of St Laurence.[49] This letter clearly expresses a distinction and hierarchy of relic types, and the hierarchy does follow a certain economic logic: *brandea* or cloth contact relics were in great supply, whereas the grill of St Laurence was a unique object, though a relic only in the sense that it had been in contact with Laurence's body. We might call these instrumental relics, more rarified than contact

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46   Ibid*.,* 73–97.

47   On the early shrines to the apostles, see de Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor*, 479–85 (for St Peter's); S. de Blaauw and G. Filippi, 'San Paolo fuori le mura: La disposizione liturgica fino a Gregorio Magno', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome, Historical Studies*, 59 (2000) (=*Atti del colloquio internazionale Arredi di culto e disposizioni liturgiche a Roma da Costantino a Sisto IV. Istituto Olandese a Roma, 3–4 dicembre 1999*), 4–26 (for St Paul's); and Mango, 'Constantine's Mausoleum'.

48   Other examples of foreign relics, even corporeal relics, celebrated at Rome include the famous head of St Anastasius the Persian, which arrived in Rome in the first half of the seventh century and was venerated outside the walls at the Abbazia Tre Fontane. That his cult was quickly integrated into Roman practice is intimated by the presence of *lucerne* inscribed with his name (in genitive) in Greek in the seventh-century archaeological deposits at the Crypta Balbi and the rapid translation of his Passion into Latin: L. Saguì, 'Roma, i centri privilegiati e la lunga durata della tarda antichità', *Archeologia Medievale*, 29 (2002): 7–42, at 13; on the passion text, C. Vircillo Franklin, *The Latin dossier of Anastasius the Persian: Hagiographic Translations and Transformations* (Toronto, 2004), esp. 9–12.

49   Pl. 63, cols 474–7.

relics, though lesser than a body itself, and not subject to the conditions of purity and intangibility as the body.[50]

Gregory's architectural projects for Rome's greatest relics, the bodies of SS Peter and Paul, reflect his attitude towards the intangibility of Roman relics. Around their bodies, the locations of their original burial, Gregory constructed crypts below the pavements of their respective basilicas.[51] His interventions opened the space around the saints' bodies, and relocated the main altars of the churches over the bodies. The two crypts followed very different formats, that at St Paul's being rectangular and room-like around the vertical stele of the apostle, while that at St Peter's being ring-shaped, with a small narrow hallway reaching to the *confessio* of the body itself, including parts of the second-century aedicule. Gregory the Great's writings on relics and his architectural attention to the cult are well known. Certain passages that stress the *consuetudo Romana* are often cited as indicative of Roman practice for the centuries leading up to his reign: at Rome, relics were not fragmented, separated or translated.[52] Empress Constantina asked Gregory the Great for part of the head or other part of the body of St Paul in 594, and in refusing her request Gregory took it upon himself to comment on the dismembering practice of the Greeks, which he found astonishing and sacrilegious.[53] Indeed, when Gregory needed a mobile relic he used a contact relic.[54]

According to Gregory, contact relics were just as valuable as corporeal relics, and it seems this was not merely an idle statement made to appease disgruntled relic-seekers. From Gregory's letters we learn that he used relics – presumably contact relics, since none of the saints in question appear to have been dismembered at this point in time – in the critical work of routing out Arianism in Rome: he requested relics to be sent from Campania to reconsecrate a church of San Severinus on the Via Merulana, once an Arian church.[55] Severinus was the apostle to the Goths of Noricum (Austria), and surely the choice of this saint reflects Gregory's intention to restore Rome from the errors of heresy. At another moment, Gregory chose the relics of the Roman warrior Saint Sebastian, together with the relics of the

50   On the natures of relics, see P. Geary, *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990), 32–5; for a general discussion of attitudes of inviolability, see Herrmann-Mascard, *Reliques des saints*, 26–41.

51   While the two apostles may have been buried elsewhere prior to their burial at the sites of the basilicas, Gregory's attention to excavating the areas around their bodies and their earliest shrines would suggest that he at least believed that the tombs were the primary burials. On this question, see H. Chadwick, 'St Peter and St Paul in Rome: The Problem of the Memoria Apostolorum ad Catacumbas', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 8:1 (1957): 31–52.

52   R. Van Dam, s.v. 'Relics', in Bowersock, Brown and Grabar (eds), *Late Antiquity*, 667–8; J. McCulloh, 'From Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change in Papal Relic Policy from the 6th to the 8th Century', in E. Dassmann and K.S. Frank (eds), *Pietas: Festschrift für Bernhard Kötting* (Münster, 1980), 313–24; idem, 'The Cult of Relics'.

53   *Registrum Epistolae*, IV.30. For discussion of the passage, see C. Leyser, 'The Temptations of Cult: Roman Martyr Piety in the Age of Gregory the Great', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9:3 (2000): 289-307.

54   For an analysis of Gregory's gifts of contact relics, see ibid., 300–301.

55   *Registrum Epistolae*, III.19, cf. *Dialogues*, III.30.

titular saint of the church, the Sicilian Agatha, to reconsecrate another Arian church in Rome, Sant'Agata dei Goti. During that ceremony, it became clear to the people in attendance that there was an invisible pig in the church, which ran out of the presbytery. This was clearly the heresy itself escaping from the power of orthodoxy, orthodoxy installed in the church by the presence of relics of Sebastian and Agatha.[56] In addition to describing the efficacy of relics, this episode sheds light on the fact that in Rome, an urban church dedicated to a saint acted as the *locus* of their veneration even without the *presentia* of the saints' body, though when possible relics of the saint were placed in the church.[57]

For Gregory, relics served political purposes as well, as they had served his predecessors such as Pope Symmachus. Gregory sent a series of vials of oil to the pious Lombard queen Teodolinda, of which the *pittacia*, small identifying labels, are preserved.[58] Gregory also sent relics rather often as gifts, sending out over a dozen lockets containing shavings from the chains of Peter, and once sending a bishop a fragment of the pallium of Peter, perhaps intending to underscore the importance of the episcopal hierarchy in sustaining orthodoxy.[59]

Looking back on Gregory's words and actions around the cult of relics through the lenses of hindsight, however, it appears that he was fighting to stave off the inevitable change in tide about the displacement of Roman bodies. From the sixth century onwards, the Mediterranean world was focusing more and more attention to relics of saints, bringing about new translations, dividing up bodies, and ensconcing them in new shrines. It was only a matter of time before Roman bishops began to do the same, though we shall see that these first instances of translations fit within patterns already established at Rome.

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56   Gregory, *Dial.*, III.30. This episode gives an early date for the use of Sebastian to ward off pestilence, a major concern for Gregory, as his predecessor had been struck down by the plague. Such a use was echoed roughly 150 years later by Paul the Deacon, 'Historia Langobardum', *MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, VI, 166, who described the use of relics of St Sebastian at the Roman church of San Pietro in Vincoli to ward off the plague.

57   Another example of this attitude is the treatment of the head of St George, which surfaced in Lateran stores under the pontificate of Zacharias (741–52) in a casket with a *pittacium* in Greek letters indicating the identity of the head. It was taken to the church of San Giorgio in Velabro: *LP*, 93, §24.

58   D. Trout, 'Theodelinda's Rome: *Ampullae*, *Pittacia*, and the Image of the City', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 50 (2005): 131–50. My thanks go to Trout for sharing part of his article prior to publication.

59   *MGH Epistolae*, II, 224–5, 228.
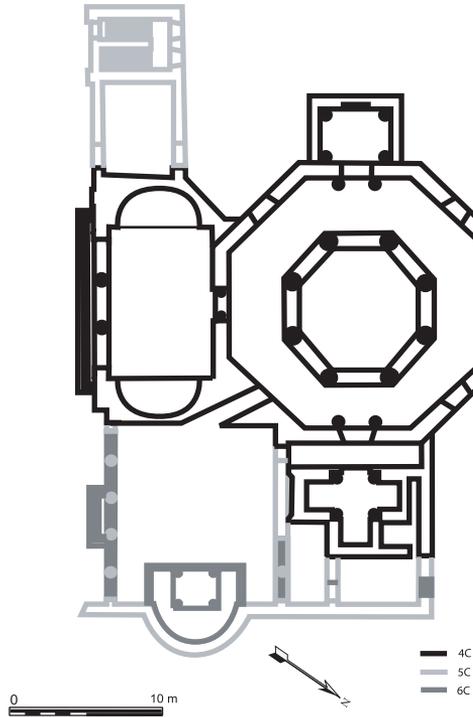
Fig. 2.6   Rome, Lateran Baptistery. Plan of the chapel of San Venanzio (plan: author) (scale, 1:500)

The First Translations within the Walls

Pope John IV (640–42), himself of Dalmatian origins, ordered the bodies of saints to be brought from Dalmatia and Istria after its destruction by the Avars and Slavs.[60] The relics of ten-odd saints were deposited within the city walls, in a new chapel built between the Lateran Baptistery and the basilica, dedicated to St Venanzio in honour of one of the saints.[61] The altar was opened in 1962, to reveal a half-kilo of animal and human bones and dust.[62] The disintegrated bodies of these saints had been collected and translated during the Avar invasions.[63] Fragments, then, of

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60   *LP*, 74, §2.

61   *LP*, 73, §2–3. G. Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function and Patronage* (Toronto, 2003), 212–30; J. Osborne, 'Politics, Diplomacy and the Cult of Relics in the Northern Adriatic', *Early Medieval Europe*, 8:3 (1999): 369–86, at 372; eadem, 'The San Venanzio Chapel in Rome and the Martyr Shrine Sequence', *Revue d'Art Canadienne Canadian Art Review*, 23 (1996): 1–13.

62   Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels*, 218–28.

63   Ibid., 226–8. On the idea of the intact martyr's body, see A. Angenendt, 'Corpus incorruptum: Ein Leitidee der mittelalterlichen Reliquienferehrung', *Saeculum*, 41 (1991): 320–48.

the bodies of Dalmatian and Istrian martyrs were translated to Rome.[64] They were placed in the chapel of San Venanzio, at the Lateran.

The architectural frame for these relics was a small rectangular chapel, with a round apsed end.

The structure was most probably reworked from an earlier structure, a chapel created by Pope Hilarus I (461–68), to which an apse was added in the seventh century, prior to John IV. John's interventions to create a home for the saints included the blocking-up of lateral arcades and the mosaic decoration of the chapel.[65] He lined the apse wall with mosaics depicting Christ, the Virgin, Saints Peter and Paul, various bishops, and standing figures of the saints whose remains had been translated, identified by *tituli* below their figures. The depictions of the saints in the mosaics are not vague. Instead, they are named and rendered with relatively distinct physiognomies, and it has been convincingly argued that these images derive from Dalmatian prototypes at the original shrines to these saints.[66]

The motivations for John's translations, however revolutionary, are pragmatic and personal. The desire on the part of the pope to protect the holy bodies of besieged Dalmatia is reason enough for the translations, though we must ask ourselves why they were translated to Rome. The explanation may lie in the desire of the pope to collect the bodies of the martyrs of Christ together there at Rome, to stock the city with countless saints and stress the centrality of Rome as a centre of the Christian cult. A further motivation may lie in the creation of a tomb to the pope's father. John IV was the son of the *scholasticus* Venantius, a legal advisor for the Byzantine exarchate, and the translation of the saint after whom his father was named is probably not coincidental. Such attention picks up on a pattern that dates back to the fourth century, the translation of relics and the burial of a bishop's family with the saint's body. Ambrose of Milan gave us a very clear example of this trend with his renovation of the chapel of San Vittore, which included his placement of his brother's body next to that of the saint. It is possible, then, that the remains of John IV's father might even have been located in the chapel at the Lateran.

Pope John's successor, Theodore I (642–49) also translated corporeal remains to within the city walls, to the church of Santo Stefano Rotondo, on the Caelian Hill. Theodore converted one of the cross arms of that centrally planned church into a chapel by installing a monumental altar and creating an apse in the outer wall.

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64   *Pace* Mackie, who makes the case that the relics translated to the chapel were contact relics on the basis that the bits found in the reliquary were mostly dust and a few human and animal bones, 'neither skulls nor long bones'; the fact that the saints' remains had been translated previously; and because some sites laid claim to the relics of some of these saints for several centuries after the chapel was built in Rome, 225–7. Despite her close reading of the sources and her careful attention to the problems of language, Mackie's conclusions rely on an anachronistic consideration of the integrity of saints' bodies.

65   The architectural interventions are summarized in Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels*, 216–17.

66   Ibid., 218–23.

Into the chapel, presumably into the altar, he deposited the bodies of Roman saints Primus and Felicianus, who had been venerated previously on the Via Nomentana.[67] The saints are depicted in mosaic in the apse behind the altar, standing against a gold ground, in front of a jewelled cross, with a medallion of the bust of Christ. The two figures are identified by *tituli* and their mosaics reflect some attention to conveying physiognomic detail of specific individuals.[68] The images of the saints are in an apsidal niche at the back wall of the chapel, which had an altar in front of it, uncovered in the eighteenth-century excavations, revealing bones identified by metal tags inscribed with the names of the saints in early medieval palaeography, and re-deposited in the new altar.[69] There was another inscription in the chapel, in mosaic, now lost, recounting that 'Piety inspired the heart of Pope Theodore, who wished to decorate this sanctuary. He applied all his zeal to honouring the bodies of the saints by this fine decoration, nor did he forget the remains of his father',[70] who had been a bishop of Jerusalem, and was apparently interred in the chapel. In this light, it is probably not insignificant that the larger church in which this chapel was constructed was dedicated to Stephen, the Protomartyr, celebrated outside of Jerusalem, and thus the shrine might have held personal significance in the biography of the pope and his father.[71] We have no other indication of possible motives for translating the relics than the construction of a funerary chapel for his father, yet a great deal of attention was paid to authenticating the identity of these saints, the nuanced depiction of the saints' physiognomies, and the identification of the saints in writing in the mosaics and on the relics themselves.[72]

These two seventh-century translations relate to two of the patterns we have seen before: the removal of bodies of the saints to safe places in times of duress and the translation of relics of saints with which to bury episcopal family members. Yet we should also see these seventh-century translations as testimony to the growing cult of saints throughout the Mediterranean, coupled with the increase in non-Roman saints into the liturgical space of the city (and its calendar). Translations of this

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67 'Eodem tempore levata sunt corpora sanctorum martyrym Primi et Feliciani, qui erant in arenario sepulta, via Numentana, et adducta sunt in urbe Roma; qui et recondita sunt in basilica beati Stephani protomartyris' (At that time the bodies of the holy martyrs Primus and Felicianus, which were buried in the arenario, were removed and brought into the city of Rome; they were placed in the basilica of the blessed Stephen, protomartyr), *Gesta regum Anglorum*, lib. IV, cap. 352, Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:133–53, 152; Davis-Weyer, 'S. Stefano Rotondo', 79.

68 G. Matthiae, *Mosaici medioevali delle chiese di Roma* (Rome, 1967), 181–90.

69 Davis-Weyer, 'S. Stefano Rotondo', reproduces a drawing by P.L. Ghezzi of the authentics, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 2136, fol. 84. See also *LP*, 75, §4. Theodore also constructed a gallery crypt at the basilica of San Valentino, outside the walls, though whether he actually relocated the body is subject to question: B.M. Apollonj Ghetti, 'Nuove indagini sulla basilica di S. Valentino', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 25 (1949): 171–89.

70 Translation from Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels*, 290, n.38. Davis-Weyer made a case that it was the cosmopolitan nature of Theodore and his entourage and their connections with other patterns of relic veneration that prompted them to translate the bodies.

71 Davis-Weyer, 'S. Stefano Rotondo', 71.

72 Ibid., 77.

nature do not appear to have been repeated in any serious way, possibly an indication of how little ready Rome was for this kind of change. However, in the mid-eighth century, the attention focused back to Rome as the source of the bodies translated, with significant changes for the shape of the city.
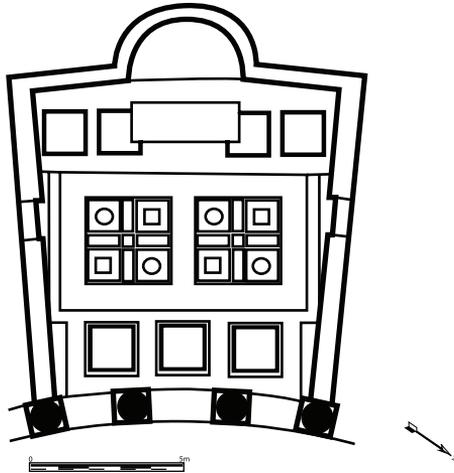

Fig. 2.7   Rome, Santo Stefano Rotondo. Bottom: plan of the chapel of Santi Primus et Felicianus (scale, 1:250); top: mosaic in the chapel apse (plan: author; photo: Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici di Roma. Neg. 114283)

Eighth Century

Pope Paul I (757–67) translated the remains of some fifty saints into the city. The *LP* records that because their cemeteries had been reduced to ruin, Paul brought the bodies of saints inside the city and deposited them in various cult centres, including the new monastery of San Silvestro along the Via Lata, which he was then constructing in what had been his family home.[73] Two sets of inscriptions record the names of the saints translated, divided by gender, and in the order of their feast days.[74] Together with a nearly identical inscription at the Vatican, this names forty-three individuals, '*et aliorum*'.[75] The saints listed in the inscriptions had been venerated along some of the major roads out of Rome, the majority coming from the Via Appia. Paul's biographer gives as explanation for the translation the fact that the bodies had been lying neglected in the cemeteries; indeed, this neglect surely arose from the Lombard siege of 756 just before Paul's papal reign, as Paul wrote in his letter to Leontius, abbot of the new monastery of San Silvestro.[76] Though the specific architectural context of the bodies in the new monastery is lost, they were placed probably in a crypt, which is partially recognizable below the current church of San Silvestro.[77] Again, we should not imagine such a display as a morgue of fifty-odd intact corpses, but rather the scrapings of whatever was left in as many tombs or *loculi* condensed into a few sarcophagi. According to the description in the *LP*, they were placed below the altar, which had a *confessio* lined with silver and was topped with a *ciborium* of silver.[78]

Paul's brother and predecessor Stephen II (752–57) had visited Francia in 754, forging the first union between the Franks and the papacy, a relationship continued by Paul and his successors.[79] With this union came a cultural exchange that affected the material culture of Rome as well as her politics, and we might imagine that Paul's attention to corporeal relics reflects his desire to participate in the Frankish court's

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73   *LP*, 95, §2, 4–5. On the actual foundation of the monastery, see PL XII, 645–50, ep. XII. *MGH Epistolae*, III, 554–6. The church complex of Santi Stefano e Silvestro has been known as San Silvestro in Capite since the twelfth century, when the relics of the head of John the Baptist were deposited there.

74   The inscriptions are reproduced in A. Silvagni (ed.), *Monumenta epigraphica christiana saeculo XIII antiquiora quae in Italiae finibus adhuc exstant* (Rome, 1943), 1:pl. 37, 1, 2. They are also transcribed, with errors of transcription, in O. Marucchi, *Eléments d'archéologie chrétienne* (Paris, 1909), 3:398–9. The palaeography suggests a date during the mid-eighth century; see N. Gray, 'The Paleography of Latin Inscriptions in the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Centuries in Italy', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 16 (1948): 38–162, cat. no. 10B.

75   The inscriptions are reproduced and transcribed in *Monumenta epigraphica*, I, 38, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collection e Vaticanis Codicibus Edita* ed. Angelo Mai (Marini) (Rome, 1831), V, 44 (with errors); F.A. Bauer, 'Epigrafe con inventario di reliquie', in *Carlo Magno a Roma* (Vatican City, 2000), 138–9 (with errors, but reproduced with photograph).

76   PL, 89, 1190–95, *MGH Concilia* 2a 66–7, *MGH Epistolae*, III, 554–6.

77   Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum,* 4:154–6.

78   The text of the *LP* at this point is in part interpolated from a variant manuscript, which might date to several decades later. See R. Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool, 1992), 79, 83.

79   Paul's letters to Pepin are found in *MGH Epistolae*, III, 507–58.

passion for saints' bodies. In fact, he dedicated the monastery known now as San Silvestro (in Capite) not only to SS Stephen and Silvester, but also to St Denis (or Dionysus), a dedication referring on the one hand to the first bishop of Paris and the titular saint of the Frankish court monastery outside Paris, and on the other to the third-century bishop of Rome of the same name.[80] The sources, however, stress Paul's protection of the relics from the Lombards, enumerating in detail, and somewhat hyperbolic language, Lombard offenses to the resting places of the saints in Rome.[81] Paul's translations might then be a sign of his desire not only to protect the bodies and the patrimony of the See of Peter, but also to stress the threats to the spiritual life of the Roman Church; Paul could preserve a certain number of relics by bringing them into the city, but he needed Pepin's help in order to keep the Lombards at bay and save the city.

Paul also made a highly political translation of the body of Petronilla, purported to be the daughter of Peter, to an oratory in an imperial mausoleum along the flank of St Peter's, next to Symmachus' oratory of Sant'Andrea. [see above, Fig. 2.3 plan Sant'Andrea] The *LP* records his removal of the body in its sarcophagus from the Via Ardeatina by carriage to the Vatican following his predecessor's wishes.[82] St Petronilla was the chosen patron saint of the Frankish royal family, and the oratory acted as a symbolic locus of the intersection between Frankish royalty and the Roman papacy.[83] Paul deposited the baptismal shawl of Pepin's daughter Giselle in the chapel of Petronilla after she was baptized in 757.[84] Though the paintings of the chapel were whitewashed in the fifteenth century, they apparently had once depicted scenes of Constantine.[85] While we cannot be sure that such a decorative programme dates to Paul (Pope Leo III, 795–816, is also credited with paintings in the chapel), images of imperial authority in easy relationship with episcopal rule would fit well within the contemporary negotiations of secular and spiritual, royal and papal authorities.[86] It is tempting to see such a programme of decoration, if it existed, as one more layer in the palimpsest of papal and royal interests intersecting at the chapel for the relics of St Petronilla.

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80   The evidence for the dedications to Saint Denis are echoed in Frankish sources; see Abbot Hilduin, *c.* 835, 'Libro de Sancto Dionysio', *MGH Scriptores*, XV/I, 3. On this, see Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, 302–12.

81   For example, *MGH Epistolae*, III, 523. For Stephen II's letter of 756 to Pepin, describing the heresies of the Lombards outside the walls in much the same language as the later text employed, see *MGH Epistolae*, III, 494–504.

82   *LP*, 95, §3.

83   De Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor*, 577.

84   R. Schieffer, 'Charlemagne and Rome', in J.M.H. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000), 279–95, esp. 287. He dates the letter to 758. See also A. Angenendt, 'Zur liturgischen Präsenz der Karolinger in Sankt Peter' in Erwin Gatz (ed.), *Hundert Jahre Deutsches Priesterkolleg beim Campo Santo Teutonico 1876–1976. Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte* (Römische Quartalschrift Supplementheft, 35), 1977: 52–68.

85   R. Olitsky Rubenstein, 'Pius II's Piazza S. Pietro and St. Andrew's Head', in D. Fraser, H. Hibbard and M.J. Lewine (eds), *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolph Wittkower* (London, 1967), 24, n.26. My thanks to Margaret Meserve for this reference.

86   On the political negotiations, see Angenendt, 'Zur liturgischen Präsenz'.

Paul's attention to the relics of the patron saint of the Carolingian house and relics of the first bishop of Paris not only indicates the highly politicized nature of the cult of saints in the early Middle Ages, but also suggests that the attitude towards relics in both Rome and Francia was changing. Subsequent popes followed Paul's lead, slowly at first. Pope Leo III translated a few saints' bodies into the city.[87] Pope Hadrian on the one hand restored shrines at the catacombs, even shrines that had recently lost their most important relics, such as the Cemetery of Santa Felicità on the Via Salaria.[88] On the other hand, he relocated the bodies of the early Popes Cornelius, Lucius, Felix and Innocent from the Roman catacombs to the church at the rural *domusculta Capracorum* (now Cencelle), and placed them in front of the altar.[89]

Paschal's translations, with which we began this inquiry, mark the breaking of the floodgates and the flow of bodies of saints out of Rome to foreigners, and into Rome, into urban shrines, began during the second quarter of the ninth century, and did not cease throughout the rest of the Middle Ages.[90]

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87   Pope Leo III, in the foundation of his church dedicated to Santa Susanna, placed the relics of St Felicitas under the altar and recorded the translation in the apse mosaic. In the apse were mosaic images of Christ, the Virgin, and other saints, as well as Leo III and Charlemagne; see C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff (eds), *799. Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit* (Paderborn, 1999), 2:637–8 (cat. no. IX.23). The floors and presbytery were ornamented with marble, columns, and a *confessio* lined with silver; see *LP*, 98, §9. Leo III also installed relics at the hospice of S. Pellegrino a Naumachia, part of the growing complex of buildings around the Vatican, *LP*, 98, §90; see De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2:278.

88   *LP*, 97, §79. On Hadrian's restorations to the catacombs (and others), see J. Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs in the Middle Ages', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 53 (1985): 278–328. An inscription attests to Hadrian's emplacement of relics at an unknown site, recently suggested to be outside the Porta Settignana (Septimiana), Trastevere. See F.A. Bauer, 'Frammento di un' iscrizione risalente al pontificato di Adriano I', in *Carlo Magno e Roma* (Vatican City, 2000), 140–41, and De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2:431, n.70.

89   *LP*, 97, §69; N. Christie, 'Popes, Pilgrims and Peasants. The Roles of the domusculta Capracorum (Santa Cornelia, Rome)', in *Akten des XI Internazionalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie* (Münster, 1995), 2:650–57. It has been suggested that Hadrian translated parts of those relics to S. Maria in Trastevere, which possessed relics of Cornelius (and Callixtus and Calepodius); see *LP*, 103, §32, and D. Kinney, 'S. Maria in Trastevere from its Founding to 1215' (unpublished PhD thesis, New York University, 1975), 117–20. A more likely explanation, however, is that relics of the early popes were installed at the church when Pope Gregory IV created the new sanctuary in the church, in the middle of the ninth century. By then relic translations and fragmentation of bodies into multiple locations would have been much more common, according to the chronology here laid out.

90   Goodson, 'Transforming City and Cult', 136.
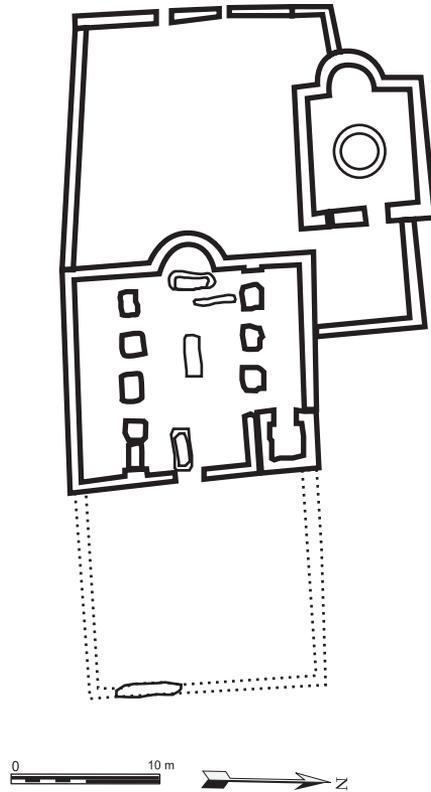
Fig. 2.8   Rome, Plan of Santa Cornelia, *domusculta Capracorum* (Cencelle) (plan: author, after Christie) (scale, 1:500).

The alterations in the landscape of Rome's hagiography, in terms of the locations of saints' bodies, are part of far wider-reaching changes in saint veneration. Gregory III (731–41) institutionalized the remembrance of the martyrs.[91] The celebration included a vigil before the *dies natalitia* (birthday or, as it were, date of death and birth into new life) of the saint, and an office and masses on the *dies natalitia* itself.[92] It is important to recognize also that during the course of the eighth century the institution of the papacy was gradually embracing popular modes of devotion such as the reading of the saints' passions. Pope Hadrian I (772–95) introduced the public reading of the passions of the saints in the church of St Peter.[93] Later, Paschal's

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91   *LP*, 92, §17. On this, see F.A. Bauer, 'La frammentazione liturgica nella chiesa romana del primo medioevo', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 75 (1999): 385–446, esp. 421.

92   P. Jounel, 'Le culte collectif des saints à Rome du VIIe au IXe siècle', in *Le Jugement, le ciel et l'enfer dans l'histoire du christianisme* (Angers, 1989), 19–32.

93   B. de Gaiffier, 'La Lecture des Passions des Martyrs a Rome avant le IXe siècle', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 87 (1969): 63–78, esp. 65–7, citing Ordo XII – see M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge* (Louvain, 1931–61), 2:466 – and a letter from Hadrian to Charlemagne on the

reunion of saints with their companions or families, from whom they had been separated in burial, indicates his close reading of the Passion stories.[94] Bringing relics into the city and into papal churches worked to incorporate diverse kinds of veneration, papal/clerical and popular/personal. The paintings of Rome's churches with scenes of martyrdoms and with images of saints, both Roman and non-Roman, provides further evidence for the merging and consolidation of previously discrete practices. There too, the eighth century witnessed a rise in paintings of 'Eastern' saints in Roman churches, and an increase in scenes of martyrdoms and the stories of the saints, in addition to the more conventional 'iconic' images of saints familiar from apse mosaics.[95]

Conclusions

It will be helpful to summarize the evolution of these two issues of the roles of foreign and local saints and the distinction between inside and outside the walls. Relics that had been translated from elsewhere were certainly venerated in Rome, though they never ranked among the most important of Rome's panoply of saints. There seems to have been some attention to differences between corporeal and contact relics, differences which appear most marked in the patterns of burial *ad sanctos*. The body of a saint, whether in his primary burial or translated, set apart space for subsequent burials in a way that the contact relics did not. Certain burials, such as those of papal family members, were placed in the same shrine as a translated saint's body, whether Roman or foreign, while others were placed around or inside the extramural tombs around the saints. These burials, such as those at San Venanzio and Santo Stefano Rotondo, might be thought of as papal attempts to unite the saints with the families of the bishop, with benefits for both in terms of material preservation and honour of the bodies as well as greater possibility of salvation for the pope's family and, ultimately, himself. Pope Paschal buried his mother in the chapel of San Zeno at Santa Prassede, surrounded by bodies of the saints.[96] Whereas contact relics of saints were used to consecrate altars and buildings, drive out heresy, cure possessions, and express political alliance and authority, corporeal relics served to aid in the salvation of one's loved ones and oneself, whether Roman in origin or not.

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subject (*MGH Epistolae*, 5, 49). Gaiffier suggests that by the late eighth century, the passions of the saints were read in the urban churches as well as the suburban basilicas, 75. See also A. Thacker, 'Roman Apostles and Mass in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', in Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, 247–77, esp. 254.

    94   Goodson, 'Transforming City and Cult', 127–8.

    95   On the paintings, see L. Jessop, 'Pictorial Cycles of Non-Biblical Saints: The Seventh- and Eighth-Century Mural Cycles in Rome and Contexts for their Use', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 67 (1999): 233–79. Jessop associates some of these painted cycles as in the oratory of Theodotus at Santa Maria Antiqua with relics (though her evidence for these alleged relics is not declared) and family burials (for which there is archaeological evidence).

    96   Goodson, 'Transforming City and Cult', 132–3.

As we have seen, at Rome, veneration of saints was focused at the sites of saints' burial and their bodies. As previously extramural practices such as burial, rubbish-heaping and lime-burning began to take place inside the city walls, so too did saint veneration, albeit with a significant lag time.[97] We might surmise that the hinterland of Rome did change from a vibrant network of porticos and roads leading to shrines and basilicas, populated by clerics, monks and devotees, to a rather riskier zone, damaged by Lombards in the mid-750s, prone to suffer from relic thieves, and increasingly threatened by Arab raiders in the early ninth century.[98] Indeed, the descriptions of translations of saints in the *LP* often stress the neglect of the bodies, a neglect that can be in a sense understood if there were real physical threat involved in trekking out to the catacombs. It is important to note, however, that these events, the threats to the city and the retraction of the saints' bodies into the city, might not be so tightly related by cause, but might rather be better understood as a process of evolving urbanization of medieval Rome.[99] While early pilgrims came to Rome to visit saints' bodies outside the walls, they also visited sites within the walls, churches and ancient monuments.[100] Pilgrimage was an urban activity at Rome, and the building of facilities for pilgrims attests to this fact and the increasingly urban nature of the city over the period under consideration here.[101] Hospices, *xenodochia* and charitable distribution centres were generally located outside the walls at the Vatican, around St Peter's and then interspersed along thoroughfares within the city.[102] (Indeed, it is worth reflecting on the way in which the Vatican became more 'urban' and the northern and southern corners of the city more 'extra-urban' through the course of the Middle Ages.) This kind of munificence for pilgrims, mostly paid for by popes, has been described as part of the programmatic creation of not only Christian Rome, but also Papal Rome.[103] Thus, the veneration of saints, both Roman and non-Roman, within the urban fabric of Rome as defined by the city walls acted

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97   On burial, see most recently M. Costambeys, 'The Culture and Practice of Burial in and around Rome in the Sixth Century', in Guidobaldi and Guiglia Guidobaldi (eds), *Ecclesiae Urbis*, 721–31, and on the relationship between burials and relic translations, see 722. Costambeys provides keys to the (vast) bibliography on the subject.

98   On relic theft from Rome, see J. Guiraud, 'La commerce des reliques au commencement du IXe siècle', *Mélanges G-B de Rossi*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 12 (Paris, 1892), 73–95.

99   The causal relationship between threats to catacombs–removal of bodies–abandonment of catacombs is commonplace in the literature about Rome's saint veneration. See, for example, Reekmans, 'L'implantation chrétienne', 903, and Gaiffier, 'La lecture des passions', 77.

100 See, for example, the Einsiedeln Itinerary, *799. Kunst und Kultur*, 607–8 (cat. no. IX.1).

101 See D. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Rochester, 1998), which, however, gives a much fuller account of later pilgrimage than earlier.

102 R. Santangeli Valenzani, 'Pellegrini, Senatori e Papi. Gli xenodochia a Roma tra il V e il IX secolo', in *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte*, 19–20 (ser. III) (1996–97), 203–26.

103 T.F.X. Noble, 'Topography, Celebration, and Power: The Making of Papal Rome in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', in M. de Jong and F. Theuws (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), 45–97. On the earlier foundations of some *diaconia* by individuals other than popes, see Coates-Stephens, 'Byzantine Building'.

to create a density of cult activity, and a display of papal might that came to characterize Rome of the Middle Ages.

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Life after Death
The Afterlife of Sarcophagi in Medieval Rome and Ravenna

Dorothy Verkerk

> The drama, in brief, lies in the uncertainty of identity. [The] eventful biography of a thing becomes the story of classifications and reclassifications in an uncertain world of categories whose importance shifts with change in context. [1]

> *Igor Kopytoff*

On a visit to the Museo Pio Cristiano in the Vatican, examples of ancient Italian sculpture provide a veritable visual feast. Row upon row, arranged in a loose chronological order, it is easy to study the stone sarcophagi for their iconographical peculiarities and their stylistic qualities. They are organized for inspection by lay persons and professionals, with little information about the patrons or for whom they were intended unless a name is inscribed on the stone surface. Often, nameless faces, usually of a couple, stare back at the viewer, raising questions about who these people were and how their burial containers came to be in the museum. Most of the sarcophagi were discovered during nineteenth-century excavations of the Roman catacombs and formed part of a collection begun by Pope Pius IX in 1854 which was housed in the Lateran Palace. What happened to the contents? Were they used more than once? What did other generations think about these impressive pieces of Late Antique art? Are these relatively recent discoveries, or did some of these stone sarcophagi have different uses, or 'lives', throughout the ages? In this relatively recent context of a museum, the 'lives' of these stone sarcophagi are often difficult to discern.[2] Though curators and art historians have traditionally researched provenances to determine authenticity, the modern museum erases all previous re-contextualization of these complex works, though the original funerary function is assumed. In the museum they are appreciated for their 'exhibition value' rather than their 'cult value'.[3] In fact, a new initiative sponsored by the Vatican Museums, the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, and the United Bible

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1   I. Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge, 1986), 64–94.

2   I am indebted to R.H. Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton, 1997), for his study of the re-contextualization of Indian sculpture.

3   W. Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in *Illuminations: Essay and Reflections* (New York, 1968), 224. More recently, essays in I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds),

Societies is seeking to attract visitors with an interest in the art of the Early Church for a museum that has been 'quieter than the tomb' compared to other Vatican museums.[4] This essay seeks to explore some of the myriad ways in which the funerary monuments of Late Antiquity were often re-used or re-contextualized by patrons other than the one(s) that first commissioned the sarcophagi. In the process of this brief survey, it is of interest to note the various categories – funerary monument, reliquary, cultural artifact – into which they will be placed.

Archaeologists and art historians who study the sarcophagi have traditionally had one prevailing view. We rely on categories and classifications that lock the sarcophagi into the period of their creation and typically ignore the questions of re-use of these works. Early Christian sarcophagi are usually divided into two stylistic groups.[5] The first consists of frieze sarcophagi, which are decorated with a continuous frieze of unrelated figures or scenes along the front. The double register sarcophagus is a subset of the frieze sarcophagi. In this type, scenes and figures are arranged in two horizontal registers, often in tightly packed rows with no delineation between scenes. Images of the deceased and a spouse are sometimes, but not always, displayed in a medallion or shell form. The second group consists of columnar sarcophagi, on which figures or scenes appear in or before an architectural framework comprising columns and arches. This group is subdivided according to compositional type. Niche sarcophagi consist of five- or three-niche arcades that frame the figures and scenes, often with foliage as the decorative motif or with a city gate as the framing motif. Of the columnar sarcophagi, another subset is known as the 'fine' style because of the excellent quality of the carving in the classical tradition. One of the best examples is the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, which combines columnar and frieze traditions in its depiction of a double register of Old and New Testament scenes.[6]

As useful as these categories may be for art historians, this is a type of classification that privileges the moment of their making by arranging them by stylistic and compositional qualities. Art historical and archaeological categories obscure, at least for the time being, any previous ways of thinking about them as cult objects. In contrast, this chapter comprises an exploration of the various ways in which funerary monuments are re-used, thereby shifting the categories and classifications from stylistic ones to patterns of use and re-use.

Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display (Washington, DC, 1991) explore these issues of exhibition in a museum context.

4   The Catholic News Service released a notice on 3 October 2005 that an 80-page, illustrated brochure, available in six languages, of the sarcophagi will enable tourists to 'understand the biblical sources of inspiration' for the carvings; see 'The Engraved Word: The Bible at the Beginning of Christian Art', at http://www.catholicnews.com/data/stories/cns/0505552.htm.

5   G. Bovini, *I sarcofagi paleocristiani: determinazione della loro cronologia mediante l'analisi dei ritratti* (Rome, 1949); A.C. Soper, 'The Latin Style on Christian Sarcophagi of the Fourth Century', *Art Bulletin*, 19 (1937): 148–202; M. Lawrence, 'Columnar Sarcophagi in the Latin West', *Art Bulletin*, 14 (1932): 103–83; J. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, 3 vols (Rome, 1929–36); M. Lawrence, 'City Gate Sarcophagi', *Art Bulletin*, 10 (1927): 1–46.

6   D.H. Verkerk, 'Job and Sitis: Curious Figures in Early Christian Funerary Art', *Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäolgie*, 3 (1997): 20–29; E.S. Malbon, *The Iconography of the Junius Bassus Sarcophagus: neofitvs ad deum* (Princeton, 1990).

Tomb slabs could be re-used in numerous ways, but the defining process of re-use was what I call 'inscribing'. By this term, I borrow from its definition in geometry where one figure is drawn within another so that their boundaries touch but do not intersect. One method is quite straightforward: an inscription is added to the tomb slab. Discovered in 1735 at Sant'Apollinare in Classe, and now housed in the museum in Ravenna, the tomb slab of Herennia Faventina from the second half of the second century CE was beautifully inscribed below a relief of the head of the deceased (Fig. 3.1).

Fig. 3.1   Tomb slab of Herennia Faventina with epitaph for Caius Sobo, second half of the fourth century (Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile; photo: author)

Fig. 3.2   Epitaph for Seda, 541 (Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile; photo: author)

At the bottom of the slab, in a much cruder script, was added the epitaph for the African Caius Sobo, who uses the standard Christian epitaph of asking to rest in peace. Although part of the original inscription is erased, the slab easily accommodates the epitaphs of two disparate people. The reason for the partial erasure of Herennia Faventina's inscription is not known, nor is it known when the erasure took place. Obviously, Caius saw little need to erase Herennia Faventina, but merely added his name and his prayer within the context of the previous deceased.

This is not the case in the tomb front of the eunuch and *cubicularius* to King Theodoric, who was interred in 541 in a second-century sarcophagus of the type called *tabula ansata* (Fig. 3.2).[7]

The *tabula ansata* was a standard framing device for Roman inscriptions where the rectangular field is flanked by triangular forms, much like the shape of a large tray with handles. Here, the original depictions of the deceased were removed and the lengthy epitaph was inserted in rather crude lettering:

HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE VIR S(U)BL(IMIS)
SEDA IGNVCVS ET CUBICVLARIVS RE
GIS-THEODERICI QVI VIXIT ANN(OS) PL(US) M(INUS)
XL. DEPOSITVS EST SVB D(IE) III. ID(US)
MARTIAS BASILIO IVN(IORE) V(IRO) C(LARRISSMO) CONS(ULE)
INDICTIONE QVARTA[8]

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7   G. Bovini, *"Corpus" della scultura paleocristiana bizantina ed altomedievale di Ravenna. I sarcophagi a figure e a carattere simbolico*, 2 (Roma, 1968), no. 42.

8   'Here sleeps peacefully Seda "vir sublimus" eunuch and cubicularius of King Theodoric, who lived about forty years. This was placed on the 13th of March, under the consulate of

The flanking arches and the *tabula ansata*, original to the second-century use, have been left intact as they now circumscribe the new epitaph to the deceased *cubicularius* Seda. Here the erasure of the faces or the inscription, or both, of the original patron was deemed necessary to accommodate the new patron, though the recognizably earlier decorative framing was left intact.

In another example, the original inscription has remained, but recognizably Christian decorative symbolism has been added by a later patron (Figs 3, 4).

A second- to third-century sarcophagus carries the patron's original inscription: 'To the divine spirits of the dead. Terentius Arrenius Severus dedicated gratefully to the freedwoman Arrenia Cerilla'.[9] According to Lucius Apuleius, the honour of adding the name 'God' to *manes* (spirits of the dead) is reserved for those who have lived their lives with justice and prudence and are later worshipped as gods.[10] Sometime in the ninth century, a cross flanked by trees of life on the left and two rosettes on the right – in the shape and form found on Lombard carvings[11] – were added to the tomb front.[12] When the ends of the sarcophagus were reworked in the ninth century, the appeal to the Roman spirits of the dead and the name of the deceased were left intact. By the addition of an overtly Christian symbol such as the tree of life and the addition of rosettes commonly found on Christian Lombard sarcophagi, the pagan origins were 'sanctified' by reference to the crucifixion and the hope of eternal life.

In two of these examples, the pagan inscription is left intact, while in the other example, the Christian patron's inscribing of symbols or Christian phrases is often left in harmony with the original inscription. It is difficult to assess or to read meaning into the erasure or its absence. By adding the Christian cross or the Christian phrase 'rest in peace', was the pagan tomb somehow changed? By inscribing words or symbols, however, the secondary owner has appropriated the original ownership of the piece, replacing the identity by erasure, or by consecrating it with symbols, or peacefully juxtaposing the new and the old. These are rather straightforward examples of how a tomb slab could be reworked by later patrons, where the original function of the funerary monuments remained in place.

Basilius the "vir clarissimus" in the fourth indiction'.

9   D(IS) M(ANIBUS) ARRIENIAE CYRILLAE T(ERENTIUS) ARRENIUS SEVERUS LIBERTAE MERENTI

10   *De Deo Socratis*, 20; examples are Amphiaraus of Bœtia, Mopsus of Africa, Osiris of Egypt, and especially Esculapius (Asclepius).

11   See for example, G.L. Menis, *et al.*, *I Longobardi* (Milan, 1990).

12   Bovini, *"Corpus" della scultura paleocristiana*, no. 63.

Figs 3.3 and 3.4   Epitaph for Arrenia Cerilla, second to third century (Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile; photo: author)

In the larger stone sarcophagi of the fourth and fifth century, the picture becomes more complex. The sarcophagi by their very presence also had the power to confer status, a feature which contributed to the phenomenon that I term 'elevation', which changes the category from container or grave marker to reliquary. Elevation is demonstrated by the strange story of St Petronilla. Her sarcophagus had been in the basilica of Santi Nereo e Achilleo in the cemetery of Domitilla; Pope John I (523–26) later transferred

Petronilla's sarcophagus to St Peter's.[13] It was Pope Paul I, Stephen's successor, who brought Petronilla's relics to the basilica of St Peter in 757.[14] At the end of Life 94 in the Frankish additions to the *Liber Pontificalis* is the story of her translation:

> To fulfil his elder brother and holy predecessor Pope Stephen's advantageous arrangements, immediately the pontiff had died, this blessed pontiff gathered the *sacerdotes*, the whole clergy and this city of Rome's entire people, and began operations at the cemetery outside the Appian gate some two miles from Rome where St Petronilla had once been buried. From there he removed her venerable and holy body along with the marble sarcophagus in which it lay and on which were carved letters reading 'To Aurea Petronilla, sweetest daughter'.[15] This made it certain that the carving of the letters could be identified as engraved by St Peter's own hand out of love for his sweetest child. The holy body and the sarcophagus were laid on a new carriage and brought by his Beatitude with hymns and spiritual chants to St Peter's; he placed the holy body in the mausoleum close to St Andrew's, whose dedication in honor of this St Petronilla, Christ's martyr, had been decreed by his brother the holy Pope Stephen while yet living.[16]

In the apocryphal Acts of St Peter,[17] dating from the second century, a daughter of St Peter is mentioned, but she is not identified by name. In the Acts, Peter is taunted because he has not healed his daughter, who is paralyzed on one side of her body. He proceeds to demonstrate his miraculous powers by healing her and then proceeds to undo his work since her beauty was too much of a temptation.[18] Although a daughter of St Peter is mentioned in passing by Augustine,[19] the evidence of her physical existence and her tangible presence in the city rested solely on the marble sarcophagus with an inscription, mentioned so explicitly in the Life as being carved by the hand of the Apostle, her father. By re-contextualizing the sarcophagus, the eighth-century Romans were investing the object with a specific, sanctified meaning, and thereby elevating its status as a container for the relics of the saint.

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13   M. Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation: Die Grablegen der Päpste, ihre Genese und Traditionsbildung* (Göttingen, 1989), 108–12.

14   The Annals of Ulster record the translation as taking place in 741: 'The body of Petronilla, daughter of St Peter, was translated this year, and these words, written in Peter's own handwriting, were found in the marble tomb from which it was taken i.e. "The restingplace of Petronilla, most dearly beloved daughter…"'; see CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts Edition: T100001A, http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/T100001A.html.

15   AVREAE PETRONILLAE FILIAE DVLCISSIMAE

16   R. McKitterick, 'The Illusion of Royal Power in the Carolingian Annals', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000): 1–20; A.M. Voci, '"Petronilla auxiliatrix regis Francorum" anno 757: Sulla "memoria" del re dei Franchi presso San Pietro', *Bullettino dell'Istituto italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 99 (1993): 1–28; M. Comblen-Sonkes *et al.*, 'Le reliquaire en bois de sainte Pétronille à Rekem et ses textiles anciens. Étude et conservation', *Bulletin de l'Institut royal du patrimoine artistique*, 23 (1991): 134–62.

17   Two acts, Peter's Daughter and the Gardener's Daughter, preface the Acts of Peter.

18   J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford, 1993): 390–438, esp. 397–8; see also C.M. Thomas, *The Acts of St Peter, Gospel Literature and the Ancient Novel: Rewriting the Past* (Oxford, 2000).

19   *Contra Adimantum*, 17.5.

The case of Petronilla is not an isolated example of the sarcophagus conferring an elevated status. In Santa Prassede, for example, four stacked sarcophagi occupy the small crypt created to house them when the presbytery was rebuilt between 1728 and 1734.[20] Originally a semi-circle with two side entrances from the transept, it was connected to the presbytery by two staircases that went up along the side of the room of the relics located under the main altar. The opening of this room brought to light many relics and the sarcophagi containing the bodies of the saints Praxedis and Pudentiana. As they are now placed, the lower sarcophagus along the right wall of the crypt bears the inscription: CORPUS S PRAXEDIS CORPUS S PUDENTIANAE. The carved and painted inscription is not contemporary with the original sarcophagus; however, it is difficult to determine whether the inscription dates to the eighteenth century or to the time of Pope Paschal I (817–24), who rebuilt the church and added an inscription in the apse that proclaims the pope was responsible for interring the body of St Praxedis, along with numerous other saints, under the floor of the church.[21] Nonetheless, the bones within the sarcophagus were granted the status of saints due to the great age of the sarcophagus and the all-important inscription.

Along the left wall of the crypt are two additional early Christian sarcophagi: the top one a strigillated sarcophagus, while on the bottom is a strigillated sarcophagus with a relief carving of the deceased person framed within a shell. Below, the image of the deceased Jonah reclines under a gourd with the sea monster to his right side. Two representations of the Good Shepherd are placed on either side of the central scenes. Although only one of these four sarcophagi bears an identifying inscription, the four sarcophagi have been housed in their new setting and stand in mute witness to the presence of the saints. We can thus piece together a bit of the history of these fifth-century sarcophagi that were taken from their original location and transferred to the church until they were once again disinterred and re-housed in a new crypt. The objects, during this process of re-contextualization, move from the category of coffin to reliquary to rediscovered confirmation of the saints' long-standing protection of the church.

Poor transcriptions and bad translations could also attach an elevated status to a sarcophagus and the bones interred within. Such was the case with the sarcophagus of Flavius Julius Catervius at Tolentino, who, along with his wife and son, was venerated by the seventh century as S. Catervo, the patron saint of the town of Tolentino.[22] 'Saint' Catervo, along with his martyred disciples Severina and Bassus, was supposedly a Roman Christian, born in the first century, who was beheaded at Tolentino during the reign of Trajan. In fact, the sarcophagus dates to 379 CE and was commissioned by Severina for herself and her husband, though the untimely death of their son, Bassus,

20   M. Caperna, *La Basilica di Santa Prassede: Il significato della vicenda architettonica* (Rome, 1999), 107–22, figs 153, 154. The most recent and complete discussion of both the ninth- and the eighteenth-century renovations is J.J. Emerick, 'Focusing on the Celebrant: The Column Display inside Santa Prassede', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, 59 (1999): 129–59.

21   Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation*, 116, 344–6, discusses and lists the translations; see also R. Krautheimer, *Profile of the City, 312–1308*, 2nd edn, with a new foreword by M. Trachtenberg (Princeton, 2000), 123–34.

22   J. Osborne and A. Claridge, *Early Christian and Medieval Antiquities. Vol. 2: Other Mosaics, Paintings, Sarcophagi and Small Objects* (London, 1996), 165–9.

meant that he too was interred in the sarcophagus and an inscription was added that commemorated him in verse. The strigillated sarcophagus contains the bust images of Catervius and Severina within a tondo.[23] The square carving that frames the tondo displays two Chi Rho in the upper corners and two doves in the lower. As John Osborne has demonstrated, all transcriptions made prior to 1953 contain errors. The errors in transcriptions on the sarcophagus, along with a lively desire for hometown saints, led to the elevation of the Roman family to the status of sainthood. Without the presence of Catervius' sarcophagus, the town of Tolentino would lack the physical presence of its three patron saints.

The importance of the sarcophagus itself is found in the illustration of the translation of Gregory the Great depicted in an eleventh-century manuscript of John the Deacon's *Vitae S. Gregorii* from Farfa (Eton College Library, MS Bl.10, f. 122r). In the ninth century, Pope Gregory IV (827–44) transferred the body of Pope Gregory I from its original burial site in the portico of St Peter's into the interior of the building and erected an altar in his honour towards the east end of the outer south side aisle (Fig. 3.5).[24]

The artist has carefully set the stage showing the portico of St Peter's by giving the details of the façade decoration: the Agnus Dei surrounded by the four Evangelist symbols, two peacocks, and the adoration of the saints and martyrs.[25] The same care is given to depict Gregory's body as it lies in a strigillated sarcophagus. The sarcophagus is given visual prominence by the artist in the bold, dynamic lines used in its depiction that are in contrast to the delicate vertical lines of the crowd witnessing the entombment. Indeed, the fragile treatment of Gregory's body is almost overwhelmed by the carving of the sarcophagus. To this eleventh-century artist, depicting an event that had taken place two hundred years previously, the emphasis on the sarcophagus suggests that there was a direct correlation between the saint and the type of sarcophagus worthy of the relics.

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23   G. Alteri, *Le monete dal sarcofago di Catervio* (Rome, 1996); A. Nestori, *Il mausoleo e il sarcofago di Flavius Iulius Catervius a Tolentino* (Vatican City, 1996).

24   *Liber Pontificalis*, 103.6; R. Davis (trans.), *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool, 1995). John the Deacon, *Vita Greg.*, 4.80 also refers to the translation. See M. Andrieu, 'La chapelle de S. Grégoire dans l'ancienne basilique vaticane', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 13 (1936): 61–101; Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation*, 118–19.

25   É. Ó Carragáin, 'The Term *Porticus* and *Imitatio Romae* in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in H. O'Briain, A. D'Arcy and J. Scattergood (eds)**,** *Text and Gloss: Studies in Insular Learning and Literature Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer* (Dublin, 1999), 13–34.
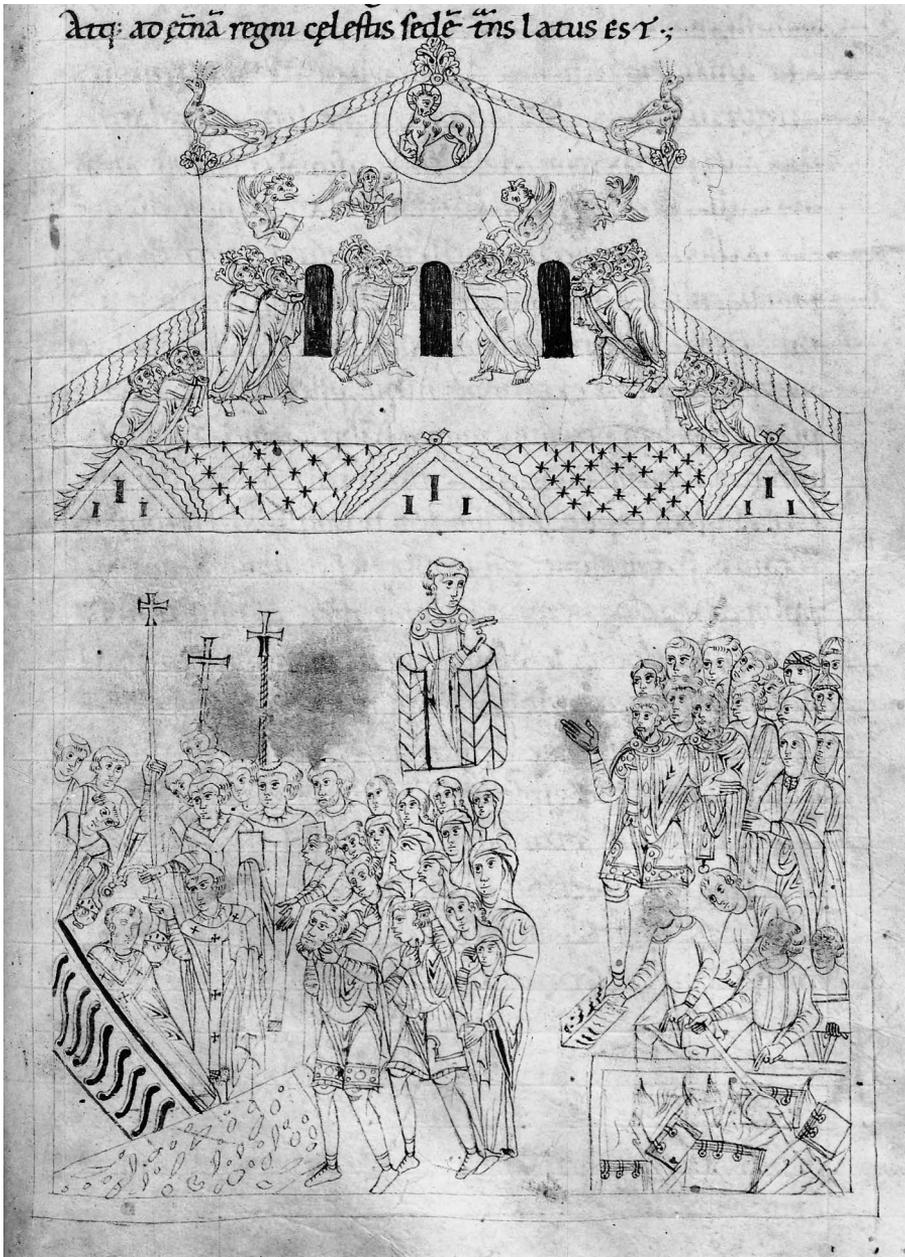
Fig. 3.5   Translation of Gregory the Great, eleventh century (Eton College MS
                  Bl.3.10, f. 122r; photo: Eton College, by permission)

The re-use of ancient sarcophagi by archbishops and popes has long been recognized; however, the practice was of a much longer duration, more widespread, and not solely for antiquarian reasons as is sometimes assumed.[26] Scholars have made remarks concerning the re-use of classical sarcophagi as convenient and economical repositories for more recently deceased persons. This implies that re-use was for purely monetary or practical reasons. Considering the types of elaborate tombs that were so popular, I find it difficult to imagine that the popes lacked the funds or the relatives to ensure a tomb of their choice. The consistency and the type of ancient sarcophagus chosen indicate that more was in the choice than lack of means or the sheer convenience of an empty sarcophagus. Although speculative, evidence does suggest that others made the choice of burial, not the pope himself, since several of these popes died unexpectedly.[27] Pope Gregory V (996–99) was one of the earliest popes to include an early Christian sarcophagus in his Vatican tomb, along with Damasus II (1048), Leo IX (1049–54), Innocent II (1130–43), Hadrian IV (1154–59), Honorius III (1216–27) and Clement IV (1265–68).[28] Pope Nicolas III (1277–80) was buried in a columnar sarcophagus with a sculptural sequence of St Peter, two apostles, Christ with two women kneeling at his feet, two apostles, one of whom holds a cross, and Pilate.

Shortly after Pope Julius III (1550–55) was interred within an antique sarcophagus, Pope Marcellus II (1555) was buried in a fourth-century sarcophagus showing a Traditio Legis flanked by strigillated panels and two apostles. The lid is contemporary and includes a papal insignia with wheat and sheep, an indication that there was a conscious emulation of early Christian funerary themes, which often feature wheat and sheep such as those found in the vaults of the Via Latina catacombs.[29] Though the use of

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26   This essay is limited in its scope to non-royal patrons; however, kings and emperors were known to use antique sarcophagi for their burials. See for example: P.E. Schramm and F. Mütherich, *Denkmäler der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, 2nd edn (Munich, 1981), 120, 479, no. 18, for Charlemagne's use of a Persephone sarcophagus; R. Melzak, 'Antiquarianism and the Art of Metz', in P. Goodman and R. Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)* (Oxford, 1990), 629–40, for discussion of Louis the Pious' re-use of a Crossing of the Red Sea sarcophagus. On Roman sarcophagus re-use in Anglo-Saxon England, once for a private citizen and once for a saint, see also C. Neuman de Vegvar, 'The Value of Recycling: Conversion and the Early Anglo-Saxon Use of Roman Materials', *Haskins Society Journal*, 9 (1997): 123–35. For a list of antique sarcophagi that were re-used in the medieval period, see C. Fohlen, 'Connaissance et utilization des tombes antiques pendant le haut moyen âge', in *Mélanges de la Société toulousaine d'études classiques*, 2 (Toulouse, 1948), 185–7.

27   Popes Gregory V and Damasus II both died unexpectedly from malaria, though there was some speculation that they were poisoned. Marcellus II reigned for only twenty-two days, dying of a stroke; see J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986), 135, 147–8, 264.

28   All of the papal tombs in the Vatican grottoes are reproduced in V. Noé, *Le Tombe e i monumenti funebri dei papi nella basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano* (Modena, 2000).

29   A. Ferrua, *The Unknown Catacomb: A Unique Discovery of Early Christian Art*, trans. I. Inglis, with an introduction by B. Nardini (New Lanark, Scotland, 1991), 27, 122, 123, 127. For a discussion of wheat as a pastoral and funerary symbol, see D. Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Cambridge, 2004), 116–17.

sheep and wheat as a pastoral and funeral metaphor was frequent,[30] the motif can be ultimately traced to biblical sources such as Psalm 22 (23), Matthew 3:12 and 13:30, or Luke 3:17. The practice of papal burial in ancient sarcophagi continues to the close of the eighteenth century with Pope Innocent XIII (1721–24) and Pope Pius VI (1775–99). With few exceptions, one is struck by the humble, pedestrian quality of the papal sarcophagi. These are not 'fine style' sarcophagi like that of Junius Bassus, or even of the more typical frieze type. These are, for the most part, simple strigillated sarcophagi with limited figural decoration, much like the one depicted in the eleventh-century manuscript discussed above (Fig. 3.5). Rarely does the sarcophagus include a narrative scene such as the Adoration of the Magi on the lid of Pope Pius VI's tomb. The re-use of early sarcophagi seems focused on the most humble of surviving sarcophagi, not the more elaborate and narrative ones.

The custom of burial in early Christian sarcophagi was not limited to the papacy, but was also used by the upper ranks of the clergy. Just inside the entrance to San Lorenzo fuori le mura in Rome, for example, is the tomb of Guglielmo Cardinal Fieschi, who died in 1256.[31] He was laid to rest in an ancient, Antonine sarcophagus, decorated with a relief depicting a pagan marriage feast and protective divinities. Though the construction and style of the tomb's assemblage cannot be accurately reconstructed due to fire damage, Julian Gardner has surmised that the inclusion of an overtly pagan sarcophagus might have been considered 'inappropriate'; however, the desire for an ostentatious tomb seems to have overridden any pious concerns. Obviously, Cardinal Fieschi had no qualms about the grandeur of his tomb or the choice of the magnificent pagan sarcophagus, suggesting that the sarcophagus may have shifted from a pious container that spoke of the patron's humility towards a desire to proclaim the learning and taste of the patron.

With roots in previous centuries, by the eighteenth century there is a strong indication that the antiquity of the sarcophagi has become more and more significant of social status, even while indicating an interest in the early Christian church.[32] In the nave of Ravenna's cathedral lies the sarcophagus of Archbishop Ferdinandus Romualdus Guicciolus, who died in 1761 (Figs 3.6,3. 7).[33]

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30   Gregory the Great used these metaphors most influentially: see, for example, *Moralia in Iob*, 17.10 and 27.30; *Homilae*, 22; and *Liber Regulae Pastoralis*, which opens with Gregory likening the pope to a shepherd with a flock.

31   A fire in 1943 badly damaged the church and the tomb; see J. Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1992), 64–8, fig. 22. On the sarcophagus, see R. Turcan, *Les Sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques, essai de chronologie et d'histoire religieuse* (Paris, 1966), 50.

32   C.M.S. Johns, *Papal Art and Cultural Politics: Rome in the Age of Clement XI* (Cambridge, 1996), provides one of the best and most cogent discussions of palaeochristianity in the eighteenth century.

33   Bovini, *"Corpus" della scultura paleocristiana*, no. 29

Figs 3.6 and 3.7   Epitaph for Archbishop Ferdinandus Romualdus Guicciolus, c. 1761. Ravenna, Cathedral ('Ursian Basilica') (photo: author)

Although the lid is eighteenth-century, it covers a late fifth-century sarcophagus. Two peacocks flanking an urn, two crosses and two palm trees – all within scalloped arches – are depicted on one side, while on the other are carved two lambs, two crosses and two palms. The lengthy inscription on the eighteenth-century lid notes with great care that the archbishop is interred in an 'antique sarcophagus'.[34] Along with his titles and his positions, the archbishop, or perhaps his family, is proud of this association with an 'antique sarcophagus'. Indeed, the internment in an 'antique sarcophagus' seems to rank high in significance among his lofty positions. In the cases of Fieschi and Romualdus, the sarcophagus elevates their status, not to saint, but to men of learning and status.[35]

This shift in the perception of the early Christian sarcophagus from its associations with burial, saints and popes to that of cultural object is found in a colour print of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, in Ravenna (Fig. 3.8).

An anonymous artist from eighteenth-century Brussels had obviously visited the mausoleum and taken careful note of its interior and the large marble sarcophagi that rested within the interior.[36] The artist has taken great pains to accurately reproduce the mosaics and the three sarcophagi of the fifth-century mausoleum.[37] There are, however, significant changes in the rendering of the print. In the print, the unidentified light source bathes the carving in light, drawing the viewer's eye to the centre of the print, where reside the sarcophagi of monumental proportions. In addition, a young man on the left looks out at the viewer and gestures towards the stone carvings on an altar in an invitation to view the magnificent monuments. A fashionably dressed couple leisurely stroll through the interior of the ancient mausoleum, while a gentleman points out the merits of the cross carving to a young man. The most significant change is in the scale of the human figure to the architecture and the sculpture. For those who have stood within the diminutive walls of the mausoleum, the monumental, airy proportions in the eighteenth-century print are in keeping with a Baroque cathedral rather than the miniature proportions of the building in Ravenna. This distortion, particularly of

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34   SACRAS RELIQVIAS PATRONOR URBIS RAVENNAE FERDINANDUS ROMALDUS GUICCIOLUS CAMALD PATRICIUS RAV. SANCTAE HUIUS METRPOL. ECCLESIAE ARCHIEP. IN HOC ANTIQVO SARCOPHAGO REVERENTER COLLOCAVIT IDIBUS MAII ANNO MDCCLXI

35   It should be noted that another of the Fieschi clan, Bonifazio Fieschi, Archbishop of Ravenna (d. 1294) also employed a classical sarcophagus for his tomb; see Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara*, 67, n.16.

36   L. Koch, 'The Early Christian Revival at S. Miniato al Monte: The Cardinal of Portugal Chapel', *Art Bulletin*, 78 (1996): 527–55, esp. n.50–51, argues that the origin of the notion that the sarcophagi contained the bodies of Galla Placidia, her husband Constantius II and her son Valentinian III probably originated in the early fourteenth century, when a number of antiquarians misread Agnellus, the chronicler of Ravenna's bishops; see also D.M. Deliyannis, 'Bury Me in Ravenna? Appropriating Galla Placidia's Body in the Middle Ages', *Studi Medievali*, 42 (2000): 289–99. R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th edn (New York, 1986), 193, stated that Honorius may have been interred in one of the sarcophagi.

37   Agnellus of Ravenna does not mention the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, but states that Galla died in Rome and was buried in the chancel of St Nazarius; see D.M. Deliyannis, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna* (Washington, DC, 2004), 151.

Fig. 3.8   Anonymous, *Interior of Galla Placidia,* eighteenth century (Ravenna, Museo
              Arcivescovile; photo: author)

height, is very much in keeping with the eighteenth-century pictorial conventions of
the *veduta* (view), views of famous sites and structures often visited by travellers and
made famous by artists such as the Italian Piranesi and Francesco Guardi.[38]   Other
characteristics of *vedute* are the distortion of perspective, the contrasts of light and
shadow, and the juxtaposition of the past with the present.[39] The anonymous Belgian
artist was no doubt working in the same tradition as the Frenchman Hubert Robert,
who had travelled and studied in Italy in order to assimilate the technique of *veduta* as

38   An overview can be found in G. Briganti, *View Painters of Europe*, trans. P. Waley (New
York, 1970). The literature on Piranesi's views is vast; for a starting point, see M. Marini, *Le vedute
di Roma di Giovanni Battista Piranesi: Il mondo antico e quello moderno riscoprono la loro comune anima*
(Rome, 1995). On Guardi, see most recently A. Bressagno, *I Guardi: Vedute, capricci, feste, disegni e
quadri turcheschi* (Venice, 2002)**.**

39   P.R. Radisich, 'The King Prunes His Garden: Hubert Robert's Picture of the Versailles
Gardens in 1775', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 21 (1988): 454–71.

part of the Grand Tour to absorb the sites and the ancient ruins of Italy.[40] Many of these prints were intended for the fashionable market, to be sold to curious tourists and the educated élite. These eighteenth-century renderings of important cultural sites often include, as in the anonymous print, figures pointing out for the viewer the merits of the art. In this print, the sarcophagus has again been re-contextualized into the category of 'cultural artifact', on a level equivalent to broken torsos of classical sculpture and the ruins of ancient temples.

In this brief survey of how a secondary patron may have thought about late antique tomb slabs and sarcophagi, an astonishing range of categories has been employed. The three early tomb slabs show a remarkable juxtaposition of the first patron and the second patron. In the case of Herennia Faventina and Caius Sobo, necessity and convenience were the underlying factors; since Caius Sobo, I assume due to the poor quality of the carving, was less able to afford a new stone, so he, or his family, simply re-used Herennia's slab. Seda's reworking of the tomb slab retained the framing devices but inscribed the epitaph dedicated to the new patron over the previous patrons. In the case of Arrenia Cerilla, an anonymous patron added the Lombardic carvings that marked it as a Christian tomb with the symbol of the cross and trees of life. These are relatively simple examples of inclusion, appropriation and addition. Re-use of large sarcophagi introduced the notion that the container itself lent authority to the new patron; in fact, in the cases of Petronilla, Praxedis and Julius Catervius, it could be argued that the sarcophagi were the patrons by virtue that it was their inscriptions, albeit misunderstood, that provided the tangible evidence of the saints' patronage of their cities. The papal and archiepiscopal tombs suggest that the sarcophagi did not so much establish the sanctity of those interred within, but had the ability to suggest either the humility of the patron through the association with the Early Church, or the social stature and learning of the patron in this earthly life. Finally, with the patronage of the educated élite on their Grand Tour, ancient stone sarcophagi and mausolea become cultural artifacts. Coming full circle, the categories of 'fine', frieze, city-gate, double register, and so on, seem to be the final category for these late antique funerary monuments, or perhaps not, as subsequent ages will see them in new and different ways.

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40   P.R. Radisich, 'Hubert Robert's Paris: Truth, Artifice and Spectacle', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 245 (1986): 501–8. More generally, see M.C. Sahut and N. Garnier-Pelle, *Le Louvre d'Hubert Robert: Catalogue* (Paris, 1979), and H. Gabillot, *Hubert Robert et son temps* (Paris, 1895).

Gendered Spaces
The Placement of Imagery in Santa Maria Maggiore

Carol Neuman de Vegvar

In his monumental 1948 monograph on the iconography of Ravennate church imagery, Otto Von Simson postulated a mystical rapport between the procession of martyr and virgin saints on the nave walls of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo and the experience of the congregation in the nave below: 'The congregation assembled in the basilica knew these saints to be with them in the hour of the mystery'.[1] In 1965, in his equally engaging monograph on the Orthodox Baptistery in Ravenna, Spiro Kostof hypothesized that the dome mosaics were intended as a reflection of the spiritual and liturgical experience of the neophytes undergoing baptism in the font below; that the purpose of the mosaics was to echo and magnify the experience and embody the eternal nature of the transitory experience of baptism.[2] Sadly, the implications of these groundbreaking readings were not initially taken as the springboard for new interpretations of mural imagery in churches; indeed, Kostof himself distinguished between the experiential imagery of the Baptistery and what he saw as the primarily instructional intent of imagery in early churches.[3] Art historians continued to consider the role of mural art in enhancing the value of churches as liturgical performance space primarily at the level of instructional textual parallels between the liturgy and putatively available exegetical readings of the biblical narratives on the walls, generally avoiding the question of the accessibility of such texts to contemporary audiences, particularly the laity, for whom literacy, let alone access to specific books, is an open question for much of the medieval period. However, more recently Von Simson and Kostof's arguments that the placement of imagery in sacred space might also reflect the anticipated use of space during the liturgy have begun to be examined with regard to a number of churches, as in the work of Tom Dale and John Osborne.[4] My intention here is to take this question a step

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1   O. Von Simson, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna* (Chicago, 1948), 99.

2   S.K. Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistry of Ravenna*, Yale Publications in the History of Art 18 (New Haven and London, 1965), 121–3 and passim.

3   Ibid., 122.

4   T.E.A. Dale, *Relics, Prayer, and Politics in Medieval Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral* (Princeton, 1997); J. Osborne, 'Images of the Mother of God in Early Medieval Rome', in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium; Studies Presented to Robin Cormack* (Aldershot, 2003), 135–56. Professor Osborne was also most generous in allowing me to review a prepress

further by the consideration of the placement and sight lines of the laity in the liturgy at Rome and elsewhere, and set out a potential directional marker for further study.

Sible de Blaauw's classic *Cultus et Decor* makes evident the highly structured spatiality of the Roman stational Mass. One factor here that seems to have had a long life in the performance of the Mass, not only in Rome but elsewhere in the West, was the segregation of the laity by gender. Women stood to the left and men to the right in the view from the sanctuary, occupying their respective halves of the nave and the inner aisles.[5] In the period of the evolution of the Roman stational Mass, these spaces were separated from the opposite sex by a central space reserved for the procession of the clergy, a space sometimes demarcated by a *solea* indicated by low barrier walls, as at the Lateran Basilica and San Clemente, and sometimes architecturally tacit, as at St Peter.[6] That such gender separation was widespread is indicated by the description of the monastic church at Kildare in Cogitosus' seventh-century *vita* of St Brigid.[7] The separation of the sexes at worship had ample precedent in the Temple of Jerusalem as described by Josephus, reconstructed in Cassiodorus' *Expositio in Psalmis*, and transmitted in Bede's *De Templo*, although here women worshipped in an outer court rather than in an interior space parallel to that of the men.[8] Such segregation had precedent also in the strict division of gender roles in classical religious rituals. Although the earliest Roman *ordo* to describe such division of space, *Ordo I*, is usually dated to the beginning of the eighth century, De Blaauw cites a possibly earlier inscription at St Peter that refers to the *pars virorum* or men's section of the space.[9] The use of a subdivided space at Kildare by the seventh century may also indicate that gender separation of the laity had been a practice in the West from a significantly earlier date, particularly in Rome, which Kildare purposefully echoes on a number of counts.[10] The longevity of the practice, and its geographic extent in the western churches, along with the complexities raised by the frequent occidentation of Rome's churches versus the strong tendency to orientation of

copy of this article. My ideas about these questions are in large part traceable to conversations with Professor Dale at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton in Fall, 1997.

5   S. de Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor; Liturgia e Architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale, Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Marie, Sancti Petri*, Studi e Testi 355–6 (Vatican City, 1994), 83, 99, figs 1, 4.

6   De Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor*: Lateran Basilica (Basilica Salvatoris), 127–9, figs 1, 2, 4; St Peter: 504–5, fig. 25; see also F. Guidobaldi, *San Clemente: Gli edifici romani, la basilica paleocristiana e le fasi altomedievali*, San Clemente Miscellany IV, 1 (Rome 1992), 167–81.

7   C. Neuman de Vegvar, '*Romanitas* and *Realpolitik* in Cogitosus's Description of the Church of St Brigit, Kildare', in M. Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North; Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300* (Woodbridge, 2003), 153–70.

8   Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, ed. and trans. G.A. Williamson (Harmondsworth, 1959), 392, and *Antiquities of the Jews*, trans. W. Whiston (New York, 1824), 3:256; Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalmos*, ed. M. Andrieu, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 98: 789, 40–43; Bede, *On the Temple*, ed. and trans. S. Connolly, with introduction by J. O'Reilly (Liverpool, 1995), Bk 2, Ch. 17.2, 66–7.

9   De Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor*, 504–5, n.71.

10   Neuman de Vegvar, '*Romanitas*', 165.

churches elsewhere, have been explored by Joseph Sauer, Iso Müller, and more recently Margaret Aston and Gisela Muschiol.[11]

In the Roman stational Masses, the laity was also spatially divided by social class. In the sequence of the offertory and the distribution of communion, *Ordo I* refers to spaces for the élite adjacent to the altar precinct, the *senatorium* on the men's side, and a comparable section on the women's side of the sanctuary.[12] Elaine De Benedictis has demonstrated that these auxiliary spaces were not intended as sites for the communion of all members of the congregation, as proposed by Thomas Mathews, but were set aside for the élite of the community to hear Mass and receive the Eucharist.[13] De Benedictis stresses that as *Ordo I* is very general, the spaces it requires could be flexibly accommodated in the widely variable chancel arrangements of Roman stational churches.

The subdivision of the laity by class and gender would certainly have limited sight lines and demarcated spectatorship by gender and class. Men and women at attendance at Mass stood separately, in opposing halves of the nave and the adjacent inner aisle. Although each group could see mural art on the upper wall of the opposite side of the nave, above the other group, each group could have seen images on its own side of the nave only obliquely from the nave and not at all from the aisle.[14] Those responsible for the choice and arrangement of visual content cannot have been unaware that during the liturgy universal spectatorship was limited to the clergy, and that all other groups present would have been able to view only parts of the imagery on the church walls.

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11   J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters* (1924, reprint Münster, 1964), 87–98; I. Müller, 'Frauen rechts, Männer links; Historische Platzverteilung in der Kirche', *Schweitzer Archiv für Volkskunde*, 57 (1961): 65–81; see also M. Aston, 'Segregation in Church', in W.J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds), *Women in the Church* (Oxford, 1990), 237–94, and G. Muschiol, 'Men, Women and Liturgical Practice in the Early Medieval West', in L. Brubaker and J.M.H. Smith (eds), *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900* (Cambridge, 2004), 198–216, at 204. I thank Professor Éamonn Ó Carragáin for sending me a copy of the Müller article.

12   M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Age*, 2: *Les Textes (Ordines I–XIII)* (Louvain, 1948), 69, 74–5, 117–22, and De Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor*, 83, 93, 100.

13   E. De Benedictis, 'The *Senatorium* and *Matroneum* in the Early Roman Church', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 57 (1981): 69–85, at 71-75; T.F. Mathews, 'An Early Roman Chancel Arrangement and Its Liturgical Functions', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 38 (1962): 73–95. De Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor*, 100–101, notes that discrete spaces for the communion of the aristocracy are archaeologically traceable for the period of the *ordines* (beginning *c.* 700); they are possible but not demonstrated for earlier periods. The term for the élite women's space is not clear; while Mathews thought the term *matroneum* applied here, De Benedictis (79–82) has shown that this term more probably applied to space set aside near the sanctuary for women in minor orders. *Ordo IV* (Andrieu, *Ordines*, 2:41, 43, 78) refers to the space for élite women, the feminine counterpart to *senatorium*, as *pars feminarum* or *pars mulierum*.

14   Further, images on the sanctuary side of any transept would have been primarily visible for élite spectators at the head of each group, standing at the sanctuary end of the nave and at the front of the adjacent aisle. And imagery on the aisle walls would have been visually accessible primarily to the proximate group, as John Osborne ('Images', 142–4) has pointed out recently in discussing gender-oriented placement of Marian icons in both Santa Maria Antiqua and the lower church of San Clemente.

Fig. 4.1   Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo, north nave wall: procession of female saints to the throne of the Virgin and Child (photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

The clergy, the group more probably instrumental in this process of image selection and disposition, whether directly as patrons themselves or indirectly as consultants to other patrons, were also the most liturgically conscious segment of the population, and also the group most attuned to polyvalence in exegesis. Certainly such planners could and would take multiple levels of meaning for discrete audiences into account. It is not my contention that such partial experiences of spectatorship by different groups of the laity were the primary goal of mural imagery in churches; as art historians have long hypothesized, the primary focus was often probably on a more inclusive system of imagery in the church as a whole, with one or more probably several layers of themes binding the entirety together into an intentional and systematically applied statement, with successive additions of visual material editing the message to suit the needs of later patrons. But iconographic study should also include the partial views of different categories of the laity as possible additional strands or subtexts of the programme, and consider not only how but also why such distinctions among groups may have been emphasized in different venues.

Fig. 4.2   Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo, south nave wall: procession of male saints to the throne of Christ (photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

Perhaps the obvious example of the possible reflection of gender segregation in basilican mural art is not in Rome but in Ravenna, in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. The church was built by Theodoric in the early sixth century near his palace for use by his court under the aegis of the Arian clergy and initially dedicated to Christ Saviour. After the Byzantine reconquest, in the mid-sixth century, Archbishop Agnellus obtained the permission of Justinian to reconcile the church to orthodox practice and to rededicate it to St Martin of Tours, famous for his opposition to heresy; only in the mid-ninth century was the church rededicated to Apollinare, at the translation of the saint's relics from Classe. According to the ninth-century Ravennate *Liber Pontificalis*, Archbishop Agnellus' sixth-century retrofit of the church for orthodox use included removal of sections of the mosaics on the nave walls below the windows and their replacement with a procession of female virgin saints, led by St Euphemia and the Magi to the enthroned Virgin, on the north wall (Fig. 4.1), and a procession of male martyrs led by St Martin to the throne of Christ on the south wall (Fig. 4.2).

Already in 1948, Otto Von Simson noted that Agnellus' namesake, the chronicler of the *Liber Pontificalis*, identifies the locus of the male martyrs as *in parte virorum*.[15] So the procession of male martyrs was above the heads of the male laity on the south side

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15   Von Simson, *Sacred Fortress*, 81–110. Von Simson points out (98) that this parallelism between the processions of martyrs and virgins and the arrangement of the faithful at Sant' Apollinare was first pointed out by Agnellus, the author of the Ravennate *Liber Pontificalis*, in the ninth century. See Agnellus of Ravenna, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, trans. D.M. Deliyannis (Washington, DC, 2004), Ch. 88, 200–201.

of the nave, and the female virgin saints above the female laity on the north side of the nave. As the saints, divided by gender, approach the Virgin or Christ, so the laity below, segregated by gender in parallel with the saints above, approached the sanctuary in the offertory procession.[16] The men and women of the laity, here visually surmounted and echoed by saints of their own gender, generated the same sort of parallelism of activity between lay worshippers and their holy counterparts that Kostof remarked in the Orthodox Baptistery; as above, so below.

Given that both Sant'Apollinare Nuovo and the Orthodox Baptistery are in Ravenna, that city might easily be construed as the origin point for connections between liturgical practice and the organization of visual material in the upper parts of church interiors. But an earlier example is to be found in Rome, in the Old Testament nave cycle in Santa Maria Maggiore, dedicated by Sixtus III in all probability in 434 (Fig. 4.3).[17]

Like many early Roman churches, Santa Maria Maggiore is occidented, with its apse to the west. Here men stood in the south part of the nave and the aisle, to the left as viewed from the entrance but to the right of the officiating clergy at the apse, while women stood opposite them on the north side of the nave and in the north aisle.[18]

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16   Von Simson (*Sacred Fortress*, 88–101) explores this iconographic parallelism in terms of its full iconographic implications of the self-immolation of Christians through the offertory, as made explicit through the Gregorian canon. A floor mosaic in the south hall of the Theodorian complex at Aquileia has sometimes been interpreted as an offertory procession; however, if this is a correct interpretation, the young men and women making the offerings are individually set off within the octagonal frames of the overall pattern of the floor and are not grouped by gender. For an overview of the question of the identification of this scene, see G. Bovini, *Le Antichitá cristiane di Aquileia* (Bologna, 1972), 164–77, fig. 31.

17   V. Saxer, *Sainte-Marie-Majeure: Une Basilique de Rome dans l'Histoire de la Ville et de son Église (Ve–XIIe Siècle)* (Rome, 2001), 56–7, convincingly posits this date for the dedication and, building on the work of Richard Krautheimer, argues that the majority of the mosaic decoration in the basilica, including the nave cycle and the triumphal arch, dates to the pontificate of Celestine I (422–32).

18   C. Vogel, '*Versus ad Orientem*. L'orientation dans les *Ordines Romani* du haut moyen age', *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3.1 (1960): 447–69. I thank Professor De Blaauw for this helpful reference. A famous passage in the Roman *Liber Pontificalis* entry for Paschal I (817–24) refers to the pope's annoyance at the disruptive sound of women's voices from the since-removed deambulatory behind the episcopal throne in the apse, which served as a pretense for installing a raised podium for the cathedra; see *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris, 1955), 100, Ch. 30, 2:60: 'Praeterea idem sanctissimus et ortodoxus pontifex, divina inspiratione pulsatus, ecclesiam sanctae et intemeratae virginis Mariae dominae nostrae quae appellatur ad Praesepem cernens quondam tali constructam ut post sedem pontificis mulieres ad sacram missarum sollemnia stantes prope adsistere iuxta pontificem viderentur, ita ut si aliquid conloqui pontifex cum sibi adsistentibus voluisset, ex propinqua valde mulierum frequentatione nequaquam ei sine illarum interventione liceret…'. In an article of 1986–87 ('Deambulatori e transetti: I casi di S. Maria Maggiore e del Laterano', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia: Rendiconti*, 59: 93–110), Sible de Blaauw considered the deambulatory as a possible point of access into the basilica through a western entry; such an entry existed in the medieval church, near the medieval transept, monumentalized by Rainaldi's flight of steps on the western facade. In 1994, De Blaauw (*Cultus et Decor*, 1:350–55) suggested that the deambulatory spatially constituted a continuation of the aisles;

Fig. 4.3   Rome, Sta Maria Maggiore, interior view from aisle (photo: Scala/Art
              Resource, NY)

if so, it may also have continued their function as space for the laity in general, women on the left of the papal throne and men on the right. However, if the deambulatory was a general accessway or generalized space for the laity, it would not explain why the pope complained specifically of the voices of women, as men of the laity would have been equally close to the papal throne. Alternatively, the deambulatory may have served as a *matroneum* in the sense proposed by De Benedictis (see above, n.13), a specially reserved space for women in minor orders.

Here the south wall recites the lives of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, while the north wall narrates the history of Moses and Joshua. Beat Brenk read this selection as referring to the age of the patriarchs – before the law – on the left, and the age of priests and kings – the age of law – on the right, with the triumphal arch rounding out the sequence by referring to the age of grace.[19] Carlo Cecchelli and Johannes Deckers, by contrast, saw a typological focus on the Old Testament antecedents to Christ.[20] Deckers noted the strong emphasis on the south wall on the wives of the patriarchs and read this as an emphasis on motherhood, in conjunction with the focus of the left half of the triumphal arch to Mary and the dedication of the church to her.[21] But what is truly remarkable here is the difference between the south and north walls of the nave in the numbers and distribution of women. The south nave wall, opposite the women of the congregation, includes twenty-one images of biblical matriarchs, on a scale comparable to the patriarchs with whom they are associated and evenly distributed throughout the sequence of scenes on the wall (Fig. 4.4). Following Brenk and Deckers in reconstructing probable lost scenes here would add up to four additional women, two images each of Rachel and Rebecca, for a total of twenty-five prominent women; only two panels here would have lacked prominent female characters.[22]

By contrast, on the north wall, opposite which the male half of the congregation would have stood, and where there are fewer scenes missing, there are only fourteen women shown and all but four of these are concentrated in the first two scenes at the east end: Moses adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, with the Egyptian princess and her five attendants, and Moses' wedding to Sephorah, where the bride is accompanied by three women. The remaining four women on this wall are isolated small figures either in crowds of men or on the walls of Jericho, the latter possibly representing Rahab (Jos. 2 and 6) (Fig. 4.5).[23] These four figures are indeed so small as to be virtually invisible from the nave floor, their inclusion seemingly more a response to the mention of women in the texts on which the scenes are based than a visible presence. Otherwise, women are completely absent here. Granted that the narrative sequence on this wall mostly

19   B. Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 111–13.

20   C. Cecchelli, *I Mosaici della basilica di S. Maria Maggiore* (Torino, 1956), 92–3; J.G. Deckers, *Der Alttestamentliche Zyklus von S. Maria Maggiore in Rom* (Bonn, 1976), 293–310.

21   Deckers, *Alttestamentliche Zyklus*, 295, 300–302.

22   Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken*, 116, and Deckers, *Alttestamentliche Zyklus*, 121.

23   H. Karpp (ed.), *Die Frühchristichen und Mittelalterliche Mosaiken in Santa Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Baden-Baden, 1966). In the scene of the drowning of Pharaoh's army (Karpp, pl. 97) a veiled figure, possibly Miriam, stands at the extreme lower left, in the vanguard of the Hebrew crowd. In the head cluster behind this rank there are several covered heads, which may be intended as women given the clothing types seen elsewhere in this cycle, but these figures are only minimally visible and their gender identity cannot be confirmed. In the scene of spies sent to Jericho (Fig. 4.5 and Karpp, pl. 128), the spies are seen on the ramparts beside and on the same scale with a female figure in blue. Her identity as Rahab is confirmed in the subsequent scene of the spies' return, where the same female figure in blue is shown lowering one of them from the ramparts (Jos. 2:15) (Karpp, pl. 133). She is later seen standing on the ramparts when the city falls (Karpp, pl. 138). In the latter two scenes, this female figure is shown considerably smaller than the male principals of the scene; even the spy she lowers from the ramparts is over twice her size.

Fig. 4.4   Rome, Sta Maria Maggiore, south nave wall: separation of Abraham and
Lot (photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

concerns military activities and other events involving men only, but even in the later
scenes of the Israelites in the desert, notably the sweetening of the waters of Mara or
the miracle of the quails, there are no clearly identifiable women in the crowd, and other
potentially mixed scenes that commonly feature in early Exodus cycles, such as Moses
striking the rock or raising the brazen serpent, are not included. Deckers's suggestion
that the emphasis on biblical matriarchs on the south wall ties it into the theme of New
Testament motherhood on the triumphal arch may explain also why women, marriage
and nurturing are emphasized in the first two scenes of the Moses cycle on the north
wall, which are also adjacent to the triumphal arch. But this does not provide a reason
why women are barely visible or absent elsewhere on the north wall, or rather why
these particular cycles were chosen to be arranged as they are on their respective walls.
It may be that here, in this early phase in the development of the mural decoration of a
church nave in Rome, the disposition of the cycles was arranged as a reflection of the
arrangement of women and men in the church below. This arrangement is not premised
on the 'as above, so below' parallelism seen at Ravenna, but on display of gender-
appropriate scenes to gender-specific audiences, offered the opportunity to identify with
their biblical forbears, who similarly sorted themselves by gender at worship. Cecchelli
has pointed out that the choice of Old Testament subject matter here may reflect the
self-identification of the early medieval church as the 'true Israel'.[24] The distribution of
gender-emphatic imagery in Santa Maria Maggiore may echo the same construct: the

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24   Cecchelli, *Mosaici*, 93.

congregation of the laity are invited to contemplate their precursors, the Old Testament matriarchs and patriarchs, whose placement before the eyes of audience segments of parallel gender may have been intended to assist connection and identification.

Fig. 4.5   Rome, Sta Maria Maggiore, north nave wall: the Ark crosses the Jordan; Joshua sends spies to Jericho (photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

The nave mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore occur quite early in the development of Roman mural art in churches, possibly being the earliest narrative cycle to be installed

in a nave in Rome.[25] Is its gendered placement of imagery a local and recent invention, perhaps devised for this church? The sorting of subject matter by gender is not entirely new or entirely Roman. In Carmen 28 of the *Natalicia* or cycle of poems composed in honour of St Felix, Paulinus of Nola describes the two parallel basilicas dedicated to the cult of St Felix at Cimitile, part of the cultic complex there which he restored and augmented in the first years of the fifth century.[26] Here Paulinus' ekphrastic text suggests a partial spatial sorting of images by gender content. The paintings he describes occupied three niches opening off a *porticus*: the central niche showed a congregation of martyrs of both sexes while the recesses to the right and left showed narratives, one of Job and Tobias and the other of Judith and Esther. However, Paulinus' phrasing suggests that these three niches were side by side off the same *porticus*, with their entrances quite close together. Although the text is too opaque to permit the exact reconstruction of the location of these paintings, it seems likely this *porticus* was either the aisle of one of the churches or more probably one arm of an atrium or cloister or a connecting gallery or portico.[27] Whatever the case, although the subject matter of the murals of the flanking niches was distinguished by the gender of the protagonists, there is nothing in the text to suggest that their respective placement reflected visual accessibility to audiences of different sexes; if anything, the mixed group of martyrs in the central niche suggests unity rather than separation. Paulinus' description provides no precedent for the organized presentation of imagery to gendered audiences at Santa Maria Maggiore. If this idea had an ancestry in early Christian Italy, its antecedents are not preserved archaeologically or in texts.

However unprecedented, the placement of imagery at Santa Maria Maggiore with regard to the liturgical disposition of particular groups is not without parallels in Rome itself. John Osborne's recent work on the placement of Marian icons in the lower church of San Clemente and Santa Maria Antiqua suggests that these images were placed where most accessible to the women of the congregation, in possible conjunction with devotional practices of the laity.[28] But whereas the images to which Osborne refers are at eye level, often with niches inviting interactive devotional acts such as the presentation of votive offerings, the narrative cycles on the nave walls at

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25   G. Wilpert, 'La Decorazione Costantiniana della Basilica Lateranse', *Rivista d'Archeologia Cristiana*, 6 (1929): 53–126, hypothesized that the Basilica of the Saviour at the Lateran had five typological pairs of Constantinian mosaics, Old Testament on the left and New Testament on the right; that these mosaics were destroyed in the earthquake of 896 although possibly reproduced in the images of Sergius III (904–11) and later replaced with stuccoes with similar subjects by Algardi. If Wilpert were correct, these images would be earlier than the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore. G. Bovini, *Mosaici paleocristiani di Roma (Secoli III–VI)* (Bologna, 1971), 13–20, rejects such complete iconographic continuity, but accepts the possibility of typological Old/New Testament scene pairs in the Constantinian Lateran basilica.

26   Von Simson, *Sacred Fortress*, 99, and n.109; R.C. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola; Texts, Translations and Commentary* (Amsterdam, 1940), 71–3 and 168–70.

27   For an overview of the term *porticus*, see É. Ó Carragáin, 'The Term *Porticus* and *Imitatio Romae* in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in H.C. O'Briain, A.M. D'Arcy and J. Scattergood (eds), *Text and Gloss; Studies in Insular Learning and Literature Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer* (Dublin, 1999), 13–34.

28   Osborne, 'Images', 142–3.

Santa Maria Maggiore are placed high above the audience, whose role is exclusively that of the spectator. This apparently conscious placement of imagery with regard to the sight lines of different factions of a gender-segregated audience may reflect an increasing emphasis on spectatorship in the experience of the laity during the early medieval Mass. From the early Middle Ages onward, the actual communion of the laity became progressively less frequent, and their focal experience at Mass came to reside not in receiving the Eucharist but in witnessing the performance of the rite. Beginning in the patristic period in both the eastern and western churches, the declining frequency of the communion of the faithful is a recurring concern, decried by both John Chrysostom and Ambrose, and a frequent subject of ecclesiastical regulation on minimum frequency.[29] While for Rome the *ordines* continue to make frequent reference to the communion of the faithful, here as elsewhere the penitential exclusion of categories of individuals such as menstruating and *post partem* women and sexually active married couples from reception of the Eucharist most probably limited the experience of significant numbers of the laity to observation from a limited and particular angle of view rather than direct participation.[30] An audience for whom the individual experience of the Mass was frequently entirely as spectators would most probably have brought a heightened awareness to visual imagery presented within their sight lines simultaneously with the rite; clergy familiar with the rite had the option to take such awareness into account when planning the spatial disposition of imagery. However, Rome's other early medieval nave cycles, as at St Peter's and at San Paolo fuori le mura, cannot be sufficiently reconstructed to determine if subject matter placement there also reflected the gendered spaces of the liturgy. Whether Santa Maria Maggiore was unique or part of a larger pattern has yet to be determined. Further examination of extant or documented mural imagery, in conjunction with study of liturgical variation over time and in different places, may provide additional parallels, in Rome and elsewhere.

One example which would seem at first to contravene the existence in Rome of a larger pattern of placement of imagery with regard to the placement of the congregation by gender during the liturgy is the mosaic programme of the San Zeno Chapel at Santa Prassede (Fig. 4.6), built by Pope Paschal I (817–24) to house the relics of the martyred priest Zeno and two other martyrs and as a funerary chapel for his mother, Theodora Episcopa.[31]

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29   J.A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, trans. F.A. Brunner (1950; reprint Westminster, MD, 1986), 2:359–67.

30   Jungmann, *Mass*, 2:362–3; Muschiol, 'Men, Women', 206–8.

31   For the iconography of the chapel: G. Matthiae, *Mosaici Medioevali delle Chiese di Roma* (Rome, 1967), 239–42; M. Paulter Klass, *The Chapel of St. Zeno in St. Prassede in Rome* (Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr, 1972); B. Brenk, 'Zum Bildprogramm der Zenokapelle in Rom', *Archivio español de arqueología*, 45–47 (1973–74): 213–21; U. Nilgen, 'Die grosse Reliquieninschrift von Santa Prassede: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung zur Zeno-Kapelle', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 69 (1974): 7–29; M. Wirenfeldt Asmussen, 'The Chapel of S. Zeno in S. Prassede in Rome: New Aspects on the Iconography', *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, 15 (1986): 67–86; G. Mackie, 'The Zeno Chapel: A Prayer for Salvation', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 57 (1989): 172–99; idem; 'Abstract and Vegetal Design in the San Zeno Chapel, Rome: The Ornamental Setting of an Early Medieval Funerary Programme', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 63 (1995): 159–82, 262; R. Wisskirchen, *Das Mosaikprogramm von S. Prassede*

Fig. 4.6   Rome, Santa Prassede, San Zeno Chapel, view to the north (photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

The San Zeno chapel was constructed as a dependency of the aisle to the left of a celebrant at the main altar of Santa Prassede, which places it, as might be expected, on the side of the larger church normally occupied by women in Roman practice.

in Rom: Ikonographie und Ikonologie, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 17 (Münster Westfalen, 1990).

However, the placement of many of the *dramatis personae* in the chapel's internal mosaic programme, with women to the right and men to the left of the celebrant at the chapel's altar, inverts Roman placement, although it echoes the arrangement in Ravenna as reflected at San Apollinare Nuovo, from which some of these figures may have been directly borrowed.[32] As noted, Santa Prassede has its apse to the north; the original entry into the cross-shaped chapel was originally through its west arm from the east aisle of the larger basilica, and the chapel's altar was placed opposite this entrance in its eastern niche. Images of women are here placed on the north, to the right from the viewpoint of the celebrant facing into the chapel from the altar: in the upper zone, a truncated procession of the women martyrs Praxedis, Pudentiana and Agnes unfolds towards the altar, while below in the north niche, the now half-length figures of Theodora Episcopa, Pudentiana, the Virgin Mary and Praxedis face the viewer.[33] On the south side, to the celebrant's left, are images of men: in the upper zone and opposite the procession of women martyrs are Andrew, James and John the Evangelist; in the niche below are the half-length figures of Christ and, flanking him, two unlabelled saints plausibly identified by Gillian Mackie as the priestly martyr Zeno and a lay figure, possibly Pudens, the father or grandfather of Praxedis and Pudentiana.[34] This configuration would seem to oppose the normal Roman liturgical placement of women to the left and men to the right of the celebrant facing the congregation from the altar. However, as Mackie has stressed, the purpose of the chapel is votive and funerary.[35] In a ninth-century context, these roles imply that the liturgies normally celebrated here would have been private Masses, both votive Masses in honour of Zeno and the other two saints whose relics Paschal I had enshrined here, and Masses for the dead on behalf of Theodora Episcopa, rather than public celebration for a larger congregation, which in any case the chapel would have been too small to accommodate.[36] So the placement of the laity at

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32   Mackie, 'The Zeno Chapel', 191, which cites also her master's thesis, 'The Iconographic Programme of the Mosaics of the San Zeno Chapel at Santa Prassede' (University of Victoria, 1984), 40–41.

33   Mackie, 'The Zeno Chapel', 177, 184. Mackie notes that the two martyrs in the niche are recognizable by the consistent use of facial types in mosaics produced under Paschal I.

34   Ibid., 177–8, 187–8. Unlike the other saints of the upper level, John faces away from the chapel altar. He wears golden garments and holds a book where James and Andrew wear white and are holding scrolls. Mackie points out that John faces towards the prepared throne over the chapel's west entry, and she suggests that his book may refer to the Book of Revelations, an appropriate eschatological reference in a funerary chapel, and in the context of Santa Prassede as a whole where the sanctuary vault mosaic is apocalyptic in content.

35   Mackie, 'Abstract', 18–19; idem, 'The Zeno Chapel', 183–7.

36   Jungmann, *Mass*, 1:217–33; F.A. Bauer, 'La frammentazione liturgica nella chiesa romana del primo medioevo', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 75 (1999): 385–446, at 438–9. Klass, *Chapel*, 121–3, argues that the primary function of the chapel was as a setting for the daily liturgy for the community of Greek monks at Santa Prassede. Although linkages between the chapel and the various internal liturgical needs and practices of the monastic settlement should not be excluded, if the chapel were intended for daily services for the entire monastic community the space would only have accommodated a very small settlement. Klass traces the Byzantine parallels for the iconography of the chapel; however, the left–right segregation of men and women is more a western idea. R.F. Taft, S.J., 'Women at Church in Byzantium: Where, When—and Why?', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 52 (1998): 27–87, demonstrates enormous variability in the sources for

Mass may well not have been as active a consideration here as in larger basilicas. Further, Mackie has plausibly suggested that the sarcophagus of Theodora occupied the north niche, in close proximity to her portrait.[37] Given the placement of the chapel within Santa Prassede, the placement of Theodora's tomb, her image, and her inscribed name in the north niche of the chapel would put all these aspects of her presence as close as possible to the relics of Praxedis and Pudentiana themselves, retrieved by Paschal I from the catacombs and enshrined in a relic chamber beneath the main sanctuary at the north end of the larger church.[38] Praxedis and Pudentiana are evoked twice in the chapel's mosaics, three times if we accept Mackie's identification of Pudens, and in the north niche, above the probable tomb site, they are clearly identified as intercessors for Theodora with the Virgin. Theodora's northward emplacement approximates and echoes the ancient practice in the catacombs of burial *ad sanctos*, situating her in closest possible proximity to the saints to whose intercessory prayers her papal son here entrusts her hope of salvation.

The San Zeno chapel thus reflects gender in the context of a private funerary chapel, with female intercessors invoked by both imagery and physical proximity for the salvation of an individual deceased woman. By contrast, Santa Maria Maggiore was intended as a public liturgical space for which a broader congregation was anticipated. Here the gender-directed content that the mural imagery of the church included among its multilayered messages would not have been lost on a lay audience standing through and observing the rite in gender-segregated groups. The experience of the rite would have heightened such viewers' engagement with the imagery and vice versa, just as the experience of baptism was both heightened and reflected in the Orthodox Baptistery in Ravenna. In one of Rome's great stational churches, images with subtexts normalizing an ordered society, structured in part by gender, and presented to the eyes of laity and pilgrims attending Mass, would have carried a message not only of orderly and appropriate behavior in sacred space, but also of parallel normalized roles to which the viewers were expected to return when the service was completed; a message extending beyond the moment, and for pilgrims, beyond the walls of Rome; a message to carry home.

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gender placement in the eastern rite, with women commonly occupying both balconies and one if not both aisles on either side of the nave.

37   Mackie, 'The Zeno Chapel', 184–5.

38   Ibid., 177.

1: S. Lorenzo in Lucina
2: Horologium Augusti
3: S. Valentino
4: Mausoleum Hadriani
5: Terebinthus Neronis
6: Meta Romuli
7: S. Maria in Caput portici
8: S. Silvestro
9: S. Marco
10: Arch of the Three Emperors
11: Stadium of Domitian
12: Theatre of Pompey
13: Saepta Julia
14: Portus Minucia Vetus
15: Crypta and Theatrum Balbi
16: S. Lorenzo in Damaso

Fig. 5.1   Medieval Rome: Processional Routes of the Major Litany (Courtesy of
                Richard Sullivan).

Roman Processions of the Major Litany (*litaniae maiores*) from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century

Joseph Dyer

The urban landscape of medieval Rome, though far diminished in grandeur compared to the splendour of classical times, excelled in nobility that of any other city in the West. The multitude of arches, temples, palaces, aqueducts, fountains, baths, and other public monuments inherited from its imperial past had not yet vanished or been reduced to the rubble that greets today's visitor. Against this backdrop, enhanced by the presence of numerous churches, palaces and towers of the nobility, the religious processions of medieval Rome wended their way. Rome favoured what Victor Saxer called 'essentiellement une liturgie de mouvement … une liturgie en plein air', dramatized by the silent presence of so many witnesses of a glorious, if pagan, past.[1] Apart from the grand papal cortèges, most processions were penitential in character, most notably during Lent, when clergy and laity processed from a 'collect' church to the stational church of the day, where Mass was celebrated. As they approached their goal, a litany (invocation + response) was begun. Some processions had a specific purpose. The *Liber pontificalis* narrates that, following the death of Pope Adeodatus in 676, the crops could not have been saved were it not for the fact that 'the Lord was placated by the litanies which took place every day'.[2] Roman processions were so closely identified with

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1   V. Saxer, 'L'utilisation par le liturgie de l'éspace urbain et suburbain: L'exemple de Rome dans l'antiquité et le haut Moyen-Âge', *Actes du XIᵉ Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne. Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*, 2 vols, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 41 – Collection de l'École Française de Rome 123 (Vatican City, 1989), 2:917–1033, esp. 936–7. An excellent general survey with bibliography is L. Pani Ermini, 'Lo spazio urbano tra VI e IX secolo', *Roma nell'alto medioevo*, 2 vols, Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 48 (Spoleto, 2001), 255–323, tavole I–XVII; a useful specialized study is R. Meneghini and R.S. Valenzani, *Roma nell'alto medioevo: Topografia e urbanistica della città dal V al X secolo* (Rome, 2004).

2   'Et nisi per letanias quas cotidie fiebant Dominus est propitiatus…'; L. Duchesne (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vols (Paris, 1886–92), supplemented by C. Vogel, *Additions et Corrections* (Paris, 1957), 1:347 (hereafter *LP*); R. Davis (trans.), *The Book of the Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Pontiffs to AD 715*, Translated Texts for Historians 5, rev. edn (Liverpool, 2000), 75.

the chanting of litanies, that the terms 'litany' and 'procession' were often employed synonymously: such is the case with the Major Litany.[3]

The Major Litany from the Sixth to the Ninth Century

Possibly the most ancient and certainly the most distinctive of the Roman processions took place annually on 25 April. Known as the 'major litany' (sometimes 'litanies'), it antedated by many centuries the feast of St Mark the Evangelist, also celebrated on that day. It also predated the pontificate of Pope Gregory I (590–604), whose proclamation of its observance in 592 considered the Major Litany already an annual observance:

> The solemnity of annual devotion, beloved children, admonishes us that we, with the help of God, should observe the litany that is universally called 'major' with diligent and devout minds, so that, imploring his mercy we might thereby deserve to be purified in some measure of our transgressions. It behooves us to consider, my beloved, with how many and how varied calamities we are afflicted because of our sins and offences [and] how much the medicine of heavenly pity might immediately assist us. Therefore, on this coming Friday, departing from the titulus of the blessed martyr Laurence which is called 'Lucina', let us hasten, beseeching the Lord with hymns and spiritual canticles, to blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, there to celebrate the sacred mysteries, that we might deserve (insofar as we are able) to give thanks to his kindness as much for past benefits as for those of the present.[4]

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3   On processions of the Roman liturgy, see J.F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 228 (Rome, 1987), 158–66 and 206–7 (λιτανεία).

4   'Sollemnitas annuae devotionis, filii dilectissimi, nos ammonet ut letaniam que maior ab omnibus appellatur sollicitis et devotis debeamus, auxiliante domino, mentibus celebrare, per quam a nostris excessibus eius misericordie supplicantes purgari aliquatenus mereamur. Considerare etenim nos convenit, dilectissimi, quam variis continuisque calamitatibus pro nostris culpis atque offensionibus affligamur et qualiter item celestis pietatis nobis subinde medicina subveniat. Sexta igitur feria veniente, a titulo beati Laurentii martyris qui appellatur Lucina egredientes, ad beatum Petrum apostolorum principem domino supplicantes cum hymnis et canticis spiritalibus properemus, ut ibidem sacra mysteria celebrantes, tam de antiquioribus quam de presentibus beneficiis pietati eius in quantum possumus referre gratias mereamur'; Reg. 2, Ep. 2, as quoted in M. Andrieu (ed.), *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen-âge*, 5 vols, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 11, 23–24, 28, 29 (Louvain, 1931–61), 3:239–40, n.5. In Gregory's language, the term 'litanie sollemnes' did not denote an exclusively penitential character. He uses the term in a series of letters concerning the right of the Archbishop of Ravenna to wear the pallium on four important feasts of the Ravennate calendar; see Gregory, Reg. 5.11, 5.61, 6.31; 9.168; *S. Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistolarum*, ed. D. Norberg, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina [CCSL] 140–140A, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1982), 1:277, 363, 403–4, 2:726–7. For an English translation, see J.R.C. Martyn (trans.), *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, 3 vols, Medieval Sources in Translation 40 (Toronto, 2004), 2:330, 397–8, 425–6, 649. A sixth-century document, presumably papal, requires a new bishop to promise that he would observe with his clergy 'letanias vero bis in mense omni tempore', T. von Sickel (ed.), *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum ex unico codice vaticano* (Vienna, 1889), 78. On the Major Litany, see I. Schuster, *Liber sacramentorum*, 10 vols (Turin–Rome, 1923–32), 4:119–34; H. Grisar, *Das Missale Romanum im Lichte römischer Stadtgeschichte: Stationen, Perikopen, Gebräuche* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1925), 87–90; Th.Talley, 'Roman Culture and Roman Liturgy', in N. Mitchell and J.F. Baldovin (eds), *Rule of Prayer, Rule of Faith: Essays in Honor of Aidan Kavanagh,*

Both the date of the procession (25 April) and its original route corresponded to those of the classical *Robigalia*, a procession to placate the god Robigus (or the goddess Robigo – the sex of the deity was uncertain). Its aim was to deter the deity from devastating the wheat harvest with parasitic 'rust' fungus.[5] The pagan procession went up the Via Lata, continued along the Via Flaminia outside the city walls, crossed over the Milvian bridge, and stopped at a field sacred to the deity, where the intestines of a red dog and a sheep were offered.[6] Somehow or other, a pagan agricultural ritual that sought to guarantee a bountiful harvest was replaced by a Christian plea for divine mercy and deliverance from misfortunes brought on by human sinfulness.[7] Nevertheless, both the pagan procession and the Christian litany served similar apotropaic functions. Invariably, 25 April fell within Paschaltide, sometimes even during Easter week. If this happened to be the case, the procession would be transferred to the following Monday. The same procedure would be followed if 25 April fell on a Sunday.[8] Later, the feast of the evangelist St Mark came to be celebrated on this day, but the two observances maintained their separate identities. The Major Litany was always exceptional in that its penitential character contrasted with the joy of Paschaltide.

Gregory the Great's proclamation of the litany established its starting point at the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina and mentioned its termination at St Peter's, where the 'sacra mysteria' were celebrated. The reason for the choice of S. Lorenzo in Lucina (Fig. 1, no. 1) for the start of the procession is not difficult to understand. It was located adjacent to the *Horologium Augusti*, a monumental sundial erected in 10 AD by the emperor after whom it was named (Fig. 1, no. 2). The large area of the open piazza of the sundial (160 × 60 metres) was more than sufficient to accommodate participants gathered for the procession.[9] Portions of the installation (as restored by Domitian) have been uncovered by excavations at the site.[10] The former obelisk–gnomon of the sundial, discovered in 1748, was re-erected in 1792 on the Piazza di Montecitorio, where

O.S.B (Collegeville, MN, 1993), 18–31, esp. 26–9. The brief discussion in Baldovin, *The Urban Character*, 139–40, may obscure the difference between the septiform litany (possibly unique to Gregory's pontificate) and the Major Litany.

5   Described in Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.901–36; J.G. Frazer (ed. and trans.), *Ovid*, 6 vols, 2nd edn, rev. G.P. Gould (Cambridge, MA, 1989), 5:254–9. For the reference I am indebted to Mario Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, 4 vols, 3rd edn (Milan, 1964), 1:297, n.17.

6   L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, 2 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1932–33), 555–7.

7   See D.E. Moeller, 'Litanies majeurs et rogations', *Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales*, 23 (1938): 75–91. According to Adrian Nocent, the absence of the Major Litany in the Gelasian Sacramentary, regarded as a non-papal urban book, confirms its character as a papal event; see A. Nocent, 'Le rogazioni', in M. Augé *et al.* (eds), *L'Anno liturgico: Storia, teologia e celebrazione*, 2nd edn (Genoa, 1989), 267, n.2.

8   Such was the case in the twelfth century according to the *Ordo Lateranensis*; L. Fischer (ed.), *Bernhardi cardinalis et Lateranensis ecclesiae prioris Ordo officiorum ecclesiae Lateranensis*, Historische Forschungen und Quellen 2–3 (Munich–Freising, 1916), 193.

9   R. Hierzegger, 'Collecta und Statio. Die römischen Stationsprozessionen im frühen Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 60 (1936): 511–54, esp. 529.

10   The church is described in M.E. Bertoldi, *S. Lorenzo in Lucina*, Le chiese di Roma illustrate, new ser., 28 (Rome, 1994). On the history of the obelisk, see E. Batta, *Obelisken: Ägyptische Obelisken und ihre Geschichte in Rom* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986), 163–77.

it still stands. The Via Lata (today's Via del Corso), which the procession took on its way north, was only a few steps away from the church.

No details of the Major Litany route in the late sixth century are given in Gregory's proclamation or in his letters, but its course can be determined from topographical notes that precede the prayers for this day in the Gregorian Sacramentary, a source thought to reflect the Roman (papal) liturgy as early as the first third of the seventh century.[11] These topical references are indicated in the first column of Table 5.1. In the second column, the chants are indicated by italic titles, the prayer texts by roman type. The sources for the chants (col. 3) are much later than those for the prayers found in the Gregorian Sacramentary. The arrangement of prayers and chants (col. 2) assumes that the prayer is said as the procession comes to a halt at the prescribed station.

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11   J. Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 3 vols, Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 24, 28 (Freiburg, 1971 [1992³], 1979 [1988²], 1982 [1992²]), 211–12 (nos. 466–71). The Sacramentary of Padua, a revision of the papal liturgy for celebration by priests at St Peter's, omits the *alia oratio in atrio*; see *Liber Sacramentorum Paduensis (Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. D 47)*, ed. A. Catells, F. dell'Oro and A. Martini, Monumenta Italiae Liturgica 3 (Rome, 2005), 264–5 (nos. 400–404). The (Gregorian) Sacramentary of Trent, copied in the Tyrol *c.* 825–30 and unfamiliar with Roman topography, erroneously places the prayer 'ad pontem Olibi' after that 'ad crucem'; F. dell'Oro *et al.* (eds), *Monumenta Liturgica Ecclesiae Tridentinae Saeculo XIII Antiquiora* 2A/B, *Fontes Liturgici Libri Sacramentorum*, 2 vols, Collana di Monografie edita dalla Società per gli Studi Trentini 38/2 (Trent, 1985), 1:192–3 (nos. 512–17). Neither the Major Litany nor the topographical notes were understood by the group of sacramentaries known as 'eighth-century Gelasians', some of which conflate the one-day Roman observance with a Gallic three-day penitential observance (Rogations). The Sacramentary of Gellone combined the litany prayers with *orationes pro peccatis* from the Gregorian Sacramentary to create six Masses for the three Rogation days; see E. Bourque, *Étude sur les sacramentaires romains 2: Les textes remaniés, 1. Le Gélasien du VIIIᵉ siècle* (Québec, 1952), 63–6. The Sacramentary has been edited by Antoine Dumas and Jean Deshusses, *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, 2 vols, CCSL 159–159A (Turnhout, 1981), 121–4. The Sacramentary of Angoulême has the first five prayers. No saint is named in the first prayer; the last two have the rubrics 'ad crucem' and 'in atrio', respectively; see P. Saint-Roch (ed.), *Liber Sacramentorum Engolmensi*s. *Manuscrit B. N. Lat. 816. Le Sacramentaire Gélasien d'Angoulême*, CCSL 159C (Turnhout, 1987), 142–3. The early ninth-century Sacramentary of St Gall has the prayers for the Major Litany procession and Mass; C. Mohlberg (ed.), *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alemannischer Überlieferung*, Sankt Galler Sakramentar–Forschungen 1 (Münster in Westf., 1918 [1939²]), 109–10. The Sacramentary of Autun preserves all the prayers of the procession with rubrics and the prayers of the Mass; O. Heiming, *Liber Sacramentorum Augustodunensis* [Autun 126], CCSL 159B (Turnhout, 1984), 85 (the second prayer 'alia oratio in atrio' is placed after the Mass). The late tenth-century Sacramentary of Ratoldus conflates the Major and Minor Litanies in a coherent block preceding the Ascension, but only the first day of the observance has prayers for a procession, rubricked with the traditional Roman sites (Ad sanctum Laurentium, … Ad sanctum Valentinum, etc.); N. Orchard (ed.), *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12052)*, Henry Bradshaw Society 116 (Woodbridge, 2005), 261–4, 482–3 (collation tables). A thorough examination of the procession's euchology would be far beyond the scope of the present chapter.

Table 5.1 The Major Litany: Topography, Prayers, and Old Roman Processional Antiphons

Location	Antiphons and Prayers	Musical Sources
S. Lorenzo in Lucina	*Exurge domine*	F 11A, f. 86 (Major Litany) VL 5319, f. 30ᵛ (Hypapante)
	Mentem familie tue … laurentio martyre tuo …	
	Populus syon	C 74, f. 93ᵛ; VL 5319, f. 101 F 22, f. 77ᵛ B 79, f. 115ᵛ [S. Maria *in turre*] BL, add. 29988, f. 89
	Domine deus noster	C 74, f. 93ᵛ; VL 5319, f. 101 F 22, f. 78; B 79, f. 87 BL, add. 29988, f. 89
	Ego sum deus patrum	C 74, f. 94; VL 5319, f. 101ᵛ BL, add. 29988, f. 89ᵛ
Ad s. Valentinum	Deus qui culpas delinquentium … *Confitemini domino filii Israhel*	C 74, f. 94; VL 5319, f. 101ᵛ
Ad pontem olibi	Parce quesumus domine parce … *Parce domine parce populo tuo*	C 74, fol. 94ᵛ; VL 5319, f. 101ᵛ
Ad crucem	Deus qui culpas nostras … *Iniquitates nostre*	C 74, f. 94ᵛ; VL 5319, f. 102
In atrio	Adesto domine supplicationibus … *Exclamemus omnes*	C 74, f. 94ᵛ; VL 5319, f. 102
Alia oratio in atrio		C 74, f. 94ᵛ; VL 5319, f. 102
	Presta q. o. d. ut ad te toto corde … *Redime domine de interitu*	

Abbreviations

C 74 = Cologny-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana C 74 (dated 1071; Gradual of S. Cecilia in Trastevere)

VL 5319 = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 5319 (11–12c. Old Roman gradual – transcribed by Margareta Landwehr-Melnicki in B. Stäblein [ed.], *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. lat. 5319*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 2 [Kassel, 1970])

F 22 = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio San Pietro, F 22 (12–13c; Gradual of St Peter's)

B 79 = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio San Pietro, B 79 (12c; Antiphoner of St Peter's)

BL, add. 29988 = London, British Library, ms. add. 29988 (12c antiphoner; from S. Croce in Gerusalemme?)

F 11A = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio San Pietro F 11A (11-12c?; votive Masses, Officium defunctorum, etc.)

After departing from S. Lorenzo, the procession headed north along the Via Lata, passing through the Aurelian Walls via the Porta Flaminia (site of the modern Piazza del Popolo), stopping thereafter at the church of S. Valentino (Fig. 1, no. 3) at the foot of Monte Parioli.[12] The procession continued further north, crossing over the Tiber at Ponte Milvio ('ad pontem olibi'), site of the decisive contest between the armies of Maxentius and Constantine in 312. Turning south towards St Peter's through an area called the 'field of Nero', it made a stop at a location designated as 'ad crucem', a site recently identified in the neighbourhood of the Villa Madama – perhaps a distant memory of the pagan Robigalia sacrifice that took place on this side of the Tiber. After passing by Hadrian's mausoleum (Fig. 1, no. 4), the procession made a turn west in the vicinity of the terebinth of Nero and the pyramid known as the 'meta Romuli' (Fig. 1, nos. 5–6). Approaching the basilica along the Porticus S. Petri, the procession passed the church of S. Maria 'in caput portici' (Fig. 1, no. 7) before ascending the three flights of steps to the atrium of St Peter's.[13] The Gregorian Sacramentary supplies two prayers for two different locations in the atrium before the procession entered the basilica for Mass. Both of the prayers *in atrio* implore the intercession of St Peter, just as the first prayer (*Mentem familie tue*) placed the beginning of the procession under the patronage of St Laurence.

Topographical rubrics in the various sources permit the coordination of prayers and chants. If the Old Roman antiphons and sacramentary prayers (col. 2) are arranged from last to first, an interesting correspondence reveals itself. The prayer + chant combination originally sung at the Milvian Bridge (the antiphon *Parce quesumus* and the prayer 'Parce domine') displays a more than casual commonality of diction.[14] Both make use of 'parcere' and refer to the sacrifice of Christ: 'quos pretioso filii tui sanguine redemisti' (prayer) and 'quem redemisti Christe sanguine tuo' (antiphon). This is a unique correspondence between chant text and prayer: the texts of the other chants are generally penitential or hopeful that divine mercy will be granted. The diction and spirit of the chant texts derive from the Hebrew Scriptures, but I have been able to discover

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12   This church's origins go back to a *memoria* that existed by the middle of the fourth century, when Pope Julius I (337–52) erected a basilica over the martyr's tomb: 'fecit … basilicam in via Flaminia milliario secundo quae appellatur Valentini'. The text comes from the Liberian Catalogue, preserved in a document known as the Chronograph of 354 (cited in *LP*, 1:9). The *LP* entry on Pope Julius (1:205) does not transmit the location on the Via Flaminia where he founded this cemetery–basilica in honour of the martyr Valentine. According to the seventh-century Itinerary of Salzburg, it was restored during the pontificate of Honorius I (625–38): 'ubi sanctus Valentinus martyr quiescit via Flaminia in basilica magna quam Honorius reparavit'; R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, 4 vols, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 81, 88, 90, 91 (Rome, 1940–53), 2:73. The *LP*, on the other hand, credits Theodore I (642–49) with rebuilding the church (1:332–3). Pope Benedict II (684–85) donated a precious 'coopertorium super altare cum clavos in fistellis et in circuitu palergium crisoclavum pretiosissimum' (an altar cloth with studs and thin bands, with a very precious border around it); *LP*, 1:363, trans. Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs*, 81. On the basilica and monastery, see O. Marucchi, *Le catacombe romane* (Rome, 1933), 631–50.

13   Pani Ermini, '*Forma urbis*', tavola XVI (Civitas Leoniana).

14   Whether the 'adversities' to which reference is made in the prayer allude to the battles fought here, most recently the Gothic Wars, can only be a matter of speculation.

probable sources for only three of them. Since the Major Litany invariably falls within Paschaltide, all the antiphons close, perhaps incongruously, with 'alleluia', added to all antiphons during this season.

The traditional 'Robigalia' route of the Major Litany must have persisted into the early ninth century, as we know from a sensational event in the history of the city and the papacy. The *Liber Pontificalis* records that Pope Leo III (795–816) was savagely assaulted in front of the monastery of SS Stefano e Silvestro (S. Silvestro in Capite, Fig. 1, no. 8) by henchmen of the 'wicked and unspeakable primicerius Paschal' (Pope Hadrian's nephew) as he was on his way to meet the laity who had gathered at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, a short distance further north on the Via Lata, for the *collecta* preceding the Major Litany.[15] This altercation, which took place in 799, prompted Leo to seek the aid of Charlemagne, who came to Rome late the following year to judge the accusations made against the pope. The momentous coronation of Charles as emperor in the West occurred on the following Christmas Day.

Ordo Romanus 21, a liturgical directory for the Major Litany, adapted in the late eighth century from a Roman source for a bishopric north of the Alps, preserves important information about the *collecta* that took place at the church whence the procession departed 'quando letania maior debet fieri'.[16] At the collect church the *pontifex* and his ministers donned dark-coloured vestments ('planitas fuscas'). The service began with the singing by the schola of an 'antiphona ad introitum' as the clerical procession approached the altar. The identity of this chant is revealed by a Roman liturgical miscellany compiled in the eleventh and twelfth century: BAV, ASP F 11A. There, the (notated) antiphon *Exurge domine, adiuva nos* is accompanied by the rubric 'In letania maiores [*sic*]. Collecta'.[17] Despite the relatively late date of this source, the simplicity of the chant and the fact that it was a standard part of other Roman collect ceremonies argues strongly for its antiquity (Example 5.1).

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15   'Omnes tam viri quamque feminae devote mente catervim in ecclesia beati martyris Laurenti quae appellatur Lucine, ubi et collecta praedicta inherat occurrerent'; see *LP*, 2:4; trans. R. Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, Translated Texts for Historians 13 (Liverpool, 1992), 184. Later, Leo made an *ex voto* offering in thanksgiving for his deliverance, a 'vestem crysolabam habentem historiam letanie maioris' (*LP*, 2:10; *The Lives*, 196). On the aftermath, see F. Schillmann (ed.), Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Dresden, 1926; orig. Stuttgart, 1859–72), 1:550–68 (Bk 4, Ch. 7); trans. A. Hamilton, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, 8 vols in 13 (London, 1906; repr. New York, 1967), 2:479–512; T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984), 199–202.

16   Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, 3:247–9 and the editor's commentary, 239–43. OR 21 is found in a single ninth-century manuscript, BNF, lat. 974 (the so-called 'St Amand collection'), fols 116v–17v. As a practical manual, it is understandably deprived of the topographical details that would have made sense only at Rome. Yet the mention of other *episcopi* (OR, 21:10; Andrieu, 3:248) places the original in a Roman milieu.

17   This source preserves the rubrics and prayers for the old processional route (In parrione, In ponte, In cortina, In atrio). *Exurge* is also present in BAV, VL 5319 for the feast of the Presentation (Hypapante).
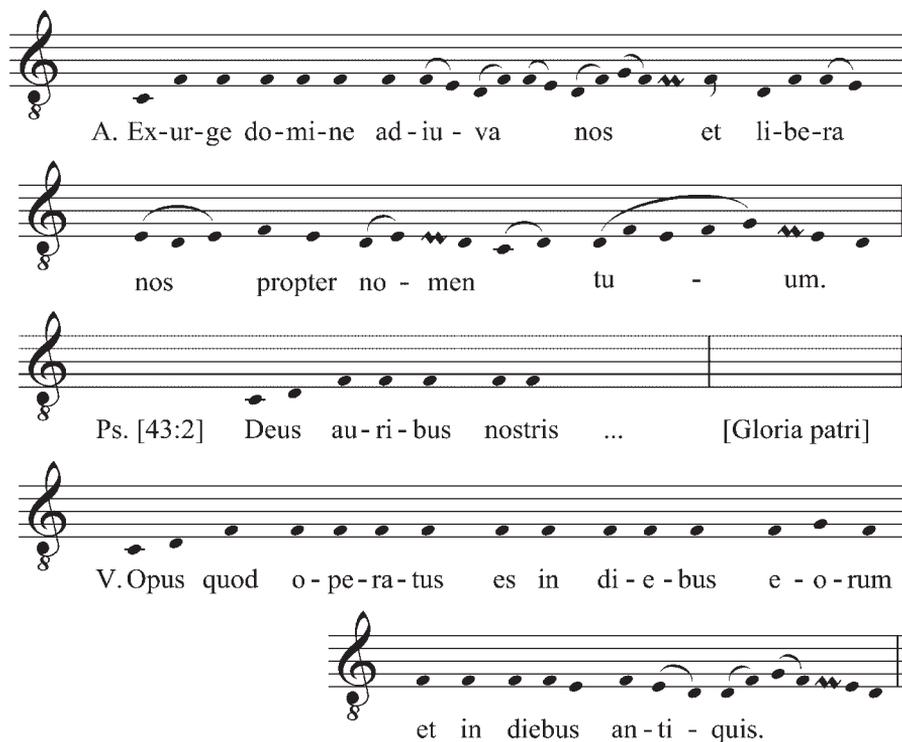
A. Ex-ur-ge do-mi-ne ad-iu-va   nos   et li-be-ra

nos   propter no-men   tu   -   um.

Ps. [43:2]   Deus   au-ri-bus   nostris   ...   [Gloria patri]

V. Opus quod o-pe-ra-tus   es in   di-e-bus   e-o-rum

et in diebus an-ti-quis.

Musical Ex. 5.1   Antiphon: Exurge domine (BAV, Archivio San Pietro, F 11A, fol. 86)

The musical form of the piece – antiphon, psalm verses [Gloria patri], versus ad repetendum – is also the conventional form of the introit. (The versus ad repetendum [V.] is inserted after the Gloria patri and before the last repetition of the antiphon.) According to OR 21, a short prayer was said at the altar before the procession formed. Poor folk from a church hospice formed behind a *crux lignea picta*, followed by the seven stational crosses, carried by *staurofori*. To each of these crosses, each representing one of the seven ecclesiastical regions of Rome, three candles were affixed. Michel Andrieu has suggested the possibility of an Eastern origin for these, based on a passage in the church historian Socrates about silver crosses outfitted with lights (σταυροὶ ἄργυροι φέροντες φῶτα) that John Chrysostom devised to enhance the nocturnal processions of orthodox Christians opposed to the Arians.[18] This passage is also of central interest

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18   Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 6.8; J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 67:688, and J. McKinnon (trans.), *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge, 1987), 101–2. The same assistants are mentioned in the description of a comparable *collecta* that precedes the procession on the feast of the Purification (OR 20.7; Andrieu, 3:236). Andrieu mentions (at 3:241) a sixth-century depiction of a *crux gemmata* with two candles on either arm of the cross in the catacomb of Pontian. This is, however, a stylized embellishment in a baptistery, not the depiction of a liturgical implement. See Marruchi, *Le catacombe romane*, 81, fig. 12. The simple processional crosses seen in one of the

to the problematical history of antiphonal singing because of its reference to 'antiphonal songs' (ᾠδάς ἀντιφώνους).

OR 21 directs that bishops, priests and subdeacons (in that order) precede the pontifex, who is accompanied by deacons and preceded by two crosses and a censer. The schola takes up a position behind him. Although not specified in OR 21, it was customary for participants in a penitential exercise of this kind to walk barefoot, but practical conditions – the poorly maintained streets of medieval Rome – may have necessitated a modification of this requirement.[19] As the Romano-Germanic Pontifical (*c.* 963) remarks about such processions, the participants went 'non equitando, non pretiosis vestibus induti, cinere respersi et cilicio induti, nisi infirmitas impedierit'.[20] This Major Litany procession, as adapted by OR 21, replaced the authentic Roman stations (Table 1, col. 1) with stops at an unspecified number of churches, 'ubi consuetudo est', for a brief prayer ceremony (collecta). The goal of the procession is not, of course, St Peter's, but the (unnamed) church 'ubi statio denuntiata est'. The remaining section of the ordo describes how the processional *litania* is completed by the schola with the traditional invocations of the Litany of the Saints (*Propitius esto … Ab omni malo … Peccatores …*).

The Music of the Major Litany

According to Gregory the Great, the Major Litany procession in his day was accompanied by the singing of 'hymnis et canticis spiritalibus'. (This phrase, borrowed from Eph 5:18, has no specific technical or descriptive connotations.) The first evidence at Rome of the music for the Major Litany is nearly five centuries removed from Gregory's time. A series of eight antiphons, preceded by a rubric that assigns them to the Major Litany, is preserved in the earliest witness to the local urban chant repertoire know as 'Old Roman', the Gradual of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (Table 1, col. 3 [C 74]). A colophon at the end of the book permits a dating specifically to the year 1071. A twelfth-century Old Roman gradual (BAV, VL 5319) lists the same eight antiphons, preceded by the

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frescoes ('The Return of the Relics of S. Clement') in the lower church of S. Clemente (*c.* 1080) are adorned with small banners.

19   On this and other characteristics of Roman processions, especially the papal cortège, see the detailed study of Sible de Blaauw, 'Contrasts in Processional Liturgy: A Typology of Outdoor Processions in Twelfth-Century Rome', in N. Bock *et al.* (eds), *Art, Cérémonial et Liturgie au Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque du 3ᵉ Cycle Romand de Lettres, Lausanne-Fribourg, 24–25 mars, 14–15 avril, 12–13 mai 2000* (Rome, 2002), 357–94, esp. 375–7.

20   C. Vogel and R. Elze (eds), *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, 3 vols, Studi e Testi 226–7, 269 (Vatican City, 1963–72), 2:119. A rubrical note in the pontifical confuses the Roman Major Litany with the special 'septiform' litany decreed on at least two occasions during Gregory's pontificate. In his ninth-century biography of the pope, John the Deacon confused these unique observances with the annual observance of the Major Litany: 'ut per singulos annos … ieiunium cum letaniis ab ecclesiis devote agatur', as quoted in Saxer 'L'utilisation de l'espace', 2:964. A similar situation prevailed in the Frankish Gelasian sacramentaries of the eighth century.

rubric 'eodem die l[etania] maior antiphone' and followed by the chants for the Mass.[21] All of the processional antiphons are listed in column 2 of Table 1 (italic type); the corresponding musical sources appear in column 3. (See the Appendix for the complete texts of the antiphons.) I have added at the beginning of the series the antiphon *Exurge domine*, a traditional Old Roman *collecta* antiphon, indicated to be sung 'in letania maiore' in F 11A.

The first two chants of the Major Litany – *Populus Syon* and *Domine Deus noster* – are also found in antiphoners for the Office (ASP, B79 and BL, add. 29988), where they stand outside the normal structure of the hours.[22] In the St Peter's Antiphoner the two antiphons are placed at the end of the office of St Mark preceded by the rubric 'In letan[ia] maior[e]. Statio in basilica beati Petri. a[ntiphona] ad coll[ect]am in ecc[lesia] s. Marie in t[ur]res.' Reference to the church of S. Maria *in turri*, located at the entrance to the atrium of Old St Peter's, signals that this observance of the Major Litany was intended to take place solely within the precincts of the Constantinian basilica.[23] For the procession across the atrium, no more than these two antiphons would have been required.[24] In the other Old Roman antiphoner of the Office (BL, add. 29988), the two antiphons also follow the office of St Mark, accompanied by the simple rubric 'In latanie maioris' [*sic*]. The first antiphon is prescribed to be sung with verses of Psalm 94 (Vulgate), the incipits of the first two verses of which ('Venite' and 'Preoccupemus') are given with the appropriate mode-8 psalm tone differentia. *Domine Deus noster* has no such complement, being immediately followed by *Ego sum deus patrum vestrorum*, here rubricked as a responsory but lacking the expected verse.

Can the chants preserved in the S. Cecilia Gradual trace their origins back to the original 'Robigalia' version of the Major Litany that passed beyond the city walls? I believe so. When the Roman chant repertoire was transmitted to Gaul in the late eighth century, the chants of the Major Litany were part of that transmission, though scribes north of the Alps did not understand their peculiar function. They are present in four of the six earliest graduals (eighth to ninth centuries) published by René-Jean Hesbert in *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*.[25] In four of the six manuscripts a rubric (variously phrased) identifies the collect (*statio* according to the Senlis antiphoner) at S. Lorenzo

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21 In the gradual VL 5319, the rubric before the antiphons 'eodem die letania maior' follows directly after the feast of St George (23 April). By the twelfth century, *Populus syon* was sung at the papal collecta, *Domine deus noster* at the urban collecta (see below). Andreas Pfisterer has proposed associating this gradual with the papal schola cantorum; see *Cantilena Romana: Untersuchiungen zur Überlieferung des gregorianischen Chorals*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik 11 (Paderborn, 2002), 107–8.

22 The antiphon *Ego sum deus patrum* occurs as an Office chant in BL, add. 29988, and hence is not specifically rubricked for the procession.

23 BAV, ASP F 14, f. 58 (early twelfth-century; from S. Salvatore in Primicerio?) has the prayer *Mentem familie tue*, but invoking the protection of the Blessed Virgin, not St Laurence.

24 Nothing in the text of the antiphons suggests that they were chosen for any particular relevance to St Peter's.

25 R.-J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935), 112 (no. 94) and 203 (no. 201a). Their presence would not be expected in the Monza cantatorium, which contains only the solo chants of the Mass. Although Dom Hesbert chose the term 'antiphonale missarum' for these manuscripts, later terminology would classify them as graduals.

in Lucina, but only in the Antiphoner of Mt. Blandin do the processional chants follow immediately. In the other three manuscripts, the rubric is followed by the Mass chants (INT. *Exaudivit de templo*, GR. *Confitemini domino*, OFF. *Confitebor domino*, COM. *Petite et accipietis*). These three manuscripts (Compiègne, Corbie, Senlis) place the antiphons in an appendix, preceded by a rubric that identifies them as belonging 'in letania maiore', to which the Senlis manuscript adds, 'vel de quacumque tribulatione'.[26] Only Senlis contains *Exurge domine*, placed first in the series.

Only the Gradual of Mont-Blandin maintains the order and integrity of the Roman antiphon series (cf. Table 1), but it adds two more antiphons: *Miserere nobis domine* and a text beginning *Salvum fac populum tuum*, a disconnected series of petitions. While there are no topographical references in the Mont-Blandin Gradual (nor would such be expected), it attests to the musical repertoire of the Major Litany about the time of Pope Leo III, nearly three centuries before the first notated musical source (C 74). Whether the melodies sung at Rome in the eighth century resemble those recorded in Roman manuscripts of the last third of the eleventh century is a question that has been debated on many fronts. None of the *Sextuplex* sources contains musical notation that might resolve this question.

Dom Hesbert noted that both the antiphons and the Mass of the Roman Major Litany were adapted for the Frankish Rogations processions, also known as the 'minor litanies', observed on the three days preceding Ascension. As confirmation he drew attention to the 'feria III' rubric inserted between the antiphons and the Mass chants in the Mont-Blandin manuscript.[27] While the presence of the Major Litany antiphons in northern sources confirms that the late eight-century repertoire was (textually) identical with that of the later eleventh century, it also indicates that the topographical particularities of a local Roman observance were not understood outside of its own milieu.

Each of the processional antiphons preserved in the Old Roman sources would have been repeated with psalm verses inserted between each statement of the antiphon. The musical style of the chants conforms to what one would expect to find in the Old Roman repertoire. They are more melodically developed than the antiphons of the Office, as would be anticipated for this genre; only the first antiphon, *Populus Sion*, is in the syllabic style of the Office antiphons, and it is the sole antiphon for which the incipit of a psalm verse (Vulgate 94) is given. We do not know what psalms were sung with the other antiphons; perhaps the selection changed from year to year depending on the pace of the procession and how many psalms were sung between one stop and the next.

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26   Ibid., 203.

27   Ibid., LXV and XCI. Since Ascension was a moveable feast, the Rogations were not observed on a fixed day of the month. See the comments on the Sacramentary of Ratoldus, n.11 above.

Musical Ex. 5.2　　Antiphon: Parce domine (Cologny-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana C 74, fol. 94v)

Example 5.2 is a transcription of the fifth antiphon in the Old Roman series, *Parce domine parce populo tuo*, according to the reading of the Santa Cecilia Gradual. The version in VL 5319 does not differ materially, but 'irascaris' is replaced by 'obliviscaris', the extra syllable being set to a repeated *ab* podatus. Either gesture is so common in Old Roman chant that speculation about which reading might be the 'original' would be futile.[28] There is a general uniformity of surface detail with regard to the melodic decoration of each syllable, and only a few words are set syllabically (populo, redemisti, sanguine). The prevailing stepwise motion is hardly ever interrupted, and upward leaps of a third are regularly balanced by stepwise movement in the opposite direction. The entire piece

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28　All of the other text versions in Gregorian settings that I have been able to check have 'irascaris'. In classical Latin 'obliviscor' took the genitive, but such (rare) verbs frequently govern the dative in medieval Latin.

moves within the narrow range of a sixth, exceeded by a sole *e*, upper note of the torculus on '[xri]-ste'.

The Major Litany of the Twelfth Century

By the mid-twelfth century or earlier (one cannot be entirely sure of the chronology), the 'pan-urban' procession that traversed the route of the classical Robigalia had evolved into two, or even three, separate observances: (1) a papal–curial procession, (2) an urban procession of clergy and laity possibly distinct, at least in part, from the papal–curial one, and (3) a procession of the Lateran canons.[29] Significantly, the main point of departure had changed from S. Lorenzo in Lucina to the more centrally located San Marco. According to twelfth-century sources, moreover, the procession took a different, but also a shorter, route. Precisely when the old Robigalia route was abandoned cannot be precisely fixed, nor can a single convincing explanation be adduced. Perhaps the reason for a strenuous traversal of the fields beyond the walls was forgotten. The poor condition of the roads north of the city and across the Tiber north of the *civitas leoniana* might have convinced organizers of the procession to reconsider. The popes had difficulty enough in maintaining the streets of the inhabited portion of the city. Another problem, suggested by Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, must have been the lack of security beyond the city walls.[30] The spiritual laxity of not a few tenth- and eleventh-century incumbents of the papal office and the frequent absences of the papal court from Rome cannot entirely explain the demise, nor can diminished fervour account entirely for what was in either form of the original processional route, a considerable physical exertion. Doubtless all of these practical considerations played a part, but I believe that other motives determined the choice of the route taken by the Major Litany procession from at least the last third of the eleventh century.

Table 2 compares five twelfth-century books of ceremonial whose topographical notes illustrate these changes. Both the *Liber politicus* (1140–43), the work of a certain Canon Benedict of St Peter's (cols 1 and 2), and the *Liber censuum* (1192) of Censius Savelli (col. 3) describe the papal liturgy, as does the slightly later Ordinal of Innocent III (col. 4).[31] All of these are in general agreement, but they are rather uninformative

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29   As noted earlier, the evidence of the St Peter's Antiphoner indicates that not all of the canons of the basilica participated in the urban observance.

30   B. Schimmelpfennig, 'Die Bedeutung Roms im päpstlichen Zeremoniell', in Schimmel-pfennig and L. Schmugge (eds), *Rom im Hohen Mittelalter: Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen, 1992), 53 [47–61].

31   The *Liber censuum* does not vary from the *Liber Politicus* in liturgical details, but Censius Savelli, as was his custom, adds considerable information about the stipends paid to the attending clergy; see P. Fabre and L. Duchesne (eds), *Le Liber Censum de l'Église romaine*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2 sér., vi/1–2 (Paris, 1910), 307 [vol. 2 includes the *Liber politicus* of Canon Benedict of St Peter's]. The rubrics of the papal sacramentary Ottob. lat. 356 repeat the rubrics of the Ordinal in abbreviated form; see J. Brinktrine (ed.), *Consuetudines Liturgicae in Functionibus Anni Ecclesiastici Papalibus Observandae: Sacramentario Codicis Vat. Ottobon. 356*, Opuscula et Textus Historiam Ecclesiae eiusque Vitam atque Doctrinam Illustrantia: Series Liturgica 6 (Münster in Westf., 1935), 41–2.

Table 5.2   Major Litany at Rome (twelfth to thirteenth century)

Liber politicus 56 Urban	Liber politicus 57 Papal	Liber censuum (1192) Papal	Ordinal of Innocent III Papal	Ordo Lateranensis (1143) Canonical
	Lateran	Lateran	Lateran	Lateran
	Ant. *Populus Syon*		Ant. *Populus Syon*	Ant *Populus Sion*
Ant. *Dominus deus noster*, Ps. Beatus vir *et reliquos*	Ant. *Domine deus noster* (canons of the basilicas)		Ant. *Dne deus noster* (canons of the basilicas)	Oratio
	alie antiphone per totam viam		alie antiphone per totam viam	
	Colosseum (7x lit.)	S. Clemente	S. Clemente (7x lit.) ante Coliseum sub arcu triumphali	S. Clemente Resp. *Beatus vir*
	S. Maria Nova	S. Maria Nova (*letania*)	S. Maria Nova	Arch of Titus/S. Maria Nova Resp. *Beatam me dicent*
	per viam sacram ad clivum Argentarii (5x lit.)			Per silicem ubi dicitur cecidisse Simon magus Ant. *Ego sum deus* Mamertine prison Resp. *Candidi facti sunt*
S. Marco Resp. *Famule dei marce* Ant. *Populus Sion* per viam cantando antiphonas et psalmos et in statutis locis letanias sicut mos est	S. Marco	S. Marco [for further details of the procession, see Table 3]	S. Marco (5x lit.) Resp. *Famule dei Marce*	S. Marco Resp. *Virtute magna* Ant. *Exurge domine*
		ad locum qui Parrion nuncupatur	ad parionem (3x lit) ad turrim campi	
	ad arcum triumphalem (3x lit.)		per arcum triumphalem	
	in ponte Adriano	ad pontem S. Petri	ad pontem S. Petri	in pedem pontis S. Petri Resp. *In conspectu angelorum* super pontem castrum sancti Angeli
				per porticum Ants. *Sedit angelus, Ego sum alpha et o, Crucifixum in carne* (repeated, if necessary)
	S. Lorenzo in porticu maiore (1x lit.)			
	S. Maria in Virgariis in fine cortine	ad locum qui dicitur cortina	S. Maria de virgariis (1x lit.)	S. Maria virgariorum Ant. *Regina celi*
		ad gradus ecclesiae S. Petri *Te deum laudamus*		S. Maria in turrim Resp. *Sancta et immaculata*
St Peter's	St Peter's	super rota[m] in introitu quasi ecclesie Oratio	St Peter's *Te deum laudamus*	St Peter's *Te deum laudamus*

with respect to the course of the procession through the city. How the eight traditional Old Roman processional antiphons might have been fitted into the new processional route remains speculative, for none of the Roman musical sources gives any indication where the traditional antiphons were sung along the later medieval route. As far as one can determine, there seem to have been few fixed *collecta* sites along the way. The *Ordo* of the Lateran canons (col. 5) generally reflects the particular customs of this community, which rarely coincided with those of the curia. It offers no help towards reconstructing the papal–curial procession, however, because the canons' procession on 25 April departed markedly from the traditional Roman practice. The Lateran canons made a kind of 'pilgrimage' from San Marco to various churches of the city and venerated their titular saints with chants in their honour.

The Twelfth-Century Urban Procession

The *Liber politicus* distinguishes the papal observance from the one practised by the urban clergy and laity ('omnes cruces Romane civitatis cum clero et populo'; Table 2, col. 1). The participants in the urban procession departed from an unidentified point (or points), where the antiphon *Dominus deus noster qui cum patribus nostris*, a chant represented in all of the Old Roman musical sources (Table 1, col. 3), was sung. They proceeded to the church of San Marco (Fig. 1, no. 9), singing psalms, beginning with the first, 'Beatus vir'. Having arrived at the church, the clergy chanted the responsory *Famule dei Marce*, a piece unique to the Old Roman repertoire. The day of the Major Litany, 25 April, is the feast of St Mark, though the church near the Forum was not originally named in honour of the evangelist, but in memory of its supposed founder, Pope Mark (336).[32] Very likely, the 'official' starting point of the procession was relocated there when the feast of St Mark began to be celebrated at Rome, probably no earlier than the middle of the eleventh century, a reason for situating the reform of the Major Litany procession after this time.[33] The responsory in honour of St Mark, *Famule dei Marce*, was followed by the processional antiphon *Populus Syon*, the first in the series found in the Old Roman chant books, a probable indication that the entire antiphon series was still being sung by the urban procession (per viam cantando psalmos).

No topographical details about the route taken by the urban procession on its way to St Peter's are provided. The *Liber politicus* says merely that the participants left San Marco in procession singing antiphons and psalms, pausing at prearranged sites for the singing of litanies (in statutis locis letanias sicut mos est).[34] The fixed places at which

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32   The *Liber censuum* mentions both observances: 'qualiter domnus papa pergit in letania maiori in festo sancti Marci'; Fabre and Duchesne (eds), *Le Liber Censuum*, 307.

33   P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au douzième siècle*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 26 (Rome, 1977), 232–3. On the change in dedication, see C. Bolgia, 'The Mosaics of Gregory IV at S. Marco, Rome: Papal Response to Venice, Byzantium, and the Carolingians', *Speculum*, 81 (2006): 1–34.

34   *Liber politicus* 56 (Fabre and Duchesne [eds], *Le Liber Censuum*, 155–6). The mention of litanies in the papal ordines may seem to establish a point of contact, but one must assume that litanies were always a part of Roman processions – particularly on a day known as the Major Litany!

the procession broke off for the singing of a *letania* are thus considered part of a longstanding custom (*mos*). Should this reference be taken to imply that nothing except the point of departure had changed over the centuries and that the procession still went north along nearby Via Lata? Since San Marco is further south than S. Lorenzo in Lucina, this starting point would have added some distance to an already long route – an argument against the hypothesis.

Nothing more is said about lay participation in the Major Litany procession in the *Liber politicus*; thus, it cannot be determined whether the laity and urban clergy preceded the papal court in the procession described immediately thereafter in the *Liber politicus*. This description of the urban procession was repeated sixty years later in the Ordinal of Innocent III, it was appended almost as an afterthought to the main court ritual: 'eodem die …'. This later version adds that the canons of St Peter's, present at San Marco, sang the responsory *Famule dei Marce* 'honorifice et modulate', a term that might indicate improvised polyphony (organum).[35] Perhaps the members of the curia, by no means drawn exclusively from the Roman clergy, did not know this chant from the urban repertoire.

A rubric in a papal sacramentary from the late twelfth century (BAV, Ottob. lat. 356) instructs the pope to wait 'donec omnes cruces intrent ecclesiam beati Petri' before he enters the church.[36] This might indicate an independent processional observance, but it might also reveal that the pope, his clergy and officials led the procession but waited at St Peter's until the urban clergy and laity had entered the church before beginning the introit of the Mass.

The Papal–Curial Procession of the Twelfth Century

Whether or not the processional route of the urban clergy and laity had changed (this cannot be confirmed, though one suspects that it had), the pope, accompanied by the curia, traced out a route very different from the one followed in the earlier Middle Ages. The Lateran basilica, not San Lorenzo in Lucina (or San Marco), is now the official starting point (Table 2, cols 2–4).[37] After the second antiphon of the *collecta*, *Dominus deus noster*, had been sung by the schola, it repeated successively by the canons of the major basilicas (the Lateran, S. Maria Maggiore, St Peter's, in that order), and then taken up again by the primicerius (and the schola cantorum). The *Liber politicus* prescribes this same procedure for the other processional antiphons,[38] but it does not provide the

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35   S. J.P. van Dijk and J.H. Walker, *The Ordinal of the Papal Court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII and Related Documents*, Spicilegium Friburgense 22 (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1975), 392. For references to polyphonic singing at Rome, see J. Dyer, 'Roman Singers of the Later Middle Ages', in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Sixth Meeting – Eger, Hungary, September 1993*, 2 vols (Budapest, 1995), 1:45–64. Following the usual practice, the intonation of the responsory and the (normally solo) verse would have been enhanced by polyphonic treatment.

36   Fol. 179; Brinktrine (ed.) *Consuetudines Liturgicae*, 42. See also Van Dijk and Walker, *The Ordinal of the Papal Court*, 391.

37   The question of the Lateran canons' *litania* (Table 2, col. 5) will be taken up later.

38   Curiously, this obligation is not mentioned in the ordo of the Lateran canons, which is incompatible with the court practice in this respect. Cf. also the Ordinal of Innocent III: 'et hoc

titles of other antiphons, mentioning only litanies of diminishing length at specified stopping points.

The first part of the processional route described by Canon Benedict (Table 2, col. 2) – from the Lateran to San Marco – took a direct route, the *via maior*, passing by the churches of San Clemente and S. Stefano Rotondo on the Caelian Hill before approaching the Coliseum, where the regional subdeacon began a septiform litany.[39] This brought the procession into the monumental centre of ancient Rome. After a brief pause at Santa Maria Nova, adjacent to the Arch of Titus, allowed for completion of the litany and a prayer said by the pope, the papal entourage veered eastward along the Via Sacra and the Clivus Argentarius towards San Marco, singing a 'quinqueform' litany. A brief stop at this church gave the pope an opportunity to rest on a couch (*lectum*) prepared there. Nothing is said of a collect at this point, nor is there any suggestion that the urban procession joined the pope.

The *Liber censuum* adds several significant pieces of new information to Benedict's account of the procession. The pope and cardinals wore *planetae*, almost certainly of a dark colour, and were unshod. The papal procession departed from the Lateran led by the crosses of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, S. Maria Maggiore, and the Lateran, followed by the 'crux cotidiana domni papae'.[40] At San Marco, the cross of the canons of St Peter's took up second place in the procession after that of S. Lorenzo.

The *Liber politicus* offers virtually no information about the subsequent route of the court as it travelled from San Marco to St Peter's. Unlike the original Major Litany procession that made periodic stops, the twelfth-century papal procession apparently moved along without interruption. Canon Benedict refers to only a single monument, the Arch of the Three Emperors (Fig. 1, no. 10) located near the approach to the *pons Aelius* (Ponte Sant'Angelo). Theoretically, two routes from San Marco would have been possible: one turning west into the Parione region before heading north, the other taking the Via Lata northward before turning west into the Via Recta and the Campus Martius (Campo Marzo). Either would have arrived at the triumphal Arch of the Three Emperors mentioned by Canon Benedict before crossing the Tiber.

The first alternative is confirmed by the *Liber censuum* (Table 2, col. 3), a ceremonial directory compiled in 1192 by Censius Savelli, a papal official who later became Pope Honorius III (1216–27). This source indicates that, after the pope rested briefly at San Marco after the trip from the Lateran, where he 'incedit usque ad locum qui Parrion nuncupatur', a decisive rubric with respect to the topography of the procession. It must have traversed the Parione region (VI), almost certainly along a route known in the Middle Ages as the *via papalis* after the cavalcades that traced this path on the pope's return from St Peter's after his coronation and annually on his return to the

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ordine canta[n]tur alie antiphone per totam viam' (Van Dijk and Walker, *The Ordinal of the Papal Court*, 388; for the sources see ibid., n.1).

39   See also Fabre and Duchesne (eds) *Le Liber Censuum*, 163, n.50. Apparently, the pope went to S. Lorenzo in Lucina with no special pomp in the early medieval observance of the Major Litany.

40   On the complicated rules governing the different types of crosses, see De Blaauw, 'Contrasts in Processional Liturgy', 366–7, 378–9.

Lateran from St Peter's on Easter Monday.[41] Richard Krautheimer called this 'the most important route across the overall area of medieval Rome, trod by all pilgrims and followed by papal processions throughout the Middle Ages'.[42]

This route was probably identical with the first part of the second itinerary ('A porta sancti Petri usque ad sanctam Luciam in Orthea') in the mid-eighth-century travel guide known as the Itinerary of Einsiedeln, which also commences at St Peter's. Reading the route in reverse establishes with some degree of probability the revised course of the papal Major Litany procession.

In his description of the Easter Monday procession from St Peter's to the Lateran, Canon Benedict mentions first the Arch of the Three Emperors (Theodosius, Valentinian, Gratian) and thereupon the Palace of Chromatius, 'ubi Judei faciunt laudem'. This refers to the Jewish community's obligation on the day of the pope's coronation and probably during the annual Easter Monday cavalcade to present him with the Torah scroll, which he venerated, but rejected as insufficient for salvation.[43] (Since the Jews had an 'official' part in the coronation ceremonies, they were duly compensated for their services by the papal treasury.) The procession then made its way through the Parione region between the Circus of Alexander and the Theatre of Pompey, along the Porticus of Agrippa, going up 'per pineam iuxta palacinam' to San Marco.[44] The 'circus' of Alexander, which the contemporary *Mirabilia urbis Romae* locates 'iuxta Sanctam Mariam Rotundam' [the Pantheon], was most likely the Stadium of Domitian [Piazza Navona], which the emperor Alexander had restored (Fig. 1, no. 11).[45] The location of the Theatre of Pompey is well attested (Fig. 1, no. 12), and by 'porticus Agrippina' must be meant the western colonnade of the Saepta Julia (Fig. 1, no. 13) known as 'porticus Argonautarum' from paintings of the adventures of the Argonauts. The procession may then have passed through the Porticus Minucia vetus (Fig. 1, no. 14) north of the Crypta and Theatrum Balbi (Fig. 1, no. 15) before turning into the Pigna region (IX)

41   G. Carpaneto, 'Rione VI: Parione', in G. Carpaneto *et al.* (eds), *La grande guida dei rioni di Roma: Storia, segreti, monumenti, tradizioni, leggende, curiosità*, Guide Insolite 17 (Rome, 2000), 383–447, esp. 383–92.

42   R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City* (Princeton, 1980), 248 and the map on 246.

43   The *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, contemporary with the *Liber politicus*, and frequently attributed to Canon Benedict himself, mentions this site twice (nos. 6 and 30), the second time noting its location near the church of S. Stefano in [de] Piscina, situated on the via dei banchi Vecchi until its demolition in the mid-nineteenth century; see F. Lombardi, *Roma: Le chiese scomparse. La memoria storica della città* (Rome, 1996), 191 (in proximity to the Chiesa Nuova). On the *Mirabilia*, see n.45 below.

44   'Intrans [procesio] sub arcu triumphali Theodosii, Valentiniani et Gratiani imperatorum et vadit iuxta palatium Chromatii, ubi Judei faciunt laudem; prosiliens per Parrionem inter circum Alexandri et theatrum Pompeii, descendit per porticum Agrippinam, ascendit per Pineam iuxta Palacinam, prosiliens ante sanctum Marcum'; *Liber politicus* 51, Fabre and Duchesne (eds), *Le Liber Censuum* 154.

45   The most recent edition (with Italian translation) is M. Accame and E. dell'Oro (eds), *I 'Mirabilia urbis Romae'*, Ricerche di Filologia, Letteratura e Storia 4 (Rome, 2004), 118; for an English translation, see F.M. Nichols (trans.), *The Marvels of Rome: Mirabilia urbis Romae*, 2nd edn, trans. E. Gardiner (New York, 1986), 10.

and taking the ancient vicus Pallacinae towards San Marco, passing by the church of S. Lorenzo in Pallacinis, though the site of this church is uncertain.

The slightly later Ordinal of Innocent III (Table 2, col. 4) fills in details that confirm the *via papalis* route. It has all the traditional Major Litany prayers (Table 1, col. 2) with some transpositions. Innocent's Ordinal adds a topographical detail. A stop is made enroute 'ad turrim campi', where the prayer *Deus qui culpas delinquentibus*, formerly recited 'ad s. Valentinum', is prescribed.[46] The tower to which reference is made is that of Stephano di Pietro, which stood at the corner of the present-day Via del Governo Vecchio and the Piazza dell'Orologio, until its demolition in 1536 by order of Paul III.[47] This was also the point, previously mentioned, at which the Jewish *schola* of Rome presented the newly crowned pope with a Torah scroll. A papal sacramentary (BAV, Ottob. lat. 356), contemporary with Savelli, corroborates and slightly amplifies the evidence of the *Liber censuum* and the Ordinal of Innocent III.[48] At some point in the Parione region, the clergy of S. Lorenzo in Damaso (Fig. 1, no. 16) prepared a *lectus* on which the pope could recline before continuing the journey to St Peter's. This would have been placed not too far distant from their church, which stood only a few steps away from the Via del Pellegrino.[49] The remainder of the ordinal and the sacramentary contain nothing beyond what has already been discussed.

Dating the New Processional Route

How long the original route continued to be traversed is uncertain. Sacramentaries, even those thought to have been copied in Rome or used there, cannot be relied upon, since the old topographical rubrics of the Gregorian Sacramentary continued to be entered in its descendents long after the ancient route had been abandoned. A *collecta* at S. Lorenzo in Lucina still appears in BAV, Vat. lat. 12989 (possibly from the Lateran; *c.* 1200), in BAV, Santa Maria Maggiore 40 (sacramentary, *c.* 1230), and in Rome, Bibl. Angelica 1606 (eighteenth-century copy of a thirteenth-century sacramentary) for no reason other than the conservatism of these authentically Roman books. There is, however, a Roman liturgical source, hitherto unnoticed, that pushes the revised itinerary back into the last third of the eleventh century at the latest. The earliest source for the music of the Major Litany is the Gradual of Sta Cecilia in Trastevere (1071). The

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46   Van Dijk and Walker, *The Ordinal of the Papal Court*, 390.

47   Item cum venit ad turrim Stephani Petri, que est Parionis et hodie dicitur Turris de Campo …; M. Andrieu (ed.), *Le Pontifical romain au moyen age 2: Le Pontifical de la Curie romaine au XIIIᵉ siècle*, Studi e Testi 87 (Vatican City, 1940), 537 [Gregory X's ordo for the papal election and coronation]. U. Gnoli, *Topografia e Toponomastica de Roma medioevale e moderna* (Rome, 1939; new edn with introduction by L. Jannatoni, Foligno, 1984), 321–2. There was a church nearby dedicated to St Cecilia, known as 'de Turre Campi' and 'in Monte Giordano'. See C. Huelsen, *Le chiese romane nel medio evo: Catalogi ed appunti* (Florence, 1926; repr. Rome, 2000), 224–5, and F. Lombardi, *Roma: Le chiese scomparse*, 186. In the *Liber censuum*, Censius mentions the church as 'Sancte Cecilie Stephani de Petro'.

48   This is available in Brinktrine (ed.), *Consuetudines Liturgicae in Functionibus Anni Ecclesiastici Papalibus Observandae*; the passages relating to the Major Litany are compared with the papal ordinal in Van Dijk and Walker, *The Ordinal of the Papal Court*, 387–91.

49   R. Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae* (Milan, 1893–1901; repr. Rome, 1991), plan 20.

rubric that introduces the chants of the day reads: 'VII K[al] M[aii]. Let[anie] maior[is]. Coll[ecta] ad S. Marcum / sta[tio] ad S. Petrum'. The processional antiphons (Table 1, cols 2–3 and Appendix) are followed by the Mass of the day (*Exaudivit de templo*). This rubric confirms that, by the 1060s at the latest, the starting point of the Major Litany had been transferred from S. Lorenzo in Lucina to San Marco, with a concurrent change in the route of the procession.[50] A miscellaneous liturgical collection containing orders of service, votive masses and a sacramentary (BAV, F11A: variously dated from the late eleventh to the middle of the twelfth century) has a rubric that places the Major Litany *collecta* at San Marco, and the prayer *Deus qui beatum Marcum evangelistam tuum* leaves no doubt about its location.[51] Though the manuscript contains none of the chants sung in procession, it contains all the prayers in the original order (Table 1) as well as the prayers, readings and fully notated chants of the day's Mass; the second prayer, secret, and postcommunion commemorate St Mark.

Still other evidence about the date when the city and the pope went their separate ways (literally) can be found in a late eleventh-century sacramentary-missal (Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, 299). This was brought to Florence from Rome by Pope Paschal II in 1113 and donated to the cathedral of Sorrento by Cardinal Richard of Albano, who dedicated the cathedral on 16 March of that year.[52] Thus it is reasonable to take the book as representative of the liturgy of the papal court about the year 1100. The exceptional quality of the book's production, unequalled by any of the other Roman liturgical manuscripts that have survived from the Middle Ages, points to papal use or to a cardinalatial chapel.

In addition to the prescribed prayers for the Major Litany, the Riccardiana Sacramentary cites the incipits of all the antiphons (unnotated), rubricked according to the old 'Robigalia' route: San Valentino, the Milvian Bridge, and St Peter's (Table 3).[53] Nevertheless, a rubric signals the shift of the *collecta* to San Marco, and the traditional prayer that had once invoked the intercession of St Laurence (*Mentem familie tue*) has been adapted to the new location ('intercedente beato Marco'). Outside of Rome, registering this change would have made little sense, thus the sacramentary confirms the change in the starting point of the procession by the beginning of the twelfth century.

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50   Having at his disposal only the published mid-twelfth-century sources, Bernhard Schimmelpfennig hypothesized that the route was changed in the tenth century, 'nachdem Sarazenen und andere Plünderer die Gebiete vor den Mauern verwüstet hatten' ('Die Bedeutung Roms', 53).

51   The various datings are reviewed in P. Supino Martini, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X–XII)*, Biblioteca di Scrittura e Civiltà 1 (Alessandria, 1987), 82–4, esp. n.99.

52   J. Ramackers, 'Die Weihe des Domes von Sorrent am 16 März 1113 durch Kardinalbischof Richard von Albano', in G. Bauer *et al.* (eds), *Speculum Historiale. Geschichte im Spiegel von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung* (Munich, 1965), 575–89; see also Supino Martini, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca*, 54–5.

53   Florence, Bibl. Ricc. 299, fols 83–83v.

Table 5.3   The Major Litany in Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, 299, f. 83–83v

Coll. ad S. Marcum	Ant. *Populus syon*. ps. Venite … P[re]occu[pemus] Mentem familie tue … [St Mark] Ant. *Domine deus noster qui cum patribus* Ant. *Ego sum deus patrum*
Ad S. Valentinum	Deus qui culpas delinquentium Ant. *Confitemini domino filii Israel*
Ad pontem molivi	Parce quesumus domine parce populo tuo Ant. *Parce domine*
Ad cortinam	Deus qui culpas nostras Ant. *Iniquitates nostre* Ant. *Exclamemus omnes* Ant. *Redime domine de interitu*
Ad paradisum	Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris
Ad sanctum Petrum	Presta quesumus o. d. ut ad te toto corde clamantes

This Roman source combines items of the older topography and the traditional euchology (Table 3, col. 2) with the musical repertoire of the Major Litany. The justification for the 'ad crucem' rubric had by this time been forgotten, since the prayer 'Domine qui culpas nostras' and the antiphon *Iniquitates nostras* are now placed 'ad cortinam', that is, in the atrium of St Peter's. (Cf. Tables 1 and 3.)

The 'Litany' of the Lateran Canons

The fifth column of Table 2 remains to be considered. Although the Ordo of the Lateran canons is exactly contemporaneous with the *Liber politicus* of Canon Benedict, its concept of the Major Litany differs strikingly from both the urban and the papal–curial observances. The canons seem to have followed generally the same route as the papal party, but they did not participate fully in its processional observances.[54] (One notes, for example, the emphasis on the first person singular in the ritual directions.) The author of the Ordo, Prior Bernard, seems to be reporting on the events of the day (*De letania Romana*) as a spectator, not as a participant in the venerable Roman tradition.

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54   Fischer (ed.), *Ordo Lateranensis*, 94–7. When the curia came to the Lateran for a solemn celebration, the canons were often marginalized. See my 'Double Offices at the Lateran', passim. It is this Ordo that mentions transference of the Major Litany, should 25 April fall during Easter Week or on a Sunday.

Many of the canons who reformed the Lateran community were not of Roman birth, and hence unfamiliar with Roman practice.

After the *collecta* ceremony, to the ringing of bells ('omnibusque signis in classicum pulsantibus') the Lateran canons escorted the curia to the door of the basilica. There the canons of St Peter's took precedence, but not without a reminder from Bernard of the Lateran's supremacy as 'mater et domina ceterarum ecclesiarum'. Thereafter came the papal cross and the primicerius with the schola cantorum, then the cardinal bishops and cardinal priests, the subdeacons, the deacons, and the pope. Finally, Bernard adds, 'it is fitting that all go with unshod feet' (quos omnes discalciatis pedibus venire convenit).

Though the canons left the Lateran in company with the pope and curia, they went about their own devout 'pilgrimage', honouring saints venerated at Rome. They chanted the Psalter from the beginning. At the church of San Clemente on the Coelian Hill they interrupted the psalms to sing a responsory (*Beatus vir*) in honour of the first-century pope. Taking up the psalmody once again, they halted at Sta Maria Nova to pay their respects to the Virgin with the responsory *Beatam me dicent*. The Blessed Virgin was similarly honoured towards the end of the procession at S. Maria de Virgariis and Sta Maria in Turri, both at the Vatican. Other sites sacred to the memory of the saints were similarly recognized: *Ego sum deus* where Simon Magus fell to earth[55] and *Candidi facti sunt* in honour of the martyrs, Peter chief among them, who had been incarcerated in the Mamertine prison during the persecutions.

Arriving at San Marco, the Lateran canons honoured the (presumed) titular saint with the responsory *Virtute magna*, substituting this chant for the traditional *Famule dei Marce*. They did this because, as non-Romans, they did not know *Famule dei Marce*, which is part of the Old Roman repertoire but not of the Gregorian. As a substitute, they made a 'generic' choice: a responsory from the common of Apostles and Evangelists in Paschaltide.[56] They observed the ancient Roman collect tradition by singing the antiphon *Exurge domine* at his church. After the completion of the *collecta*, the canons approached to kiss the hairshirt of St Mark. They did not leave the church by the central door but by a small exit ('per posterulam') to rejoin their 'cruces preparatas' waiting outside. No more is said about the route until the procession of canons reaches the *pons s. Petri*, where the singing of *In conspectu angelorum* recalls Gregory the Great's vision of an angel sheathing its sword atop the mausoleum of Hadrian during a penitential procession at the beginning of his pontificate. The canons passed silently by Castel Sant'Angelo 'because of the oppression of men that frequently happens there'.[57] Immediately afterwards, they commemorate St Michael with the antiphon *Sedit angelus*, and while traversing the porticus leading to the atrium of St Peter's, they sing additional

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55   For the legend of the confrontation between and Peter and Simon Magus, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. W.G. Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton, 1993), 1:341–4.

56   *Famule dei Marce* was the first responsory of Matins on the saint's feast in the Old Roman liturgy (BAV, Archivio San Pietro B 79, f. 114v–15). For modern editions of *Virtue magna* see *Nocturnale Romanum: Antiphonale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae pro nocturnis horis* (Rome-Florence-Verona, 2002), [28]; *Processionale Monasticum* (Solemes, 1887), 217; *Liber Responsorialis pro festis I. classis et communi sanctorum iuxta riyum monasticum* (Solemes, 1895), 87.

57   'Castrum sancti Angeli nihil cantando transimus propter oppressionem hominum, que ibidem frequentius fit'; Fischer (ed.), *Ordo Lateranensis*, 97.

antiphons: *Ego sum alpha et o* and *Crucifixum in carne*. A short *letania* was recited outside the church of Sta Maria de Virgariis, after which, to the singing of *Sancta et immaculata*, they came to Sta Maria in Turri. On the approach to the goal of the procession, the canons sang the grand responsory, *Tu es pastor ovium* (Thou art the shepherd of the sheep, prince of the apostles; to thee God gave all the kingdoms of the world, and therefore were handed to you the keys of the kingdom of heaven). They did not pause at the door of the basilica but proceeded directly down the nave, paid their reverence to the altar and descended to the confessio, where they kissed the altar at the tomb of St Peter. They then took up places to hear Mass, 'quam domnus papa cum episcopis et cardinalibus ibi celebrare debebit'. At the conclusion of Mass, their horses took them back to the Lateran.

As 'foreigners', the reform canons of the Lateran followed a Lucchese tradition of devotional visits to churches along a processional route, not the venerable Roman Major Litany tradition.[58] They probably knew only Gregorian chant, not the traditional urban musical repertoire, Old Roman chant, which was presumably still sung by the papal schola cantorum during the Major Litany procession. The substitution of *Virtute magna* for *Famule dei Marci* suggests as much. For both of these reasons, full participation in the procession might have seemed both burdensome and not in tune with their notion of what a procession should be. Instead of playing the role of 'silent partners' to the papal court, as often they had to do, they preferred on this occasion to redefine the procession on their own terms, as indeed the papal court had already done, but for its own purposes.

Conclusions

An array of literary, liturgical, musical and topographical source material has permitted us to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the reorientation of the Roman Major Litany procession from its original 'Robigalia' route that passed far beyond the city walls on the journey from S. Lorenzo in Lucina to St Peter's to the more direct route that began at San Marco and traversed the Parione region towards the same goal. The Gradual of Sta Cecilia in Trastevere (1071) demonstrates that the Major Litany procession had abandoned the older route by the last third of the eleventh century. While the earlier observance engaged the entire city in a single religious exercise, the later practice focused mainly on the clerical participants. Originally a common plea for divine mercy that incorporated all ranks of society, ecclesiastical and secular, by the twelfth century the Major Litany had become a fragmented observance. The urban clergy and laity are hardly mentioned in the books that regulate the papal procession; even the canons of the pope's cathedral do not associate themselves with the participants who belonged to the papal court.

What occasioned this change in one of the most distinctive and venerable of Roman liturgies? The convenience of a shorter route cannot be ignored, but other considerations might have played a part: chief of these the desire to portray the holder

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58   The Rogations procession at the abbey of St Riquier (*c.* 802–803) likewise paused at chapels in the cloister; see E. Bishop, 'Angilbert's Ritual Order for Saint-Riquier', in his *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), 321–9 [314–32].

of the papal office as both priest and sovereign lord of *Roma felix*. As Stefan Diefenbach has argued, papal processions through the city served to emphasize papal claims to jurisdiction, thus contesting the claims of emperor and commune. While hardly a novel idea, Diefenbach's summary of the development is worth quoting:

> The revival of the urban stational liturgy and the ceremonial manifestation of the papal *imitatio imperii* reinforced the bonds of the reform papacy to the showplace of liturgical and ceremonial communication, and it led to an intensified infiltration of the urban seat of power (*Herrschaftsraum*), which encompassed as well the ancient monuments of the city.[59]

Such a goal would not have been realized by maintaining the old route of the Major Litany up the Via Lata, through the deserted landscape beyond the walls, and across the Tiber. Just as the route taken by the papal entourage from the Lateran to San Marco before the official start of the Major Litany procession in a sense 'claimed' the monumental centre of ancient Rome, so did the passage from San Marco through the Parione region to St Peter's vindicate papal prerogatives over the populated areas of the city. The local population may have traversed the ancient urban processional route, though this seems very unlikely. While the laity were not reduced to the status of mere onlookers, as was the case on Easter Monday, they were obviously not welcome as participants in a display of papal hegemony.

Instead of wearing the crown and riding the white horse that was his special privilege, the pope and the highest ranking members of the Roman church walked barefoot as penitents in sombre vestments along the route where, a few weeks or days previously (depending on the date of Easter), the pope had ridden in triumph.[60] During the Major Litany procession, Christ's vicar presented himself in the guise of a penitent priest pleading in solidarity with the Roman congregation for divine mercy. Thus the subtle (or not so subtle) purposes of the mounted cavalcade and the procession on foot were similar: to assert hegemony over a medieval city that was all too often fractious and resistant of his authority. (Within a year or so of the *Liber politicus* the Roman commune was established.) Though its penitential character remained outwardly unchanged, the Major Litany procession of the twelfth-century had been made to serve a second, somewhat worldlier goal.

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59   S. Diefenbach, 'Beobachtungen zum antiken Rom im hohen Mittelalter: Städtische Topographie als Herrschafts- und Erinnerungsraum', *Römische Quartalschrift für Antike und Christentum*, 97 (2002): 40–88, esp. 74–5.

60   On non-liturgical papal cortèges, see the comprehensive study of S. Twyman, *Papal Ceremonial at Rome in the Twelfth Century*, Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia 4 (London, 2002), especially Ch. 6 ('Intra-Mural *adventus* at Rome'); the order of the papal cortège is described on pp. 182–3. See also J. Traeger, *Der reitende Papst: Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie des Papsttums*, Münchner Kunsthistorische Abhandlungen 1 (Munich–Zurich, 1970). The requirement that all be 'discalciati' could include the wearing of slippers (*planelli*); for details see De Blaauw, 'Contrasts in Processional Liturgy', 375–7.

Appendix
The Old Roman Antiphons for the Major Litany

Populus Sion convertimini ad dominum deum vestrum et dicite ei potens es domine dimittere peccata nostra ut non inveniant nos iniquitates nostre deus Israel alleluia alleluia. (Cf. Hosea 14:3)

Domine deus noster qui cum patribus nostris mirabilia magna fecisti et nostris glorificare temporibus qui misisti manum tuam de alto et liberasti nos alleluia.

Ego sum deus patrum vestrorum dicit doninus videns vidi afflictionem populi mei et gemitum eius audivi et descendi liberare eos alleluia.

Confitemini domino filii Israel quia non est alius deus preter eum ipse liberavit nos propter misericordiam suam aspicite quae fecit nobiscum et enarremus omnia mirabilia eius alleluia. (Cf. Tobit 13:3–6)

Parce domine parce populo tuo quem redemisti Christe sanguine tuo ut non in eternum irascaris [VL 5319: obliviscaris] nobis alleluia alleluia.

Iniquitates nostre domine multiplicate sunt super capita nostra delicta nostra creverunt usque ad celos parce domine et inclina super nos misericordiam tuam alleluia. (Cf. 1 Esdras 8:83)

Exclamemus omnes ad dominum dicentes peccavimus tibi domine patientiam [h]abe in nobis et erue nos a malis que quotidie accrescunt super nos alleluia.

Redime domine de interitu vitam nostram et non secundum peccata nostra retribuas nobis quia tu scis figmentum nostrum recordare quia pulvis sumus alleluia alleluia.

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Art and Socio-Cultural Identity in Early Medieval Rome
The Patrons of Santa Maria Antiqua

Stephen J. Lucey

Santa Maria Antiqua is best known for its once extensive mural decoration spanning the sixth through ninth centuries.[1] Its art-historical significance is founded upon the dearth of comparable material in Rome, the many Christian iconographic themes that make their first appearance in the church, and the remarkable state of preservation that includes multiple layers of superimposed frescoes.[2] The structure that would become Santa Maria Antiqua was built during the reign of the emperor Domitian (81–96 CE) at a site on the south side of the Roman Forum beneath the western escarpment of the Palatine Hill. Despite its prime location, there is neither an historical record of, nor scholarly consensus about, the building's original function in the imperial period.[3] The limited extent of the earliest Christian fresco decoration at the site suggests that the rear central chamber of the structure became a small chapel sometime in the first half of the sixth century; a depiction of the Virgin and Child in this phase indicates an early association with Mary. By the end of the sixth century, the site had undergone extensive structural and decorative modifications; the addition of a colonnade, apse and new frescoes mark its transformation into a church proper, though the name *Sancta Maria*

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1   The core premise of this paper was first presented at an ICMA-sponsored session on medieval Rome at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 2003. The author wishes to thank the following scholars who have supported the development of this work: Carol Neuman de Vegvar, Kirstin Noreen, Éamonn Ó Carragáin, John Osborne and Archer St Clair.

2   The early bibliography on the monument still provides valuable insights. See G.M. Rushforth, 'The Church of Santa Maria Antiqua', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1 (1902): 1–119; W. de Grüneisen *et al.*, *Sainte Marie Antique* (Rome, 1911); J. Wilpert, *Die Römische Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, 2nd edn (Freiburg, 1917), 2:654–726, 4: plates; E. Kitzinger, *Römische Malerei vom Beginn des 7. bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1934); and E. Tea, *La basilica di Santa Maria Antiqua* (Milan, 1937).

3   The building also underwent renovations in the Hadrianic and late antique periods. On the original structure, see R. Delbrück, 'Der Südostbau am Forum Romanum', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 36 (1921): 8–33; R. Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum Christianarum Romae* (Vatican, 1962), 2:249:68. Cf. the summary of the issues in B. Brenk, 'Kultgeschichte versus Stilgeschichte: Von der "raison d'être" des Bildes im 7. Jahrhundert in Rom', in *Uomo e spazio nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 50 (Spoleto, 2003), 2:997–1003.

Antiqua does not appear in sources for at least another century.[4] Frescoed inscriptions referring to the Lateran Council of 649 situate the earliest dateable decorative intervention in the pontificate of Martin I (649–55) or shortly thereafter. In the same period we have the first evidence, in the form of portraits and inscriptions, for lay patronage in the church. Papal biographies and a series of portraits reveal that during the eighth century, Popes John VII (705–707), Paul I (757–67), Hadrian I (772–95) and Leo III (795–816), and a number of lay aristocrats, sponsored some of the more ambitious decorative programmes at Santa Maria Antiqua. During excavation in 1900–1901, it was discovered that some of the walls and vaults had collapsed, perhaps when an earthquake struck Rome in 847 leading to the abandonment of, at least, the main structure of the church.[5] References in the *Liber pontificalis* to the dedication of nearby Santa Maria 'Nova' in the mid-ninth century corroborate the material evidence.[6]

The importance of understanding the church's frescoes in relation to their physical location and within a changing contextual framework cannot be understated. The evolving pictorial programmes and their relative positioning within the structure are in part a response to issues of audience access and reception that developed over a period of three centuries. Programmatic changes and continuities in its frescoes will be shown to be indicative of the symbiotic relationship between space, image and function in early medieval church decoration. The extent to which the frescoes shaped the physical environment of Santa Maria Antiqua is apparent. In addition to providing visual commentary and typological connections in reference to ritual performance and the Christian faith, the content and placement of each fresco programme reflects additional concerns of the various audience constituencies. Though the style and iconography of the frescoes at Santa Maria Antiqua have been the focus of numerous studies, few offer insight into the people associated with the church, their role in maintaining and renovating it, and their place in shaping its ritual life. In this chapter, I wish to address the subject of the patrons – named and anonymous – associated with Santa Maria Antiqua. I seek both to elucidate their role in the evolution and history of the building and to provide evidence for the social and cultural history of early medieval Rome.

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4   The first secure mention of a dedication to the Virgin is in the biography of John VII (705–707). See *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis)*, trans. R. Davis (Liverpool, 1989), 88–9. I argue that the second sanctuary programme, which included the Annunciation scene on the apse wall and the icon of St Anne with the Child Virgin, belong to a large-scale pictorial programme dating to the later sixth century: S.J. Lucey, 'The Church of Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome: Context, Continuity, and Change' (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, New Brunswick, 1999; repr. Ann Arbor, 2001), 91–100; and idem, 'Palimpsest Reconsidered: Continuity and Change in the Decorative Programs at Santa Maria Antiqua', in J. Osborne *et al.* (eds), *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano cento anni dopo* (Rome, 2004), 88–9. Cf. Brenk, 'Kultgeschichte', 997–1032. Brenk argues unconvincingly that these elements were non-programmatic and non-narrative; he fails to include mention of the adjacent contemporary Christological cycle. Moreover, his attribution of the images to Pope Theodore (642–49) is based entirely on this *ex-voto* interpretation.

5   The atrium seems to have been maintained as a cult site, cemetery and monastery for a number of decades following the earthquake. See J. Osborne, 'The Atrium of S. Maria Antiqua, Rome: A History in Art', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 57 (1987): 186–223.

6   The move occurred during the pontificate of Leo IV (847–55). See *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, trans. R. Davis (Liverpool, 1995), 177–9, 181, 221.

Patrons and Ethnicity

The subject of ethnicity and the methodologies applied to its study have been a focus of recent scholarship on the early Middle Ages, particularly regarding the Germanic peoples.[7] Similar attention has been given to ethnic groups within Byzantine Italy, but the sources, both primary and secondary, privilege Ravenna and the south.[8] An extensive range of material and documentary evidence, needed to rival such studies, is simply lacking for Rome or has yet to be discovered.[9] Still, advances in archaeology and the classification and interpretation of Rome's medieval material culture have begun to shed new light on the form and 'feel' of the post-classical city.[10] One standing issue is the extent and type of social and cultural interactions that existed between foreign and indigenous elements in the city's population. From a widely accepted art-historical standpoint, the 'Greeks' in Rome attempted to maintain their artistic and, by inference, cultural integrity in the face of local influences.[11] An historian of the same period can state of Ravenna, 'although a Greek presence existed it had by the seventh century little impact on the local culture which remained firmly Latin.'[12] Even relations between resident Greek- and Latin-speaking clergy in Rome have been characterized as limited.[13] One is left with the impression of foreign enclaves with little to no connection with Romans and their city. In an attempt to counter these impressions, I will explore language use at Santa Maria Antiqua as an indicator of ethnicity or cultural affiliation. This evidence presents a much more dynamic, if site-specific, picture of human relations in early medieval Rome.

A statistical analysis and interpretation of language use in the inscriptions at Santa Maria Antiqua has never been approached systematically. Over its history, the epigraphy in the church underwent a marked linguistic shift from entirely Greek to primarily Latin texts. Greek inscriptions dating to the latter part of the sixth century are the first examples

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7   For a brief overview of the issues, see W. Pohl, 'Conceptions of Ethnicity in Early Medieval Studies', in L.K. Little and B.H. Rosenwein (eds), *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings* (Malden, MA, 1998), 15–24. Also, A. Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2002); P.J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, 2002).

8   M. McCormick, 'The Imperial Edge: Italo-Byzantine Identity, Movement and Integration A.D. 650–950', in H. Ahrweiler and A.E. Laiou (eds), *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington DC, 1998), 17–52; T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554–800* (London, 1984), 61–81.

9   For an excellent synopsis of the problem and methods for overcoming the limitations, see T.F.X. Noble, 'Paradoxes and Possibilities in the Sources for Roman Society in the Early Middle Ages', in J.M.H. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome & the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Boston, 2000), 55–83.

10   M. Stella Arena *et al.* (eds), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo: Archeologia e storia* (Milan, 2001).

11   E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd–7th Century* (1977; repr. Cambridge, MA, 1980). Similar ideas are reiterated in P.J. Nordhagen, 'Constantinople on the Tiber: The Byzantines in Rome and the Iconography of their Images', in Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome*, 113–34.

12   Brown, *Gentlemen*, 69.

13   J.-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne [milieu du VIe s. ' fin du IXe s.]* (Brussels, 1983), 1:77–114.

of text that survive in the church; the exclusive use of Greek continues into the seventh century. The earliest Latin inscriptions appear in John VII's substantial decorative programme (705–707), marking the beginning of a transitional period in which the two languages were employed equally. The next major concentration of inscriptions appears in a private chapel dating to the pontificate of Zacharias (741–52); they are mostly in Latin, with only one surviving *titulus* in Greek. In Paul I's frescoes (757–67), Latin and Greek are used liberally and simultaneously, as they were in the programme of John VII. The last known papal patron of frescoes at Santa Maria Antiqua, Hadrian I (772–95), labelled his portrait in the atrium in Latin, though there are a number of text fragments in both Greek and Latin in that area that span the entire history of the church.[14] This combination of languages was not unique in early medieval Rome. For example, at the church of San Saba, a Greek monastic community founded by the mid-seventh century on the little Aventine Hill, both Greek and Latin appear in wall decoration and funerary inscriptions.[15] The use of Latin at San Saba may suggest a bilingual or ethnically mixed community over the course of the monastery's history.[16] However, our ability to trace the changes in language use at Santa Maria Antiqua over a focused period of time is exceptional, as is the potential interpretation of the evidence.

A lack of both early inscriptions in Santa Maria Antiqua and other historical documents prevents us from knowing which individual or group was responsible for the Christian conversion of the site by the first half of the sixth century. The earliest epigraphy to survive in the church is in Greek, but the remains are few and belong to a decorative phase dated no earlier than the last quarter of the sixth century.[17] That the site served a Greek-speaking community in its later history does not mean it originally did so; a number of churches in Rome came to accommodate eastern groups as their numbers increased in the city following the establishment of Byzantine power in 552. Furthermore, the early sixth-century date of the first decorative phase, which included a fresco depicting the *Maria Regina*, is based entirely on external stylistic comparisons and the relative stratigraphic chronology of the frescoes within the building; we are unable to prove whether it was painted before, during, or after the Gothic Wars (535–52). The uncertain origin of the iconography of the *Maria Regina* – both a Roman and Constantinopolitan pedigree have been suggested – does little to resolve the issue of who the patrons may have been.[18] As for the founders' intentions, the initially public or private character and precise ritual function of the space remain unknown. Proximity to a ramp ascending the Palatine Hill has led some scholars to assign the space to an official

14   See above, n.5.

15   F. Gandolfo, 'Gli affreschi di San Saba', in M. Andaloro *et al.* (eds), *Fragmenta Picta: Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano* (Rome, 1989), 183–7.

16   Sansterre, *Moines grecs*, 1:22–9; cf. Guy Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries. Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convents at Rome from the V through the X Century* (Vatican, 1957), 281–90.

17   P.J. Nordhagen, 'The Earliest Decorations in S. Maria Antiqua and their Date', *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, 1 (1962): 53:72. For tracings of inscriptions in the church, consult the companion volume to De Grüneisen's 1911 monograph: V. Federici, *Album épigraphique, supplément de chapitre: Épigraphie de l'église de Sainte Marie Antique* (Rome, 1911).

18   The arguments are summarized in A.K. van Dijk, 'The Oratory of Pope John VII [705–707] in Old St. Peter's' (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1995; repr. Ann Arbor, 1998), 126–39.

religious function under the new Byzantine administration which chose the former imperial residence as its seat of power.[19] However, members of the Roman church administration were the most frequent patrons of ecclesiastical foundations in or near the Roman Forum in the early medieval period. These churches were often dedicated to 'imported' saints and probably did serve an immigrant eastern population that had settled in the immediate area. The earliest immigrants were probably limited to imperial administrators and the army; like the Ostrogoths before them, they seem to have left little trace of their presence.[20] However, the influence of the military contingent in particular may be noted in new churches dedicated to the warrior saints Theodore, Hadrian and George. Similarly, a new dedication to Mary in the city could reflect the rise of her cult in Constantinople in the period and its importation to Italy.[21] However, devotion to the Virgin is already attested to in Rome by the fifth century at the church of Santa Maria Maggiore.

Despite the questions surrounding its early history, Santa Maria Antiqua's foreign character is apparent in the seventh century, during which Greek epigraphy appears exclusively in the surviving frescoes. Presumably, the church community spoke the language used in the inscriptions, and the placement of texts in certain areas of the church should indicate the specific audience constituency for whom they were intended. For example, Greek texts painted on the lower apse wall at Santa Maria Antiqua record the writings of Church Fathers presented at the Lateran Council of 649, which, though presided over by Pope Martin I (649–55), was attended by a substantial number of eastern churchmen.[22] The proceedings of the council attest to the fact that members of the Roman church hierarchy present had little to no knowledge of either spoken or written Greek; neither was the eastern contingent at the council versed in Latin.[23]

19   For chapels associated with official residences, see C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen, 1959); G. Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function, and Patronage* (Toronto, 2003), 61–8. Cf. J. Osborne, 'Images of the Mother of God in Early Medieval Rome', in A. Eastmond and L. James (eds), *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies Presented to Robin Cormack* (Burlington VT, 2003), 139–40. A. Augenti, in 'The Palatine Hill from the Fifth to the Tenth Century', in Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome*, at 50, attributes the later sixth-century phase of renovation to the emperor Justin II – a hypothesis, I think, based solely on coins found during the original excavation. Cf. Osborne, 'Atrium', 188–9, n.11.

20   A. Augenti, *Il Palatino nel Medioevo: Archeologia e topografia [secoli VI–XIII]* (Rome, 1996), 17–29.

21   A. Cameron, 'The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 29 (1978): 79–108; V. Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople* (New York, 1994). More recently, see Cameron's essay and others' work in M. Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* (Milan, 2000). On the cult of the Virgin in Rome, see E. Thunø, 'The Cult of the Virgin, Icons and Relics in Early Christian and Medieval Rome', *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, 17 (2003): 79–98; cf. Osborne, 'Images'.

22   On these frescoes and those discussed below, see P.J. Nordhagen, 'S. Maria Antiqua. The Frescoes of the Seventh Century', *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, 8 (1979): 89–142.

23   R. Riedinger (ed.), *Concilium lateranense a. 649 celebratum* (Berlin, 1984); H. Steinacker, 'Die römische Kirche und die griechischen Sprachkenntnisse des Frühmittelalters', *Mitteilungen des*

Church sanctuaries were accessible only to the clergy, so the inscriptions clearly attest to the presence of Greek-speaking clerics at seventh-century Santa Maria Antiqua; that a Latin translation was made available by the council and not used in the church confirms the point. In the same period, a number of frescoes were added to areas outside of the sanctuary;[24] their placement suggests lay patronage and the use of Greek reveals the eastern origin of the lay community.[25] One image in particular, on the south side of the south-east pier of the nave, is unique to the surviving seventh-century frescoes for its inclusion of a portrait (Fig. 6.1).

The fresco depicts an individual standing to the left of a group of three figures who form one of the earliest depictions of the Deesis; only fragments of its Greek inscription remain. The lack of certain iconographic elements strongly suggests that the figure on the left is neither a cleric nor saint, but rather a layman.[26] Other contemporary frescoes with Greek epigraphy, though they lack portraits, have an accretive character suggestive of individual commissions rather than an overall programmatic scheme that was more common to the known ecclesiastical patrons of the church. As for lay devotions, the iconic form of the images and their votive function suggest a newly introduced theological conception and ritual use of holy images that would become a widespread phenomenon in the city's private and public devotions during the Middle Ages.[27] The patron's primary spoken language would determine the use of Greek or Latin epigraphy in such personal expressions of piety.[28]

Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 62 (1954): 28–66; cf. Sansterre, *Moines grecs*, 1:62–76.

24   The frescoes, though lacking portraits, may be compared to the lay-commissioned mosaics at the seventh-century church of St Demetrios in Thessaloniki. See R. Cormack, 'The Mosaic Decoration of S. Demetrios, Thessaloniki: A Re-examination in the Light of the Drawings of W.S. George', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 64 (1969): 17–52; idem, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and its Icons* (London, 1985), 50–94, 89–142.

25   Brown, *Gentlemen*, 64–9, 144–7.

26   Nordhagen, 'Frescoes of the Seventh Century', 109–11. K. Corrigan in 'The Witness of John the Baptist on an Early Byzantine Icon in Kiev', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 42 (1988), at 7, identifies the figure as Pope Martin I. Despite the fragmentary state of the fresco, neither the author examining the fresco in 1996 nor Wilpert in the early years of the century detected any sign of a chasuble or similar ecclesiastical insignia; the figure lacks a nimbus, processional cross or codex. The remains of red patches on yellow stripes are indicative of the garb of a secular official. See F. Gandolfo, 'Il ritratto di committenza', in M. Andaloro and S. Romano (eds), *Arte e iconografia a Roma: dal tardoantico alla fine del medioevo* (Milan, 2002), 139–49. Most recently, Nordhagen ('Constantinople', 117–18) suggests, without firm basis, that the figure be identified as the praetorian prefect, Olympios.

27   E. Kitzinger, 'The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 8 (1954): 83–150; N. Teteriatnikov, 'Private Salvation Programs and their Effect on Byzantine Church Decoration', *Arte medievale*, 7 (1993): 47–63; H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. E. Jephcott (Chicago, 1994), 115–43, 311–49.

28   Private donor inscriptions from a fifth-century synagogue in Israel, which show a combination of Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic, make an interesting parallel. See Z. Weiss and E. Netzer, *Promise and Redemption: A Synagogue Mosaic from Sepphoris* (Jerusalem, 1996), 40–43.

Fig. 6.1   Rome, Sta Maria Antiqua, south side of south-east nave pier: Deesis with
male portrait (seventh century) (photo: author)

The appearance of Latin inscriptions by the eighth century undermines the universal
'Greek' epithet used to describe Santa Maria Antiqua in the scholarly literature.[29] The
linguistic evidence presents a more nuanced evolution in which it is likely the church
came to be incorporated into the ecclesiastical and cultural 'mainstream' of Rome in
the eighth century. Its many papal patrons, its function as a Church-sponsored welfare
institution (*diaconia*), and the use of Latin by its later lay community support this
contention. John VII's frescoes stand at the turning point in this evolution.[30] In the
sanctuary at Santa Maria Antiqua, John employed Greek for a panel of Old Testament
prophecies on the upper apse wall. Beneath these inscriptions, a procession of Roman
bishops, including John himself, was labelled in Latin. On the lower apse wall are the
portraits of four Church Fathers, St Augustine and a fragmentary figure labelled in
Latin, and St Basil and St Gregory Nazianzus labelled in Greek. A partial inscription in
Latin on the apse wall is repeated in full on John VII's octagonal ambo base, where it
is inscribed in both languages.[31] The apparent papal prerogative to introduce Latin and
balance the two languages may reflect either a desire for, or the reality of, a mixed ethnic

29   See above, n.11.

30   P.J. Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of John VII (705–707)', *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium
historiam pertinentia*, 3 (Oslo, 1968).

31   Rushforth, *Church*, 89–91. The ambo base was once displayed in a prominent and
public area of the church, most likely in a gap in the east wall of the *schola cantorum*. In the later
eighth century, it was incorporated into the nave pavement, where it was discovered during the
excavations of 1900–1901. The inscription, which describes John as a servant of the Virgin, also
appeared in Latin in the pope's oratory in Old St Peter's.

or bilingual community at Santa Maria Antiqua in the early eighth century. Importantly, John's fresco programme crosses the boundaries of lay and clerical space in the church, suggesting a potential change in language use by both groups; narrative scenes spanning the sanctuary, chancel and nave are all labelled in Latin.[32]

Whether John's linguistic sensitivity constitutes a more potent political statement is unclear; a scholarly consensus has yet to be reached regarding John's imperial associations and the extent to which the frescoes may convey his position.[33] Nonetheless, John's pairing of eastern and western Church Fathers seems to be an affirmation of pan-Mediterranean cooperation and, on a local scale, a call for integration and communication between ethnic and theologically orthodox groups. The merging of cultural traditions is seen in his own life. John was born in Greece and raised in Rome the son of Plato, an imperial functionary, yet he rose to the papal throne and composed his parents' epitaph at the church of St Anastasia in Latin.[34] He was one of a number of pontiffs elected in a period that demanded proficiency in both languages; such knowledge would allow them to respond fluently to the perennial theological debates generated from the eastern Empire.[35] Later patrons at Santa Maria Antiqua, Paul I, Hadrian I and Leo III, all had eastern connections, but are described as Roman by birth in their biographies. Indeed, Latin is the language employed by the eighth-century lay community in the church, keeping pace with the growing *romanitas* of the later eighth-century papacy. A donor and his family are associated with Latin inscriptions in a major fresco programme within the so-called Theodotus chapel that was converted for private use at mid-century (Figs 6.2 and 6.3).

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32   However, at least one contemporary fresco in a large niche in the east wall of the atrium includes a female donor and fragments of a Greek inscription. See Osborne, 'Atrium', 197–8; Nordhagen, 'The Frescoes of John VII', 83.

33   On this argument, see Lucey, 'Church', 141–50; J.D. Breckenridge, 'Evidence for the Nature of Relations between Pope John VII and the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 65 (1972): 364–74; P.J. Nordhagen, 'John VII's "Adoration of the Cross" in S. Maria Antiqua', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967): 388–90. Nordhagen ('Constantinople', 129–34) has become more ambivalent in his interpretation, calling the frescoes an 'illogical symbiosis'. A more recent argument suggests that the inclusion of the portrait of Martin I, owing to the prevalence of his cult in Byzantium at the time, is evidence for both political and theological conciliation on the part of John VII. See J. Lindsay Opie, 'Agnus Dei', in *Ecclesiae Urbis. Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (1V–X secolo)*, 3 vols, Studi di antichita christiana 59 (Vatican City, 2002), 3:1823–7.

34   Augenti, *Palatino*, 46, 48, n.4.

35   T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984), 185–8. For a parallel situation in an earlier period, see M.K. Lafferty, 'Translating Faith from Greek to Latin: *Romanitas* and *Christianitas* in Late Fourth-Century Rome and Milan', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 11 (2003): 21–62.
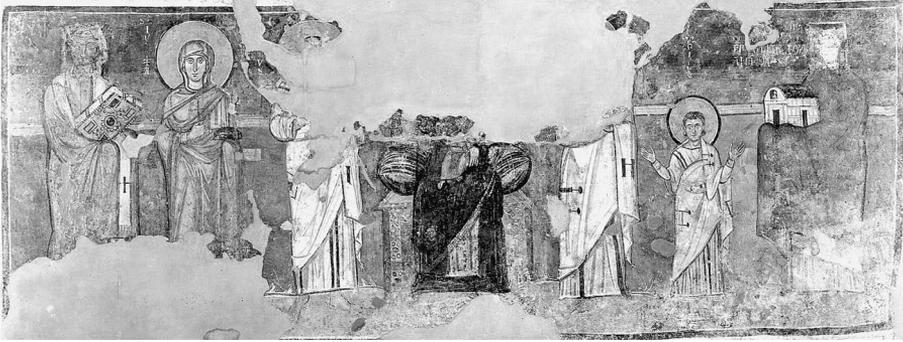
Fig. 6.2   Rome, Sta Maria Antiqua, south wall of south-east chapel: Virgin and Child with saints and donor portraits (741–752) (photo: author)

Fig. 6.3   Rome, Sta Maria Antiqua, west wall of south-east chapel: Virgin and Child with family portrait (741–752) (photo: author)

The use of the Greek language, and perhaps the homogeneity of the eastern ethnic constituency at Santa Maria Antiqua, would wane in the eighth century through a process of acculturation and/or the introduction of an indigenous Roman audience: tendencies that had begun under John VII. This development may in fact present a microcosm of broader changes in the city as a whole.[36]

Yet, Santa Maria Antiqua's distinctive Greek 'character' would not disappear entirely. Despite the primacy of the Latin language and an acculturated clerical and lay

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36   On this issue, see Noble, *Republic*, 188–205.

community, depictions of eastern monastic saints in the frescoes of John VII and Paul I may suggest the presence of Greek-speaking monks at the church (Fig. 6.4).[37]
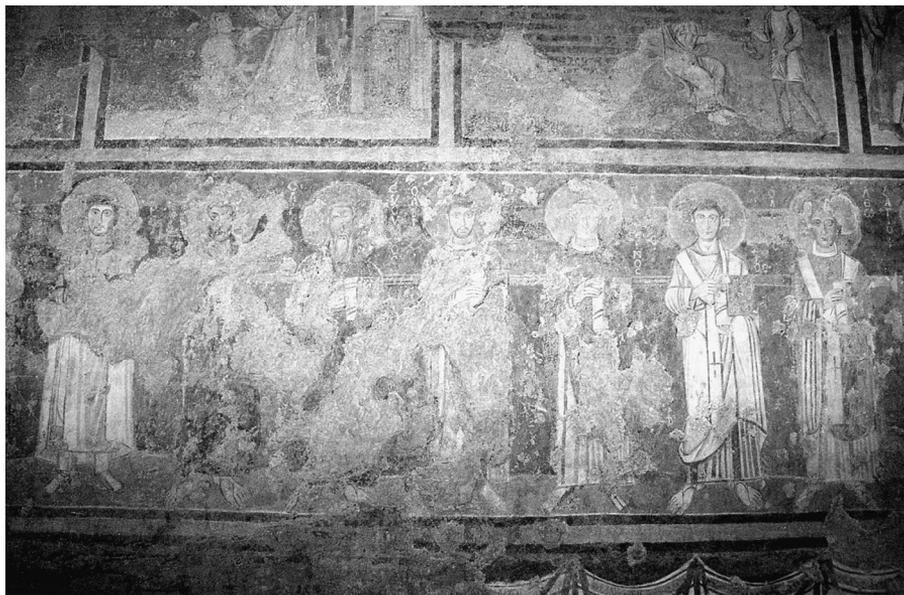
Fig. 6.4   Rome, Sta Maria Antiqua, east aisle wall: male saints and Genesis cycle (757–767) (photo: author)

Eastern monks in Rome are attested to from the mid-seventh century onwards; the regions from which they emigrated were as diverse as the reasons for their coming.[38] All historical references to Santa Maria Antiqua describe it as a basilica or welfare institution (*diaconiae*), and never as a monastery or in conjunction with a monastic foundation. However, monks staffed many Roman *diaconia*, and established monastic communities could have supplied such personnel at Santa Maria Antiqua.[39] Evidence for a monastic community with eastern connections appears as late as the tenth century in frescoes in the atrium, though whether this suggests a continuum or a later establishment is unclear.[40]

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37   In the south-west chapel, SS Barachisius and Dometius of Persia; in the east aisle, SS Euthymius and Sabas of Palestine. On the images, see S. Tomekovic, 'Formation de l'iconographie monastique orientale (VIIIe-IXe siècles)', *Revue bénédictine*, 103 (1993): 131–52; Sansterre, *Moines grecs*, 1:163–73.

38   Sansterre, *Moines grecs*, 1:9–51. Monks from the eastern regions of Armenia, Cilicia, Palestine, Syria and Constantinople were represented in communities of Rome. The Sasanian and Arab invasions of the seventh century, and the Monothelite and Iconoclastic controversies of the seventh and eighth centuries respectively served as catalysts for immigration.

39   Ferrari, *Monasteries*, 355–61. On Roman *diaconiae*, see most recently U. Falesiedi, *Le diaconie: I servizi assistenziali nella Chiesa antica* (Rome, 1995).

40   Osborne, 'Atrium', 200–223.

Because language use in the inscriptions at Santa Maria Antiqua seems to reflect the general origin of its patrons and the presence of certain eastern groups, it also raises questions about the spoken language used in the public and private rites of the church. The public liturgy performed in Santa Maria Antiqua is not recorded in documentary sources. However, it would be presumptuous to assume an eastern form of the liturgy based only upon the linguistic evidence outlined above. The use of the Greek language did not preclude the celebration of a Roman rite in the period, though eastern liturgies were certainly performed in Rome.[41] For instance, the Greek language appears alongside Latin in Roman liturgies in the form of the *Kyrie eleison* – introduced to the city by the sixth century.[42] The baptismal liturgy at Old St Peter's in the mid-seventh century required the catechumens' recitation of the Creed in both Greek and Latin, though the ritual itself was specific to Rome.[43] Indeed, the hybridization of Byzantine and Roman ritual traditions was the direct result of a significant immigrant population, whose cultural forms and entrance into the Roman church hierarchy transformed the city into a cosmopolitan centre.[44] That Latin became the preferred or accepted language of public ritual in eighth-century Santa Maria Antiqua is suggested by its liberal use in the broad decorative campaigns of John VII and Paul I and in the private commissions of its most prominent lay members.

However, the linguistic isolation of certain areas of Santa Maria Antiqua may reflect site-specific liturgical practices that were eastern in character. At the monastery of San Saba, founded in 478 south-east of Jerusalem, the pre-anaphoral rites of the Mass were performed separately in the various languages of the diverse monastic community housed there; the Eucharistic celebration was conducted in the *lingua franca* – Greek – with all members attending.[45] This later medieval example may explain the combination of Greek and Latin *tituli* in the east aisle frescoes of Paul I (757–67) (Fig. 6.4). The frescoes on the upper wall depict a Genesis cycle, and they correspond to a New Testament cycle painted in the west aisle; all of these narrative scenes are labelled in Latin. However, the row of saints beneath the Genesis cycle is labelled entirely in Greek. Moreover, with its altar at the centre of the wall under the seated figure of Christ, the standing saints at Santa Maria Antiqua recall the focal apse decoration of San Saba in Rome.[46] I would suggest that this panel of saints constitutes an area that at certain times was designed for particular use by Greek-speaking clerics – an area for

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41   J.-M. Sansterre, 'Où le diptyque consulaire de Clementinus fut-il remployé à une fine liturgique?', *Byzantion*, 54 (1984): 641–7.

42   J.A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, 2 vols (1951; repr. Westminster, MD, 1986), 1:333–46; L. Brou, 'Les chants en langue grècque dans les liturgies latines', *Sacris erudiri*, 1 (1948): 165–80.

43   Ordo XI, §§ 61–6. M. Andrieu (ed.), *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen-âge*, 6 vols (Louvain, 1931–61), 2:433–5; cf. Sansterre, *Moines grecs*, 1:220–25.

44   S.J.P. van Dijk, 'The Urban and Papal Rites in Seventh- and Eighth-Century Rome', *Sacris Erudiri*, 12 (1961): 411–87; T.F.X. Noble, 'Topography, Celebration, and Power: The Making of a Papal Rome in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', in M. De Jong *et al.* (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Boston, 2001), 45–91.

45   J. Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism: A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Washington DC, 1995), 251; cf. Sansterre, *Moines grecs*, 1:62–76.

46   See above, nn.15–16.

private and/or monastic devotions such as those prescribed by Pope Gregory III (731–41) at Old St Peter's,[47] or the Greek psalmody performed by eastern monks at Santa Prassede, a church founded by Paschal I (817–824).[48] Importantly, it is by the leave of the Roman bishop that such devotions were carried out by the Greek communities at Roman foundations in the city; we might imagine Paul I requesting or affirming the performance of similar rituals at Santa Maria Antiqua.

Patrons and Social Class

With the exception of the papal patrons of the church, we have little detailed knowledge of the various audience constituencies at Santa Maria Antiqua apart from their broad ethnic and linguistic affiliations discussed in the previous section. Yet an analysis of their patronage of the church, bringing to bear other historical and material evidence from the period, allows us to glean additional information about these mostly anonymous individuals. Despite the social, economic and political disruptions that characterize the history of early medieval Rome, there appears to have been a certain degree of continuity in the self-promotional aims of the city's upper class as expressed in the visual arts. In previous centuries, the public social role and tangible largesse of Rome's senatorial class had been defined in terms of civic and secular 'bread and circuses'.[49] Though Rome was denied the imperial presence after the foundation of Constantinople, the Senate continued to concentrate wealth and wield power in Rome during the fourth and fifth centuries. Intermittent attacks by migrating Germanic groups, drawn there by the venerable aura kept alive by the city's residents, seems to have had little effect on patterns of patronage. The city's upper class still commissioned high quality secular prestige items[50] and subsidized both renovations to existing structures and the foundation of new buildings, whether pagan or Christian.[51] Evidence of their substantial residences exists as well.[52] Nonetheless papal biographies, more often than

47   We know little of private liturgies for laity, though side altars and oratories within a church could have prescribed times for veneration. See *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, trans. R. Davis (Liverpool, 1992), 28. Cf. T.F. Mathews, '"Private" Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture: Toward a Re-appraisal', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 30 (1982): 125–38.

48   Davis (trans.), *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, 10–11.

49   For Rome in this period, see B. Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity: Everyday Life and Urban Change AD 312–609*, trans. A. Nevill (New York, 2000); R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980), 3–58. For a brief introduction to Italy in general, see C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400–1000* (1981; repr. Ann Arbor, 1989), 9–27.

50   For instance, metalwork, ivory diptychs and luxury manuscripts. See D.H. Wright, 'The Persistence of Pagan Art Patronage in Fifth-Century Rome', in I. Sevcenko and I. Hutter (eds), *Aetos: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango* (Stuttgart, 1998), 354–69.

51   R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography & Politics* (Berkeley, 1983), 93–121. For a list of recorded ecclesiastical building projects, see B. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy AD 300–850* (Oxford, 1984), 236–41.

52   A. Carignani, 'La domus "dei Simmaci"', in S. Ensoli and E. LaRocca (eds), *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (Rome, 2000), 149–51.

not, attribute the architectural growth of the fifth-century city to the Roman bishops – who were indeed its wealthiest citizens – eclipsing the role of secular patrons.[53]

The change in administration following the deposition of the last western Roman emperor in 476 and the promotion of the chieftain Theodoric to the rank of king and imperial representative in 493 actually benefited Rome.[54] Theodoric courted members of Rome's upper class by leaving the city to its own administrative devices and by promoting and supporting the conservation of its monuments.[55] Members of the civil administration of the new Ostrogothic kingdom, though centred in Ravenna, were drawn from the Roman aristocracy and the upper echelons of Gothic military society. Though the institution of new taxes and donations of land to Gothic chiefs would be a divisive force in the Senate, there is little historical or material evidence to suggest that the general population of Rome was affected by the Ostrogothic takeover in any significant way.[56] However, the Gothic Wars, instigated by the expansionist Byzantine emperor Justinian I following the death of the Ostrogothic queen Amalasuntha in 535, would devastate the Roman aristocracy; they either fled to Constantinople or remained in the city and suffered loss of life and property during numerous sieges.[57] Public patronage in this period was limited to members of the Church hierarchy who were responsible for numerous restorations and new foundations at the sites sacred to the city's patron saints, as well as the Christian conversion of ancient structures in the city's centre.[58] Following the Byzantine conquest, government administrators and military officers would fill the power vacuum left by the social disarray, though evidence of their patronage is lacking in the sixth century; Santa Maria Antiqua could be an exceptional survival. On the other hand, the Church would continue to fund public projects, albeit with limited resources, seen, for example, in the re-use of older buildings such as the Pantheon (Santa Maria ad Martyres, founded in 609) or the Curia (Sant'Adriano, founded *c.* 625).

Biographical information about the known eighth-century ecclesiastical patrons of Santa Maria Antiqua reveals that they shared a number of characteristics that may have been significant in drawing their attention to the church. For instance, most of them were descended from eastern or Roman officials and aristocrats with topographical connections to the heart of the ancient city. One of the few primary source documents we have both for the church and for its patron John VII (705–707) is the pope's entry in the *Liber pontificalis*.[59] John is credited with the most extensive decorative programme of any period in the church; his portrait, which he was apparently fond of depicting, appeared at least once on the apse wall. As the son of Plato, a retired Byzantine civil servant and curator of the imperial palace complex, John VII was raised on the Palatine

53   A similar situation existed in eighth- and ninth-century Rome. See Noble, 'Paradoxes', 55–83.

54   On the Ostrogoths in general, see P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (Cambridge, 1997); P.J. Heather, *The Goths* (Malden, MA, 1996).

55   C. LaRocca, 'Una prudente maschera "antiqua": La politica edilizia di Teoderico', *Teoderico il Grande e I Goti d'Italia* (Spoleto, 1993), 451–515.

56   Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, 14–15.

57   On the history of the period, see A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (New York, 1985), esp. 188–206.

58   Krautheimer, *Rome*, 59–87.

59   Davis (trans.), *Book of Pontiffs*, 88–9.

though he had been born in Greece. The location of Santa Maria Antiqua near his home and its eastern associations clearly attracted the pope's patronage. Moreover, his biographer records the desire of John, once he was elevated to the papal throne, to construct a new home for himself on the Palatine.[60] The interest of Paul I (757–67) in Santa Maria Antiqua may have been dictated merely by his devotion to Mary; like John VII, he too set up an oratory to the Virgin in Old St Peter's and added a comprehensive fresco programme to Santa Maria Antiqua that included his surviving portrait in the apse. Born in Rome, both he and a later patron, Pope Hadrian I (772–95), had family mansions located nearby on the modern Via del Corso – a region in which many aristocratic Roman families lived. Hadrian I's relationship to Santa Maria Antiqua serves to underscore the possibility of geographic affinity with the area based on family ties like those of John VII. Not only did Hadrian focus his attention on a number of churches in or near the Roman Forum, he was the nephew of Theodotus, who had also been a patron at Santa Maria Antiqua a generation earlier.[61] Throughout his career, Theodotus held the titles of *consul, dux, primicerius defensorum*, and *dispensator*. The last of these refers to his role as administrator of the *diaconia* at Santa Maria Antiqua itself and perhaps founder, if not administrator, of the nearby *diaconia* at Sant'Angelo in Pescheria. It seems Santa Maria Antiqua had significant personal and local associations for its highest-ranking patrons. Archaeological evidence for a range of habitation in the immediate region, including an aristocratic *domus* of ninth-century date in the Forum of Nerva, has begun to alter our perception of the area as merely a number of Christian edifices among the crumbling ruins of previous eras.[62] The number of new church foundations was surely prompted by a marked increase in a local population, a practical rather than purely symbolic conversion of the ancient pagan centre of Rome.

In addition, Santa Maria Antiqua's role as a Church-administered welfare institution (*diaconia*) drew aristocratic patrons to its charitable cause; Greek monastic foundations, frequently linked with the Roman *diaconiae*, were also popular with patrons of the Forum church. Whether the papal portrait seen in the so-called Theodotus chapel at Santa Maria Antiqua was originally of Gregory III (731–41), a Syrian, and altered to be that of Zacharias (741–52), a Greek, is of no matter to the present argument. Both came from the East, and each affected significant improvements to the monastic communities of Rome, whether legislating the form of monastic devotions in the case of Gregory or setting up a community of Greek monks of the order of St Basil at the church of SS Silvester and George, modern San Giorgio in Velabro, in the case of Zacharias.[63] Paul I transformed his mansion into a church dedicated to St Silvester with an adjacent monastery of Greek monks.[64] Hadrian I, whose portrait once adorned

60   Two bricks stamped with the name 'John' were found in the area of the House of the Vestals in the Forum. See Augenti, *Palatino*, 56–8, fig. 29.

61   On the relationship, see A. Rettner, 'Stifterbild und Grabinschrift in der Theodotus-Kapelle von S. Maria Antiqua', in H.-R. Meier *et al.* (eds), *Für irdischen Ruhm und himmlischen Lohn: Stifter und Auftraggeber in der mittelalterlichen Kunst. Festschrift Beat Brenk* (Berlin, 1995), 31–46.

62   R. Santangeli Valenzani, 'Residential Building in Early Medieval Rome', in Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome*, 101–12; R. Coates-Stephens, 'Housing in Early Medieval Rome, 500–1000 AD', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 64 (1996): 239–59.

63   Davis (trans.), *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, 22–3, 28, 48.

64   Ibid., 82–3.

the atrium at Santa Maria Antiqua, was either associated with or founded a number of *diaconiae* throughout the city.[65]

In addition to the textual evidence, thirteen portraits, which include images of men, women and children, are visual witnesses to the presence and role of an aristocratic audience at Santa Maria Antiqua. The portraits represent both lay nobility and high-ranking clergy, identified by garb, inscriptions, and so on – a division which also seems to inform both the iconography and function of the images in which they appear. Lay-commissioned images constitute more intimate scenes in which donors appear in close proximity to holy personages and often in the act of veneration (Fig. 6.3).[66] Prayer inscriptions that point to their function as votive offerings and memorial images for personal or familial salvation may also accompany the frescoes commissioned by the laity.[67] On the other hand, clerical portraits reflect the official patronage of Church administrators and are more hierarchical in appearance, taking their cue from the formality of liturgical performance vis-à-vis Imperial ceremonial. They frequently act as a visual backdrop to an altar and mimic traditional Roman apse compositions.[68] These clerical images may also make direct visual reference to the act of donation, as is the case on a fresco panel from the south wall of the south-east chapel where the church administrator Theodotus appears holding a model of the chapel (Fig. 6.2). Given the enormous surface losses, other, similar portraits of both types likely decorated the walls of Santa Maria Antiqua prior to its partial destruction and abandonment. In addition to the portrait evidence, stratigraphic, stylistic and literary evidence concur that this segment of the church's congregation were responsible for a sizeable portion of the building's decoration. The dates of the extant portraits and the fresco programmes associated with them span the life of the church; that the lay-commissioned images were retained in particular, and despite numerous alterations to the interior decoration, suggests that vigilant descendants exercised control over the preservation of their ancestors' votive imagery. A scenario of multiple generations of aristocratic families frequenting their 'neighbourhood' church is tantalizing; the relationship between Theodotus and Hadrian I may have been only one of many similar kinship connections. Apart from the apse, which was the epicentre of artistic change throughout the history of the church, each papal patron also seems to have respected the portraits of his predecessors where possible.

However, the frescoes speak of more than the nobility's artistic patronage of Santa Maria Antiqua. Indeed, the evidence offers insight into early medieval Roman upper-class society and ways in which title, wealth and privilege were reinforced through the visual arts. By the seventh and eighth centuries, the new mode of aristocratic self-expression focused on personal piety and Christian charity. Moreover, the Church and its social institutions became the mediators of such images of social status. The obvious cost of the commissions and conspicuous display of their portraits proclaim the social

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65   Ibid., 156–7, 165.

66   For early examples and interpretations of this motif, see Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 78–101. Cf. Cormack, *Writing*, 50–94.

67   Osborne ('Atrium', 194) translates one seventh-century inscription from the west wall of the atrium, '… of the forgiveness of the sins of your servant'.

68   Gandolfo, 'Ritratto', 139–49.

prominence of these Romans. The concentration of lay portraits near the sanctuary reinforces the donors' rank in a society from which élite members were increasingly drawn to ecclesiastical careers.[69] Votive portraits of lay donors placed conspicuously outside altar spaces are quite aggressive in their position as close to the chancel barriers as possible, thus reinforcing the laity's exclusion from the most sacred of spaces yet proclaiming their privilege as members of the aristocracy to experience the Mass from the medieval standing-room equivalent of box seats; the seventh-century Deesis with its lay portrait, and two of the portrait frescoes in the Theodotus chapel are located next to entrances to the main sanctuary (Figs 6.1 and 6.3). Indeed, papal liturgies of the period privileged the aristocracy, the offerings from whom were the first to be accepted by the pope; later, presbyters collected gifts from the lower classes.[70]

The most compelling evidence for the aristocratic 'shaping' of Santa Maria Antiqua is the patronage of the high-ranking church administrator Theodotus. He seems to have used his numerous titles and their benefits to commission what is both a personal and probable extended family chapel at Santa Maria Antiqua, usurping or overlapping a space and its ritual function(s).[71] Indeed, Theodotus appeared in a fresco on the main wall of the chapel with a prominent inscription of his rank and in the company of a saintly cortège and the reigning pope, Zacharias (Fig. 6.2). Furthermore, by showing himself as a pendant figure to the pope, Theodotus seems to ask the viewer to consider his position in comparison with that of the head of the Roman Church; the iconography of the act of donation itself is taken from papal iconography.[72] Theodotus' more 'humble' portrait, in which he is shown kneeling at the feet of the St Julitta, is nonetheless placed in a prominent position next to the entrance to the sanctuary.

Patrons and Gender

The presence of a female audience at Santa Maria Antiqua is indicated not only by the inclusion of their portraits in votive frescoes, but also through a marked concentration of female imagery in one area of the church – the west aisle. Indeed, the separation of the sexes during public liturgies in a church is found in both Roman and Byzantine sources of the period,[73] and has been suggested before in the case of Santa Maria Antiqua.[74] The surviving frescoes in the west aisle include numerous iconic and narrative

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69   Brown, *Gentlemen*, 175–89.

70   Ordo I, § 69ff.: *Ordines*, 2:91–2.

71   Though it could have been used as a side chapel prior to its alteration, both the original font and wall niche suggest a utilitarian function, as does the lack of decoration prior to the frescoes of Theodotus. On the chapel and its new function, see N. Teteriatnikov, 'For Whom is Theodotus Praying? An Interpretation of the Program of the Private Chapel in S. Maria Antiqua', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 41 (1993): 37–46; H. Belting, 'Eine Privatkapelle im frühmittelalterlichen Rom', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41 (1987): 55–70; W. Tronzo, 'Setting and Structure in Two Roman Wall Decorations of the Early Middle Ages', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41 (1987): 477–92.

72   Gandolfo, 'Ritratto', 139–49.

73   Ordo I, §§ 69–75: *Ordines*, 2:91–2; R.F. Taft, 'Women at Church in Byzantium: Where, When – and Why?', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 52 (1998): 27–87.

74   On women in the west aisle based on iconographic evidence, see Lucey, 'Santa Maria Antiqua', 165–6; Osborne, 'Images', 142–3, n.45. On the 'normative' placement of the women

depictions of the Virgin, female figures from the Old and New Testaments, and female saints (Fig. 6.5).

Fig. 6.5   Rome, Sta Maria Antiqua, west aisle wall: 'Three Holy Mothers' niche (757–767) (photo: author)

The east aisle, in contrast, received predominantly male imagery, including depictions of Christ, male figures from the Old and New Testaments, and male saints (Fig. 6.4). With the exception of the Virgin, the east aisle at Santa Maria Antiqua displays no focal female figures in its decoration. The proportion of male to female figures in the west aisle is statistically similar; men appear much less frequently than women, and then mostly in subordinate positions as the children of the female figures represented (Fig. 6.5).

The overall polarization described above reflects the late-eighth century interior of Santa Maria Antiqua. However, the visually gendered programmes are actually the result of decorative accretion spanning nearly two centuries. The earliest example of this division of the sexes may be seen in the seventh-century pendant pairing, across the nave, of St Demetrius and St Barbara. There is evidence of other such contemporary programmatic 'mirroring'. The two southern columns of the nave arcade depict seventh-century images of Christ in the east aisle paired with a female figure, who is either Virgin or a saint, in the west. The two narrative cycles attributed to Pope Paul I

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in Roman churches based on liturgical evidence, see T.F. Mathews, 'An Early Roman Chancel Arrangement and Its Liturgical Functions', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 38 (1962): 73–95, and E. de Benedictis, 'The Senatorium and Matroneum in the Early Roman Church', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 57 (1981): 69–85.

(757–67) focus on male and female protagonists in the east and west aisles respectively.[75] Thus, the visual evidence suggests that each decorative intervention purposely defined and periodically reaffirmed church space in terms of corporate gendered identity.[76]

There is no specific epigraphic evidence to suggest that any of the frescoes in the west aisle were private commissions by laywomen; neither do any portraits of laywomen survive in the space. However, the frescoes include in abundance not only depictions of holy women, but also iconographic themes which highlight specific female concerns. It is the emphasis on motherhood – both childbearing and rearing – that is strongest and most obvious in the various images. This may be seen especially in the eighth-century niche containing a triple portrait of holy mothers and their progeny located to the lower right of a narrative image of the birth of the Virgin (Fig. 6.5). This image may indeed be the pious expression of a female lay patron that could have functioned as a visual focus for private extra-liturgical devotions;[77] a barrier of some type originally surrounded it, and its position low on the wall suggests that viewers would have kneeled before it. Still, we must consider the possibility that men may have sponsored images such as this, for they promote 'prescribed gender roles' and 'normative expectations' of women in early medieval society.[78] For example, in a sixth-century fresco from the catacomb of Commodilla in Rome, the widow Turtura is praised for her marital fidelity to her deceased husband by her son, the fresco's patron.[79] On the theme of religion and female piety, Carolyn Connor recently suggested that 'even though [women] had little or no political influence, they were able to express themselves in cultural terms and attain a high degree of self-definition through involvement with domestic affairs and the church'.[80] She goes on to stress the role that the cult of the Virgin played in this process, citing the 'subjective identification with and veneration of the Virgin' on the part of women in early Byzantium.[81] Thus, it is still plausible that women played an important role in the decoration of Santa Maria Antiqua, whether as direct patrons or as members of the community for whom the frescoes were commissioned.

The fine garments worn by St Barbara – an aristocrat in life – in her image in the west aisle may be suggestive of the status of the fresco's patron, whether female or male. A visual link between women and wealth is evident in the garments and jewellery worn by the female figures depicted in the atrium[82] and the family portrait in the Theodotus

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75   B.A. Vileisis, 'The Genesis Cycle of Santa Maria Antiqua' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, Princeton, 1979).

76   Cf. S. Gerstel, 'Painted Sources for Female Piety in Medieval Byzantium', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 52 (1998): 89–111.

77   J. Herrin, 'Women and the Faith in Icons in Early Christianity', in R. Samuel and G. Stedman Jones (eds), *Culture, Ideology and Politics: Essays for Eric Hobsbawm* (London, 1982), 56–83.

78   This statement and the following ideas are drawn from C.L. Connor, *Women of Byzantium* (New Haven, 2004), 73–7.

79   E. Russo, 'L'affresco di Turtura nel cimitero di Commodilla, l'icona di S. Maria in Trastevere e le più antiche feste della Madonna a Roma', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo*, 88 (1979): 35–85.

80   Connor, *Women*, 75.

81   See above, n.21.

82   Osborne, 'Atrium', pl. XVI.

chapel (Fig. 6.3).[83] In the latter, the girl wears golden hoop earrings with pendant gems, a jewelled choker with pendant pearls and a belt of gold links; her shoulders are covered with a woven white-on-white fringed shawl with floral roundel designs. Only the lower half of the woman next to her is preserved; she is shown wearing a jewelled chain-link belt, the openwork pendant of which is strikingly similar to a sixth- or seventh-century gold and amethyst bracelet found in the Roman Forum.[84] Though the upper half of the standing Virgin and Child in this fresco is missing, we may look to other images in the church to reconstruct its original appearance. Holes appear near the necks or hands of a number of depictions of holy figures, by which adornments in precious metals were affixed, presumably as votive offerings by the nobility.[85] While on one hand there existed both iconographic and textual underpinnings that equated earthly finery with heavenly prestige,[86] the parallels drawn between the outward appearance of the aristocracy and their holy patrons, whether memorialized in fresco or seen daily in life, are striking. Indeed, such 'subjective identification' and the visual underscoring of it may stem from the proprietary manner in which saints came to be identified as civic and personal patrons in the period before Iconoclasm.[87]

The evolution of the painted decoration at Santa Maria Antiqua resulted from a variety of considerations on the part of its patrons. The evidence presented here reveals that the frescoes acted as a visual response to, or dialogue with, the socio-cultural influences of ethnicity, class and gender. The artists and designers of each successive decorative programme at Santa Maria Antiqua faced the issue of pre-existing decoration and how to position the newly commissioned work within it. The most obvious method used to define sacred space was the erection of physical barriers to prevent or to allow access to various areas of the building. The presence of barrier walls and raised floors created the conventional divisions integral to the performance of the Mass – the separation of the clergy and the laity, and the division of the laity along class and gender lines. The links between contiguous clerical or lay areas were made apparent by the addition of pavements, such as the geometric mosaic in the chancel that linked it visually with the sanctuary floor of *opus alexandrinum*. Fresco programmes served a similar purpose, such as the Old and New Testament cycles of Paul I that visually unify the nave and aisles. Frescoes that quoted earlier decorative elements provided visual continuity and served to underscore the established function of certain spaces despite broad decorative interventions over time. Programmatic change often indicated a change in function or meaning within a space, even if no other physical changes were present. The patrons' roles in the creation and use of areas within the church were elucidated or augmented

83   On the issue of women's finery in artistic depictions, see Connor, *Women*, 117–45, and J. Herrin, 'The Imperial Feminine in Byzantium', *Past & Present*, 169 (2000): 3–35.

84   Today in the collection of the Museo Nazionale Romano, Crypta Balbi. See Stella Arena *et al.* (eds), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*, 364, cat. II.4.506 a and b.

85   See P.J. Nordhagen, 'Icons Designed for the Display of Sumptuous Votive Gifts', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41 (1987): 453–60.

86   Herrin, 'Imperial Feminine', 3–35; Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 149–58.

87   A. Cameron, 'Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium', *Past & Present*, 84 (1979): 3–35; cf. P. Brown, 'A Dark Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy', in idem, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1982), 264–84.

visually by the inclusion of inscriptions, portraits, and specific iconographic themes. Previous scholarship on the church shows a marked insistence on treating individual programmes in chronological isolation as a series of discrete entities – an approach that denies any sense of change or continuity and thus overlooks the intentionality of redecoration and patterns of patronage. On one hand, as the witness of the famous palimpsest wall in the sanctuary shows, erasure through complete overpainting was a common enough method of artistic intervention. Yet, rather than obliterating entirely their predecessors' contributions, most patrons added to the frescoed interior while preserving certain areas of the previous campaigns. In dialectical fashion, each addition exhibits varying degrees of integration with or differentiation from the earlier decoration. An analysis of the positional, iconographic and programmatic relationships between each campaign reveals both functional and ideological change. On a broader scale, these adaptations parallel the religious, political and cultural climate of Rome during the period.

Sacred Memory and Confraternal Space
The Insignia of the Confraternity of the Santissimo Salvatore (Rome)[*]

Kirstin Noreen

As Alexei Lidov has recently argued in his analysis of the Tuesday rite of the *Hodegetria* in Constantinople, an icon could help to define a sacred space through its ceremonial activities; that sacred space was not limited to a church interior, but could extend to encompass the urban milieu that was associated with an image's processional life.[1] Lidov emphasizes that, in the Byzantine realm, a representation could develop a new 'iconic image' that was linked not to an actual picture, but to the spatial vision of the processional environment and ritual context.[2] This creation of sacred space also had a temporal aspect, since the repetitive nature of ritual activity promoted a reading of the cult across different layers of time: the eternal, the historical and the actual. While following a particular route, an icon procession could evoke the eternal presence of the holy figure as a protector of the city, the historical origins for the ritual performance as well as the actual, present enactment of the ceremony.

Lidov's approach is also relevant for the understanding of Western medieval imagery, especially in Rome where icons helped to unite the populace in collective worship and protected the city from plague, famine and war. Processions in Rome were frequently characterized by an intersection of faith and politics, with the ritual context of the ephemeral ceremonies reflecting the more permanent social hierarchy of the city. Scholarship on Roman icons has often focused on the processional activities that transported the images from their ecclesiastical homes into the urban fabric of the city, the competition among icons that helped to distinguish the primacy and miraculous origins of specific representations or the replication of holy portraits as a way of

1   A. Lidov, 'The Flying Hodegetria: The Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Space', in E. Thunø and G. Wolf (eds), *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Rome, 2004), 273–304.

2   Ibid., 303.

spreading political and religious alliances.[3] As Ernst Kitzinger and William Tronzo have discussed, icons and their ceremonial presentation could also be evoked, in a more permanent way, in monumental church decoration such as the apse mosaics of Santa Maria in Trastevere and Santa Maria Maggiore.[4]

While building on these earlier studies, I propose to expand the analysis of Roman icons to examine the convergence of ritual, public space and the *memory* of holy images as expressed in the insignia of the confraternities responsible for their care and ceremonial activities. Such insignia, like that of the confraternity of the Raccomandati del Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum, a powerful group charged with the upkeep of the miraculous image of Christ found in the papal chapel of the Lateran, were often a public manifestation of a confraternity's economic and political power. In the case of the Raccomandati, relief carvings depicting the group's *stemma* were placed on the façades of structures in the area of the Lateran to designate the confraternity's holdings and reinforce its charitable works.[5] While the use of insignia to demonstrate property rights is not unusual or surprising, the stone plaques also served as a memory of the processional activities sponsored by the group and its control over one of the most important cult images in the city. This chapter will explore how the display of the Raccomandati's insignia helped to define the sacred zone associated with a portion of the processional route and established the confraternity as a mediator between image and public.

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3   There is extensive research in this area, especially in the context of the Assumption procession. See especially G. Wolf, *Salus populi Romani: Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim, 1990), and H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. E. Jephcott (Chicago, 1994).

4   W. Tronzo, 'Apse Decoration, the Liturgy and the Perception of Art in Medieval Rome: S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Maria Maggiore', in Tronzo (ed.), *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Functions, Forms and Regional Traditions*, Villa Spelman Colloquia, 1 (Bologna, 1989), 167–93; E. Kitzinger, 'A Virgin's Face: Antiquarianism in Twelfth-Century Art', *Art Bulletin*, 62 (1980): 6–19.

5   Few publications have focused on the confraternity's *stemma*. See A. Sartorio, 'Vetuste riproduzioni plastiche dell'immagine di Cristo del Sancta Sanctorum', *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di S. Luca*, 2 (1912): 25–36; C. d'Onofrio, *Un popolo di statue racconta: Storie, fatti, leggende della città di Roma antica, medievale, moderna* (Rome, 1990), 212–27.

Fig. 7.1   Rome,
Sancta Sanctorum,
icon of Christ
(photo: Vatican
Museums, Vatican)

The Confraternity of the Salvatore: Charitable Beginnings

The confraternity of the Raccomandati del Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum was one of the most influential and élite groups in late medieval and Renaissance Rome because of its close association with the miraculous icon of Christ (Fig. 7.1), from which it took its name, as well as its sponsorship of extensive charitable institutions.[6] From at least the early fourteenth century, the confraternity had a very visible presence in the area of the Lateran, a historically significant yet at times politically volatile zone of the city that was characterized by the presence of the papal residence, the basilica of San Giovanni, and some of the most important relics in Christendom (Fig. 7.2). Although located far from the main, populated areas of the city, the Lateran nonetheless reflected Rome's complex social structure through the convergence of communal, religious and political influences. For example, the Lateran was the starting point for the Assumption procession, one of the most significant events of the liturgical year that was controlled and maintained by the confraternity of the Salvatore. To understand the power of this group, it is necessary to trace the confraternity's origins and its position in the area of the Lateran in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a time when the confraternity enjoyed its greatest prestige.

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6   For the history of the confraternity, see C. Fanucci, *Trattato di tutte le opere pie dell'alma città di Roma* (Rome, 1601), lib. III, cap. 1, 185–90; G. Marangoni, *Istoria dell'antichissimo oratorio, o cappella di San Lorenzo nel Patriarchio Lateranense, comunemente appellato Sancta Sanctorum…* (Rome, 1747), 47ff; P. Egidi (ed.), *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia romana*, 2 vols (Rome, 1908, 1914), 1:311–541 and 2:447–531; S. dell'Addolorata, *La cappella papale di Sancta Sanctorum ed i suoi sacri tesori, l'immagine acheropita e la scala santa* (Grottaferrata, 1919), esp. 305–19; M. Maroni Lumbroso and A. Martini, *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese* (Rome, 1963), 394–9; P. Pavan, 'Gli statuti della società dei raccomandati del Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum (1331–1496)', *Archivio della società romana di storia patria*, 101 (1978): 35–96; eadem, 'La confraternita del Salvatore nella società romana del Tre-Quattrocento', *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma*, 5 (1984): 81–90; L. Fiorani (ed.), *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma*, vol. 6, *Storiografia e archivi delle confraternite romane* (Rome, 1985), 390–93; A. Esposito, 'Le confraternite romane tra arte e devozione: Persistenze e mutamenti nel corso del XV secolo', in A. Esch and C. L. Frommel (eds), *Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e nelle corti del Rinascimento (1420–1530); atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 24–27 ottobre 1990* (Turin, 1995), 107–20; eadem, 'Men and Women in Roman Confraternities in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Roles, Functions, Expectations', in N. Terpstra (ed.), *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 2000), 82–97; B. Wisch, 'Keys to Success: Propriety and Promotion of Miraculous Images by Roman Confraternities', in Thunø and Wolf (eds), *The Miraculous Image*, esp. 163–9. For a general discussion of the charitable institutions pertaining to the group, see A. Canezza, *Gli Arcispedali di Roma nella vita cittadina nella storia e nell'arte* (Rome, 1933), 175–202; G. Curcio, 'L'Ospedale di S. Giovanni in Laterano: Funzione urbana di una istituzione ospedaliera. I', *Storia dell'Arte*, 32 (1978): 23–39; eadem, 'L'Ospedale di S. Giovanni in Laterano: Funzione urbana di una istituzione ospedaliera. II', *Storia dell'Arte*, 36/37 (1979): 103–30; S.M. Trenti, 'L'Ospedale dell'Angelo al Laterano', *Arte medievale*, new ser., 2:1 (2003): 83–105.
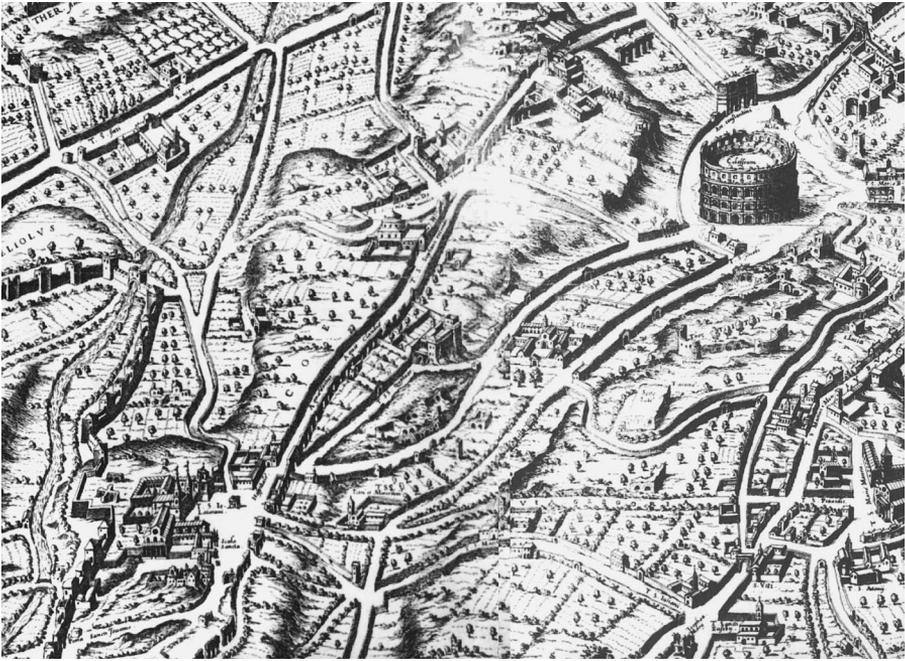
Fig. 7.2   Stefano Dupérac and Antonio Lafréry, Plan of Rome, detail of Lateran and Colosseum, 1577 (photo: Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome)

While the earliest recorded statutes of the confraternity date to 1331, its foundation probably took place much earlier under the auspices of the Colonna family. In 1216, Cardinal Giovanni Colonna donated some structures near the Lateran basilica for the purpose of receiving pilgrims and the sick;[7] these structures were perhaps expanded in 1288 by Cardinal Pietro Colonna through the endowment of the 'hospedale del Salvatore', a structure that came to be associated with the confraternity.[8] As discussed by Giovanna Curcio, the Colonna foundation was not simply an example of philanthropy, but was also a visible manifestation of the family's close ties with the papacy, a relationship that was especially prominent during the pontificate of Nicholas IV (1288–92).[9]

In the thirteenth century, members of the baronial class not only helped to establish charitable institutions in the Lateran, but also played a key role in caring for the icon of Christ contained in the Sancta Sanctorum (Fig. 7.1). This image, possibly dating to the sixth century, was believed to have been created by St Luke and finished by an angel's intervention, a miraculous origin that was expressed in the icon's name, *Acheropita*,

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7   The exact location of these buildings is uncertain; see Canezza, *Arcispedali*, 183–5, and Curcio, 'L'Ospedale, I', 25–6.

8   Egidi, *Necrologi*, 2:455–6. Marangoni (*Istoria*, 282) traces the foundation of the Raccomandati dell'Immagine del SS. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum to Pietro Colonna.

9   Curcio, 'L'Ospedale, I', 26.

meaning 'not made by human hands'. As early as the eighth century, the icon acted as a palladium to protect the city from famine, plague and aggressive invaders.[10] From at least the ninth century, the image also served as a surrogate for Christ in the yearly Assumption procession, when the *Acheropita* was taken from the Lateran to the Roman Forum and from there to the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline Hill in a well-orchestrated unification of some of the city's most important Christian and ancient sites.[11] On these special occasions, when the *Acheropita* was removed from its locked tabernacle in the private papal chapel and was revealed to the Roman populace, the holy image nonetheless remained primarily hidden from view behind an elaborate silver cover donated by Innocent III (1198–1216) that exposed only the face of Christ with its powerful, frontal gaze.[12] From at least the thirteenth century, an honour guard consisting of twelve lay doorkeepers, known as the *ostiari*, cared for and protected the Lateran icon.[13] The *ostiari*, as representatives of the twelve *rioni*, or districts, of the city, held hereditary positions that guaranteed an exclusive, male membership restricted to the most important Roman baronial families.[14] Acting on behalf of the commune and citizens, this small aristocratic group held the keys to the altar in the Sancta Sanctorum, controlled access to its relics, collected and administered alms offered to the icon, and maintained constantly burning candles in front of the holy image.

The donations of the Colonna family and the prestige associated with the position of the *ostiari* demonstrate the influential role of the baronial class in thirteenth-century Rome; however, with the transfer of the papal seat to Avignon in the early fourteenth

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10   The *Liber Pontificalis* life of Pope Stephen II (752–57) describes the processional use of the image in the context of the Lombard invasion of Rome. See L. Duchesne (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, vol. 1, 2nd edn (Paris, 1955), 443.

11   For the procession, see Marangoni, *Istoria*, 112–49; Wolf, *Salus populi Romani*, 37–78; R.J. Ingersoll, 'The Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome' (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 224–58; Tronzo, 'Apse Decoration', 174ff.; H.L. Kessler and J. Zacharias, *Rome 1300. On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven, 2000), 64ff.; E. Parlato, 'Le icone in processione', in M. Andaloro and S. Romano (eds), *Arte e iconografia a Roma: Dal tardoantico alla fine del medioevo* (Milan, 2002), 55–72, esp. 59–72. Pius V banned the procession in *c.* 1566. For a more general discussion of processional liturgies in Rome, see S. de Blaauw, 'Contrasts in Processional Liturgy: A Typology of Outdoor Processions in Twelfth-Century Rome', in N. Bock, P. Kurmann, S. Romano and J.-M. Spieser (eds), *Art, cérémonial et liturgie au Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque de 3e cycle romand de lettres* (Rome, 2001), 357–96.

12   For the silver cover, see J. Wilpert, 'L'acheropita ossia l'immagine del Salvatore nella Cappella del Sancta Sanctorum', *L'Arte*, 10 (1907): 161–77, 247–62, and more recently M. di Berardo, 'Roma suntuaria: Note in margine al rivestimento argenteo dell'Acheropita Lateranense', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, ser. III, vol. 24, nos. 2–3 (1994): 661–81. See also K. Noreen, 'Revealing the Sacred: The Icon of Christ in the Sancta Sanctorum, Rome', in *Word and Image*, 22 (2006), 228–37.

13   For the *ostiari*, see Marangoni, *Istoria*, 47–53; B. Millino, *Dell'oratorio di S. Lorenzo nel Laterano hoggi detto Sancta Sanctorum* (Rome, 1666), 171–4. See also Pavan, 'Gli statuti', 36.

14   Millino's assertion (*Dell'oratorio*, 171) that seven families were selected from seven *rioni* during the pontificate of Boniface VIII is probably incorrect. The creation of a thirteenth *rione*, including the area of Trastevere, took place under Boniface VIII; see E. Guidoni, 'Roma e l'urbanistica del Trecento', *Storia dell'arte italiana, dal Medioevo al Quattrocento*, part 2, vol. 1 (Turin, 1983), 333–5.

century, an emergent class of *homines novi* came to dominate the economic landscape of Trecento Rome and helped to shape the development of the confraternity of the Salvatore.[15] This new urban patriciate consisted primarily of merchants and members of the guild of the *bovattieri*, who were engaged in agricultural commerce. The increasing involvement of this ascendent class in the confraternity demonstrated its power; similar to the philanthropic activities of the Colonna in the area of the Lateran, the charitable institutions sponsored by the confraternity represented a socially acceptable yet quite visible expression of the influence of this new economic class. The controlled numbers of the confraternity's brethren also helped to maintain the group's exclusivity and solidarity, for membership was capped at one hundred, of which only twenty-eight could be clerics.[16] Notably, in 1408, a draft of the new statutes of the confraternity restricted membership to the Roman patriciate.[17] Therefore, the brethren included not only high-ranking prelates and numerous popes, such as Martin V, Nicholas V, Calixtus III and Paul II, but also the leading figures of Rome, as is indicated in the fifteenth-century lists of the *guardiani*, or chief officers, of the confraternity.[18] Giovanni Marangoni, in his eighteenth-century history of the Sancta Sanctorum, perhaps best summarized the rapid growth of the group and its immediate influence:

> The small body (let us say) of the Confraternity became an enormous Giant, [a] Giant equipped with innumerable arms, and strong and most capable hands to be used in the practice of the established activities of its foundation, for the honour and glory of the Holy Saviour and for the benefit of the poor of the entire city of Rome.[19]

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15   For a discussion of the social divisions and economic structure of Rome, see C. Gennaro, 'Mercanti e bovattieri nella Roma della seconda metà del Trecento', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo*, 78 (1967): 155–203; A. Esch, *Bonifaz IX. und der Kirchenstaat* (Tübingen, 1969), esp. 243–5 and 612–19; J.-C. Maire-Vigueur, 'Les 'casali' des églises romaines à la fin du Moyen Âge, 1348–1428', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française à Rome. Moyen Age–Temps moderns*, 86 (1974): 63–136; idem, 'Classe dominante et classes dirigeantes à Rome à la fin du Moyen Age', *Storia della città*, 1 (1976): 4–26; Curcio, 'L'Ospedale, I', esp. 26–7; Guidoni, 'Roma e l'urbanistica', 305–83; Pavan, 'La confraternita del Salvatore', 83–4; C. Burroughs, *From Signs to Design: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, MA, 1990), esp. 28–34; É. Hubert, 'Economie de la propriété immobilière: Les établissements religieux et leurs patrimoines au XIVe siècle', in Hubert and C. Carbonetti Vendittelli (eds), *Rome aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles: Cinq études* (Rome, 1993), esp. 198–208 and 218–29.

16   Pavan, 'Gli statuti', 40, 63 (article 1), 66 (article 19).

17   C. Burroughs, 'Conditions of Building in Rome and the Papal States in the mid-Fifteenth Century' (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1978), 207; idem, *From Signs to Design*, 150. Membership limitations were revoked under Nicholas V in 1452, which most certainly led to a marked growth of the confraternity ('Conditions', 220; *Signs to Design*, 32, 156). In 1474, members were not allowed to join any other confraternal group upon penalty of expulsion ('Conditions', 371, n.72).

18   Marangoni, *Istoria*, 294–5; Egidi, *Necrologi*, 2:456; Burroughs, 'Conditions', 199; idem, *Signs to Design*, 31–2. Urban VI, Boniface IX, Innocent VII, Sixtus IV, Leo X and Paul III were also among the brethren of the confraternity. For a listing of the *guardiani*, see Marangoni, 314–30 (covers the years from 1332 to 1735), and Millino, *Dell'oratorio*, 193–222 (covers the years from 1332 to 1665).

19   Marangoni, *Istoria*, 295. '… il Corpo (diciam così) picciolo della Compagnia divenne uno smisurato Gigante, e Gigante fornito d'innumerabili braccia, e mani forti, ed attissime

The icon of Christ in the Lateran also became a locus for the expression of the powerful economic and political position held by the confraternity's brethren. As Gerhard Wolf has discussed, the icon was increasingly 'politicized' from the mid-twelfth century on through its role as a communal symbol, as seen most clearly in the yearly Assumption procession that was regulated by the commune and frequently characterized by the absence of the pope.[20] Those responsible for the care of the image, therefore, held a pivotal role in relation not only to civic authority, but also to the cult topography of the city. From its early foundation, the confraternity of the Salvatore was closely associated with the image, as is expressed in the first specific mention of the group in 1318 in conjunction with an indulgence offered to visitors to the icon by Pope John XXII.[21] While the 1331 statutes of the confraternity reinforce the group's involvement with the Assumption procession, in the fourteenth century the twelve *ostiari* nonetheless maintained a great deal of control over the image and its care. During the fifteenth century, however, the custody of the icon was gradually transferred from the *ostiari* to the *guardiani*, a shift that illustrated the significant position held by the *homines novi*. Such a shift of responsibilities was also related to the negligence of the *ostiari* who had begun to delegate their duties to others, which resulted in thievery in the Sancta Sanctorum and the need for papal intervention. In 1422, Martin V issued a bull that formalized the joint management of the image by the *ostiari* and the *guardiani*, a co-stewardship that was already informally in place since the brethren of the confraternity had maintained the illumination of the image for some time.[22] Martin V decreed that two members of the confraternity would be elected monthly to care for the image and that, upon the death of an *ostiaro* without a male heir, the position would be transferred to a *guardiano* of the confraternity. The pope issued another bull two years later that prescribed that the *ostiari* and the *guardiani* were to each have one key to the coffer containing alms and offerings to the image and that, when the tabernacle of the icon was opened, representatives from both groups were obliged to be present.[23] In 1475, Sixtus IV fully incorporated the remaining *ostiari* into the confraternity, an action that was reconfirmed in a bull of 1479.[24] Finally, in 1495 when only four *ostiari* remained, Alexander VI transferred the total custody of the image to the confraternity.[25]

Beyond its care for the icon, the confraternity of the Salvatore was most well known for its charitable works in the area of the Lateran. The charitable institutions controlled by the confraternity developed rapidly in the period following its first statutes in 1331, with the group responsible for various pilgrims' hospices, hospitals and churches in

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per impiegarsi nella practica degl'esercizj stabiliti nella sua fondazione, per l'onore, e gloria del Santissimo Salvatore, e per beneficio de poveri della Città tutta di Roma.'

20   G. Wolf, 'Christ in His Beauty and Pain: Concepts of Body and Image in an Age of Transition (Late Middle Ages and Renaissance)', in S.C. Scott (ed.), *The Art of Interpreting* (University Park, PA, 1995), 168; idem, *Salus populi Romani*, 53–4.

21   As found in the bull *Universis Christi fidelibus*, dated by Marangoni to 1317 and reproduced in his *Istoria*, 105. See also Pavan, 'Gli statuti', 36.

22   Marangoni, *Istoria*, 52. For the transfer of power from the *ostiari* to the *guardiani*, see also Wisch, 'Keys to Success', 166–7 and Pavan, 'Gli statuti', 38, n.15.

23   Marangoni, *Istoria*, 57–8.

24   Ibid., 59.

25   Ibid., 59–60.

the Monti district, especially in the zone between the Basilica of San Giovanni and the Colosseum.[26] The most extensive complex of structures sponsored by the confraternity formed the Lateran hospital, also known as the Ospedale di Sant'Angelo. As an inscription found on the portal leading to the Ospedale indicates, the building was initiated in 1348 at the time of Francesco Vecchi and Francesco Rosani[27] (Fig. 7.3); it was probably completed by the jubilee of 1350 with the assistance of donations received in relation to the plague. The grouping of buildings forming the Lateran

Fig. 7.3   Rome, Lateran Hospital, entrance portal (photo: author)

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26   For a general discussion of these hospitals, see Curcio, 'L'Ospedale, I', 23–39; eadem, 'L'Ospedale, II', 103–30. See also G. Rohault de Fleury, *Le Latran au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1877); A. Palica, *Origine, e successo sviluppo dell'Ospedale del Ssmo Salvatore in Laterano* (Rome, 1892); P. de Angelis, *L'Arciospedale del Salvatore ad SS. a S. Giovanni in Laterano* (Rome, 1958).

27   HOC OPVS INCHOATVM FVIT TEMPORE GVARDIANATVS FRANCISCI VECCHI ET FRANCISCI ROSANI PRIORVM SVB ANNO DOMINI M.CCC.XLVIII. INDICTIONE SECDA MENSIS SEPT. For the Lateran Hospital, see Trenti, 'L'Ospedale dell'Angelo', 83–105; Pavan, 'Gli statuti', 41–2; Curcio, 'L'Ospedale, I', 27. For the inscription, see Marangoni, *Istoria*, 288.

hospital would have included a large hall, an infirmary, a chapel, an adjoining portico and a nearby cemetery.[28]

The charitable institutions associated with the confraternity of the Salvatore, serving Rome's *pauperes*, *infirmi* and visiting pilgrims, constituted only part of the group's philanthropic activities.[29] As described by Paola Pavan in her analysis of the statutes of the society, during the fifteenth century the brethren also distributed bread to prisoners on the Capitoline as well as to churches and to convents; they funded dowries for poor young women; and they controlled various ecclesiastical colleges, such as the Collegio Capranica, the Collegio Nardino and the Collegio Ghislieri.[30] The confraternity was further responsible for performing Masses for the dead, both for brethren of the group as well as for benefactors. Such liturgical commemorations constituted an important source of income, for records demonstrate that a minimum of fifty *fiorini* had to be offered to the confraternity to pay for the yearly service of memorialization; these payments took the form of donations and legacies that provided the confraternity not only with cash, but also with extensive land holdings.[31]

In his discussion of the patrimony of religious establishments, Étienne Hubert notes that the vast possessions held by the confraternity of the Salvatore were second only to those controlled by the Chapter of the Basilica of San Pietro.[32] Although concentrated primarily in the Monti district, the confraternity's holdings were distributed throughout the urban context of Rome and included, in the early fifteenth century, 178 structures such as houses, palaces, towers and commercial buildings.[33] In 1397, the confraternity even received one-third of the Colosseum, a structure that was meaningful not only for its historical significance, but also for its financial value as a quarry, an aspect recognized by Martin V in 1418 when he gave the confraternity the right to sell materials removed from the amphitheatre.[34]

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28 The date of the portico and the accompanying relief insignia of the confraternity has been contested. See Canezza, *Arcispedali*, 191–2; G. Giovannoni, 'Restauri nell'Ospedale di San Giovanni in Roma', *Bollettino d'Arte*, 24 (1931): 481–90; Sartorio, 'Vetuste riproduzioni', 27–8. Most recently, Trenti dates the portico's construction to the first half of the fourteenth century and proposes that the confraternity was responsible for its creation to provide access to the Ospedale di Sant'Angelo; see Trenti, 'L'Ospedale dell'Angelo', 95–101. The hospital was expanded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; see Curcio, 'L'Ospedale, I'; eadem, 'L'Ospedale, II'.

29 See the statutes of the confraternity reproduced in Pavan, 'Gli statuti', 75. For the responsibilities and charitable activities of the confraternity, see also Marangoni, *Istoria*, 293–9.

30 Pavan, 'Gli statuti', 60; see also Dell'Addolorata, *La cappella papale*, 315–16.

31 Egidi, *Necrologi*, 1:311–541, 2:447–531; Pavan, 'Gli statuti', 56; eadem, 'La confraternita del Salvatore', 86–9 and n.31; Burroughs, 'Conditions', 27–9; idem, *Signs to Design*, 32–3. For a more general discussion, see J.R. Banker, *Death in the Community: Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages* (Athens, GA, 1988).

32 Hubert, 'Economie', esp. 198–208 and 218–29.

33 See especially Hubert's topographic distribution (ibid., 206).

34 Ibid., 200; G. Capitelli, 'L'*ignobil masso*: La perduta chiesa di San Giacomo al Colosseo e la sua decorazione pittorica attraverso la documentazione archivistica, letteraria, iconografica', *Roma moderna e contemporanea*, 6 (1998): 65. For additional sources and discussions of the confraternity's holdings in the area of the Colosseum, see Egidi, *Necrologi*, 1:321, 323; A. Esch, 'Dal medioevo al Rinascimento: Uomini a Roma dal 1350 al 1450', *Archivio della società romana di storia patria*, 94 (1971): 3, n.3. Burroughs (*Signs to Design*, 28–9) notes that the confraternity's control over a large

In an edict of 1386, the confraternity also obtained jurisdiction over much of the zone between the Ospedale di Sant'Angelo and the church of San Giacomo al Colosseo, an area traversed by the Via Maggiore, the main artery linking the centre of papal power in the Lateran with that of the ancient city and commune on the Capitoline (Fig. 7.2).[35] In the late Middle Ages, this region was sparsely populated and characterized by the presence of derelict structures, thieves and moral depravity.[36] The 1386 edict, issued by the commune, gave the confraternity of the Salvatore responsibility for the restoration and renovation of structures on the Via Maggiore, which essentially initiated a programme of urban renewal in the area that was possibly associated with the return of the papacy from Avignon.[37] The edict focused on the preservation of the zone as well as its repopulation, for it forbade the despoliation of existing structures, regulated the area's redevelopment, and placed limitations on rent. Furthermore, the edict established guidelines to improve the moral fabric of the district, clearly stating that usurers and licentious women would not be tolerated; the *guardiani* were responsible for expelling such undesirables and for redistributing their possessions to 'personis bone sancteque vite', people with good and pure lives.[38] Those who disobeyed the various rulings of the edict were subject to fines, to be split between the confraternity and the Camera Urbis; in cases of more severe crimes, the *guardiani* were responsible for escorting the offenders directly to the Capitoline.[39] The edict also maintained the rights of the region's residents, delineating their freedom to defend themselves against intruders as well as their exemption from specific taxes and civic duties, such as the bearing of arms on behalf of the commune.[40] Notably, the *conservatores* of the commune reconfirmed both the governing success of the confraternity in the area of the Via Maggiore and its continued jurisdiction over the zone in a subsequent edict issued in 1418; this text furthermore extended the area under the confraternity's control to include the Colosseum as well as the entire Lateran Campo.[41]

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portion of the Colosseum reflected the shift of economic precedence from the barons to the urban patriciate in fourteenth-century Rome.

35   There is some debate over the exact date of the edict, as either 1381 or 1386; for a discussion, see L. Spezzaferro, 'La politica urbanistica dei papi e le origini di via Giulia', in L. Salerno, Spezzaferro and M. Tafuri (eds), *Via Giulia. Una utopia urbanistica del 500* (Rome, 1973), 22, n.31. For a replication of the edict's text, see P. Adinolfi, *Laterano e Via Maggiore. Saggio della topografia di Roma nell'età di mezzo* (Rome, 1857), 140–44; for a discussion of the Via Maggiore and an interpretation of the edict, see Fleury, *Le Latran*, 231–2, Burroughs, 'Conditions', 202–8, and idem, *Signs to Design*, 149–51. See also Curcio, 'L'Ospedale, I', 28–9; Capitelli, 'La perduta chiesa', 64–5; Pavan, 'La confraternita del Salvatore', 85–6.

36   The 1418 revision of the 1386 edict describes the contemporary condition of the area; see Adinolfi, *Laterano*, 145.

37   Ibid., 140. For the connection with the papacy's return to Rome, see Marangoni, *Istoria*, 296; Spezzaferro, 'La politica urbanistica dei Papi', 22.

38   Adinolfi, *Laterano*, 143.

39   Ibid., 142–3.

40   Burroughs, 'Conditions', 203; idem, *Signs to Design*, 149.

41   For the text of the 1418 document, see Adinolfi, *Laterano*, 144–9, esp. 149. See also Burroughs, 'Conditions', 204–8; idem, *Signs to Design*, 150.

Clearly, in the edicts of both 1386 and 1418, the confraternity of the Salvatore enjoyed a strong influence over not only the physical fabric that bordered the Via Maggiore, but also the very people that populated those structures.[42] As Charles Burroughs has suggested, the statutes additionally provided a commentary on the changing social situation of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Rome through the edicts' juxtaposition of the lawlessness that accompanied the period of baronial control with the 'bonam condicionem' promoted by the leadership of the urban patriciate.[43] It should be remembered that this district, regardless of its urban decay in the late fourteenth century, provided the confraternity with an important strategic position that essentially allowed the *guardiani* to control the primary road that linked the papal seat in the Lateran with the Senatorial centre and, beyond it, the Vatican.[44]

The Via Maggiore as a Locus for Social Expression

In addition to its noteworthy political position in Roman topography, the Via Maggiore also had a significant ritual relevance because it constituted the first portion of the route of the Assumption procession that took place annually on 14 to 15 August. The confraternity of the Salvatore's jurisdictional control over this road is, therefore, not surprising considering the group's extensive responsibility for the coordination and regulation of the Assumption's celebration. The confraternity not only participated directly in the procession, it was also responsible for maintaining and repairing the route followed by the image in the Monti district, streets that would have been strained by the demands of the ritual performance.[45]

On the vigil of the Assumption feast, members of the confraternity including the twelve specially selected *portieri*, or bearers of the image, as well as clerics and representatives of the Senate, gathered at the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli on the Capitoline Hill for evening vespers.[46] From there, the group walked through the Forum to the church of San Giacomo al Colosseo, where the confraternal brethren gave confessions and received a benediction.[47] They then travelled along the Via Maggiore to

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42   This confraternity's influence probably also extended to include the church of San Clemente. See E. Kane, 'Rome after Avignon: More on the Frescoed Angels in San Clemente', *Arte Cristiana*, 80 (1992): 165–74.

43   Burroughs, *Signs to Design*, 150.

44   Curcio, 'L'Ospedale, I', 29.

45   As dictated by the statutes of 1331. See Pavan, 'Gli statuti', 64 (article 7).

46   For the following description of the procession, see Marangoni, *Istoria*, 120–24, who reproduces the 1462 record of the confraternity that describes the order and structure of the procession at that time. The *catasto* documents of 1362 from the confraternity of the Salvatore also describe the ceremony; for their transcription, see Millino, *Dell'oratorio*, 143–57. For additional bibliography on the procession, see n.11. The twelve *portieri* were divided into three groups that alternated in carrying the icon.

47   The fresco programme of San Giacomo, in which a scene represented clerics and members of the confraternity kneeling before the icon on the altar of the Sancta Sanctorum, clearly illustrates the importance of the Lateran icon; for this fresco, see Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 4408, fol. 45, and S. Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (Vienna, 1964), fig. 70.

the Sancta Sanctorum, where the Christ icon was taken down from the altar, decorated with a golden pallium with either the papal arms or the insignia of the commune, and transported to the Lateran Campo.[48] After gathering in the piazza, the procession moved to the portal of the Lateran Hospital, where the pious group stopped to allow clerics to wash the feet of the Christ image with rose-scented water and basil. Passing through the Arch of Basile, a section of the Aqua Claudia that would have symbolically resembled a triumphal arch, the group continued down the Via Maggiore, a route lined with structures sponsored by the confraternity. After moving to a parallel road, the procession paused in front of the church of San Clemente, where the image was again washed. The procession, accompanied by musical instruments and illuminated by candles and torches, then traced a route reminiscent of imperial triumphs: to the Colosseum, alongside the Arch of Constantine and through the Arch of Titus. At the church of Santa Maria Nuova, the icon encountered an image of the Virgin and Child that was perhaps once contained in Santa Maria Antiqua; there, again, the Lateran icon was washed. The procession paused at the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano, before arriving at Sant'Adriano, where the image was washed by clerics and adored by civic officials. The procession left the Forum by way of the Cave of Latrona and stopped at Santa Prassede for a fifth ritual washing. Arriving at dawn on the Esquiline Hill, the Lateran icon encountered an image of Mary in Santa Maria Maggiore in a re-creation of the meeting of Christ and his mother following her assumption into heaven.

At the commencement of the celebration, after the icon had been removed from the Sancta Sanctorum to join the faithful in the Lateran piazza, the throngs of pious followers were organized for the procession using a systematic arrangement that associated proximity to the icon with the social status of the participant or group. Two different aspects of the procession must therefore be distinguished: the stops along the route provided a context for the ceremonial interaction of image and public, while the movement of the procession along the city streets activated the ordering of participants and structured their subsequent encounter with the icon. Such an ordering was far from haphazard, for it reconfirmed the Roman social hierarchy in a communally sanctioned manner, a fact also demonstrated in a stone inscription at the base of the Capitoline that clearly delineates the ordering of the procession, threatening a fine for those breaching the indicated line-up.[49] As Richard Ingersoll has noted, civic and confraternal regulation characterized the Assumption celebration; in the fifteenth century, popes often skipped the city's ritual entirely or else participated in a limited way by arriving directly at the church of Santa Maria Maggiore.[50]

During the procession, the social and political status of the confraternity was publicly recognized and its close association with one of the most holy images in Rome was confirmed; the spectacle and visual display of the celebration, which combined

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48   Marangoni, *Istoria*, 121; Wisch, 'Keys to Success', 167.

49   For a transcription and partial translation of the sixteenth-century inscription in the Palace of the Conservators, see Marangoni, *Istoria*, 125–6 and Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, text 4H, 501–2. Ingersoll notes the dating for this inscription as between 1550 and 1566 ('Ritual Use', 249). See also Wolf, *Salus populi Romani*, 53.

50   Ingersoll, 'Ritual Use', 226. See also G. Wolf, 'La Veronica e la tradizione romana di icone', in A. Gentile, P. Morel and C. Cieri Via (eds), *Il ritratto e la memoria: materiali*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1993), 21; idem, *Salus populi Romani*, 75.

religious piety, a manifestation of Rome's social hierarchy, and the miraculous images that guaranteed the city's well being, certainly also helped to perpetuate the financial success of the confraternity by encouraging testamentary bequests and legacies.[51] Such a connection between religious celebration and financial viability may explain the decline of the confraternity's church and hospital of San Giacomo al Colosseo, which was probably affected by the cancellation of the Assumption procession under Pius V (1566–72).[52] Even after this suspension of the Lateran icon's processional participation, the Assumption celebration continued to be part of the confraternity's civic- and self-identity, as pictured in the early seventeenth-century frescoes decorating the walls of the Casa delle Suore in the Lateran Hospital complex, where eleven scenes and accompanying inscriptions describe the ritual practices associated with the cancelled procession.[53]

Pius V's decision to discontinue the processional activity associated with the Assumption feast was perhaps related to the rowdy crowds that diminished the sacredness of the event, for although it was well-regulated, the procession was sometimes characterized by manifestations of social strife and class struggles, especially in the area of the Lateran piazza and the narrow streets that formed the Monti district.[54] Even the special armed bodyguard for the icon, who were known as the *stizzi*, had a reputation for inciting violence and scandalous outbreaks during the procession.[55] The celebration during the jubilee year of 1550 was particularly noteworthy, for the *stizzi*, consisting of members of the butchers' guild, were supposedly responsible for killing a noble Roman in front of the sacred image; in 1551, Julius III responded to this violence

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51   For the 'economics of piety' as related to the icons of the Lateran and Santa Maria Maggiore, see Wisch, 'Keys to Success'.

52   Capitelli, 'La perduta chiesa', 66; Wisch, 'Keys to Success', 167–9. The Hospital of San Giacomo was no longer functioning by 1596, a closure that Capitelli further associates with Sixtus V's extension and restructuring of the Lateran Hospital. For the cancellation of the procession, see Ingersoll, 'Ritual Use', 250, 258, nn.50–51, and Wisch, 'Keys to Success', 167–9, 180.

53   For a description of the procession in conjunction with a reproduction of ten of the eleven images of the chapel of the Casa delle Suore, see Dell'Addolorata, *La cappella papale*, 267–89. Curcio dates the frescoes to 1616 ('L'Ospedale, II', 108, figs 11, 12, 15, 16). See also Ingersoll, 'Ritual Use', 240–41. I would like to thank Francesco Pontoriero, Giovanni Marotti and Vincenzo Petillo for allowing me access to the frescoes, which are currently in very poor condition.

54   Ingersoll ('Ritual Use', 250–51) notes that the procession was possibly cancelled for both social and hygienic reasons, considering the devastating effects of plague in the summer of 1566.

55   Ibid., 248–9; Burroughs, 'Conditions', 26. Marangoni explains that the *stizzi* probably developed in the late eleventh century, following the sack of Rome under Emperor Henry IV. As the area around the basilica of San Giovanni burned, the butchers supposedly transported the icon of Christ out of harm's way, placing it in the church of San Giacomo near the Colosseum. The church of San Giacomo, however, was constructed in the fourteenth century, thus suggesting that an eleventh-century origin for the *stizzi* is problematic. In addition to receiving the privilege of guarding the image during the Assumption procession, the Compagnia dei Macellai was also allowed to release annually a condemned prisoner in thanks for their having rescued the image from potential destruction. See Marangoni, *Istoria*, 98–103; Millino, *Dell'oratorio*, 165–6; Dell'Addolorata, *La cappella papale*, 285–6.

by suspending the privileges given to the *stizzi* and by transferring their position as bodyguard to thirty-nine noblemen of the city.

In addition to its association with the Assumption celebration, the Via Maggiore also provided the backdrop for the papal *possesso*, the coronation procession that followed the election of a new pope.[56] First recorded in 795, the *possesso* procession traversed the city from the Lateran to the Vatican and then returned to the Lateran, ritually connecting the two Constantinian basilicas as it passed over the Via Papale, the Via Sacra and the Via Maggiore.[57] Through this ceremony, the newly elected bishop not only took charge of the Church, but also symbolically expressed his power in the context of Rome. As Ingersoll has discussed, the *possesso* often provided an opportunity to challenge papal authority; in fact, the ceremony could sometimes assume a very real physical threat to a newly elected pope, for riots and violence frequently characterized the route as the cortège passed through neighbourhoods controlled by the powerful families of the city.[58] The most severe outbursts generally occurred on the narrow Via Maggiore between the Colosseum and San Giovanni or directly in the piazza, as exemplified most clearly in the *possesso* of Julius II when hundreds of guards protected the pope in the area around the Lateran and restrictions limited those allowed to enter the basilica.[59] The Via Maggiore, controlled and cared for by the confraternity, was thus a potentially volatile locus for social expression, used not only for the civic celebration of the Virgin's Assumption, but also for the election of a new pope. During these processions, the street itself served as a stage for civic, communal and religious performance in a city that tended to increasingly elaborate displays during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Eternalizing the Sacred in the Symbolic Landscape of Rome

Charles Burroughs and Alan Ceen have described how such processions created a permanent impression on the urban fabric of the city, even though the celebrations were temporally limited to a religious feast day or a papal ceremony.[60] Rome served as a 'field of signs' that could not only identify ownership, express social status and demonstrate allegiances, but could also establish an individual's complex relationship with the urban environment; such signs could transform, interpret and reorder the social space of the city, and were often expressed in areas associated with public ceremony and ritual spectacle. During celebrations like that of the *possesso*, heraldic

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56   For the papal *possesso*, see Ingersoll, 'Ritual Use', 171–223; A. Ceen, 'The Quartiere de'Banchi: Urban Planning in Rome in the First Half of the Cinquecento' (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1977), esp. 109–71; P. Helas, *Lebende Bilder in der italienischen Festkultur des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1999), 109–15.

57   The processional route of the *possesso* was reversed when the papal residence was transferred to the Vatican. See Burroughs, 'Conditions', 192; Ingersoll, 'Ritual Use', 171–7.

58   Ingersoll, 'Ritual Use', 172–3.

59   Ibid., 200–1, Appendix 2 (461–2); Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 12343, fol. 102.

60   Ceen, 'Quartiere de'Banchi'; Burroughs, 'Conditions'; idem, *Signs to Design*; idem, *The Italian Renaissance Palace Façade: Structures of Authority, Surfaces of Sense* (Cambridge, 2002). See also Ingersoll, 'Ritual Use'.

insignia, triumphal arches and temporary constructions or decorations located on the liminal zone of the façade, in an area that mediated between the private and the public realms, were frequently oriented to the procession's participants as a way of defining social positions and political alliances. Following the momentary ritual experience, signs such as *stemme* and familial emblems could remain as a permanent reminder of papal authority or the power of particular factions within the city. As a location for these images, a façade could therefore act as a realm for political expression, extending the significance of the transitory processional activity into daily experience.

Imagery, especially in the context of the interior ecclesiastical environment, could additionally provide a lasting visual reminder of religious ritual, such as that associated with the celebration of the Assumption feast. Although the Assumption procession was conducted only once a year, in the Middle Ages the ephemeral celebration was also evoked in a more permanent way, through the copying of icons in some of Rome's most monumental pictorial programmes. As both Ernst Kitzinger and William Tronzo have discussed, the apse mosaics of Santa Maria in Trastevere (*c.* 1140–43) and Santa Maria Maggiore (*c.* 1288–92) thematically portrayed the Assumption celebration through representations of Christ and the Virgin that replicated icons used in the August celebration.[61] The meaning of the mosaics extended beyond the heavenly encounter of the two figures to encompass the broader meaning of a meeting of *Ecclesia* and the people as developed in the communally directed Assumption feast that brought together the Lateran icon with Marian images that acted as advocates of the Roman populace. These mosaic programmes would, therefore, have provided a lasting memory of the August celebration, expanding the ceremony's influence beyond its established processional route and providing a visual access to holy images that were typically hidden from view. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the influence of Rome's Assumption celebration also spread beyond the confines of the city's walls to neighbouring towns in Lazio, where the procession was replicated using icon copies that re-created the ritual meeting of the Virgin and Christ. As Hans Belting has noted, the duplication of the popular August celebration was part of a campaign to reinforce Roman institutions and influences in the papal state. The images used in these processions, replicating the Lateran Christ and the icon of Santa Maria Maggiore as well as the Madonna of San Sisto, provided a symbolic connection between Rome and towns like Viterbo, Vetralla and Trevignano.[62]

Although scholars such as Kitzinger and Tronzo have demonstrated the significant influence of the Assumption procession for the development of monumental imagery in the realm of the church interior, the ritual celebration has rarely been linked to the creation of a sacred topography as expressed in the symbolic language of façade decoration. Such was, however, the case with the display of the insignia of the confraternity of the Salvatore. By reproducing the holy face of Christ, the insignia

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61   Kitzinger, 'A Virgin's Face'; Tronzo, 'Apse Decoration'.

62   Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 323–9. See also W.F. Volbach, 'Il Cristo di Sutri e la venerazione del SS. Salvatore nel Lazio', *Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti*, 17 (1940–41): 97–126; G. Solberg, 'The Madonna *Avvocata* Icon at Orte and Geography', in A. Ladis and S. E. Zuraw (eds), *Visions of Holiness: Art and Devotion in Renaissance Italy* (Athens, GA, 2001), 123–34; Tronzo, 'Apse Decoration', 177–8.

symbolized the group's religious responsibilities and confirmed the brethrens' pivotal status in the cultic landscape of Rome. The insignia, located on the façades of numerous buildings in the Monti district, helped to connect the structures with their political and cultic topography, extending the sacred realm of the procession into the streets that contained it and crystallizing the eternal presence of the Christ icon in the region. In the context of the Via Maggiore and the Lateran Campo, therefore, the insignia established the permanent visibility of the holy image, developed a link between the urban fabric and the icon's ephemeral celebration, and reinforced the confraternity's brethren as mediators in the veneration of Christ and his portrayal. Such a use of symbolic 'signage' would certainly not have been unusual in the context of the Lateran, for the Campo was characterized in the Middle Ages by a plethora of communal and religious markers, such as the bronze she-wolf and the ancient statue of Marcus Aurelius (believed to represent Constantine), that reinforced the sovereignty of the pope and played a symbolic role in papal ceremony.[63]

The insignia of the confraternity, carved in low relief on stone plaques, clearly identified the holdings of the group, providing a visual representation of the brethrens' dedication to the Lateran icon while at the same time associating publicly the holy image with other confraternal activities.[64] As seen in the spandrels of the portal leading to the Lateran Hospital, the insignia consisted, in its most simplified format, of a bust of Christ with a cruciform halo that surmounts an ornamented horizontal strip to reference the icon and its cover (Fig.7.3). Other stone plaques also include burning candles that flank Christ's bust to accentuate the face as an object of devotion as well as to develop the memorializing quality of the image and to evoke the confraternity's responsibility to illuminate the icon (Figs 7.4, 7.5).[65] Frozen in stone, the presence of

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63 See especially I. Herklotz, 'Der Campus Lateranensis im Mittelalter', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 22 (1985), 1–43; reprinted in idem, *Gli eredi di Costantino. Il papato, il Laterano e la propaganda visiva nel XII secolo* (Rome, 2000), 41–94.

64 See references in n.5 and Fanucci, *Trattato*, 190. Numerous examples of the insignia can still be viewed on structures once pertaining to the confraternity; I would like to thank Francesco Pontoriero, Giovanni Marotti and Vincenzo Petillo for access to those images. For a general discussion of confraternal insignia, see L. Sebregondi, 'Religious Furnishings and Devotional Objects in Renaissance Florentine Confraternities', in K. Eisenbichler (ed.), *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1991), 141–60, esp. 146–51.

65 Marangoni (*Istoria*, 286) notes that the confraternity brethren '(with the exception of those who had a legitimate impediment) should personally intervene in all of the ceremonies of opening and closing the Sacred Image of the Saviour with lighted torches in their hands weighing at least half a pound [*libra*]. And [the confraternity brethren], along with also clerics and laity, should go before the image and accompany it in the procession done for the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, going to Santa Maria Maggiore and returning to the Lateran. And all the members of the confraternity should contribute 10 *soldi provisini* for the expenses of the procession and for the candles.' ['… (eccettuatone quelli, che avessero legitimo impedimento) dovessero personalmete intervenire a tutte le funzioni di aprirsi, e di chiudersi la Sagra Immagine del Salvatore, con fiaccole accese alla mano di peso di mezza libra almeno: ed anche co' Chierici, e Laici precederla, ed accompagnarla nella Processione, che faceasi per la Festa dell'Assunta della B.V., portandosi à S. Maria Maggiore, e riportandosi al Laterano: E che ciascheduno de Fratelli Laici dovesse contribuire dieci Soldi Provisini per le spese della medesima solennità, e per le cere.']

Fig. 7.4   Rome, Lateran Hospital, portico (photo: author)

candles was perhaps also a reference to the Assumption processions during the pontificates of Alexander III and Urban V when the candles and torches carried during the celebration were miraculously not consumed.[66] Some insignia, like that on the exterior of the portico of the Lateran Hospital, unify the icon with those responsible

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For the cited images, see Sartorio, 'Vetuste riproduzioni', figs 14 and 21. For a discussion of the use of lighting in other Italian pilgrimage shrines, see P. Davies, 'The Lighting of Pilgrimage Shrines in Renaissance Italy', in Thunø and Wolf (eds), *The Miraculous Image*, 57–80, esp. 70–71. For the relationship of candles and death, see Banker, *Death in the Community*, esp. 95–9; see cf. 'Cierges', in F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (eds), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 15 vols (Paris, 1907–57), vol. 3, part 2, 1613–22. Wolf (*Salus populi Romani*, 75) associates the burning candles with imperial *adventus* iconography; see also R. Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi. Studien zur spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Bildgeschichte* (Rome, 1986), 37. For the position of candles on an altar, see P. Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Sinzig, 1990, reprinted from Munich, 1933), 1–11.

66   Marangoni, *Istoria*, 127, 285–6. See also C. Rasponi, *De basilica et patriarchio lateranensi libri quattuor* (Rome, 1656), 377; Dell'Addolorata, *La cappella papale*, 311.

Fig. 7.5   Rome, 'Taberna della Sposata', insignia of the Confraternity of the Salvatore (photo: author)

for its care through the inclusion of members of the confraternity kneeling in perpetual adoration (Fig. 7.4).[67] The anonymity of these figures provides an eternal model of veneration for viewers to follow and guarantees the image's relevance for future generations.[68] In contrast, another relief originally found on a tavern near the remains of the Aqua Claudia identifies specific brethren. The presence of the *guardiani* Bartolomeo

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67   For the dating of this image, as related to the construction of the portico, see n.28.

68   For a discussion of the corporate identity of confraternities as expressed in artistic commissions, see E. Schiferl, 'Corporate Identity and Equality: Confraternity Members in Italian Paintings, c. 1340–1510', *Source*, 8:2 (1989): 12–18; eadem, 'Italian Confraternity Art Contracts: Group Consciousness and Corporate Patronage, 1400–1525', in Eisenbichler (ed.), *Crossing the Boundaries*, 121–40.

Tosti and Lorenzo Pezzocarne, who are represented in veneration before the bust of Christ and are named in the inscription, dates the relief to 1396, during the pontificate of Boniface IX (Fig. 7.5).[69] With the exception of the last example, the confraternity's insignia are often difficult to place chronologically, for most often they do not include dates and their style frequently evokes the archaic nature of the Christ icon.

While numerous examples of the confraternity's insignia still survive, it is nonetheless difficult to assess how many would have once appeared on the charitable institutions sponsored by the confraternity as well as the buildings that lined the Via Maggiore. Certainly, many insignia would have been found in the area, for the 1386 edict specifically permitted the confraternity to place its 'arma supra signa Societatis Salvatoris Lateranensis' on the Via Maggiore.[70] In the eighteenth century, Giovanni Marangoni mentioned the various *stemme* of the confraternity that were affixed to 'Case, Orti, ed altri Edificj' and pointed out that these stone plaques did not serve solely to identify the structures belonging to the confraternity: they also aroused devotion and veneration in viewers.[71] As noted by Aristide Sartorio, various insignia located between windows along the Via di San Giovanni survived until the late nineteenth century, but were destroyed by the time of his publication in 1912.[72] In some instances, the confraternity's insignia signified not just the group's ownership of a structure, but also the affiliation of the building's inhabitant; such was the case in 1456 when a carpenter was commissioned to add the sign of the Saviour to a two-storey structure facing the Piazza Mercatelli that was rented by the confraternity to an influential member, Pietro Juliani.[73]

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69   This structure was known in the Middle Ages as the 'Taberna della Sposata'. See Sartorio, 'Vetuste riproduzioni', 33, fig. 20.

70   The 1386 edict issued by the commune allowed the *guardiani* to place their insignia on the Via Maggiore: 'And let it be permitted for the *guardiani* to be able to place the arms there, above the sign of the Society of the Saviour of the Lateran.' ['Et liceat guardianis posse ibi ponere arma supra signa Societatis Salvatoris Lateranensis.'] See Adinolfi, *Laterano*, 144. For a discussion of what was probably a joint appearance on the Colosseum of the confraternity's insignia and six papal coats of arms commissioned by Nicholas V, see Burroughs, 'Conditions', 219–20; idem, *Signs to Design*, 155.

71   Marangoni, *Istoria*, 198: 'Nor will we mention here the great multitude of those emblems that one can see sculpted in low relief and affixed to houses, gardens, and other buildings as an emblem or coat of arms of the most noble Confraternity of the Sancta Sanctorum. Those emblems mark the [Confraternity's] ownership of such locations, as belonging to either the Holy Chapel or the Hospital that it governs. Those images, some of a Gothic work and some more modern, all stir the proper devotion from everyone as representations of the Holy Acheropita panel of the Lateran.' ['Nè quivi menzione faremo della gran moltitudine di quelle, che scolpite a basso rilievo, ed affisse à Case, Orti, ed altri Edificj si veggono, come per stemma, ò Arma della Nobilissima Compagnia detta di *Sancta Sanctorum* in contrassegno del Dominio, che hà di tali luoghi, come appartenenti ò alla stessa Sagra Cappella, o pure allo Spedale, ch'ella governa: Quali Immagini, altre di lavoro Gotico, ed altre più moderne, anch'elleno, come rappresentanti la Sagra Tavola Acheropita del Laterano, riscuotono da tutti la dovuta venerazione.']

72   At the time of Sartorio's 1912 publication, all of these reliefs had disappeared with the exception of that decorating the 'Taberna della Sposata' mentioned above: Sartorio, 'Vetuste riproduzioni', 32–3.

73   Burroughs, *Signs to Design*, 252, n.46.

In addition to designating structures under the jurisdiction of the confraternity, the insignia were used, in a broader sense, to encompass spaces. For instance, a stone disc with representations on both sides depicting the bust of Christ flanked by candles surmounts a column that now survives in the courtyard of the Lateran Hospital (Fig. 7.6).

Fig. 7.6   Rome, Lateran Hospital, column found in the courtyard (photo: author)

As a triumphal memorial reminiscent of ancient Roman works, Sartorio has suggested that the column was originally located on the approach to the basilica of San Giovanni and served to designate the entire area as dedicated to the charitable works of the confraternity.[74] If this reconstruction of the column's placement is accurate, the column would have provided an important, albeit much smaller, focal point prior to the sixteenth-century erection of the obelisk under Sixtus V.

As a visual shorthand for the Lateran icon (Fig. 7.1), it is not surprising that the insignia would focus on the face of Christ, for the potency of the icon was often associated with the image's powerful gaze. As Gerhard Wolf has pointed out, the addition of Innocent III's silver cover in the early thirteenth century 'decorporalized' the portrayal of Christ by physically eliminating his body; representations of the sun, moon and stars on the metal revetment recontextualized the image, placing the disembodied, divine face of Christ within a heavenly sphere.[75] The strength of the icon as an expression of Christ's divinity sometimes even had devastating effects, as described by the early thirteenth-century English chroniclers Gervase of Tilbury and Gerald of Wales, who warned that extended contact with the image could lead to blindness or even death.[76] In his description, Gervase further refers to the entire icon by synecdochically employing the term *vultus*, an emphasis on Christ's face that was repeated in later sources. The cover itself visually reinforced such a reading of the icon, for votive plaques as well as the small doors at the feet of Christ included representations that replicated his bust image.

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74   Candles decorate three sides of the travertine column base and, on the fourth side, an inscription reads: SALVATOR MVNDI ANO MDXVIII DIE XXV FBR T TEMPORE LEONIS X. See Sartorio, 'Vetuste riproduzioni', 28–9, figs 12 and 13.

75   Ibid., 164–97, esp. 168–70.

76   Gervase, writing in *c.* 1212–14, describes: 'There is, as well, another likeness of the visage of the Lord depicted on a panel in the oratory of San Lorenzo in the Lateran palace, which Alexander III of the holy memory of our time covered with a multi-layered silk cloth because [the image] will inflict trembling with the risk of death on those who look at it attentively.' ['est et alia dominici vultus effigies in tabula aeque depicta, in oratorio S. Laurentii, in palatio Lateranensi, quam sanctae memoriae nostri temporis Papa Alexander III. multiplici panno serico operuit, eo quod attentius intuentibus tremorem cum mortis periculo inferret.'] Gervasius of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, Bk 3 (1212–14), ed. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig, 1899), 292*-293*: 32. See also Wolf, *Salus populi Romani*, 327–8, Q14. The 'Speculum Ecclesiae' of Gerald of Wales, dating to *c.* 1220, explains: '… it is said, when a certain pope had dared to look at it [the image], he was immediately blinded [lost the light of his eyes], and thereafter the image was completely covered by gold and silver except for the right knee, from which oil incessantly flows.' ['Quam cum papa quidam, ut fertur, inspicere praesumpsisset, statim lumen oculorum amisit, et deinde cooperta fuit auro et argento tota praeter genu dextrum, a quo oleum indesinenter emanat.'] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. J.S. Brewer, vol. 4 (London, 1873), found in 'Speculum Ecclesiae', cap. VI, 278; Wolf, *Salus populi Romani*, 328, Q15. See also B. Bolton, 'Advertise the Message: Images in Rome at the turn of the Twelfth Century', in D. Wood (ed.), *The Church and the Arts. Papers Read at the 1990 Summer Meeting and the 1991 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford, 1995), 117–30; F. Lewis, 'The Veronica: Image, Legend and the Viewer', in W.M. Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Dover, NH, 1985), 100–6, esp. 103.

The portrayal of the divine *vultus*, however, was also encoded with additional significance, for it resembled two other cult images in the city: the holy impression of Christ's face on the Veronica veil contained in the church of St Peter as well as the miraculous bust of Christ in the Lateran basilica. Although it is only from the late twelfth century on that sources refer to an image on the sudarium, the cult of the Veronica experienced a rapid development in the late Middle Ages.[77] At the same time that Innocent III sponsored the metal cover for the icon in the Sancta Sanctorum, the pope also promoted the Veronica through the creation of a procession in 1208 that transported the veil from St Peter's to the Hospital of the Holy Spirit; accompanied by a multitude of faithful followers and flanked by torches lighting the image, the veil, as an 'imago-reliquia', was carried through the city streets on the Feast of the Wedding of Cana.[78] While the procession developed a ritual following in the context of Rome, Innocent III also sponsored an indulgence associated with a special prayer to the image that helped to promote the representation beyond the confines of the city.[79] As Wolf has noted, this indulgence offered an opportunity for private devotion to the image, an encounter that was not necessarily tied to the original representation on the veil in Rome, but could be associated with copies of that portrayal.[80] Pilgrims, especially during the jubilees of 1300 and 1350, helped to distribute copies of the Veronica throughout Europe by purchasing inexpensive replications of the image on paper or pilgrims' badges, or by carrying home the Roman ducat.[81] This transformation of the veil into a representation that could be used for individual contemplation removed the Veronica from the context of other holy images in Rome, including icons, and transformed the portrayal into a more universal depiction of Christ.[82]

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77   G. Wolf, 'From Mandylion to Veronica: Picturing the *Disembodied* Face and Disseminating the True Image of Christ in the Latin West', in H.L. Kessler and Wolf (eds), *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*, Villa Spelman Colloquia 6 (Bologna, 1998), 167; Wolf, *Salus populi Romani*, 327, Q13. In addition, see Wolf's *Schleier und Spiegel. Traditionen des Christusbildes und die Bildkonzepte der Renaissance* (Munich, 2002); 'La vedova di re Abgar: Uno sguardo comparatistico al Mandilion e alla Veronica', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 69 (1999): 215–43; 'From Mandylion to Veronica', 153–79; 'Christ in His Beauty and Pain', 164–97; 'La Veronica', 9–35. See also C. Egger, 'Papst Innocenz III. und die Veronica. Geschichte, Theologie, Liturgie und Seelsorge', in Kessler and Wolf (eds), *Holy Face*, 181–203; Lewis, 'The Veronica', 100–106; Bolton, 'Advertise', 117–30.

78   Wolf, 'La Veronica', 14. For the significance of this Feast, as related to the Veronica procession, see Wolf, *Salus populi Romani*, 85–7; Egger, 'Papst Innocenz III.', 187–90.

79   Wolf ('Christ in His Beauty and Pain', 168) suggests that two indulgences were developed, with one specifically geared for people outside of Rome.

80   Wolf, 'From Mandylion to Veronica', 168–9.

81   Ibid., 173. The Roman ducat of 1350 reproduced the Veronica in association with the inscription: ROMA CAPUT MUNDI SPQR. See M. d'Onfrio (ed.), *Romei e Giubilei. Il pellegrinaggio medievale a San Pietro (350–1350)* (Milan, 1999), cat. 104–10, 112–14 (for pilgrims' badges) and cat. 228 (for the Roman ducat).

82   G. Wolf, '"Pinta della nostra effige": La Veronica come richiamo dei romei', in D'Onfrio (ed.), *Romei e Giubilee*, 211–18, esp. 217.

Fig. 7.7   Rome, San Giovanni in Laterano. *Confessio* (Vatican City, Biblioteca
                  Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 4423, fol. 5r) (photo: Biblioteca
                  Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican)

In contrast with the Veronica image and its copies, which typically represented just
Christ's head, the insignia of the confraternity included his neck, a portrayal that closely
resembled a holy image in the basilica of San Giovanni in the Lateran.[83] According to
a legend that was well established by the early thirteenth century, the face of Christ
materialized as Pope Sylvester consecrated the high altar of the church, a miraculous
occurrence that demonstrated both the venerable origin of Christ's image and the primacy
of San Giovanni as the Saviour's basilica.[84] The popularity of this legend, especially
noteworthy in the thirteenth century, was expressed in medieval descriptions of the

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83   For the mosaic image, see Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi*, 31–41; Y. Christe, 'À propos
du décor absidal de Saint-Jean du Latran à Rome', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 20 (1970): 197–206; G.J.
Hoogewerff, 'Il mosaico absidale di S. Giovanni in Laterano ed altri mosaici romani', *Atti della
Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia: Rendiconti*, 27 (1954): 297–326; P. Lauer, *Le Palais de Latran;
étude historique et archéologique* (Paris, 1911), 212–28; A. Tomei, *Iacobus Torriti pictor. Una vicenda
figurativa del tardo Duecento romano* (Rome, 1990), 77–98.

84   For the dating of this legend, see J.M. Powell, 'Honorius III's *Sermo in dedicatione ecclesie
Lateranensis* and the Historical–Liturgical Traditions of the Lateran', *Archivium historiae pontificiae*,
21 (1983): 195–209, esp. 199–202; Hoogewerff, 'Il mosaico absidale di S. Giovanni', 301.

Lateran such as that of Gerald of Wales.[85] A fourteenth-century fresco, once found in the *confessio* of San Giovanni and recorded in a seventeenth-century watercolour copy, portrayed the appearance of the divine image at the time of Sylvester's consecration (Fig. 7.7).[86] During the restoration of the Sancta Sanctorum under Pope Nicholas III

Fig. 7.8   Rome, San Giovanni in Laterano, apse mosaic (photo: Vatican Museums, Vatican)

(1277–80), a mosaic in the vault above the altar referred to the miraculous bust by depicting Christ as an *imago clipeata* supported by angels; located in direct association with the altar of the chapel, the mosaic copy juxtaposed two holy images: the Lateran

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85   Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, J.S. Brewer (ed.), vol. 4 (London, 1873), found in 'Speculum Ecclesiae', cap. IV, 276: 'How also the aforementioned Sylvester publicly consecrated the above named church of the Saviour on November 9; that festivity is most celebrated, even up to today, that festivity on which the church was publicly consecrated. And the depicted image of the Saviour first appeared on the walls, visible to all the Roman people.' ['Quam etiam supra dictam ecclesiam Salvatoris praefatus Sylvester publice consecravit v. idus Novembris, et illa usque hodie celeberrima festivitas Romae in qua prima ecclesia publice consecrata. Et imago Salvatoris depicta parietibus primum visibilis omni populo Romano apparuit.']

86   J. Freiberg, *The Lateran in 1600. Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge and New York, 1995), 110–12, fig. 88. For the watercolour copy of the fresco, see Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 4423, fol. 5r, and Waetzoldt, *Kopien*, 37, fig. 99. The fresco has been attributed to the period of Urban V's restoration of the altar in 1369–70; see S. de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale: Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri*, 1 (Vatican City, 1994), 241–2.

bust and the Christ icon.[87] A new apse mosaic in San Giovanni, sponsored by Nicholas IV (1288–92), further reinforced the representation's significance (Fig. 7.8). Integrated as a relic into the pictorial programme, the *sacrum vultum Salvatoris*, or sacred visage of the Saviour, was located in a celestial realm occupied by angels and was accompanied by an inscription that cited and authenticated the holy image.[88] During the Renaissance and Baroque periods, the association between the Lateran and the miraculous portrayal of Christ's face continued, as expressed on jubilee medallions and in a fresco by Paris Nogari in the transept of San Giovanni that commemorated Christ's legendary appearance in the basilica.[89]

Historically, the image in the Lateran was quite different from the Veronica in St Peter's, for the miraculous bust of Christ in San Giovanni was, from its inception, associated with the consecration of the basilica and the general foundation of the Church in Rome. The truly Roman nature of this bust was perhaps also reinforced with the creation of Innocent III's icon cover, a metal revetment that redeveloped the holy portrait of Christ as a disembodied 'vultus'; the new reading of this image, inspired by the cover, assimilated an icon that had had a ritual presence in Rome for several hundred years, being used both in religious celebrations and as a palladium for the city's welfare, with an image that was associated with the establishment of the Church. Without a doubt, there was also a strong competition between the Sancta Sanctorum icon and the Veronica, a rivalry that paralleled the polarization of Rome into two holy centres in the Lateran and the Vatican.[90] The bust of Christ, portrayed with a neck and

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87   M. Andaloro, 'I mosaici del Sancta Sanctorum', in *Sancta Sanctorum* (Milan, 1995), 126–91; S. Romano, 'Cristo, l'antico e Niccolò III', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 34 (2001/2002): 41–68, esp. 53–6. See also H.L. Kessler, 'Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision', in *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia, 2000), 104–48, esp. 135–7.

88   For the inscription, see Tomei, *Iacobus Torriti pictor*, 77. See also Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi*, 34; M. Andaloro, 'Dal ritratto all'icona', in Andaloro and S. Romano (eds), *Arte e iconografia a Roma: Dal tardoantico alla fine del medioevo* (Milan, 2002), 40; Kessler, 'Real Absence', 104–48, esp. 142–3. For the mosaic's late-nineteenth-century restoration, see Tomei, *Iacobus Torriti pictor*, 81–4; idem, 'I calchi del mosaico absidale di San Giovanni in Laterano', in M. Andaloro *et al.* (eds), *Fragmenta picta: affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano: Roma, Castel Sant'Angelo, 15 dicembre 1989–18 febbraio 1990* (Rome, 1989), 238–42; B. Jatta and C. Fornaciari, 'Nota tecnica sui calchi del mosaico absidale di San Giovanni in Laterano', in *Fragmenta Picta*, 243–4. The restored mosaic maintains the iconography of the original imagery, but lacks stylistic accuracy (see Tomei, *Iacobus Torriti pictor*, 78, 82).

89   Marangoni (*Istoria*, 233–4) notes that a medallion representing on one side the Saviour between two burning candles above the Porta Santa and on the other a portrayal of Boniface VIII may have been produced on the centenary of the commencement of the jubilee during the pontificate of Martin V, a time when similar medallions were created. See also the sixteenth-century medal by Giovanni Paladino that commemorates the Holy Year of 1433 reproduced in Freiberg, *The Lateran in 1600*, 154–6, fig. 128. For a discussion of the Paris Nogari fresco, see idem, 110–15.

90   Gerald of Wales expressed the close relationship of these two images by referring to them using similar terms: 'Therefore, of the two icons of the Saviour, namely the Uronica and the Veronica, of which one is at the Lateran and the other, indeed, is held among the more precious relics at St Peter's …' ['De duabus igitur iconiis Salvatoris, Uronica scilicet et Veronica, quarum

a halo, therefore presented an image that could reconcile the increasingly popular status of the Veronica as a universal representation of Christ, with a depiction that had a specific connection to the history of the Lateran.

The insignia of the confraternity of the Salvatore helped to promote the bust of Christ a depiction for the Lateran – a representation associated with both the miraculous portrayal in the basilica and the icon in the Sancta Sanctorum.[91] Recalling the Constantinian foundation of the basilica and the holy icon finished by angels, the disembodied *vultus* characteristic of the insignia could also appeal to the prestige of the head of Christ pictured on the Veronica veil. Additionally, the insignia served a similar function to that of the Assumption celebration, for it liberated the miraculous image from its ecclesiastical enclosure and allowed the icon to be experienced directly by the people on the city's streets. As a permanent expression of the transient procession, the insignia embodied the perpetual protection of the district by the confraternity as well as by the Saviour himself.

While the insignia offered visual access to a holy image that was typically hidden from public view and provided a static memorial of one of the most significant ephemeral celebrations of the city, the representations of Christ's face that must have characterized numerous structures bordering the Campo as well as the Via Maggiore also played a political role as a very visible assertion of the presence and power of the confraternity.[92] Such a demonstration of the pervasive influence of the group would have been significant in the context of the confraternity's conflicts with the Lateran canons. Although the *ostiari* and subsequently the *guardiani* were responsible for the custodianship of the icon and for the collection and distribution of funds for its upkeep, the canons were obliged to officiate in the Sancta Sanctorum.[93] As noted by Marangoni, this division of duties led to disagreements and resulted in the canons' refusal to recognize the authority of the lay jurisdiction. Such opposition instigated a

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una apud Lateranum, altera vero apud Sanctum Petrum inter reliquias pretiosiores habetur …']. Giraldus, 'Speculum Ecclesiae', cap. VI, 278. See also Bolton, 'Advertise', 117–30.

91   For a similar discussion of the insignia of the confraternity of the Salvatore, see I. Lavin, *Bernini e il Salvatore. La* buona morte *nella Roma del Seicento*, trans. S. Panichi (Rome, 1998), esp. 88–9. This text, which is useful for an understanding of the role of the bust image of Christ in the context of Bernini's work, is partially reproduced in B. Contardi, G. Curcio and E. Bianca di Gioia (eds), *Le immagini del SS.mo Salvatore. Fabbriche e sculture per l'Ospizio Apostolico dei Poveri Invalidi* (Rome, 1988), 229–66. For the rivalry between the Vatican and the Lateran in the late Middle Ages, see also Powell, 'Honorius III's *Sermo*', 195–209.

92   Marangoni (*Istoria*, 60) gives some sense of the hidden nature of the icon in his description of the keys that were awarded to the confraternity under Alexander VI; these keys included '… the three keys of the bronze door of the Chapel; the keys of the doors of the altar, likewise of bronze; the three keys of the iron gates that close off the platform where the Sacred Image is kept with the altar; and the key of the iron chain that surrounds the tabernacle.' ['… le trè Chiavi della Porta di Bronzo della Cappella, le altre de' sportelli dell'Altare, parimente di Bronzo, le 3. de Cancelli di ferro, che chiudono coll'Altare la Tribuna, ove serbasi la Sagra Immagine, e l'altra della Catena di ferro, che cinge il Tabernacolo.']

93   Although only the pope himself had the privilege of saying Mass on the altar of the Sancta Sanctorum, the liturgical presence of the papacy may have been minimal; Giovanni Rucellai, writing in the mid-fifteenth century, notes that Nicholas V was the first pope in one hundred years to celebrate Mass in the chapel. See Burroughs, *Signs to Design*, 31.

complaint lodged on 13 August 1367, in which the canons questioned the rights of the *ostiari*; even though this grievance was expressed just one day prior to the Assumption procession, it ultimately had little influence.[94]

During the fifteenth century, the Lateran Chapter was rife with friction and internal division. Eugenius IV (1431–47), in an attempt to reform the secular canons who formed the chapter, introduced regular canons from outside of Rome.[95] Their arrival in the city in 1439 caused tension not only with the dispossessed secular canons, but also with the confraternity, for the new regular canons claimed jurisdictional rights over the Lateran Campo, a zone that had been controlled by the confraternity since 1418.[96] A document of the secretary of the confraternity demonstrates that Nicholas V ruled in favour of the *guardiani*'s rights during the jubilee year of 1450.[97] Although the privilege of the confraternity was, at least temporarily, resolved, tensions within the Lateran Chapter continued, culminating during the pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471–84) when the secular canons permanently replaced the regular canons.[98]

By the early sixteenth century, papal preference for the confraternity began to wane, as demonstrated most explicitly in a bull of 1521 issued under Pope Leo X that revoked some of the privileges given to the *guardiani* and the confraternal brethren. Specifically, alms gathered at the altar and chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum were thenceforth distributed two-thirds to the Lateran chapter of canons and one-third to the confraternity; the key to the tabernacle containing the icon was held by the canons; and the piazza in front of San Giovanni as well as the Sancta Sanctorum were placed under the control of both the Lateran chapter and its canons.[99] Conflicts continued during the sixteenth century as both groups vied to assert their positions vis-à-vis the holy icon. Most notably, in 1554 the Lateran canons locked the doors of the Sancta Sanctorum and refused to allow the confraternity to re-enter the chapel at the conclusion of the year's Assumption procession; Ingersoll has suggested that such disorder can be explained by the absence of the Church hierarchy, as was frequently the case during the August celebration.[100]

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94   Marangoni, *Istoria*, 46; Wisch, 'Keys to Success', 166.

95   For the secular and religious canons, see N. Widloecher, *La congregazione dei canonici regolari lateranensi: Periodo di formazione (1402–1483)* (Gubbio, 1929); De Blaauw, *Cultus*, 1:208–13, 227–9; Burroughs, *Signs to Design*, 145–8.

96   See n.41.

97   See Adinolfi, *Laterano*, doc. ix, 154; Burroughs, 'Conditions', 197.

98   Burroughs (*Signs to Design*, 148) notes that papal support for particular canons oscillated: Calixtus III favoured the secular canons; Paul II, the regular canons; and finally Sixtus IV, the secular canons.

99   This bull is reproduced and discussed in Marangoni, *Istoria*, 64–8; see also Wisch, 'Keys to Success', 167. Wisch (179–80) notes a similar conflict between the confraternity of the Gonfalone and the canons of Santa Maria Maggiore.

100 According to Colleine, Cola, Diario, Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 4936, fol. 24, 15 August 1554: 'at the returning of the Salvatore [Lateran icon], the canons argued with the *guardiani* over how to proceed and the canons closed the doors and did not let the Salvatore be returned. The *guardiani* took [the image] to the church next to the hospital and the Pope gave judgement and [the image] was returned that evening to its place.' ['allo remettere dello Salvatore li Canonici venne vo in contesa con li Guardiani allo precedere

The decline of the confraternity's influence over the sacred sphere of the Lateran icon was paralleled by its weakened control of the Via Maggiore. Although the confraternity had enjoyed special privileges in relation to the road, its adjacent structures and its inhabitants, as dictated in the edicts of 1386 and 1418 discussed above, in 1510 the pope transferred those jurisdictional rights from the *guardiani* to papally elected officials.[101] The cancellation of the Assumption procession under Pius V in *c.* 1566 would have greatly diminished the ritual significance of both the street and the confraternity, a significance that was, nonetheless, memorialized through the continued presence of the confraternal insignia. However, an urban renewal project in the Monti district sponsored by Sixtus V (1585–90) essentially eradicated the processional history of the Via Maggiore through the creation of a new route: a straight street, known as the Via di San Giovanni, that connected the Lateran Campo with the Colosseum. Ingersoll has interpreted the construction of the Via di San Giovanni as a means of disrupting the proprietal stronghold enjoyed by the urban patriciate in the Monti district.[102] Significantly, Sixtus V's project resulted in the splintering or outright destruction of some of the confraternity's holdings: Ingersoll notes specifically that the road necessitated the demolition of the hospital of San Giacomo al Colosseo, an adjacent granary, orchards, and the hospital's cemetery. As a result, the Via di San Giovanni usurped the urban significance previously held by the Via Maggiore, becoming a new artery in the programme of civic renewal characteristic of the pontificate of Sixtus V.

Embedded into the urban fabric, yet visible above the congestion that certainly would have characterized the narrow streets of the Monti district, the insignia of the confraternity of the Salvatore offered a permanent memory of the processional activities associated with the group. The presence of the bust of Christ would have helped to develop the sacred topography of the route used for the Assumption procession and the papal *possesso*, and would have integrated that sacred topography into the daily lives of the local inhabitants. In the context of political self-expression, the urban environment served as a locus of communication in which the confraternity's insignia demonstrated the group's ownership not only of structures, but also of spaces. The symbolic presence of the image of Christ as well as Christ himself as the protector of the district was mediated through the guardianship offered by the confraternity. Their care for the holy icon, their control over urban development, and their charitable activities in the context of the Lateran and the Monti district were affirmed through their insignia and sanctioned by Christ as visualized through his image.

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et li Canonici serraro le porti e non volsero cheso rimettitti lo Salvatore et li Guardiani lo fecero menare nella Chiesa acanto lo spedale et lo Papa giudicò e la sera fo rimesso allo loco suo.'] As quoted and discussed in Ingersoll, 'Ritual Use', 249, 257, n.45.

101 M. Maroni Lumbroso and A. Martini, *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese* (Rome, 1963), 396; Ingersoll, 'Ritual Use', 229.

102 Ingersoll refers to the road, now known as the Via di San Giovanni in Laterano, as the Via del Laterano ('Ritual Use', 239–40).

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PART II
Reading the City: Envisioning, Interpreting and Imitating Medieval Rome

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Dating Medieval Mural Paintings in Rome A Case Study from San Lorenzo fuori le mura[1]

John Osborne

The Roman church of San Lorenzo fuori le mura, the shrine of the third-century deacon and martyr Lawrence, is situated on the Via Tiburtina, approximately one kilometre outside the circuit of the Aurelian walls, to which it was joined in the Middle Ages by a covered portico leading from the Porta Tiburtina. Consequently, this gate became known from at least the eighth century as the Porta San Lorenzo. The present church comprises two principal parts, both medieval. The area of the raised sanctuary is formed by the original sixth-century basilica *ad corpus*, constructed by Pope Pelagius II (579–90) using a wide variety of *spolia*, and intended to create an appropriate setting for the site of Lawrence's tomb. Pelagius' foundation is documented in the *Liber pontificalis*, and the original dedication inscription is recorded in early medieval *syllogae*. The pope also appears in the mosaic decoration of the triumphal arch, now heavily restored, where he offers a model of the church to Christ in an iconography reminiscent of the apse of San Vitale at Ravenna. The second part of the structure was constructed about seven hundred years later. In the early thirteenth century, either in the first years of his papacy or immediately prior, Honorius III (1216–27) demolished what remained of the west side of the Pelagian basilica, including the apse, and constructed a long nave with a new portico facing the Via Tiburtina, thus reversing the orientation of the church.[1] The site is immediately adjacent to a large cemetery, the Campo Verano, still in use today – and since the mid-nineteenth century it has also been very close to the tracks approaching Rome's principal train station, Stazione Termini. On 16 July 1943, a stray bomb, presumably intended for the railyard, hit the church, badly damaging the façade and nave of Honorius' addition – and this necessitated a significant campaign of repairs in the post-war years. Included in this campaign was some new archaeology, aimed at discovering the foundations of the original apse of the sixth-century Pelagian church.

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1   Earlier versions of this paper were presented to the 23rd Canadian Conference of Medieval Art Historians in Winnipeg (March 2003), the 38th International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo (May 2003) and the International Medieval Congress at Leeds (July 2003). I am grateful for all the comments and suggestions received from colleagues on those occasions.

For the building history: R. Krautheimer and W. Frankl, 'S. Lorenzo fuori le mura', *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, 5 vols (Vatican City, 1937–77), 2:1–146. For the mosaic on the triumphal arch: J. Osborne and A. Claridge, *Early Christian and Medieval Antiquities*, The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo, Series A, Part II, 2 vols (London, 1996–98), 1:119–21.

This search was successful, and provided much new information about the history of the site between the sixth and thirteenth centuries. It also brought to light a small recessed space, opening from the north side of the *retro sanctos* behind the apse of the Pelagian church, at the point where today the sixth- and thirteenth-century fabrics meet. Just under two metres in both length and width, it is approximately square in shape. The walls of this space, normally designated in the literature as a 'chapel', although its original function remains entirely unknown, were decorated with murals – and remnants of at least two separate campaigns of painting were identified.[2] Most of what survived has now been removed from the 'chapel', and currently the murals are displayed on panels affixed to the wall in the south aisle of the church. These paintings have received rather scant scholarly attention – and this is perhaps surprising, for they include what may be the earliest signature of a medieval mural painter in western Europe, as well as possibly the earliest known depiction of a female saint who would later become enormously popular: St Catherine of Alexandria.

The decoration now displayed in the right aisle belongs to the second – that is to say, the more recent – campaign of painting. Formerly on the north wall, facing the viewer entering this 'chapel' from the church, were a series of four standing saints, all identified by painted inscriptions and all comparatively well preserved (Figs 8.1 and 8.2).

From left to right they are: St Catherine, St John the Evangelist, St Andrew and St Lawrence. The last of these, Lawrence, is additionally identified by the gridiron beneath his feet, the instrument of his martyrdom and his attribute in Christian art. Parallels for this use of the gridiron may be found in the tenth-century murals in the apse of San Sebastiano al Palatino,[3] and in the twelfth-century mosaic on the triumphal arch of San Clemente.[4] Alone of the four saints, Lawrence also holds an open book bearing a written text: *dispersit [et] dedit pauperibus*. The same text is written in the open book held by Lawrence in the Pelagian mosaic on the triumphal arch, and refers to the story in his *vita* that the saintly deacon sold the treasures of the church and distributed the proceeds to the poor.[5]

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2   R. Krautheimer, E. Josi and W. Frankl, 'S. Lorenzo fuori le mura in Rome: Excavations and Observations', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 96 (1952): 1–26; Krautheimer and Frankl, 'S. Lorenzo fuori le mura', 2:86–8; D. Israel, 'The Sixth-Century (Pelagian) Building of San Lorenzo fuori le mura at Rome' (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1984) 184–7.

3   J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917), pl. 224.

4   W. Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome* (London, 1967), pl. 159.

5   Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. W. Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton, 1993), 2:65.

Fig. 8.1   Rome, San Lorenzo fuori le mura, north wall of chapel with SS Catherine, John the Evangelist and Andrew (photo: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome)

Fig. 8.2   Rome, San Lorenzo fuori le mura, north wall of chapel with SS Andrew and Lawrence (photo: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome)

Fig. 8.3   Rome, San Lorenzo fuori le mura, east wall of chapel with archangel
(photo: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome)

On the adjacent wall to the right – the east wall – a portion of the first level of decoration survived at the top, including a crowned head enclosed in a halo (Fig. 8.3).

The rest of what one saw, however, belonged once again to the second campaign, and this featured an enthroned Madonna and Child, flanked by angels. The east wall also bore two important painted inscriptions (Fig. 8.4).

Fig. 8.4   Rome, San Lorenzo fuori le mura, east wall of chapel with Madonna and Child and painted inscriptions (photo: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome)

The first, set in a horizontal band beneath the figures, is incomplete, but presumably records the patronage. It begins EGO IOHANNES QUI MAXIMUS PRESBYTER ET MONACHUS VOCATUS ('I, John, who am called chief priest and monk …'). The second, set within the main panel between Mary's feet, records the artist: EGO CRESCENTIUS INFELIX PICTOR ('I, Crescentius, the unlucky painter'). The third and last wall – on the west side – retained only fragments of its decoration, again from phase two. Here we see a haloed figure in the act of giving or receiving – perhaps accepting a martyr's crown.[6]

The dating of the murals has not been the subject of much scholarly discussion. They were first published in a preliminary report jointly authored by the principal members of the excavation team, Richard Krautheimer, Enrico Josi and Wolfgang Frankl – with the more detailed discussion following a few years later in the entry for San Lorenzo

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6   Krautheimer and Frankl, 'S. Lorenzo fuori le mura', 2:85, fig. 75.

in the second volume of the *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*. Here a date *c.* 700 was proposed for the earlier of the two levels, and a date *c.* 730 for the second level. In a footnote, the authors thank Myrtilla Avery and Ernst Kitzinger for providing the opinion, while noting that it was based solely on the examination of photographs.[7] Subsequently, this eighth-century dating has not been challenged.[8] However, the dating proposed for the second level is not only improbable, but appears to be wrong by at least four hundred years. As will be argued below, the murals in question are more likely to have been painted in the twelfth century.

However, this chapter is not so much about that conclusion, but rather the process of getting there. Increasingly, it is being discovered that dates based solely on the vagaries of stylistic connoisseurship can be wildly wrong, yet all too often they become fixed in the literature and repeated by others, including scholars who are not art historians but who need to make use of visual documents, as if they were some sort of established 'fact'. And thus Pierre Jounel, in his important analysis of the saints whose cults were commemorated in the Vatican and Lateran calendars, expresses some surprise at finding an eighth-century Roman depiction of St Catherine – as this saint is otherwise unknown in Rome before the eleventh century. But, not being an art historian, he felt constrained to accept the opinion that 'ces fresques ne peuvent êtres postérieures au 9e siècle'.[9] The intention of the present study is to explore a series of more objective criteria that might be usefully applied in any attempt to date an early medieval mural painting in Rome, criteria which do not depend on subjective evaluation or connoisseurship. Taken individually, they are perhaps of limited use; taken together, they do have significant potential in this regard. These criteria can be grouped into five broad categories.

The first category may be broadly defined under the heading of 'Physical Setting'. Often, a great deal of useful information can be gleaned from the architectural or archaeological circumstances in which a mural painting is found, or from its physical relationship to other materials, some of which may be more precisely dated. For example, on the so-called 'palimpsest' wall in the church of Santa Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum, located to the right of the apse, there is a sequence of superimposed levels of painted plaster representing a sequence of campaigns of decoration. Two of these levels can be dated with some precision. One is linked to the Lateran Synod held in the year 649, and a second belongs to the redecoration of the interior of the church undertaken in the first decade of the eighth century by Pope John VII (705–707). Together, these constitute a firm *terminus ante quem* of *c.* 650 for the two earlier levels of figural decoration, depicting the Madonna and Child enthroned with flanking angels, and the Annunciation.[10] Another similar example may be found in the lower church of San Clemente, where the plaster from the Christological cycle dateable to the pontificate of Leo IV (847–55) can be seen to overlie the scenes from the life of the

7   Ibid., 2:88, n.2.

8   G. Matthiae, *S. Lorenzo fuori le mura* (Rome, 1966), 92, 95; idem, *Pittura Romana del Medioevo*, 2 vols (Rome, 1965–66), 1:188–90.

9   P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au douzième siècle* (Rome, 1977), 316.

10   P.J. Nordhagen, 'The Earliest Decorations in Santa Maria Antiqua and Their Date', *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, 1 (1962): 53–72.

monk Libertinus, drawn from the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory I. Consequently, there can be no doubt that the latter must pre-date the mid-ninth century.[11]

It should not be necessary to state the obvious, namely that a mural cannot be earlier than the construction of the wall on which it is painted. Thanks to the pioneering studies of Richard Krautheimer, Joan Barclay Lloyd, and others, it is possible to date medieval Roman brickwork with reasonable precision[12] – and this in turn may provide an approximate *terminus post quem* for any murals subsequently painted on that particular stretch of wall. The absence of such information has frequently led to considerable uncertainty regarding dating, as for example in the painted apse in the Catacomb of Sant'Ermete.[13]

At San Lorenzo fuori le mura, the building history is not particularly useful, although it does establish a *terminus post quem* of the construction of the basilica by Pope Pelagius II (579–90), and a *terminus ante quem* of the early thirteenth century, when the addition of the new nave rendered this small 'chapel' and its murals inaccessible. The physical setting also tells us that the space in question was decorated in more than one period. But there is no specific relationship to any other documented campaigns of decoration that can be used to assist in dating the murals.

The second broad category is subject matter, and this includes a wide variety of iconographic and other considerations. Most useful, of course, are images of identifiable historical figures, including donors, for example the sequence of eighth-century popes whose portraits were included in the decorations of Santa Maria Antiqua. But many other images may also contain embedded clues pointing to their date of execution; at a basic level, for example, scenes of the Crucifixion which depict Christ in the long sleeveless tunic known as a *colobium* are generally earlier than those which show him bare-chested, clad only in a loincloth. With only a few exceptions in either direction, this change seems to have taken place in the period of the eighth and ninth centuries, between the *colobium* Crucifixion of the Theodotus Chapel in Santa Maria Antiqua and the loincloth Crucifixion in the nave of the lower church of San Clemente.[14]

Chronological information may also be deduced from the identities of any specific saints who may be included. Once again to state the obvious, no twelfth-century mural could include the figure of St Francis! But many other saints have moments in which their cults became particularly popular, often based on an *inventio* or translation of their relics, or some other specific event which acted as a stimulus for interest in their cult. In the San Lorenzo murals, the three male saints John the Evangelist, Andrew and Lawrence are not particularly helpful in the process of determining a date. However, this is not the case for their female companion. Indeed, of all the elements in the decoration of this 'chapel', perhaps the most telling chronological indication is provided by the startling

11   J. Osborne, 'Early Medieval Wall-Painting in the Church of San Clemente, Rome: The Libertinus Cycle and Its Date', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982): 182–5; idem, *Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome* (New York and London, 1984), 145–9.

12   J. Barclay Lloyd, 'Masonry Techniques in Medieval Rome, c.1080–c.1300', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 53 (1985): 225–77.

13   J. Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs in the Middle Ages', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 53 (1985): 278–328, esp. 322–6.

14   Osborne, *Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings*, 54–61.

presence of St Catherine, whose cult was established only at a comparatively late date. Originating probably at her reputed shrine in the monastery founded by the emperor Justinian at the foot of Mount Sinai, the veneration of St Catherine of Alexandria spread very slowly to the West before receiving a major impetus in the years around and after the First Crusade (1099). It was not easy for Catherine to develop a following in Rome, a city notoriously protective of its own local cults, and thus her name is recorded in but a single Roman calendar of the twelfth century.[15] It is only in the period of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries that her popularity becomes widespread – and this would appear to constitute a very significant impediment to an eighth-century date for the San Lorenzo mural. Regardless of its dating, it is likely to constitute one of the earliest depictions of Catherine in Italy – but this would be most unlikely before the second half of the eleventh century, at the earliest.[16]

Also in this second category would come various other iconographic considerations, including attributes used to identify the various saints. Lawrence's gridiron, the symbol of his martyrdom, was broadly popular over the long course of the Middle Ages and is thus of limited value in this particular instance. Details of costume and dress, which were generally more mutable, also frequently provide useful indications for dating, although our knowledge of medieval dress is still very far from complete. In the San Lorenzo murals, the jewelled scarf-like object worn by the archangel flanking Mary may provide us with a useful clue. This is a *loros*, an item of Byzantine court costume deriving ultimately from the Roman *trabea triumphalis*, and normally worn by the emperor and empress on special festive occasions. In the Middle Byzantine period, it came to be associated with the Cross, and more specifically with the Easter banquet, when it was also worn by senior officials attending the emperor.[17] In the post-Iconoclastic era after 843, this custom began to be reflected in the visual arts, where the *loros* would be worn by the archangels attending Christ, an example of art imitating life.[18] Two excellent parallels may be found elsewhere in medieval Roman painting: one in the lower church of San Clemente, in a mural placed over a tomb in the narthex,[19] and the second in the substructures beneath the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo on the Caelian Hill.[20] Both depict Christ flanked by archangels. While neither mural is precisely dated, both are plausibly assigned to the period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Thus, once again, an eighth-century dating for the San Lorenzo mural appears quite improbable.

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15 Jounel, *Le culte des saints*, 315–16.

16 The honour of the earliest image of St Catherine in Rome may belong to a fragmentary mural in the lower church of San Crisogono, presumably dating from the eleventh century: see E. Mazzocchi, 'Una parete dai molti misteri: Alcune precisazioni sugli affreschi della basilica inferiore di San Crisogono a Roma', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, ser. IV, 6:1 (2001): 39–60, esp. 42.

17 A. Kazhdan *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York and Oxford, 1991), 1251–2.

18 C. Lamy-Lassalle, 'Les archanges en costume impérial dans la peinture murale italienne', *Synthronon* (Paris, 1968): 189–98.

19 Wilpert, *Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, pl. 214; J. Osborne, 'The "Particular Judgment": An Early Medieval Wall-Painting in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome', *The Burlington Magazine*, 123 (1981): 335–41.

20 Wilpert, *Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, pl. 243.

A third and very important category of evidence is provided by accompanying inscriptions, which are almost invariably included in medieval mural paintings in Rome, as they are also in a wide variety of work in other media. Images and words worked together to create meaningful texts for the viewers of church buildings and any objects or decorations placed therein.

Inscriptions which identify a patron may be of immediate value if that person is known from other sources, for example those which identify popes in Santa Maria Antiqua or San Clemente, or the donor 'Petrus medicus' in San Sebastiano al Palatino. These provide fixed points of reference which are of inestimable value. Also useful are inscriptions which provide a context for patronage. Thus, while the specific abbot Leo whose name appears in the atrium of Santa Maria Antiqua is not known, the mural in question can be plausibly linked to a period when that space functioned as a monastery.[21] But inscriptions can also be important even when such explicit information is not provided – and perhaps more importantly, the physical nature of the inscription can be useful even when its content is not. This physical nature includes the specific language used (Latin, Greek, vernacular), the phrasing of the text, the precise forms of the letters (palaeography), the orthography, the forms of ligatures or any abbreviations used, as well as the arrangement of the letters and the placement of the inscription within the composition. To this list of criteria one can also add such related elements as the use of formal guidelines for the letters in multiple-line inscriptions, or the presence of artist signatures.

Although not to be thought of as an absolute determinant, Greek-language inscriptions are primarily to be found in murals belonging to the seventh, eighth and early ninth centuries, when the Greek presence in Rome was strongest.[22] Possibly the last Greek inscriptions to be placed on a mural in a medieval Roman church are those which identify saints Agnes and Cecilia in the atrium of Santa Maria Antiqua.[23] And by the eleventh century, some Latin inscriptions begin to shift to vernacular forms. Best known are the words spoken by Sisinnius in the dado of the 'Mass of St Clement' scene in the nave of the lower church of San Clemente,[24] but the use of the vernacular 'Clemente', as opposed to the Latin 'Clemens', may also be found in the 'Particular Judgement' mural formerly in the narthex of the same church.[25] Similarly, the vernacular honorific 'sancto', as opposed to the Latin 'sanctus', is used in the inscriptions identifying the male saints who grace the walls of a small passage connecting the atrium of Santa

21   J. Osborne, 'The Atrium of S. Maria Antiqua, Rome: A History in Art', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 55 (1987): 186–223, esp. 211–12.

22   Greek-language inscriptions are most prominent in the murals of Santa Maria Antiqua and San Saba, generally attributed to the period of the seventh and eighth centuries. For the Greek community in Rome, see J.-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne* (Brussels, 1983).

23   Osborne, 'The Atrium of S. Maria Antiqua', 192–4 and pl. XIII.

24   Wilpert, *Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, pl. 240. For discussion: S. Raffaelli, 'Sul iscrizione di San Clemente. Un consuntivo con integrazioni', *Il volgare nelle chiese di Roma. Messaggi graffiti, dipinti e incisi dal IX al XVI secolo* (Rome, 1987), 35–66; C. Filippini, 'The Eleventh-Century Frescoes of Clement and Other Saints in the Basilica of San Clemente in Rome' (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1999), 90–97.

25   Osborne, 'The "Particular Judgment"', 341.

Maria Antiqua to the adjacent structure.[26] Thus, as a general rule of thumb, the use of the Greek language *implies* a date before the early 800s, during the time when the Greek community in Rome was at the height of its power and influence, and the use of the vernacular similarly suggests a date after 1000. Neither *proves* such a date, however, and there may well be isolated exceptions to this pattern. In the San Lorenzo murals, the language employed for all the inscriptions is Latin.

The phrasing used in inscriptions, and in particular the formulas used in donor inscriptions, may also be helpful. In the San Lorenzo murals, the donor inscription which begins 'Ego Iohannes' has numerous parallels in the period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and once again good examples for this conjunction of first person singular pronoun and actual name may be found in the lower church of San Clemente, the atrium of Santa Maria Antiqua[27] and the apse of San Sebastiano al Palatino.[28] Nothing similar is known to have survived from the earlier Middle Ages, when the names of patrons were more likely to be placed towards the end of an inscription, and without the pronoun 'ego', for example the record of the presbyter Leo who commissioned a Christological cycle in the lower church of San Clemente during the pontificate of Leo IV (847–55).[29]

Palaeography and orthography can also be helpful, in particular if there are unusual shapes or ligatures, or odd spellings.[30] For example, the very distinctive forms employed in the numerous painted inscriptions found in the Theodotus Chapel in Santa Maria Antiqua (datable to the reign of Pope Zacharias, 741–52) may be useful in dating two murals in the Catacomb of Calixtus, where some identical forms may also be found.[31] In like manner, the very distinctive 'A' in the painted niche in the right aisle of the lower church of San Clemente may also be found in murals formerly in the east aisle of San Lorenzo fuori le mura. With regard to spelling, 'betacism' (that is, the use of the letter 'B' to express the sound 'V') is a particular and peculiar characteristic of Roman writing in the eighth century, both in painted inscriptions and in manuscripts. It is likely to have originated in the shift that took place in the pronunciation of the Greek letter 'beta', hence the name, and is thus more readily explained in Rome at a time when the Greek language and Greek community were important. Among the more striking examples is the invocation of the 'birgo Maria' in the Theodotus Chapel (mid-eighth century).[32] At San Lorenzo, unluckily, there appear to be no distinctive letters or spellings that can be put to use as dating criteria.

26   J. Osborne, 'Wall Paintings as Documents: An Example from the Atrium of S. Maria Antiqua, Rome', *RACAR*, 16:1 (1989): 7–11.

27   For San Clemente: Wilpert, *Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, pls 239–41; Filippini, 'The Eleventh-Century Frescoes of Clement', 49, 148. For Santa Maria Antiqua: Osborne, 'The Atrium of S. Maria Antiqua', 214.

28   Wilpert, *Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, pl. 224; Osborne and Claridge, *Early Christian and Medieval Antiquities*, 1:320–21.

29   Osborne, *Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings*, 28.

30   P.J. Nordhagen, 'The Use of Palaeography in the Dating of Early Medieval Frescoes', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 32:4 (1983): 168–73.

31   Osborne, 'Roman Catacombs in the Middle Ages', 309.

32   Wilpert, *Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, pls 179, 181. For 'betacism', see E.A. Lowe, 'An Unknown Latin Psalter on Mount Sinai', *Scriptorium*, 9 (1955): 177–99, esp. 192–3.

Yet another rough indication may be found in the specific form of the abbreviation used for the titles 'sanctus' and 'sancta' applied to the names of saints. Up to and including the first half of the ninth century, all known Latin inscriptions which survive in Roman murals use a three-letter abbreviation: either 'SCS' ('sanctus') for male saints, or 'SCA' ('sancta') for female saints. By the second half of the ninth century, however, a shortened and gender-neutral form also begins to be used, comprising the single letter 'S' with a horizontal line through its middle.[33] This gradually replaces the longer version as the abbreviation of choice, becoming dominant in the eleventh century, although the older form does survive in a handful of instances. In the San Lorenzo murals, *all* the inscriptions identifying the saints employ this second, later, single-letter abbreviation – and once again this constitutes an important indication that the eighth-century dating originally proposed for them requires some rethinking.

The placement of inscriptions may also be significant, particularly if there is some unusual aspect that can be noted. For example, in the niche in the right aisle at San Clemente, the saint on the right wall has her title *s(an)c(t)a* to the left of her head, and the name (now lost) was on the right – as one might expect.[34] However, for her counterpart on the left wall of the niche, this was reversed, perhaps so that the honorific title would always be closest to the image of the Madonna and Child. Exactly the same unusual practice may be observed in the painted niche formerly in the east aisle of San Lorenzo fuori le mura, one of a number of factors which establishes a close relationship between the two sites, and this suggests that both niches were painted by the same artist or workshop.[35] Other similar observations may often be useful in establishing links between works at different sites, one of which may be more precisely dated than the others. For example, while many inscriptions identifying saints are written vertically beside the figure, in the San Lorenzo murals the painter has grouped some letters horizontally, always at the beginning of the name. The inscription identifying Andrew, for example, is written:

AN
DRE
A
S

A similar, although not identical, practice can be observed in the late-eleventh-century murals in the lower church of San Clemente.[36] Although not employed at San Lorenzo,

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33   The earliest dateable example of the shortened form occurs in the murals in Santa Maria de Secundicerio (a re-used Republican-era temple, also known as the Temple of Fortuna Virilis, although the original dedication was probably to Portunus, god of harbours): see J. Lafontaine, *Peintures médiévales dans le temple dit de la Fortune Virile à Rome* (Brussels, 1959); and M. Trimarchi, 'Per una revisione iconografica del ciclo di affreschi nel tempio della "Fortuna Virilis"', *Studi Medievali*, 19 (1978): 653–79. For a dating to *c.* 872–76, see J. Osborne, 'A Note on the Medieval Name of the So-called "Temple of Fortuna Virilis" at Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 56 (1988): 210–12.

34   Wilpert, *Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, pls 213.1, 213.4.

35   Osborne, *Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings*, 133.

36   Filippini, 'The Eleventh-Century Frescoes of Clement', 262–3.

yet another possible chronological indication is provided by the use of prominent red guidelines for letters in inscriptions occupying multiple lines, presumably to assist the painter in keeping the lines straight. This appears to be primarily a phenomenon of the eleventh century, and there are prominent examples in the lower church of San Clemente as well as the atrium of Santa Maria Antiqua.[37]

And finally in this third category is the nature of the information contained in the inscription. As a general rule, inscriptions on murals in early medieval Rome tend either to identify the subject matter or the patron. But by the twelfth century a new category of inscription is added to this mix: the signature of the artist. While Crescentius *infelix pictor* is not known from other sources, the very fact that he chose to include his name in the composition, placed prominently at Mary's feet, and that his patrons permitted him to do so, may also be useful in the process of establishing a plausible date. Although artists' signatures are not unknown in the early Middle Ages, they are extremely rare, particularly in the medium of painting, and there are no known examples in Rome until after the turn of the millennium. Among the earliest surviving instances of this practice are the signatures of the Roman painters John, Stephen and Nicholas in the apse of the church of Sant'Anastasia at Castel Sant'Elia, to the north of the city, and it is perhaps significant that this inscription too is placed at the feet of the principal figure in the composition, in this instance a figure of Christ.[38] From roughly the same time, which is to say the span of years encompassing the first half and middle of the twelfth century, is the painted Last Judgement panel, found in the Roman church of Santa Maria in Campo Marzio in 1935 and now in the Vatican Pinacoteca, also signed by a Nicholas and John.[39] This appears to be the moment when painters begin to achieve a sufficient level of prominence and individuality that they are known by their names, a practice that would increase in intensity very dramatically in subsequent centuries. Most signatures of artists in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Rome are those of sculptors and other stone-workers, including the well-known family known collectively as 'the Cosmati'. It is interesting to note that the first securely dated artist's signature in San Lorenzo fuori le mura is provided by the ciborium over the high altar. This provides information concerning both the patron ('Ego Hugo humilis abbas') and the names of the 'marmorari' ('Iohannes Petrus Angelus et Sasso filii Pauli'), as well as the date: 1148.[40] An approximately similar date does not appear implausible for the murals of Crescentius.

A fourth broad category to be considered is the function of the painting, studied in the context of the known history of the site – although in this specific instance at San Lorenzo this category is not of much use to us, since the function of the space is not at all obvious from either the decorations or the archaeology. But such knowledge is not always lacking. In many instances, the decoration of an apse or some other prominent

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37 Osborne, 'Atrium of S. Maria Antiqua', 213–14.

38 E. Parlato and S. Romano, *Roma e il Lazio*, Italia Romanica, 13 (Milan, 1992), 195–202.

39 W.F. Volbach, *Catalogo della Pinacoteca Vaticana. Vol. I: I Dipinti dal X secolo fino a Giotto* (Vatican City, 1979), 17–21, cat. no. 3; E.B. Garrison, 'Dating the Vatican Last Judgement Panel. Monument versus Document', *La Bibliofilia*, 72 (1970–71): 121–60; and N. Zchomelidse, *Santa Maria Immacolata in Ceri* (Rome, 1996), 149–54.

40 Parlato and Romano, *Roma e il Lazio*, 184.

part of a church may be linked to the building's construction or refurbishing, the dates of which may well be known. And on occasion the mural can be associated with some very particular historical moment, for example the murals in Santa Maria Antiqua in which theologians hold scrolls with texts related to the deliberations of the Lateran Synod of the year 649.[41] Funerary monuments are another obvious instance in which the murals may be associated with a very specific date: for example, the tomb of the Byzantine missionary to the Slavs, Cyril (d. 869), in the lower church of San Clemente, or the painting in the arcosolium of the tomb of the papal chamberlain Alfanus (d. *c.* 1123), situated in the narthex of Santa Maria in Cosmedin.[42]

And finally the fifth category – a very important one – which can perhaps be termed '*objective* stylistic criteria'. By this is meant those aspects of the artistic practice, or elements of the vocabulary of the design, which are not iconographic *per se*, but which may reflect the taste of a particular patron, or perhaps more likely, the practice of a particular painter or workshop. On occasion, these may be used to set one work within a broader context of other work, or to establish links between works at two different sites, the dating of one of which may be known. For example, the identical use of the same abstract geometric patterns both in the Anastasis mural on Cyril's tomb in the lower church of San Clemente, and as the decoration for the textiles on the bed in the scene of the Annunciation of Mary's death in Santa Maria de Secundicerio (also known as the Temple of Fortuna Virilis), suggests that the same artist or workshop was responsible for both. And as the murals at Santa Maria have an approximate date of *c.* 872–76, based on an inscription (now lost, but copied in the sixteenth century) recording the patronage, this permits an approximate date for the Anastasis mural, helping to confirm the identification of the tomb as that of Cyril.[43] At other sites, similar approximations may sometimes be made on the basis of the patterns on the fictive textiles which decorate the dado area at the bottom of the wall. This decorative practice appears to have been introduced to Rome by at least the beginning of the eighth century, when it features very prominently in all parts of the repainting of Santa Maria Antiqua undertaken by Pope John VII (705–707), and it continues to be found in Roman churches through to the end of the Middle Ages, and even beyond. An analysis of a significant *corpus* of fictive textiles dating from the early Middle Ages suggests that there are discernible patterns in the nature and placement of the motifs which appear on the simulated hangings ('*vela*'), as well as a decline over time in the exactitude of their reflection of actual textiles. The *trompe l'oeil* nature of their rendition is strongest in the early eighth century, and thereafter diminishes.[44] The end wall of the San Lorenzo 'chapel' does possess a dado painted with imitation *vela*, located beneath

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41   The link was first made by G. Rushforth, 'The Church of S. Maria Antiqua', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1 (1902): 1–123, esp. 68–73.

42   J. Osborne, 'The Tomb of Alfanus in S. Maria in Cosmedin, Rome, and Its Place in the Tradition of Roman Funerary Monuments', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 51 (1983): 240–47.

43   J. Osborne, 'The Painting of the Anastasis in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome, and a Re-examination of the Evidence for the Location of the Tomb of St Cyril', *Byzantion*, 51 (1981): 255–87.

44   J. Osborne, 'Textiles and Their Painted Imitations in Early Medieval Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 60 (1992): 309–51.

the space formerly occupied by the four standing saints, although these have not been discussed in the literature, and the one published photograph is incorrectly identified.[45] The drapery and its designs are drawn very loosely in red, with the fold lines indicated in blue, as is the usual custom in medieval Rome. At the far right is a variation on a traditional motif: an *orbiculus* intersected by crossed diagonal lines, creating an 'X'-shaped pattern. To the left, a design comprising two birds flanking a chalice spans a number of *velum* sections. While no precise chronology is possible, all indications suggest a comparatively late date, well removed from the eighth century. Early medieval *vela* in Rome generally use both red and ochre, and an attempt is made to give an appearance of reality by having only one principal motif per section of drapery. At San Lorenzo, by contrast, there is no apparent correlation between patterns and sections. In the eighth century, an 'X'-shaped design is generally used as a grid to separate a series of small *orbiculi*, as for example in the Theodotus chapel in Santa Maria Antiqua, or at San Saba.[46] Here, however, the motif has not been properly understood, typical of dadoes of the tenth and later centuries. The closest comparison for the main design comprising the birds and chalice may be found in the lower church of San Clemente, on the end wall of the left aisle, where the dado is painted with birds flanking *orbiculi*, now heavily restored. The San Clemente murals are probably from the late eleventh century.[47]

One final aspect of the decoration at San Lorenzo which can be considered to fall into the category of workshop practice may be found in the use of a leafy green garland as a horizontal border at the top of all three walls. Decorative borders are rare in early medieval Rome, but begin to appear in the second half of the ninth century, for example at Santa Maria de Secundicerio, and become more prominent in the 'Romanesque' period.[48] A very close parallel for the San Lorenzo design may be found in the painted decorations of the Oratory of San Giuliano in San Paolo fuori le mura, as yet largely unstudied, but for which a date *c.* 1200 is usually suggested.[49]

Scientific analysis of both pigments and plaster components may also be useful in identifying the work of a particular artist or team, and would fall under this general heading. So too would any analysis of workshop procedures, for example the technical studies of *giornate* and use of *patroni* which at Assisi have provided important evidence that the cycle of the life of St Francis is unlikely to have been painted by Giotto – nor by a single artist or workshop, for that matter.[50] More of this sort of study needs to be

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45   Krautheimer and Frankl, 'S. Lorenzo fuori le mura', 85, fig. 76, identified incorrectly as coming from the east wall, beneath the Madonna and Child (despite a fragment of Lawrence's gridiron visible in the upper part of the photograph).

46   Osborne, 'Textiles', figs 4, 12.

47   Wilpert, *Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, pl. 217; Osborne, *Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings*, 150.

48   J. Osborne, 'The Sources of Ornamental Motifs in the Mural Decorations of Early Medieval Rome: Some Preliminary Observations', in *Le rôle de l'ornement dans la peinture murale du Moyen Age*, Actes du colloque tenu à Saint-Lizier du 1er au 4 juin 1995 (Poitiers, 1997), 27–34.

49   Parlato and Romano, *Roma e il Lazio*, 132. A somewhat similar but more elaborate design is used in the late twelfth century at San Giovanni a Porta Latina; see Wilpert, *Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, pl. 259.

50   B. Zanardi, 'Giotto and the St Francis Cycle at Assisi', in A. Derbes and M. Sandona (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Giotto* (Cambridge, 2004), 32–62.

done for the earlier Middle Ages. Pigment analysis, for example, has begun to produce some interesting results.[51] And a recent survey of the plaster settings for murals in S. Maria Antiqua has revealed an abrupt departure from previous practice in the murals associated with John VII, perhaps reflecting the importation of a group of painters from outside the city. The *intonaco* of the John VII murals reveals a large quantity of straw, a material apparently not employed by earlier painters in the church.[52]

From almost every possible point of objective analysis, the murals in San Lorenzo would appear to be very much later than the eighth century, a date which has hitherto been widely accepted. Indeed, a dating in or around the twelfth century seems virtually inescapable. This should not come as a great surprise. San Lorenzo received mural decorations on numerous occasions over its long history, with many examples belonging to the period from the late eleventh to the late thirteenth centuries. In a paper at the July 2004 International Medieval Congress at Leeds, Simonetta Serra proposed that the 1148 ciborium had been constructed originally to stand over the tomb of Lawrence in the *retro sanctos* of the church, behind the apse, and not too distant from the 'chapel' discussed in this chapter. The murals would appear to be reasonably consistent with a similar date, and perhaps this moment marked a general campaign of redecoration around the shrine of the titular saint.

For a long time, the practice of art history was virtually synonymous with the practice of a kind of stylistic connoisseurship which, *pace* Morelli, was at its worst purely arbitrary or even whimsical, and even at its best rarely applied in a manner that was consciously rational. Time and time again, even the best 'eyes' have been proven highly fallible. This paper has attempted to chart a different direction, and one which offers some possible criteria to permit better and fuller use of the visual documents which have survived in medieval Rome. Beyond that narrow context, however, these principles may perhaps serve as a possible model for practice in a variety of media at a variety of times. If the practice of art history is to become more broadly respected within the humanities as a whole – indeed, possibly if it is to survive in the Academy of the future – then it needs to be thought of, and practised, not as a fine art itself, but rather as a discipline within the human sciences, and one that is more fully self-conscious of its methods and their applications.

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51   For example, L. Lazzarini, 'The Discovery of Egyptian Blue in a Roman Fresco of the Medieval Period', *Studies in Conservation*, 27 (1982): 84–6.

52   Werner Schmid, personal communication, 1 June 2004.

Chapter 9

'Ut Domus Tali Ornetur Decore' Metamorphosis of Ornamental Motifs in Anagni and Rome

Martina Bagnoli

Art historians of western art have traditionally focused their attention on the centre of pictures, on those narrative elements which are understood to be the sole carriers of meaning. Ornamentation – frames, margins, and in general non-narrative elements – was usually considered to be meaningless from the point of view of iconography. In his *The Sense of Order*, Ernst Gombrich investigated this tradition and explored the psychology of decorative art, attributing the duality in art between verbal and non-semantic elements to the beholder's perception.[1] In recent years, the canonical opposition between narrative as carrier of meaning, and ornamental elements as untouched by it, has been challenged. In a groundbreaking study, Oleg Grabar reviewed Ernst Gombrich's earlier discussion on the matter of ornament in art and, taking the art of Islam as a starting point, questioned the wisdom of classifying only representational elements as semantic while understanding all ornamental elements as decorative.[2] He argued instead for the 'performative' value of ornament, an element that enhances the performance of an object. Others, namely Baschet, Bonne, Dale, Osborne, Kupfer and Mitchell, have investigated the tension between ornamentation and narrative in medieval monumental paintings.[3]

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1   E. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order. A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*, 2nd edn (London, 1984).

2   O. Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton, 1992).

3   J. Baschet, *Lieu sacré lieu d'images. Les fresques de Bominaco (Abruzze, 1263). Thèmes, parcours, functions* (Paris, 1991); idem, 'Ornamentation et structures narrative dans les peintures de la nef de Saint Savin', in *Le role de l'ornement dans la peinture murale du Moyen Age, actes du colloque international tenu à Saint-Lizier du 1er au 4 juin 1995, colloque concu par John Ottaway*, Université de Poitiers, Centre National de la Rechèrche Scientifique (Centre d'Étude Supérieures de Civilization Médiévale, 1997), 165–76; J.-C. Bonne, 'De l'ornementation á l'ornementalité. La mosaique absidale de San Clemente de Rome', in *Le role de l'ornement*, 103–20; ibid., 'Repenser l'ornement repenser l'art médiéval', 217–20; idem, 'De l'ornemental dans l'art médiéval (vii–xii siècle). Le modèle insulaire', in J. Baschet and J.C. Schmitt (eds), *L'image. Fonction et usages des images dans l'occident médiéval* (Paris, 1996), 201–24; idem, 'Les ornements de l'histoire (á propos de l'ivoire carolingien de Saint Remi)', *Annales. Histoire, Science Sociales*, 51 (1996): 37–70; idem, '"Relève" de l'ornementation celte paienne dans un évangile insulaire du VII siècle (les évangiles de Durrow)', in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1999), 1011–53; T.E.A. Dale, 'Vers une iconologie de l'ornement dans la peinture murale romane. Le sens allégorique des tentures de la crypte de la basilique patriarchale

PIANTA SCHEMATICA DELLA CRIPTA
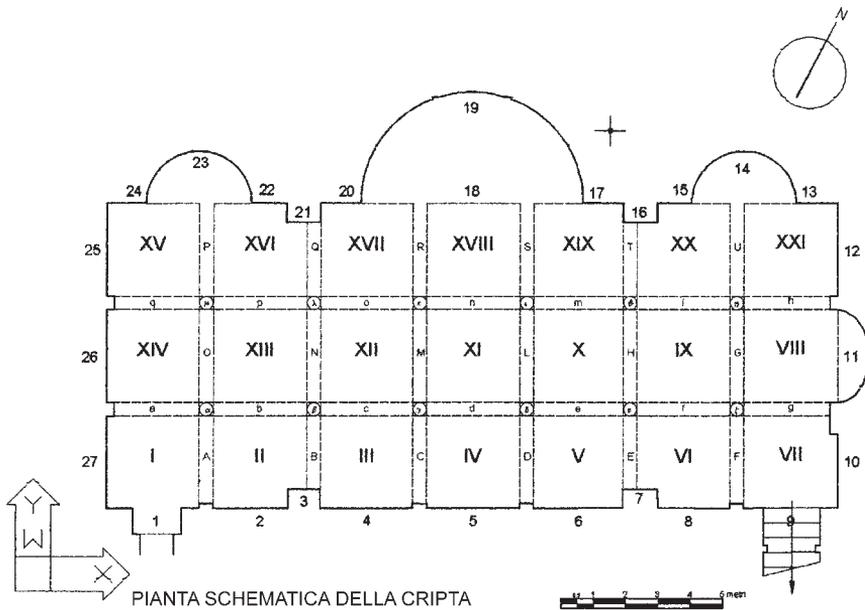
Fig. 9.1   Anagni, Duomo, map of the crypt (map: courtesy of Istituto Centrale del Restauro, Rome)

The crypt of the Duomo of Anagni offers an ideal location from which to explore the importance of ornament in Roman painting. Indeed, the large hall crypt is almost unique in the panorama of medieval wall painting in that it has preserved much of its painted decoration, including the decorative borders and ornamental registers, which serve to organize the encyclopaedic wealth of images (Figs 9.1 and 9.2).

The crypt, presumably completed at the death of Bishop Peter, the founder of the cathedral in 1105, was only decorated at least a century later by three workshops. The first, that of the so-called 'Master of the Translations', was active at the very beginning of the thirteenth century, and the second and third were working after 1231, headed respectively by the 'Ornamentation Master' and 'Frater Romanus'.[4]

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d'Aquilée', in *Le role de l'ornement*, 139–47; J. Osborne, 'The Sources of Ornamental Motifs in the Mural Decorations of Early Medieval Rome, Some Preliminary Observations', in *Le role de l'ornement*, 27–34; M. Kupfer, 'At the Edge of Narrative. The Nature of Ornament in the Romanesque Wall Painting of Central France', in *Le role de l'ornement*, 177–84; J. Mitchell, 'A Word on Ornament and its Uses', in *Le role de l'ornement*, 213–15.

4   On the architecture of the duomo, see G. Matthiae, 'Le fasi costruttive della Cattedrale di Anagni', *Palladio*, 6 (1953): 41–8, and recently D. Fiorani, 'La cripta e la cattedrale, annotazioni sull'architettura', in *Un universo di simboli. Gli affreschi della cripta nella cattedrale di Anagni* (Rome, 2001), 9–26. The dating of the frescoes in the crypt is controversial. Miklos Boskovits was the first to put forward the idea of two different campaigns: see his 'Gli affreschi del Duomo di Anagni: Un capitolo di pittura romana', *Paragone*, 30 (1979): 3–41. This hypothesis is confirmed by Alessandro Bianchi, 'Resoconto del restauro, della storia conservative e cenni sulle tecniche

Fig. 9.2   Anagni, Duomo, view of the crypt (photo: Istituto Centrale per il
                Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)

The paintings cover the masonry structure in its entirety and consist of more than
seventy scenes, including hagiographic narratives, scientific diagrams, an apocalyptic
sequence, and stories taken from the first Book of Kings. The crypt is also known as
the Cripta di San Magno because it sheltered the relics of St Magnus, patron saint of
the town of Anagni.

        To make sense of such rich and disparate material, the medieval viewer needed a tight
visual structure that allowed her or him to group and catalogue the scenes according to
their textual sources and sequence in the cycle. Accordingly, the decorative borders and
frames mark the limits of the narration and present it in a linear sequence. However,
this is not the only goal of ornamentation, which multiplies in myriad strands to fill
every possible space and disorient the spectator. The pervasiveness of ornamentation
that one finds at Anagni is quite common in Romanesque mural painting, as Demus
has shown;[5] the sense of rapture and bedazzlement created by the decorative apparatus
compounded by the brilliant colours is ultimately what Meyer Schapiro identified as the

esecutive', in *Un universo di simboli*, 27–38; idem, 'Lo stato degli studi', in A. Bianchi (ed.), *Il restauro
della cripta di Anagni* (Roma, 2003), 49–76. For a debate on dating, see my 'The Medieval Frescoes
in the Crypt of the Duomo of Anagni' (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1998),
9–21; eadem, 'I miracoli di San Magno: Inventione e Tradizione', in *Il restauro della cripta*, 183–94.
For the identification of the third master as Frater Romanus, known for his work in the chapel of
San Gregorio at Subiaco, see Bianchi, 'Stato degli studi'.

    5   O. Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, 2nd edn (Munich, 1992), 29.

aestheticism of medieval art, and which finds an echo in many contemporary accounts.[6] In his *Gemma Animae*, Honorius of Autun tells us that one of the roles of painting in a church is 'ut domus tali decore ornetur', to ornate appropriately the house of God.[7] In his book on the frescoes of Bominaco, Jerôme Baschet argued convincingly that Honorius' statement refers to the religious function of frescoes in churches, which he links with the celestial values attributed in the medieval period to colours. According to the author, the transformation of the church through the frescoes into a 'totalité colorée' emanates a sense of the sacred through the bedazzling luminescence of the colours. Baschet's idea is supported by twelfth-century witnesses. In his description of Lanfranc's new church at Canterbury, William of Malmesbury affirms that 'in the multicoloured paintings an admirable art ravished the heart by the alluring splendour of the colours and drew all eyes to the ceilings by the charm of its beauty'.[8] The ascent towards the ceiling, usually the site for representation of heaven, reflects the idea of elevation from a corporeal to a spiritual apprehension of divinity. William accomplished this upward mental thrust, unconsciously at first, taken by the sheer beauty of the images he was looking at. According to Bruno of Segni, the decoration of churches lifted them from earth and closer to heaven.[9] Thus, the sensual appeal of ornamentation can actually be discussed in terms of distinct modes of vision. As Suger suggested in his fluent and famous defence of the splendour of the *escrin* de Charlemagne, it was the bedazzling effect of the precious stones that carried him away from the world and closer to God.[10] In this context, then, ornament belongs both to the realm of the sign and that of the form. It appeals to the senses, engaging the attention of the faithful

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6   M. Schapiro, 'On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art', in K. B. Lyer (ed.), *Art and Thought: Issued in Honor of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, 1947, 130–50, repr. in idem, *Romanesque Art* (New York, 1977), 1–27.

7   Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma Animae*, 132, pl. 172, 586C: 'Laquearium picturae sunt exempla justorum, quae Ecclesiae repraesentant ornamentum morum. Ob tres autem causas fit pictura: primo, quia est laicorum litteratura; secundo, ut domus tali decore ornetur; tertio, ut priorum vita in memoriam revocetur' ('The paintings of the ceilings are the examples of the righteous, which represent the ornament of the customs of the church. Therefore paintings exist for three reasons: first, because they are the literature of the laity; second, so that the house (of God) is decorated appropriately; third, so that the life of the ancestors is brought back to memory').

8   *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N.E. Hamilton (London, 1870), 1/43: 69–70; unfortunately, I could not obtain the recent William of Malmesbury, *The Deeds of The Bishops of England (Gesta Pontificum Anglorum)*, ed. D. Preest (Woodbridge, 2003).

9   Bruno of Segni, *Sententiae* II, Ch. 12, Pls. 154, 941A: 'Quando vero spei ornamentum manifestatur, tunc tota ecclesia in contemplationem erigitur, et a terrenis ad coelestia sublimatur' ('Truly when the ornament of hope is visible then the whole church is lifted in contemplation, and is raised from the earthly to the heavenly').

10   E. Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint Denis and its Art Tresaures*, 2nd edn (Princeton, 1979); C. Rudolph, *Artistic Change at Saint Denis, Abbot Suger's Program and the Twelfth Century Controversy about Art* (Princeton, 1990), and idem, *"The Things of Greater Importance". Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia, 1990).

and filling it with sensual beauty as a preparation for perceiving God with the mind's eyes.[11]

Therefore, it is possible to distinguish three ways in which ornamentation works in the crypt of Anagni: firstly, it constitutes a threshold, allowing entrance into the spiritual world; secondly, it structures the narrative, providing its temporal and geographical boundaries; and lastly, it glosses the painted narrative of the crypt through a subtle integration of centre and periphery, enlarging the discourse it encloses. In this chapter, each of these categories will be analyzed in turn. The Anagni paintings will be compared with contemporary Roman painting to show that the system of ornamentation in the crypt is deeply rooted in the Roman tradition. Moreover, some of these Roman standard motifs, which at Anagni are transformed into symbolically charged ornamentation, will be identified and then used again in the painted programmes of the churches of Rome.

Thresholds

The decoration begins on the floor in the crypt, which is entirely paved with cosmatesque *opus sectile*. The splendour of the pavement is carried onto the walls where it becomes painted faux marble in the socle (Fig. 9.3).

Painted faux marbles are very common in Roman mural painting and can be seen as a poor man's version of the late antique and Byzantine custom of embellishing important buildings with marble revetment, for example the basilica of Junius Bassus (later transformed into the church of Sant' Andrea in Catabarbara) and the basilica of Santa Sabina.[12] This tradition never quite died in Rome and emerged again, for example, in the late-thirteenth-century refurbishment of the Sancta Sanctorum, where the lower walls are covered in marble up to the base of the windows.[13] Like the real marble, the painted decoration is there to make the building more precious and thus befitting to the house of God. In Anagni, therefore, the embellishment of the walls with fictive *opus sectile* is used in the socle to prepare the walls to receive the sacred stories that in the crypt, as in many other churches, start right above this register.

The episcopal chair in the crypt also serves as a threshold (Fig. 9.4).

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11   On spiritual seeing, see H.L. Kessler, 'Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision', in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa tra tarda antichità e alto medioevo. Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 45 (Spoleto, 1998), 1157–211, repr. in idem, *Spiritual Seeing. Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia, 2000), 104–48. For the importance of the sensory mind to achieve meditation, see M. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought. Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 2008), 139.

12   R. Krautheimer, *Roma. Profilo di una città, 312–1308* (Rome, 1981), 48–60.

13   *Sancta Sanctorum* (Milan, 1995); H. Kessler and J. Zacharias, *Rome 1300. On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven, 2000), 46.
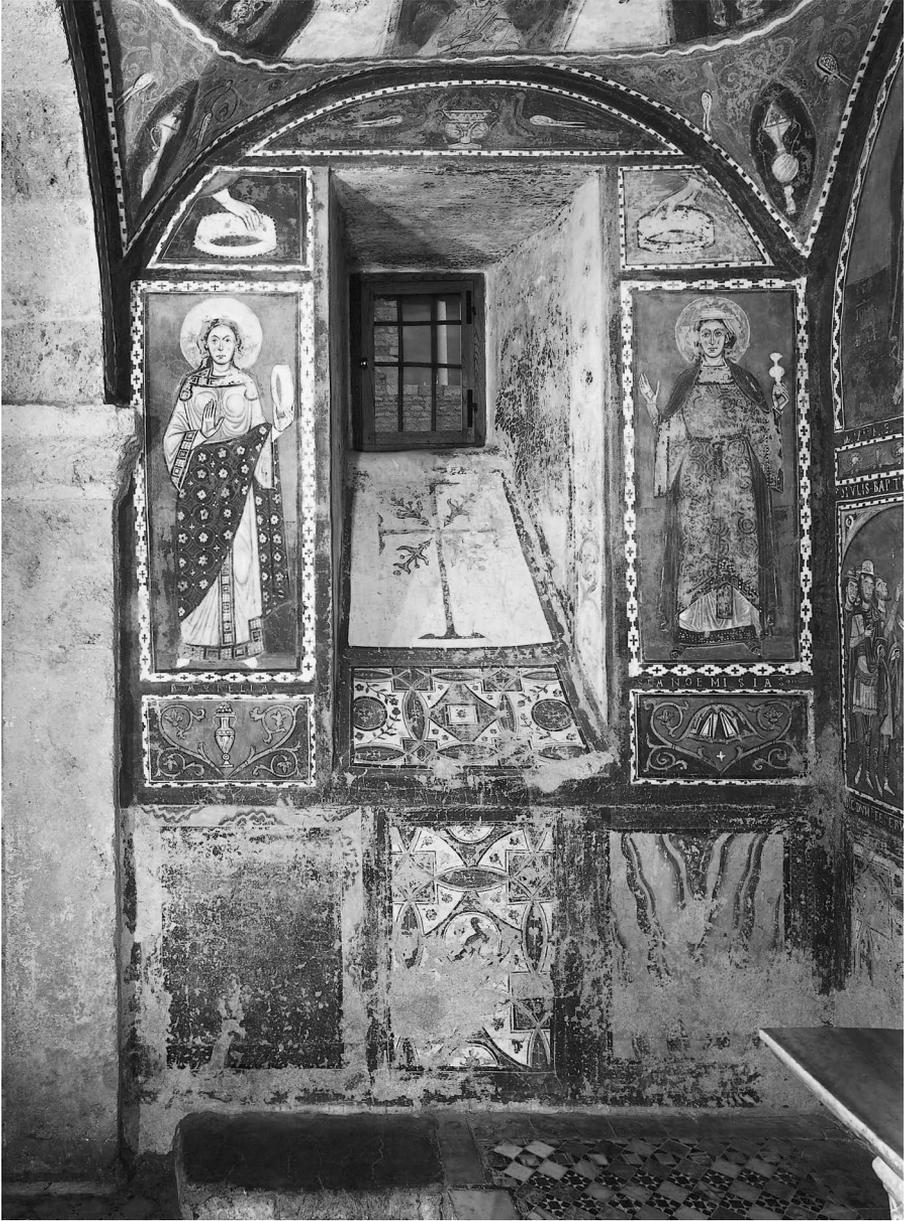
Fig. 9.3   Anagni, Duomo, south wall of the crypt (photo: Istituto Centrale per il
Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)

Fig. 9.4   Anagni, Duomo, crypt apse, detail of episcopal chair (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)

It differs from contemporary episcopal seats because, rather than being carved in marble, it is a simple wooden bench whose back is painted on the wall.[14] The fresco reproduces carefully the back of a contemporary cosmatesque chair, complete with a marble disk with the monogram of Christ and an elaborate cosmatesque frame. The fact that the throne is partly merged with the apsidal frescoes is significant because it links the episcopal chair in the apse with the images above, namely the Agnus Dei in the conch and the apocalyptic Ancient of Days in the vault (Figs 9.4 and 9.5).

Fig. 9.5   Anagni, Duomo, crypt apse, with Agnus Dei in conch and Ancient of Days in vault (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)

The simple wooden seat of the chair itself resembles the throne of God as illustrated in contemporary art, for example in the twelfth-century mosaics at Grottaferrata.[15]

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14   On Roman episcopal chairs, see F. Gandolfo, 'Reimpiego di sculture antiche nei troni papali del xii secolo', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti*, ser. 3, 47 (1974–75): 203–18; idem, 'La cattedra papale in età federiciana', in M.A. Romanini (ed.), *Federico II e l'arte del duecento italiano* (Galatina, 1980), 339–66; idem, 'Simbolismo antiquario e potere papale', in *Studi Romani*, 29 (1981): 9–28. The fact that the plaster of the frescoes covers the wood of the bench where the latter touches the wall shows that the chair was placed in the apse before the frescoes were painted. I wish to thank Alessandro Bianchi for sharing this information with me.

15   For the decoration of Grottaferrata, see G. Matthiae, *Pittura Romana nel Medioevo. Aggiornamento scientifico e bibliografico di Maria Andaloro e Francesco Gandolfo*, 2 vols (Rome, 1987**),** 2:83; M. Andaloro, 'La decorazione pittorica medioevale di Grottaferrata e il suo perduto contesto',

That the episcopal chair was understood to signify the throne of God is, moreover, underscored by the contact between its painted back and the actual window, where a hand of God (top) and a cross (bottom) appear on the embrasure.[16] The idea that the bishop's throne was the image of that of God appears in twelfth-century thought, for example in Bruno of Segni.[17] Thus, when one reads this section of the crypt vertically, it presents an image of Chapter 5 of the Apocalypse with elements of the Hetoimasia blended into it, an occurrence quite common in book illumination.[18] In this respect, we find at Anagni a situation similar to that of the presbytery of Old St Peter's after Innocent III remodelled it. There, too, the episcopal chair was directly below and, therefore, associated with the Hetoimasia figured in the apse above.[19] However, whereas at St Peter's the episcopal chair was a real piece of liturgical furniture made of heavy marble, the seat at Anagni is disembodied, first through the dematerialization of the physical chair into the painting of the wall, then through its disintegration by the light of the window, where the cross and the hand of God summarize the story of Salvation and the passage from body (the cross at the base of the embrasure) to the spirit (the hand of God at the top). This process of dematerialization creates a clear thematic axis, moving from the topical to the universal and the spiritual, associating the bishop sitting on the *sedes* to the *doctores* mentioned in the apse's *titulus*. In the apse fresco, the latter are portrayed celebrating the appearance of the Lamb of God, and are identified by a titulus: 'HOS VETUS ET NOVA LEX DOCTORES CONTULIT EVI' (Fig.

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in M.A. Romanini (ed.), *Roma Anno 1300* (Rome, 1983), 253–88; V. Pace, 'La chiesa abbaziale di Grottaferrata e la sua decorazione nel medioevo', in *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, 41 (1987): 47–87; H.L. Kessler, '"Caput et Speculum Omnium Ecclesiarum"; Old Saint Peter's and the Church Decoration of Medieval Latin', in W. Tronzo (ed.), *Italian Church Decoration in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Bologna, 1989), 135–44.

16   The association between light and divinity was common at this time; see H.P. l'Orange, 'Lux Aeterna: L'adorazione della luce nell'arte tardo antica e alto medievale', *Atti delle Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti*, 47 (1974–75): 191–201.

17   'Sedes epicopalis, quae thronus divertur est sedes judiciariae potestatis et significat thronum dei' ('The bishop's seat, which is different from a throne, is the seat of judgement [judicial power] and it means the throne of God'). This excerpt is taken from the Vatican Codex, Vat. Lat. 5046, which combines various thoughts of Bruno of Segni. The Codex was transcribed in the eighteenth century; see Philippus Zazzera, *SS. Ecclesiae rituum divinorumque officiorum explicatio. Ab anonimo saeculi XII scriptores elucubrata ex vaticano codice n. 5046, nunc primo edita* (Rome, 1784). Réginald Gregoire edited this text: *Bruno of Segni. Exegète médiéval et théologien monastique* (Spoleto, CISAM, 1965), 105–6.

18   For example, in the Roda Bible, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 6, vol. VI, fol. 105v. See P. Klein, 'Der Apokalypse-Zyklus der Roda Bible und seine Stellung in der iconographischen Tradition', *Archivo Español de Arqueologia*, 45–7 (1972–74): 267–333.

19   M. Andaloro and S. Romano, 'L'immagine nell'abside', in Andaloro and Romano (eds), *Arte e Iconografia a Roma* (Milan, 2002), 96. The similarity between the decoration of Anagni and the remodelled apse in St Peter's is even more compelling when one considers that both date to the pontificate of Innocent III.

20   On San Clemente and its apse, see Matthiae, *Pittura Romana*, 2:53–9, 263–5; H. Toubert, 'Le renouveau paléochrétien á Rome au début du XII siècle', in *Un Art Dirigé*, *reforme grégorienne et iconographie* (Paris, 1990), 239–310; Bonne, 'De l'ornementation à l'ornementalité'; E. Parlato and S. Romano, *Roma e Lazio: il Romanico* (Milan, 2001), 40–43.

9.5). In the same way, in the upper church of San Clemente, Rome, the inscription of the Gloria on the triumphal arch interpolates a reference to *thronum*, which may be taken to refer to both the celestial vision of the Pantocrator, visible at the top of the triumphal arch amid the living creatures, and the actual papal throne in the apse below.[20] In the Lateran basilica, the episcopal seat is decorated with reliefs that refer to the four evil animals of Psalm 90/91 'Qui habitat' (Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem); thus, the cathedra identifies the pope sitting on this chair with Christ treading his enemies under his feet. At Anagni, the association with the *doctores* of the apse's *titulus* is strengthened by its contiguity with the window, commonly interpreted as a symbol of the doctors of the church.[20] Moreover, since the faux cosmatesque back is part of the painted decoration of the socle, it serves as ornamentation which activates the vertical progression and acts as threshold, marking an entry into the spiritual world of the pictures.

Boundaries of Heaven

Ornamentation as geographical locator of narrative scenes is quite frequent in Roman monumental narrative. This is the case of the border of gemstones which appears consistently around the apses of Roman churches and also in their crypts, where it delimits the outer periphery of the left apse. Painted gemstones associated the apse with the heavenly Jerusalem resplendent of gems (Rev. 21:10–21): the boundaries of the apse as well as those of the heavenly city are made of precious stones. The reason for this association lies in the identification of the church with the heavenly Jerusalem, within which the space around the apse was the holiest by virtue of its proximity to the altar. Hence, this was the space dedicated to theophanic representations.[21]

Fictive architectural details and illusionistic borders could also work as indicators of location. This is the case for the painted consoles which copy those that stood under the roof in real buildings: for example, at Anagni, on the exterior wall around the apses.[22] In Roman painting, consoles usually mark the upper margin of narrative scenes, where they functioned in lieu of a roof to provide closure.[23] In the crypt, the border of consoles is used in the central apse to separate the stories of St Magnus' translations in the wall from the image of the adoration of the twenty-four elders in

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20   For example, in Bruno of Segni, *De Ornamentis Ecclesiae*, Pl. 215, 896: Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma Animae*, Ch. 130, Pl. 172, 586; Sicardus of Cremona*, Mytrale*, Pl. 213, 20.

21   Bruno of Segni, *Sententiae*, Liber I, Ch. IV, Pl. 155.

22   These are particularly visible on the exterior wall of the west end around the central apse.

23   The earliest known extant example of consoles as an upper margin of the narrative are in the church of San Martino ai Monti, dated by Wilpert to the ninth century – see J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV–XII. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg, 1976), I, pl. 206, 2–3 and I/2, 330 – followed later by those of San Giovanni at Porta Latina and San Pietro in Valle at Ferentillo in the twelfth century. See S. Romano, 'I pittori romani e la tradizione', in *Arte e Iconografia*, 120. To these early examples one should add the very illusionistic border appearing at the top of the transept of Santa Maria Maggiore painted at the time of Nicholas IV (pope 1288–92).

the conch, thereby dividing the realm of man on earth from that of God above and signalling the opening of heaven. The idea illustrated in the central apse, then, is that of a roof opening up into heaven. Birds and liturgical hanging crowns in the console frieze stress its nature as the boundary of heaven, because birds were intended to represent the human soul free of the constraints of the flesh and crowns were an image of the heavenly Jerusalem.[24] It is interesting to note that in the twelfth-century mosaics of Monreale a border of consoles in the presbytery areas separates the lower region of the wall, dedicated to portraits of saints and apostles, from the upper one, where angels and cherubims reside. The correspondence with Monreale is interesting for two reasons: firstly, it reaffirms Anagni's indebtedness to the Sicilian mosaics, and secondly, it points to the crypt as a place for experimentation with material new to the local Roman tradition.[25] In fact, it is worth pondering whether it was the example set at Anagni which helped introduce the idea of consoles as a divider between earthly and heavenly realms in the painting of Rome. There, a large gothic hall, part of the palatial complex of Santi Quattro Coronati, was decorated around 1250/60 by the third Anagni workshop, which used consoles to separate the lower part of the wall dedicated to the labours of the months – earthly manual labours – from the intellectual occupations of the liberal arts depicted above.[26]

Another example of the crypt's new use of ornament as a geographical boundary is presented by arch A between vault I and vault II that contains several little figures variously engaged in aquatic activities (Figs 9.1 and 9.6).

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24   Bruno of Segni, *Sententiae*, 968; Honorius Augustodunensis*, Gemma Animae*, Ch. 141, 588.

25   For the Sicilian Mosaics, see O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1950); E. Kitzinger, *I mosaici del periodo normanno in Sicilia*, fsc. 3, *II Duomo di Monreale* (Palermo, 1992–2000); E. Borsook, *Messages in Mosaics. The Royal Programs of Norman Sicily, 1130–1187* (Oxford, 1990).

26   A. Draghi, 'Il ciclo di affreschi reinvenuto nel convento dei Ss. Quattro Coronati a Roma: Un capitolo inedito della pittura romana del duecento', *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, 54:3, ser. 22 (1999–2001): 115–66.

Fig. 9.6   Anagni Duomo, crypt, Arch A with nilotic landscape (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)

Such Nilotic landscapes are a traditional motif in late antique Roman painting, where they came to be understood as a reference to the ocean; this usage carried over in Romanesque Italian art, where the motif often appears in pavement mosaics, as in the church of San Savino at Piacenza.[27] In the crypt, the content of the previous vault,

27   Late antique examples include the villa of the Nile at Leptis Magna, now in the Museum of Tripoli. See R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *La fin de L'Art Antique* (Paris, 1971), 262, fig. 240. André Grabar pointed out the nature of the Nilotic landscape as the celestial sea in his article 'La mér céleste dans l'iconographie carolingienne et romane', *Bullettin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1957): 98–100; on this theme, see the very important contribution of Henry Maguire, *Earth and Ocean. The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park and London, 1987). For San Savino, see R. Salvini, *La basilica di San Savino e le origini del romanico a Piacenza* (Modena, 1978); W. Tronzo, 'Moral Hieroglyphs: Chess and Dice at San Savino in Piacenza', *Gesta*, 16:2

which carries an image of the zodiac pictured as a schematic representation of the world, classifies the ocean on the arch as the *finis terrae*.[28] The identification of the sea with the boundaries of the earth derives from Scripture; after God separated light and darkness, He created 'a vault in the waters to divide the waters in two … God made the vault in the waters to divide the waters above from the waters under the vault' (Genesis 1:7–8). This is the reason why in medieval iconography schematic representations of the earth are often circumscribed by the oceans' wavy profile, for example in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo.[29] Arch A in the crypt at Anagni delimits the vault not only physically, but also metaphorically, as it associates the strip of the architecture with the idea of boundaries inherent in its position at the margin of the representation of the cosmos. The identification of the Nilotic landscape with the upper boundary of earth and the lower edge of heaven gains some currency in later Roman painting in the course of the second half of the thirteenth century, when one finds it, for example, in the lower painted border in the apse of the church of San Clemente, and in the lower region of the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore.[30] Again, it seems possible that the transmission of this motif from Anagni to Rome occurred via the third workshop of Anagni, which at Santi Quattro Coronati introduces the Nilotic landscape as a divider between the celestial bodies in the vault from the liberal arts underneath.

Borders can be used also as temporal markers; this is the case of the fluted painted columns topped by acanthus capitals that frame the majestic image of Christ enthroned (Fig. 9.7).

Painted architecture of this kind is not new at Anagni. Years ago, Demus pointed out how painted architecture is one of the most salient characteristics of Romanesque painting.[31] The fluted columns derive from those made of stucco used to articulate the wall surface in Roman buildings and appear with some frequency in eleventh- and twelfth-century Roman painting, as at Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella and San Crisogono.[32]

(1977): 15–26; C.E. Nicklies, 'Cosmology and the Labors of the Months at Piacenza: The Crypt Mosaics of San Savino', *Gesta*, 34:2 (1995): 108–25; and N. Meiri-Dann, 'Twelfth-Century North Italian Mosaic Pavements: Are They Really Marginal?', in N. Kenaan-Kedar and A. Ovadiah (eds), *The Metamorphosis of Marginal Images: From Antiquity to Present Time* (Tel Aviv, 2001), 183–94. For a summary of this motif in art and a diverging view as to its meaning in the crypt see my 'The Medieval Frescoes', 85–90. Recently, Lorenzo Cappelletti offered a different reading of this section of the crypt: *Gli Affreschi della Cripta di Anagnina. Iconologia* (Roma, 2002), 59.

28   For an analysis of vault I, see Bagnoli, 'Le fonti e i documenti per l'indagine iconografica', in *Un universo di simboli*, 71–86.

29   Demus, *Mosaics*, fig. 26A; Borsook, *Messages*, 31, fig. 47.

30   On the painted strip in the San Clemente apse, see Parlato and Romano, *Roma e Lazio*, 43. For Santa Maria Maggiore, see Andaloro and Romano, 'L'immagine nell'abside', fig. 75.

31   Demus, *Wandmalerei*, 32.

32   P. Williamson, 'Notes on the Wall Paintings in Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella, Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 42 (1987): 224–8; K. Noreen, 'Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella: Eleventh-century Roman Wall Paintings and the Sanctity of Martyrdom' (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1998); eadem, 'Lay Involvement and the Creation of Sanctity during the Gregorian Reform: The case of Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella, Rome', *Gesta*, 40 (2001): 39–59. For the frescoes of San Crisogono, see B. Brenk, 'Die Benediktszenes in San Crisogono und Montecassino', *Arte Medievale*, 2 (1984): 57–65; Matthiae, *Pittura Romana*, 1:200–201.

Fig. 9.7   Anagni, Duomo, crypt, west wall (wall 5), Christ enthroned (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)

Toubert, Brenk, Tronzo, Romano and others have argued for the symbolic character of this type of retrieval of late antique ornamental motifs, aimed at instilling the ideas of the *Renovatio Romae*.[33] This is true at Anagni too, where fluted columns locate in time the image they frame, providing historical authenticity for it.[34] The deployment of antique columns claims the antiquity of the prototype for the portrait of Christ on the west wall (wall 5; see map, Fig. 9.1), which copies a real icon whose origin was believed to be at the beginning of Christian history. The icon which the wall portrait reproduces was a celebrated one in Anagni, taken in procession to the cathedral during the feast of the Assumption on 15 August.[35] That icon, in turn, repeated the liturgical usage of the Lateran *acheropoieton* icon of Christ, which travelled annually on the same date from the Lateran to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore.[36] The presence of copies of the Lateran icon in different villages of Latium reinforced the unity of the *Ecclesia Romana* in the same way that the framing columns reinforce the antiquity and *romanitas* of the image they contain.

Ornamentation can also delimit the time before and after Salvation and, in so doing, can pinpoint the meaning of the narrative. On the west wall (wall 4; see map, Fig. 9.1), fictive curtains (*vela*) decorate the lower edge (Fig. 9.8).

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33   Toubert, 'Le renouveau paléochrétien'; Romano, 'I pittori romani'; W. Tronzo, 'On the Role of Antiquity in Medieval Art: Frames and Framing Devices', in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego*, 1085–111.

34   On columns and their symbolism, see J. Onians, *Bearers of meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1988).

35   Bagnoli, 'The Medieval Frescoes', 276. I presented this material in a paper, 'From Icon to Portrait: The Case of Anagni', delivered at the 88th annual CAA conference in New York, 2000. This paper developed from the discussion initiated by Serena Romano in a conference given at Johns Hopkins University in 1998. During this conference, entitled 'From Icon to Portrait: Nicholas III and the Sancta Sanctorum in Rome', Romano pointed out the importance of the *acheropoieton* icon of the Lateran for the image of Pope Nicholas III in the Sancta Sanctorum. Romano has since published this and other findings in 'Cristo, l'antico e Niccolò III', *Römische Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 34 (2001/2002; published 2004), 41–68.

36   On the Lateran icon and its importance in Roman liturgy and church decoration, see: E. Kitzinger, 'A Virgin's Face: Antiquarianism in Twelfth-Century Art', *Art Bulletin*, 62 (1980): 87–102; W. Tronzo, 'Apse Decoration, Liturgy and the Perception of Art in Medieval Rome: Santa Maria Maggiore', in *Italian Church Decoration*, 167–93; H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (Chicago, 1994), 372; G. Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani: Studien zur Geschichte des Roemischen Kultbildes im Mittelalter* (Weinheim, 1990); S. Romano, 'L'acheropita lateranense: Le repliche del Salvatore nel Lazio', in G. Morello and G. Wolf (eds), *Il volto di Cristo*, exhibition catalogue (Milan, 2000), 45–60; and E. Parlato, 'La processione di ferragosto e l'acheropita del Sancta Sanctorum', *Il volto di Cristo*, 51–2.
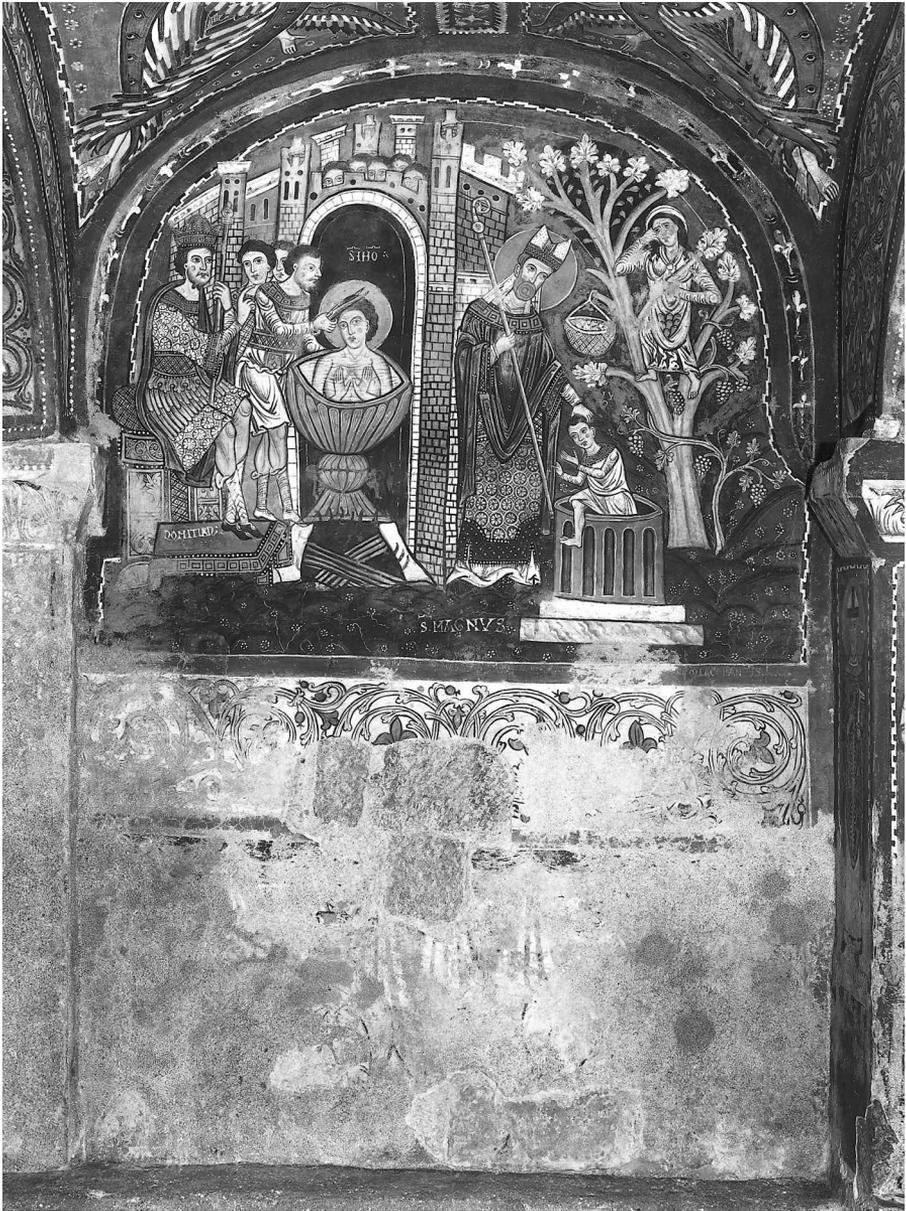
Fig. 9.8   Anagni, Duomo, crypt, west wall (wall 4), miracles of Magnus and fictive vela (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)

In the narrative register above, St Magnus' rescue of a child fallen into a well is associated with the failed martyrdom of St John the Evangelist. The miracle of Magnus is apocryphal and tells the story of Paterniano di Leone, who fell in a well while picking fruit from a tree and was rescued by Magnus.[37] The episode of St John refers to Domitian's failed attempt to execute the evangelist by condemning him to be thrown into a vat of boiling oil, from which the saint emerged unscathed. In both stories, a sure death is avoided through divine intervention and the illustrations are structured so as to point towards the idea of resurrection. This is accomplished by a clever combination of visual and narrative clues. Visually, the reference to the afterlife is made real by the quotation of an existing object associated at the time with the Resurrection: the well from which Magnus rescues the child alludes to that in use in the northern porch of the cathedral for penitential ablutions. Narrative elements, too, stress this point with the choice of specific iconographic models that are symbolically associated with the Resurrection, such as the quotation of a tradition of imagery of the baptism of Paul for the martyrdom of St John and of the episode of Zaccheus in the sycamore tree for the miracle of Paterniano.[38] These events are crowned by the appearance of the four tetramorphs in the vault above; with their human feet, their animal faces and their wings covered with eyes, they combine the appearance of Ezekiel's cherubim (Ezek. 1:4–24, 10:1–22) with that of Isaiah's seraphim[39] (Isaiah 6:1–4). In Ezekiel (Ezek. 1:8), Isaiah (Is. 6:1) and in the Apocalypse (Rev. 4:6), these angels are symbols of God's immaterial presence. In his *Sententiae*, Bruno of Segni discusses cherubim and seraphim as embodiments of the Lord's wisdom that will teach us how to fly to attain superior and celestial things: the faithful too will be transformed into birds once they have been regenerated in the water of salvation.[40] Thus, the viewer looking at the section of the crypt from bottom to top passes from a time of salvation (wall) to a time of revelation (vault), when he will be able to apprehend God. The fictive curtains that decorate the socle play into this spiritual progression and mark the time before salvation when the beholder is still unable to 'see' the truth. They reproduce the curtains that throughout the Middle Ages were used to screen off the nave from the presbytery or hung around

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37   The miracle of Paterniano is not narrated in the hagiographic literature concerning St Magnus and appears for the first time in an eighteenth-century treatise on Anagni's saints, which quotes the paintings on the crypt as the main sources of information. See on this my 'I miracoli di San Magno ad Anagni. Invenzione e tradizione', in Bianchi (ed.), *Il restauro della cripta*, 183–94.

38   The martyrdom of John is modelled upon the baptism of Paul as it appears in the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, whereas the screaming mother on the tree, in the miracle of the child saved from the well, is copied after images of Zaccheus in the sycamore tree (Luke 19:1–10). See my 'I miracoli di San Magno'.

39   This combination appears also at Monreale. The Sicilian cycle is quite important as a source of pictorial models for the second master active in this section of the crypt: see my 'I miracoli di San Magno'. For Monreale, see Demus, *Mosaics*, 114.

40   Bruno of Segni, *Sententiae*, III, Pl. 165, 968C: 'Omnia elementa nos volare docent, omnia nos ad superiora et coelestia provocant. […] iam aves facti sumus quia in aquis regenerati sumus' ('Every element teaches us to fly, every element solicits us to rise to superior and heavenly things […] now we are made birds because in the water we are regenerated'). On the tetramorphs in general, see J. Delgado Gomez, 'Un tetramorpho en Eiré (Lugo) extraordinario unicum romanico', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 53:209 (1980): 57–68.

the ciborium. By analogy with the Temple curtains (Exodus 26:31) and Paul's exegesis of it (Hebrews 10:10), these hangings or *vela* were seen as the veil of flesh through which God revealed himself to us in the figure of Christ.[41] The flesh of Christ, as the *velum* of the Temple, hides from our view the divine splendour of God, until that time when we will be able to see God face to face. In his popular *Ordo*, the twelfth-century liturgist Beleth explains that it is for this reason that, during Lent, curtains were hung around the sanctuary, and opened on Easter Day.[42] In this way, the mystery of future salvation when 'the blessed will see the King, resplendent in his glory' was staged with the help of the allegorically charged curtains.[43] In the crypt of Aquileia, fictive curtains function as an 'allegorical veil' containing images of spiritual warfare whose message is compounded by the meaningfulness of the medium.[44] In the nave of the Collegiata of San Gimignano, mural paintings were also part of the Lenten staging of Revelation and the large Crucifixion fresco was covered by a long curtain during Lent; it was removed on Easter Day during the liturgy of the Mass.[45] This is not to say that fictive curtains, quite

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41   On the theme of the veil as a metaphor of the Revelation of the Old Testament through the New, see J.K. Eberlein, '*Apparitio Regis – Revelatio Veritatis'. Studien zur Darstellungen des Vorhangs in der Bildenden Kunst von der Spätantike is zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden, 1982); idem, 'The Curtains in Raphel's Sistine Madonna', *Art Bulletin*, 65 (1983): 60–77; H.L. Kessler, 'Through the Temple Veil: The Holy Image in Judaism and Christianity', *Kairos. Zeitschrift fur Judaistik und Religionwissenschaft*, 32 & 33 (1990–91): 53–77; idem, 'Medieval Art as Argument', in B. Cassidy (ed.), *Iconography at the Crossroads* (Princeton, 1993), 59–70; repr. in idem, *Spiritual Seeing*, 53–63; idem, 'Facies Bibliothecae Revelata: Carolingian Art as Spiritual Seeing', in *Testo e Immagine nell'Alto Medioevo*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studio dell'Alto Medioevo 41 (Spoleto, 1994), 533–94, repr. in *Spiritual Seeing*, 149–89.

42   John Beleth, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, 115, Pl. 202, 89D: 'Duo tamen vela retinentur, quorum alterum ponitur per chori circuitum, alterum suspenditur inter altare et chorum, ut non appareant quae sunt intra sancta sanctorum. Quo quidem significatur mentibus infidelium divinarum scripturarum intelligentiam nondum esse apertam. Haec duo vela diebus Dominicis complicantur, quod hi dies ad tempus Paschalis pertineant. Sic quoque ad primas tenebras, quartae videlicet feriae ante Pascha, ubi de morte domini agitur, omnino renoventur, quoniam eo mortuo velum templi scissum est, ita ut tunc quae intra sancta sanctorum delituerant, primo omnibus fuerint manifesta' ('However two veils will be kept, one of which is put all around the choir, the other is suspended between the altar and the choir so that the things that are in the holy of holies are not manifest. Indeed through this it is meant how the knowledge of divine scripture was yet not released to the mind of the unfaithful. Those two veils are folded up on Sundays, as those days relate to the time of Easter. So also especially at night, the fourth day before Easter, when it is dealt with the death of the Lord, everything is completely renewed, because when He died the veil of the temple was torn, so that those things that were hidden inside the holy of holy for the first time were revealed to everybody').

43   Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma Animae*, 46, Pl. 172, 90D: 'In Pasqua velum aufertur … quia in resurrectione omnia nuda et aperta erunt, ubi beati regem gloriae in decore suo videbunt' ('At Easter the veil is lifted … because with the resurrection everything will be laid bare and open, when the blessed will see the king of glory in his ornament').

44   T.E.A. Dale, *Relics, Prayers and Politics in Medieval Venetia. Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral* (Princeton, 1997), 66–76.

45   C.G. Mann, 'From Creation to the End of Time: The Nave Frescoes of San Gimignano's Collegiata and the Structure of Civic Devotion' (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 2002), 233.

common in Roman monumental painting, are always to be interpreted symbolically;[46] only that in this section of the crypt, in the context of a clear thematic narrative axis, they invoke an intrinsic symbolism and participate in the stories they frame, standing at the beginning of a spiritual journey. The passage from a time of spiritual blindness to a time of spiritual seeing is underscored by the leafy scroll carrying fruits and flowers that bridges the *vela* and the miracles. In Christian art, the blossoming vine scroll (often, as here, depicted as acanthus), became associated with paradise and therefore stood as a sign of rebirth and eternal life.[47] Thus, the scroll frames the stories of miraculous salvation, placing them in a different realm from the fictive curtains below where the *velum* of flesh still covers the onlooker's eyes. In the narrative, the importance of seeing is stressed by the number of people looking over the city wall onto the martyrdom of John, an episode which in itself was a sign of the divine revelation.

Glossing the Frames

Vault V presents an interesting example of how the borders are used to gloss the biblical narrative (Fig. 9.9).

The vault depicts the events that lead to the election of Saul as King of Israel (1 Sam. 8:4, 10).[48] The picture field is divided into four panels by a thick vegetal band that follows the diagonal thrust of the vault and defines its ribs. The fictive ribs are instrumental in separating different narrative moments, coupled two by two in triangular fields, which direct the viewer's gaze to the section directly above it. Compositions and repetitions of the same details strengthen the correspondence thus established. For example, the episode of the Israelites asking Samuel for a king (1 Sam. 8:5) is directly associated with the banquet at Samuel's house (1 Sam. 9:22–5). In both scenes, an altar occupies the centre of the picture. In the first instance, Samuel's position, his head turned away from the altar in the middle, clearly indicates that both God and Samuel are displeased with the sons of Israel. The Israelites' request for a king and their rejection of God is stressed by the fact that the bust of Christ in the centre of the vault is turned upside down, away from the Israelites' ingratitude. The appearance of the bust

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46   On textile in churches and their painted imitations, see J. Osborne, 'Textiles and their Painted Imitations in Medieval Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 60 (1992): 309–51; idem, 'The Sources of Ornamental Motifs', in C. Dodwell (ed.), *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800–1200* (New Haven, 1993), 9–10; Dale, *Relics, Prayers and Politics*, 73.

47   In antiquity, the blossoming scroll was a symbol of plenty and triumph, as on the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome. This motif then migrated into Christian art. See on this H.P. l'Orange, 'Ara Pacis Augustae: La zona floreale', in idem, *Likeness and Icon: Selected Studies in Classical and Early Christian Art* (Odense, 1973), 263–77. Examples of the flowering scrolls as a symbol of paradise in the Christian art of Rome are the apse mosaic in the Lateran baptistery porch (today the chapel of SS Rufinus and Seconda) and that of San Clemente. See G. Matthiae, *Mosaici Medievali nelle Chiese di Roma* (Roma, 1967), 140, fig. 159. For the bibliography on the apse of San Clemente, see n.21. For the symbolism of the flowering scroll and acanthus in particular, see J. Poeschke, 'Paradies', in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 3 (Freiburg im Bresgau, 1971), 376.

48   The scenes depicted are: (1) The people of Israel ask Samuel for a king; (2) Saul and Samuel meet at the gate; (3) Samuel offers a banquet to Saul; (4) Samuel anoints Saul as king of Israel.

of Christ framed by a quatrefoil at the centre of the vault associates the Lord with the keystone, a symbolism introduced by Paul in his letter to the Ephesians (2:20).[49]

Fig. 9.9   Anagni, Duomo, crypt, vault V, Saul narratives (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)

According to Paul, Christ brought peace by reconciling the Old and the New Laws. This is the function that the painted keystone also assumes in Anagni. The presence of Christ's bust over the scene of Samuel's banquet visually associates the food that Saul offers at his table with that which the priest consumes at the altar during Mass.[50]

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49   For the symbolism of Christ as the Keystone, see G.B. Ladner, 'The Symbolism of the Christian Cornerstone in the Medieval West', *Medieval Studies*, 4 (1942): 43–60.

50   This is relevant in light of contemporary exegesis that usually compares Saul's meal to the doctrines of the prophets served to the people to raise them over the vices. For example, in the *Glossa Ordinaria*: 'Quod Samuel Saulem in excelsum duxit … significat prophetas populum

Fig. 9.10   Anagni, Duomo, crypt, vault VII, Agnus Dei (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)

Therefore, the presence of Christ over the banquet designates that episode of the Old Testament as a form for the Eucharist, the new covenant with God, and celebrates Saul as a type of Christ in accordance with biblical exegesis.[51] In addition, looking at the larger framework of correspondences, it is possible to argue that, in the vault, the pairing of a scene where Saul is good with one where he is evil, a pattern repeated also

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Hebraeorum doctrina sua ad altiora provocantes, ut scientia spirituali refectus, in culmine virtutum consistat, nec relabatur ad vitia' ('Samuel leading Saul up the hill … signifies the prophets of the Jews provoking the people to higher things with their doctrines, so that turning to the science of the spirit they will remain at the top of virtues and will not fall prey to vices again'), Pl. 113, 551. For a discussion of the *Glossa Ordinaria* and its relevance to the King's cycle in the crypt, see my 'Fonti e Documenti per l'Indagine Iconografica', in *Un Universo di Simboli. Gli affreschi della Cripta nella cattedrale di Anagni* (Rome, 2001), 71–86.

51   *Glossa Ordinaria*, Pl. 113, 551.

in the next pair, is consistent with Saul's treatment in contemporary literature where he is taken as an example of both virtue and vice.[52] Furthermore, in each quadrant, the false ribs cut off the figures at the sides, thus creating an effect of superimposition. The rigidity of the frame emanating from Christ visually quells the movement of the images in the vault. In this way, Christ visually brings peace because he halts the progression of Saul's tormented stories and links the Old and New Testaments.

Vault VII presents a different situation (Fig. 9.10).

Fig. 9.11   Anagni, Duomo, crypt, wall below vault VII. Fresco: kneeling figure
                 (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)

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52   In the *Glossa Ordinaria*, Saul is compared both to Christ and to the Jews who followed carnal pleasure and thus were unable to see Christ. Pl. 113, 551A and B.

There, ornamentation establishes a link with the images in the wall below (Fig. 9.11) that are based on the idea of future life and redemption.

The wall presents a devotional sequence of images: at the top, an image of the Virgin *lactans* flanked by saints, and at the bottom, traces of an inscription invoking redemption and fragments of a praying figure.[53] Thus, the wall presents an arrangement similar to that seen in devotional panels, with a donor figure seeking forgiveness by kneeling in prayer before an image of the Virgin and Child.

This vault is a perfect example of the traditional hesitation of art historians to account for ornamentation as a carrier of meaning, and it is generally labelled as representing four prophets. In fact, the focus of the decoration is the gigantic flowering cross with the *Agnus Dei* at its centre, which was executed before the rest of the decoration in one *giornata*,[54] and it is not dissimilar from medieval crosses in gold.[55] The entire composition is orchestrated to transmit a sense of order. The tendrils of the flowering branches are arranged in repetitive patterns and confined by tight red-coloured bands that mark the edges of the cross. Colour repetitions stress the schematic arrangement further: the clypeus at the centre is bordered with red stripes like the cross, and bright white spots further pinpoint this demarcation, while in each quadrant, the blue haloes of the prophets echo the blue central clypeus. The sense of order is to be compared with the crowded arrangement of the wall underneath, showing the virgin *lactans* surrounded by saints. In the stillness of the cosmic order above, the *Agnus Dei* celebrates the divine nature of Christ, pictured below as a human infant in the arms of his mother. In the vault, Christ's human sacrifice, accomplished according to divine plan, is symbolized by the flowering branches of the *lignum vitae*. In the corners, Salomon, David, Isaiah and Daniel stand witness to the promise of salvation. The four prophets are literally at the periphery of the event and of the central image; they are the past and the cross is the future. The prophets' identities as heralds of future salvation are spelled out by the contents of their scrolls, which reproduce famous passages of their prophecies that refer to the coming of Christ and to Mary as Mother of God.[56] Hence, the ornament – the cross with the Lamb – takes the place of the human Christ below: it transforms the flesh of Christ presenting a vision of divinity that exists in the future and is pictured

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53   On the wall it is still possible to see the word '[ ]EDEMPTIONE' and a pair of hands joined in prayer next to a head. The position of the head with respect to the hands lets us assume that someone kneeling in prayer was portrayed here. On the other hand, since the space between the hands and the written fragment is very small, it is safe to assume that only one letter is missing, which would make REDEMPTIONE a possible guess for the inscription.

54   Bianchi, *Il restauro della cripta*, 116.

55   Very similar is the decoration on the back of the Mathilda cross now in Essen – see H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (London, 1954), pl. 29, fig. 70; P. Lasko, *Ars Sacra* (New Haven and London, 1994), 100, fig. 136.

56   All the prophets in the vault are labelled with their names and carry the following inscriptions, clockwise: Salomon, ECCE ISTE VENIENS SALIENS IN MONTIBUS, TRANSILIENS COLLES; David, MATER SION DICET HOMO ET FILIUS FACTUS EST IN EA ET IPSE FUNDAVIT EA ET IPSE IN ALTISSIMUS; Isaiah, ECCE VIRGO IN UTERO CONCIPIET ET PARIET FILIUM, Daniel, CUM VENERIT SANTUS SANTORUM. The prophecy of Daniel does not come from Scripture, but from the pseudo-Augustine sermon, 'Contra Judeos Paganos et Arianos', Pl. 42.

as a liturgical symbol that can only be apprehended with the eyes of the mind. Through ornamentation, then, the idea of future salvation is integrated into a temporal scheme, which progresses from the present (wall) to the future (vault). This, in turn, is consistent with the probable devotional use of this part of the crypt.

Vault VII is not an isolated example in the narrative syntax of the crypt of the Duomo of Anagni. In Vault XII too, the frame provides an additional dimension to the narrative (Fig. 9.12).

Fig. 9.12   Anagni, Duomo, crypt, vault XII, arrival of the Ark in the territory of the Philistines (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome)

The idea of sinning and redemption is expressed through a clever intervention of the frame into the context of the narration. The vault narrates the arrival of the ark of the covenant in the territory of the Philistines, the plagues caused by the ark wherever it went, and the golden offerings that the Philistines crafted to placate God's wrath (1 Sam. 5, 6). The vault space is divided in four panels by a large flowering cross blooming with lilies. A medallion with a bust of the crowned Virgin occupies the centre of the cross, whereas four devilish masks occupy the corners. The forces of evil (the masks

at the corners) and the promise of redemption (the cross with the Virgin at the centre) frame the stories of Vault VII. Thus, the movement from the corners to the centre is towards salvation.

The central position of the cross with the bust of the Virgin dominating the centre conveys the importance of the frame to the narration and superimposes a typological reading on the narrative: the stories of the Philistines become subjugated to the superimposed Christian symbol. The Virgin in the middle of the vault, her hands spread in the antique gesture of prayer, welcomes the offerings of the Philistines and at the same time consolidates the value of the offerings as a gesture of repentance. The Virgin is pictured as the supreme intercessor and, from her central position, she prays for the sinners below. These, in turn, are looking aimlessly around, while wildly crafting the tools of their remission. There is no direct link between the Philistines below and the Virgin above, as the connection is not historical but lies in the invisible plan of Salvation laid out by God. The Philistines are, despite themselves, a step in the history of Salvation, and their golden offerings become an antitype of a greater and more potent offering: that of God's own son to humanity. Pointedly, the cross is pictured as the flowering *arbor vitae*, its burgeoning tendrils testifying to the eternal life that is to be acquired through it. Contemporary exegesis confirms this reading of the images, as it explains the golden offerings of the Philistines as the confession of sin of those who have sinned and have repented.[57] The images of Vault XII go even further; the stories of the Philistines can be read as a journey from a time of sin to one of salvation. The idea is articulated through masks. In medieval iconography, this type of mask was usually a sign of the devil and as such it appears, for example, in the Romanesque façade of the Duomo of Castelritaldi in Umbria.[58] These types of masks with their gnawing teeth can be productively considered in relationship to hell-mouths and devouring monsters, which, as Michael Camille has argued, were associated with struggle and fear of being possessed by demons.[59] In the crypt, masks are used to designate each one of the Philistine cities. The identification of these cities with the devil is complete, to the extent that the masks too are affected by the ailment that afflicts the cities and are covered with spots like the bodies of the Philistines themselves.

The ornamental richness of Vault XII is to be compared with those vaults in which the illustrations of 1 Kings run freely around the pictorial field, for example the Battle of Mizpah in Vault VI. In Vault XII, the arresting presence of the ornamental cross makes the pictorial narrative seem stilted, and it is. The schematic nature of the

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57   So for example in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, Pl. 113, Ch. 6, 548. The *Glossa* here follows Hrabanus Maurus. See his *Commentaria in Libros Regum*, Pl. 109, 29: 'Quinque ani aurei et quinque mures similiter aurei, quos fecerunt Philisthaei post plagam quam perpessi sunt, et attulerunt ad arcam Domini, significant quod quidam carnales quinque corporis sensibus dediti … cum correpti fuerint a Domino, scelera sua cognoscentes, ipsas plagas juste se perpeti a Domino confitentur.' ('Five golden rings and five rats also golden that the Philistines made after the plague that they endured and which they took to the ark of the Lord signify those carnal individuals dedicated to the five senses … (who) punished by the Lord, having acknowledged their sins, admit that they rightly endure those very same plagues [sent to them] by the Lord.')

58   M. Prandi (ed.), *Ombrie Romane* (La Pierre-qui-vire, 1980), figs 114–15.

59   M. Camille, 'Mouth and Meanings: Towards an Anti-iconography of Medieval Art', in Cassidy (ed.), *Iconography at the Crossroads*, 43–54.

composition arrests movement and provides food for thought. According to Carruthers, a word-picture and a painting functioned cognitively as a 'gathering site' that could spawn a chain of memories that favoured meditative association.[60] In paintings, as in literature, ornamentation is used to 'slow down, make us concentrate, set up moments of meditation – and so help us to think and remember'.[61] The beholder of Vault XII would have remembered that the spiritual meaning of the Old Testament stories is to be found in their significance as heralds of things to come in the history of salvation. Through ornamentation, then, the pictures fulfil one of their main purposes: to bring to mind the connection between present and past events.[62]

At Anagni, the narrative texture presents constant dialectic motion between background and foreground, the margins and the centre, representation and ornament. The shift of focus makes the viewer pause, look, and rethink the images. The three workshops active at Anagni achieved this result with an ornamental vocabulary composed of a 'classic' set of motifs: the fictive curtains, the false columns, the acanthus scroll, the Nilotic landscape, the border of consoles. An analysis of the role that these motifs play in the comprehension of the images shows that they were not applied randomly; rather, there is a clear semantic intent in their usage. It is generally supposed that, in the Middle Ages, patrons and/or planners laid out iconographic programmes for painters to follow. They determined what to paint. How to paint was left pretty much to the artists' own craft. The painting process involved the use of specific methods of reproduction in the form of model-books that contained motifs that could be copied or reinterpreted ad hoc to compose new scenes. The late-twelfth-century model-book of Italian origin now in the Vatican Library (BAV, Ms. Vat. Lat. 1976, fols 1r–2v) shows the picture of a ruler sitting sideways on an elaborate throne that is of a type quite frequent in Italian monumental painting and appears also at Anagni in the miracle of Paterniano.[63] The twelfth-century book of Einsiedeln (Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 112, pp. 2–5), contains ornamental motifs that are recognizable as those used in manuscripts, painting and ivories, and could have been copied from monumental sculpture.[64] The Einsiedeln book testifies to the migration of ornament among different media, an exchange that existed also in Rome, as discussed by William Tronzo.[65] Moreover, the presence of ornament in model-books indicated also a desire to study, acquire and transmit new forms in

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60   Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 151.

61   Ibid., 131.

62   The importance of pictures in churches as a tool for mnemonic recollection is testified by Honorius Augustodunensis. In his *Gemma Animae*, he states that one of the functions of pictures, in addition to decorating the house of God, is to bring to mind the lives of the fathers: 'priorum vita in memoria revocetur', Pl. 172, 586.

63   R.W. Scheller, *Exemplum, Model Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900–ca. 1470)* (Amsterdam, 1995), 145. On model-books and methods of transmission, see also E. Kitzinger, 'The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration', in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1975), 99–143, and H.L. Kessler, 'Modello', in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1997), 491–6. See also the recent *Medioevo: I modelli: atti del convegno internazionale di studi Parma, 27 settembre–1 ottobre 1999*, ed. A.C. Quintavalle (Milano, 2003).

64   Scheller, *Exemplum*, 155–60.

65   Tronzo, 'On the Role of Antiquity'.

order to create a repertory of ornament, an important part of any workshop's formal vocabulary, which could be used and applied time and again. In Rome, this is confirmed by the fact that it is possible to group workshops around 'signature' ornamentation – for example, the spiky blossom that flourishes over the figure of Christ on the west wall of the Anagni crypt (Fig. 9.8), which appears again in identical form in the upper margin of the frescoes at Filettino by the same master.[66] Likewise, the fat fish that inhabit the waters of the first day of Creation in the church of Santa Maria Immacolata at Ceri were painted by the same workshop responsible for those appearing in the miracle of the drowned child in the lower church of San Clemente in Rome.[67] When one looks at the way that the third workshop of Anagni picked up ornamental types introduced by the first workshop and propagated them in Rome, a much clearer picture emerges of how the process of studying and acquiring a portfolio of motifs worked. Long after the console border was painted, the painters of the third workshop must have studied its use as mid-wall divider in the crypt. They must have sketched it in their model-book and then brought it with them to Rome, where they used it again in Santi Quattro Coronati. The same happened with the Nilotic landscape, but in Rome our painters copied the concept and transformed the somewhat awkward and naïve landscape of the First Master into a vast marine panorama of classical beauty. The study of motifs on site allowed painters to become familiar with the inherent symbolic value of each type of ornament, a knowledge that cannot be transmitted by model-books alone. The process of learning and transmission that one sees at Anagni explains also codification of meaning and establishment of tradition, whereupon the same ornament is used consistently, by different masters, at different times, in the same location, with the same meaning.[68] On-site learning would also better explain the exchange between sculpture and painting. These exchanges are easier to visualize when one thinks of the concurrency of different monumental schemes in Rome, where decoration projects often included workshops of marble workers.

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66   On the frescoes of San Nicola at Filettino, see B. Andberg, 'Gli affreschi di San Nicola a Filettino', *Acta ad Archeologiam et Artium Historia Pertinentia*, 4 (1969): 127–42.

67   On Ceri, see N.M. Zschomelidse, *Santa Maria Immacolata in Ceri: Pittura Sacra al tempo della Riforma Gregoriana* (Roma, 1996). On the frescoes in the lower church of San Clemente, see C. Filippini, 'The Eleventh-Century Frescoes of Clement and other Saints in the Basilica of San Clemente in Rome' (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 2000); Parlato and Romano, *Roma e Lazio*, 41–2.

68   See on this Romano, 'I pittori romani'.

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Fact and Fiction in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*

Dale Kinney

'The wall of the city of Rome has 361 towers, 49 fortified towers, 6,900 merlons, 12 gates not counting Trastevere, 5 posterns'.[1] Opening with an air of empirical specificity, the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* teases modern readers with the promise of reliable topographical information. Many find only frustration. Although he considered the *Mirabilia* 'the oldest attempt at learned topography … a scholarly explication', Louis Duchesne had to fault the author's choice of sources and the 'absolute arbitrariness' of his method.[2] J.K. Hyde warned that the method 'bear[s] much the same relation to scientific archaeology as magic does to experimental science'.[3] What was that objectionable method? This chapter will reconsider this and other such questions in the light of the latest research by textual scholars and topographers.

Duchesne worked from a late-twelfth-century manuscript in the Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 8486, in which the *Mirabilia* forms part of the *Liber Censuum* compiled by Cencius Camerarius in 1192.[4] Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti subsequently observed that this version of the text omits a phrase found in some other manuscripts that gives a *terminus ante quem* of 1143. The 'first edition' they identified was published in 1946. Fifty years later, Nine Miedema confirmed that their edition is indeed the 'urtext' of a protean work that reappeared in multiple guises and languages throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.[5] Although her interest lay primarily with the vernacular variants, Miedema's comprehensive study significantly advanced our understanding of the character and purpose of the Latin original. She classified the *MuR* with texts that 'consist of a variable number of loosely strung-together chapters', including king and pope lists, sentence collections, and the *Gesta Romanorum*.[6] Not every chapter is present in every manuscript, and the chapters are not always in the same order. Thus, Valentini and Zucchetti's edition can be only an approximation of the urtext, albeit a very likely one.

The phrase that dates the urtext to 1143 or earlier is a reference to the porphyry sarcophagus of Hadrian 'now in front of the fuller's place at the Lateran'; after the

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1   R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico della città di Roma* (Rome, 1940–53), 3:17.

2   P. Fabre and L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Censuum de l'Église romaine* (Paris, 1910), 1:98, 99.

3   J.K Hyde, 'Medieval Descriptions of Cities', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 48 (1965–66): 322.

4   Fabre and Duchesne, *Liber Censuum*, 1:262–73; N.R. Miedema, *Die 'Mirabilia Romae'. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung mit Edition der deutschen und niederländischen Texte* (Tübingen, 1996), 79, no. L183.

5   Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:17–65; Miedema, *'Mirabilia Romae'*, 1.

6   Miedema, *'Mirabilia Romae'*, 439.

death of Pope Innocent II on 24 September 1143, the sarcophagus stood inside the Lateran cathedral as his tomb.[7] The *MuR* was thus contemporary with another text from the time of Innocent II, a papal protocol (*ordo*) composed for Cardinal Guido of Città di Castello by Benedict, canon of St Peter's Basilica, between 1140 and 1143.[8] The *Ordo* appears with the *Mirabilia* as part of the *Liber Censuum* in Vat. Lat. 8486. Duchesne argued that Benedict the Canon was the author of both texts, on the grounds that both employ the same unusual or invented toponyms ('designations that have nothing to do either with medieval usage, or with reality').[9] His attribution prevailed for many decades until it was challenged by Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, whose analysis of the manuscript tradition persuaded him that Benedict's dedication to Cardinal Guido originally pertained only to the *Ordo*, not to a collection that might also have included the *Mirabilia*; therefore, Schimmelpfennig concluded, the latter must have been the work of someone else.[10] This argument takes no account of Duchesne's topographical considerations, and the fact that Canon Benedict did not dedicate the *MuR* to Cardinal Guido does not prove that he did not write it; nevertheless, scholars including Miedema have generally acquiesced in returning the author of the *MuR* to anonymity. Cesare D'Onofrio dubbed him 'Signor X'.[11]

Only D'Onofrio has attended to the question of the toponymic parallels. Unlike Duchesne, however, he found the similarities between the *Ordo* and the *MuR* less suggestive than the differences. D'Onofrio maintained that the topographical indications in the *Ordo* were 'archaic' in 1143 and must have been copied uncomprehendingly from an early medieval source, while those in the *Mirabilia* reflected the actual situation of around 1000, when that text must have been composed. Miedema rightly rejected his reasoning with regard to the *MuR* as unfounded. While it is indisputable that elements of the *Mirabilia* reproduce or reflect earlier – sometimes much earlier – sources, the idea that the urtext as a whole existed before the 1140s has no support in any surviving or recorded manuscript.[12]

The *Ordo* of Canon Benedict outlines the public ceremonies of the pope and the curia throughout the church year, including the routes of seven liturgical processions to and from stational churches. Topographical indications are included by way of defining these processional routes. The *Mirabilia*, by contrast, seems to record topography for its

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7   Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:47; Fabre and Duchesne, *Liber Censuum*, 1:100; I. Herklotz, *'Sepulcra' e 'Monumenta' del Medievo*, 2nd edn (Rome, 1990), 97.

8   For a recent account, see S. Twyman, *Papal Ceremonial at Rome in the Twelfth Century* (London, 2002), 23–36.

9   L. Duchesne, 'L'auteur des *Mirabilia*', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 24 (1904): 485–9; quotation on 486.

10   B. Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1973), 8–16, esp 14–15. See also idem, 'Die Bedeutung Roms im päpstlichen Zeremoniell', in B. Schimmelpfennig and L. Schmugge (eds), *Rom im hohen Mittelalter. Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert. Reinhard Elze zur Vollendung seines siebzigsten Lebensjahres gewidmet* (Sigmaringen, 1992), 49–51, 60–61.

11   C. D'Onofrio, *Visitiamo Roma mille anni fa. La città dei Mirabilia* (Rome, 1988), 18; Miedema, *'Mirabilia Romae'*, 11; Twyman, *Papal Ceremonial*, 24–6.

12   D'Onofrio, *Visitiamo Roma*, 14–39; Miedema, *'Mirabilia Romae'*, 2–5; see also her catalogue, 24–95. The earliest manuscripts are from the twelfth century (nos. L23, L49, L72, L129a).

own sake, in two different forms: categorically (gates, triumphal arches, hills, baths, and so on), and by region. The categorical enumeration (the 'catalogue') fills nine chapters of the urtext following the initial *Murus … habet*, while the regional description constitutes twelve chapters (19–31) at the end. In between these sections is a third, containing narrative explications of a few antique buildings, statues and sites.[13] The purpose of the entire compilation is explained in an elegiac conclusion (Ch. 32):

> These and many other temples and palaces of the emperors, consuls, senators, and prefects of pagan times were in this city of Rome, as we read in the oldest annals and see with our own eyes and have heard from the old. We have taken care to put into writing for the memory of posterity, as best we could, how great was their beauty of gold and silver, bronze and ivory and precious stones.[14]

The catalogue recalls the late antique compendia known as 'regionary catalogues': *Notitia urbis Romae regionum XIIII* and *Curiosum urbis Romae regionum XIIII*. Both were available to medieval readers, and the *Curiosum* was copied in the same twelfth-century manuscript that contains one of the oldest examples of the *MuR*.[15] Comparing them reveals a telling discrepancy. The *Curiosum* inventories a functioning city in all its diversity, including libraries, markets, fountains, shrines, warehouses, aqueducts, pools, latrines, police and fire stations, and military barracks.[16] The *Mirabilia* has many fewer categories: gates, triumphal arches, hills, baths, palaces, theatres, bridges and cemeteries, as well as a chapter on 'places that are found in the passions of the saints'. The absence of aqueducts, which were so prominent both in ancient textual representations of the city and in its surviving remains, is indicative. The author of the *MuR* evidently did not aim to recover every aspect of the ancient city, nor to name all the ruined antiquities that he could see. He was selective, focusing on sites of power, both pagan and Christian.

The regional enumeration of sites and buildings begins in the Vatican (Ch. 19) and proceeds to Castel Sant'Angelo (Ch. 21), the Campus Martius (Ch. 22), the Capitol (Ch. 23), the Fora (Ch. 24), the Palatine (Ch. 25), the Circus Maximus (Ch. 26), the Celian Hill (Ch. 27), the Esquiline (Ch. 28), the Aventine (Ch. 29), the Velabrum and Forum Boarium (Ch. 30), and Trastevere (Ch. 31). Duchesne noted that, collectively, these chapters might be titled *De templis* – a section missing from the initial catalogue – because they name more than one hundred temples, versus only twenty of all other building types combined.[17] Valentini and Zucchetti called this part of the *Mirabilia* a 'tour' (*periegesis*), believing that the text as a whole was 'born to serve as a guide for

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13 The *MuR* is usually described as having three parts, but the first one or two chapters constitute a fourth, based on a numerical description of the walls of Rome copied also in the 'Itinerary' of Einsiedeln. See Hyde, 'Medieval Descriptions', 321; G. Walser (ed.), *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung und der Pilgerführer durch Rom (Codex Einsidlensis 326). Facsimile, Umschrift, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Stuttgart, 1987), 213–17.

14 Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:65.

15 Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 1:84; Miedema, *'Mirabilia Romae'*, 31, no. L23. For the latest scholarship on the regionary catalogues, see F.A. Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom im Frühmittelalter. Papststiftungen im Spiegel des Liber Pontificalis von Gregor dem Dritten bis zu Leo dem Dritten* (Wiesbaden, 2004), 9–11.

16 Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 1:148–64.

17 Fabre and Duchesne, *Liber Censuum*, 1:98.

pilgrims.'[18] Nine Miedema took issue with this frequently repeated characterization of the *Mirabilia* as a guidebook, demonstrating that the urtext resembles more the rhetorical genre of *descriptio urbis*, in which the reality of the city is embellished, coated or obscured by verbal formulas:

> Many statements in the *Mirabilia* correspond to reality, yet the author also includes chapters in which he assigns palaces or temples to gods or persons from antiquity known through literary tradition, without being able (or wishing) to test the particulars against reality … According to this method of using literary models a ruin is not simply a ruin; every ruin becomes the palace of an emperor or the temple of a Roman god, and conversely … every emperor or divinity known by name in ancient sources is assigned a palace or a temple … The text names allegedly ancient buildings on sites where no ruins were found. This is not due to negligence on the part of the author of the *Mirabilia*; it is part of his literary program, which should be understood as a learned play with a rhetorical art form. Putting fictive elements and elements that matched the real topography next to one another in the text placed both on the same plane; through the mixing of real and fictional elements the latter laid claim to reality.[19]

Though not the first to associate the *MuR* with the genres of *laus* or *descriptio urbis*, Miedema may be the most thorough, and she is emphatic and persuasive in doing so.[20] 'Medieval interest lay above all in a text that dealt with the ruins of the ancient city on the basis of literary sources, and only rarely in the ruins themselves'.[21] Her position is not unlike D'Onofrio's with regard to Benedict's *Ordo*. On these accounts neither text would have served a twelfth-century reader aiming to make her or his way around the city; on the contrary, such a misuse would have produced the same befuddlement that exasperated modern scholars like Duchesne.

Yet at the end of the nineteenth century, one of the greatest of all Roman topographers, Rodolfo Lanciani, found the *Ordo* to be largely reliable. Lanciani compared its seven processional routes with the paths traced in the eighth-century source known as the Itinerary of Einsiedeln, believing that the *Ordo* could be useful 'in the first place, because the route is sometimes described with greater precision, and in the second place, because one can discern important variations in the street system that occurred in the intervening … centuries'.[22] Lanciani's work was predicated on that of another great topographer, Henri Jordan, who devoted nearly two hundred pages of his *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* to the *Mirabilia*.[23] For Jordan and Lanciani, these twelfth-century texts served as windows, however smudged or cloudy, onto Rome as it really was.

Lanciani's comparisons can be extended to the *MuR* in order to test whether it is, as Miedema maintains, essentially a rhetorical fiction or, as Duchesne lamented, essentially

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18   Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:10.

19   Miedema, *'Mirabilia Romae'*, 449–50.

20   Precedents include Hyde, 'Medieval Descriptions', 320–23; and C.J. Classen, *Die Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptiones und Laudes urbium in der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, 2nd edn (Hildesheim, 1986), 29–30.

21   Miedema, *'Mirabilia Romae'*, 450, n.1.

22   R. Lanciani, 'L'Itinerario di Einsiedeln e l'Ordine di Benedetto Canonico', *Monumenti antichi*, 1 (1890), col. 519.

23   H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, 2 (Berlin, 1871), 357–536.

but imperfectly objective. To one of his original comparisons, between the description of the Christmas morning stational procession in the *Ordo* and the twelfth Einsiedeln itinerary, I will add the relevant chapters in the *MuR* and a fourth text closely related to it, the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* of 1154–55. Issued anonymously in the Middle Ages, the *Graphia* was finally identified by Herbert Bloch, in a brilliant effort of source-sleuthing, as the work of Peter the Deacon of Montecassino.[24] It is a compilation that includes a slightly rearranged and amplified version of the *Mirabilia*, written when the latter was still fresh from the author's pen.[25]

The Itinerary of Einsiedeln, so-called because of its unique preservation in Codex Einsidlensis 326, seems to have been compiled towards the end of the eighth century. It contains eleven lists of landmarks written on facing pages – representing 'left' and 'right' – that purport to trace paths through Rome departing from its various gates. A twelfth route, 'From the Gate of St Peter to St Paul', stands out for its length and more discursive format, and is thought to be closer to the mid-eighth-century 'proto-itinerary' of which the Einsidlensis is an abstraction (Fig. 10.1).[26] The most recent studies of the Einsiedeln compilation, like those of the *Mirabilia*, tend to emphasize its purely textual character and concomitant lack of practical utility.[27] While this may be true of the symmetrical lists, the route from St Peter's to St Paul's is perfectly viable. Whether or not this was the scribe's intention, a real eighth-century traveller could have followed it.

The itinerary begins on the city side of the Pons Aelius (modern Ponte Sant'Angelo), which crossed the Tiber at the Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castel Sant'Angelo), and passes through two of the fourteen regions inventoried in the regionary catalogues, IX ('Circus Flamineus') and XI ('Circus Maximus') (Fig. 10.2).

It continues around the Aventine and through the Porta Ostiensis to St Paul's and many other cemetery churches, returning through the Porta Appia to pass between the Circus Maximus and the Palatine Hill, and ends at Sant'Anastasia. A mix of churches – the destinations – and conspicuous non-Christian landmarks, by which a traveller could locate them, defines the path. To the first stop, '[the church of] St Lawrence (San Lorenzo in Damaso) and the Theater of Pompey', the eighth-century traveller would have taken the northern of two streets that cut through the western Campus Martius, coinciding with today's Via del Banco di Santo Spirito, Via dei Banchi Vecchi and Via del Pellegrino (Fig. 10.3), seeking the Theatre of Pompey.[28] 'Conceived as a sort of sacred hill',

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24   H. Bloch, 'Der Autor der "Graphia aureae urbis Romae"', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 40 (1984): 55–175; Miedema, *'Mirabilia Romae'*, 36, no. L43.

25   Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:77–110.

26   Lanciani, 'L'Itinerario', 439–40; Walser (ed.), *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung*, 9, 159–62, 205–11.

27   F.A. Bauer, in C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff (eds), *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999* (Mainz, 1999), 2:607–9, no. IX.1; idem, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom*, 18–21.

28   San Lorenzo in Damaso was founded by Pope Damasus (366–84) 'iuxta theatrum'; it was destroyed by Cardinal Raffaele Riario to build the Palazzo di San Giorgio (present Palazzo della Cancelleria) after 1485 – see W. Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms*, 2 (Vienna, 1970), 248–51. Parts of it were uncovered in 1988–93 under the courtyard of the palace: M. Pentiricci, 'La posizione della basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso nell'Itinerario di Einsiedeln', in C.L. Striker (ed.), *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer* (Mainz, 1996), 127–31.
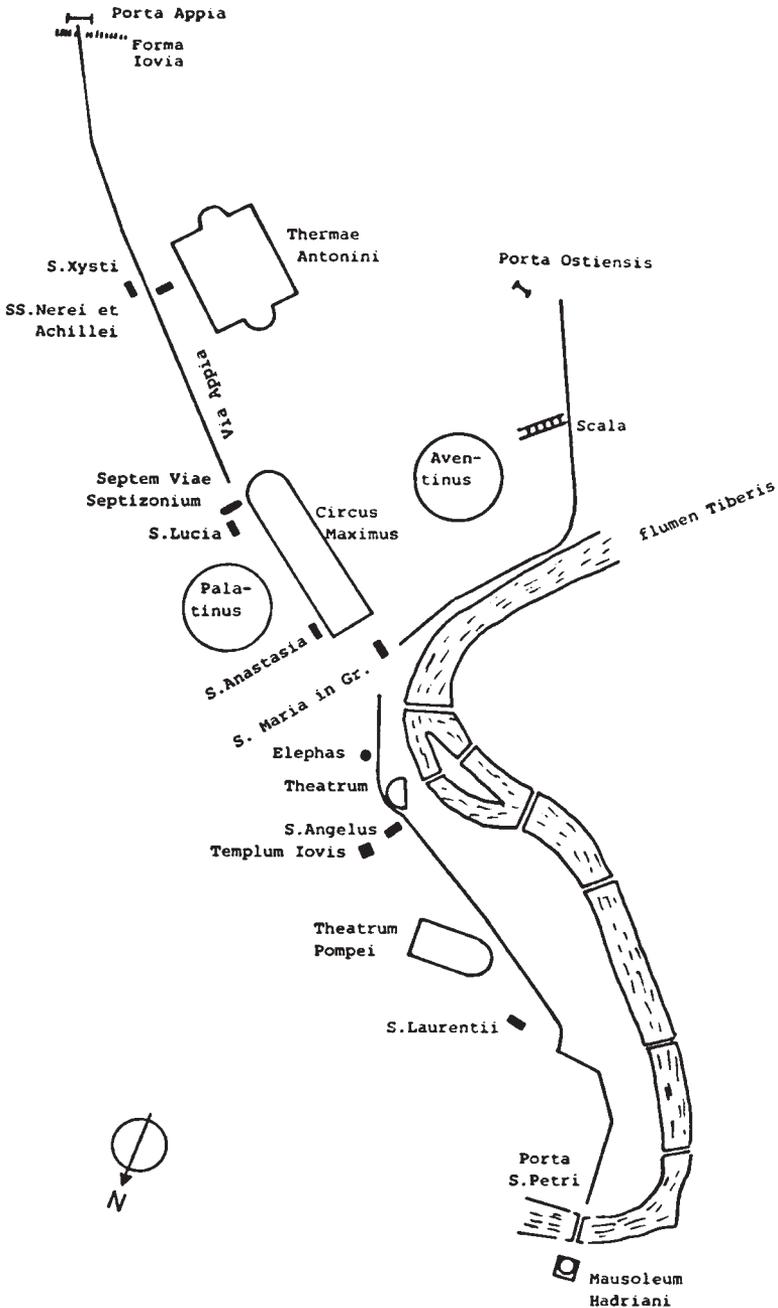
Fig. 10.1   Itinerary XII, Codex Einsidlensis 326 (after G. Walser, ed, *Die Einsiedler
Inschriftensammlung und der Pilgerführer durch Rom* (*Codex Einsidlensis 326*).
Facsimile, Umschrift, Übersetzung und Kommentar [Stuttgart, 1987], p. 207),
(by permission: Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart)
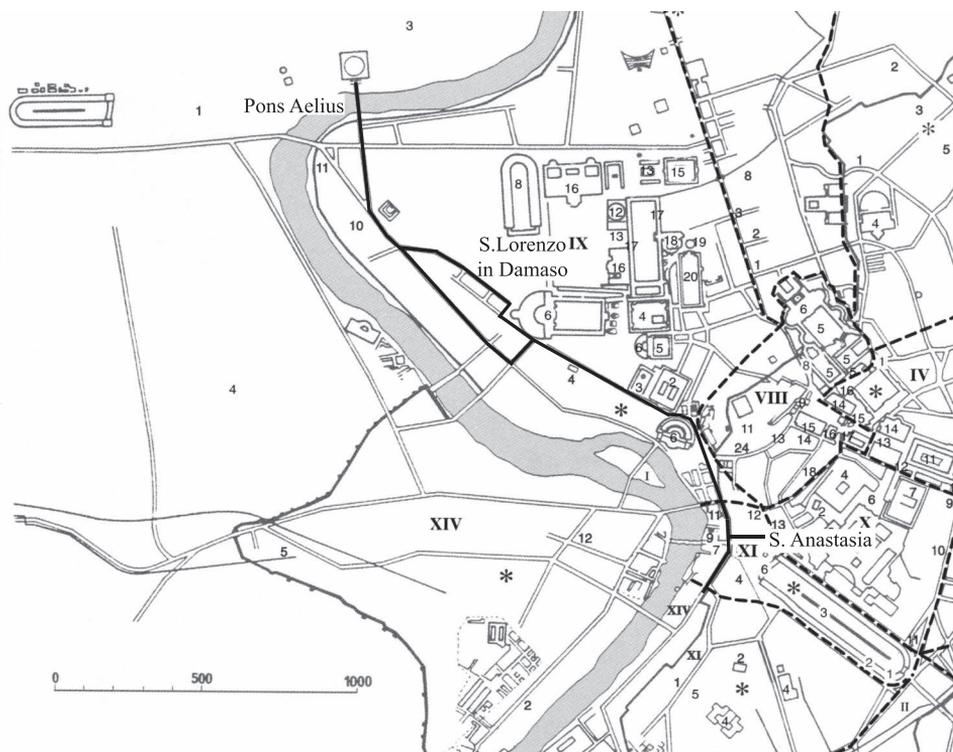
Fig. 10.2   Routes of Einsiedeln Itinerary XII and Canon Benedict's stational procession from Sant'Anastasia to St Peter's (Geoffrey Compton, after *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, [Rome, 1999], 4, fold-out) (by permission: Edizioni Quasar, Rome)

in the words of a modern archaeologist, the theatre literally overshadowed its surroundings. In the sixth century, Cassiodorus extolled its vaults, 'so beautifully shaped that you would suppose them the caverns of a lofty mountain, rather than anything made by hands'.[29]

The next stage, 'per porticum' to the church of Sant'Angelo and a temple of Jupiter, continues along the ancient Via Tecta on the north side of the Circus Flaminius (modern Campo dei Fiori, Via dei Giubbonari, Via di Santa Maria del Pianto and Via di Portico d'Ottavia) until the Porticus of Octavia is on the left and the Theatre of Marcellus on the right (Figs 10.2, 10.4).[30] The church and the temple were both inside

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29   Cassiodorus, *Variae*, IV.51; *The* Variae *of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans S.J.B. Barnish (Liverpool, 1992), 79; R. Manselli, 'De la Rome impériale à la Rome papale: L'evolution et la transformation du Champs de Mars', in *Le Palais Farnèse. École française de Rome* 1, 1: *Texte* (Rome, 1981), 38–9; P. Gros, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 5 (Rome, 1999), 38, s.v. 'Theatrum Pompei'.

30   The portico traversed on this route was not the Porticus Minucia, as suggested by Hülsen and repeated by Walser (*Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung*, 206), but a continuation of the *porticus*
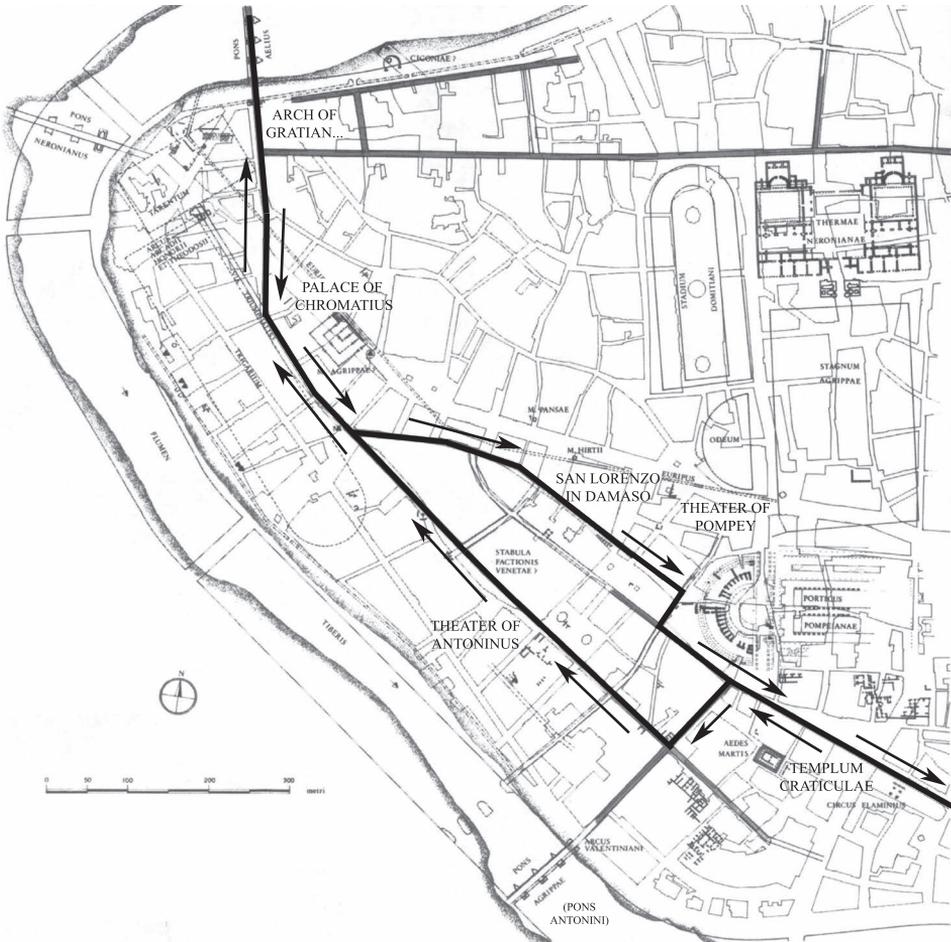
Fig. 10.3   Routes of Einsiedeln Itinerary XII and Canon Benedict's stational procession, detail (Geoffrey Compton, after *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 1 [Rome, 1993], fig. 120) (by permission: Edizioni Quasar, Rome)

the Porticus of Octavia, a work of the third decade CE named in honour of Octavian's step-sister. It had been reconstructed after a fire in 203 by Septimius Severus and Caracalla, whence it was also called Porticus Severi. In addition

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Maximae that gave the Via Tecta ('covered street') its name. F. Coarelli, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 4 (Rome, 1999), 130, s.v. 'Porticus Maximae'; J.R. Patterson, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 5:145–6, s.v. 'Via Tecta'. Cf. D. Manacorda and Coarelli, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 4:132–8, s.v. 'Porticus Minucia Frumentaria', 'Porticus Minucia Vetus'.
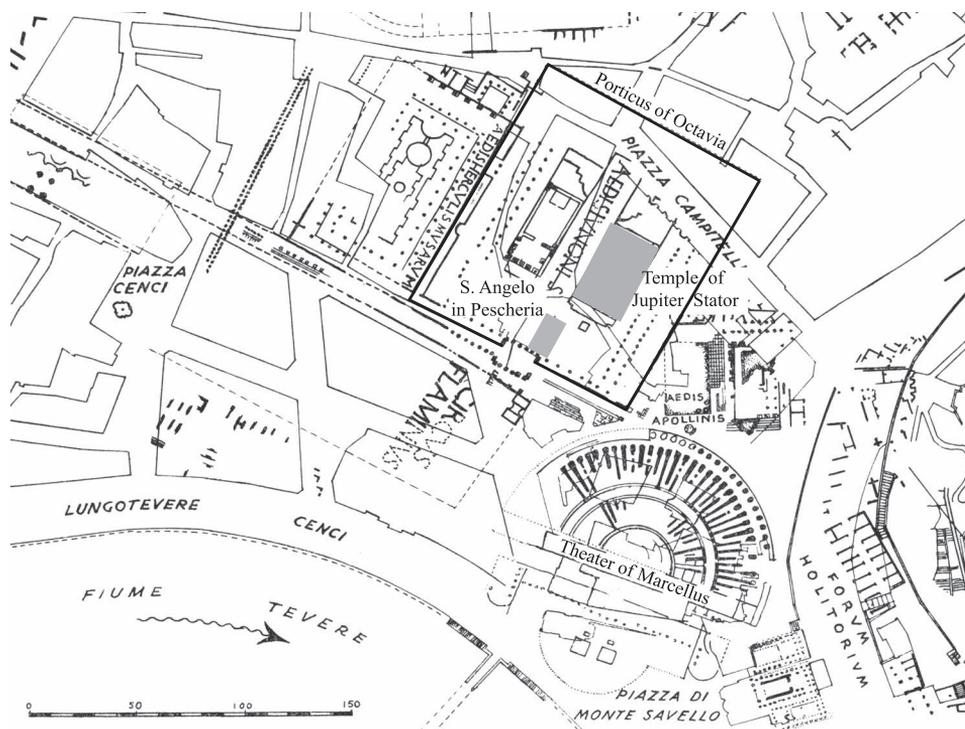
Fig. 10.4   Einsiedeln Itinerary XII, Porticus of Octavia (Geoffrey Compton, after
F. Coarelli, in *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, 80
[1965–67], fig. 1)

to the Temple of Jupiter Stator, the Porticus enclosed a parallel
temple dedicated to Juno Regina.[31] A *diaconia* with the church of Sant'Angelo intruded
there in the second half of the eighth century, the church occupying the space behind
the propylaeum that once fronted on the Circus Flaminius, and using part of the
propylaeum for its facade (Fig. 10.4). Though dwarfed by its classical surroundings,
Sant'Angelo would at least have been new in the 760s or 770s, and the *diaconia* would
have been of interest to travellers because of the social services it provided.[32]

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31   A. Viscogliosi, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 3 (Rome, 1996), 157–9, s.v. 'Iuppiter
Stator, aedes ad Circum'; 4:141–5, s.v. 'Porticus Octaviae'.

32   R. Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae*, 1 (Vatican City, 1937), 64–74; R.
Meneghini, 'Edilizia pubblica e riuso dei monumenti classici a Roma nell'alto medioevo: L'area
dei templi di Apollo Sosiano e Bellona a la diaconia di S. Angelo in Pescheria', in S. Gelichi (ed.),
I Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia medievale (Florence, 1997), 52–6. Sant'Angelo is generally agreed
to be the church erected in 755 or 770 by Theodotus the Primicerius 'for intercession for his
soul and the cure of all sinners', although that church was dedicated to St Paul; I. Lori Sanfilippo,
'Un "luoco famoso" nel medioevo, una chiesa oggi poco nota. Notizie extravaganti su S. Angelo
in Pescheria (VI–XX secolo)', *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 117 (1994): 232–4; R.
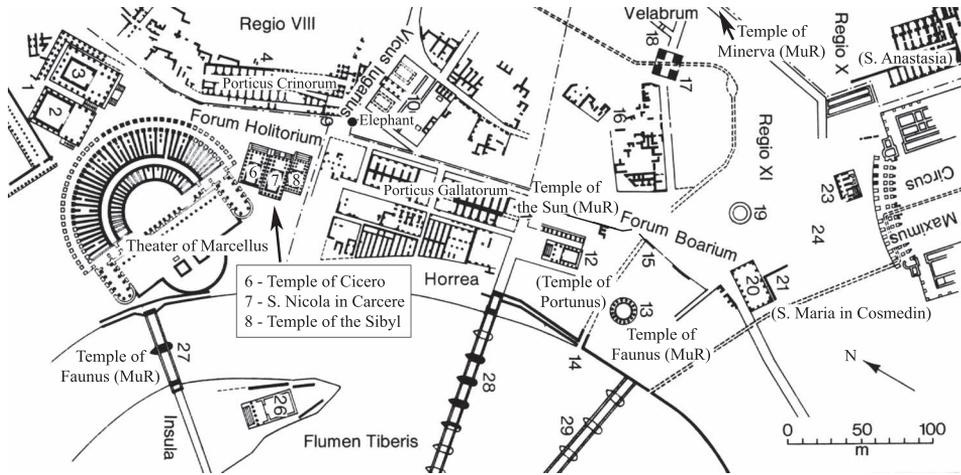
Fig. 10.5   Ancient monuments between S. Anastasia and the Theatre of Marcellus according to Canon Benedict and the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (Geoffrey Compton, after *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 2 [Rome, 1995], fig. 124) (by permission: Edizioni Quasar, Rome)

Moving 'by another portico as far as the elephant', the eighth-century itinerary passes the Theatre of Marcellus to enter the ancient Vegetable Market (Forum Holitorium) and thence through the contiguous Cattle Market (Forum Boarium) (Fig. 10.5). The trajectory cannot be reconstructed precisely because of the urban 'evisceration' (*sventramento*) that obliterated medieval remains in the area in 1936–37, but the landmark can be identified as the 'Grassy Elephant' (*elefantum herbarium*), presumably a statue nicknamed after the market, which is listed in the regionary catalogues in Region VIII (Forum Romanum). It disappeared after the ninth century and its site is not known, but if in Region VIII it must have stood at the eastern limit of the Forum Holitorium, at the foot of the Capitoline Hill.[33]

Continuing south through a zone named for its resident Greeks (*scolam Graecorum*), the traveller came to their church. This would have been the predecessor of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, another *diaconia* church, which is described in the biography of Pope Hadrian I (772–95) as 'only a small building … [and] in ruins, as a huge monument of Tiburtine tufa was tilting over it'.[34] The pope destroyed the menacing antiquity and rebuilt the church in a larger and much nicer form. The ancient tufa structure must

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Coates-Stephens, 'Dark Age Architecture in Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 65 (1997): 198–200.

33   Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 1:120, 175; F. Coarelli, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 2 (Rome, 1995), 221, s.v. 'Elephas Herbarius'.

34   L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 1 (Paris, 1955; repr. Paris, 1981), 507; *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes* (Liber Pontificalis), trans R. Davis (Liverpool, 1992), 159–60.

have belonged to the Great Altar (*Ara maxima*) of Hercules Invictus, whose platform supports the east end of Pope Hadrian's new church (Fig. 10.5, No. 21).[35]

The next landmark in the itinerary, 'water flowing below the Aventine Hill', seems to correspond to a channel of Rome's oldest aqueduct, the Aqua Appia.[36] After crossing it, the route moves south and east around the Aventine and ultimately doubles back to the circus and Sant'Anastasia (Fig. 10.1). One of the 25 earliest title-churches (*tituli*) dating from the fourth and fifth centuries, Sant'Anastasia still stands on the south-west edge of the Palatine Hill. By the eighth century it was decrepit, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, but it was notable for its role in the urban papal liturgy.[37] In the sixth century, it had been assigned the third stational Mass for Christmas, between the midnight station at Santa Maria Maggiore and one later in the day at St Peter's.[38]

Canon Benedict's *Ordo* describes the path of the Christmas stational procession from Sant'Anastasia to St Peter's – that is, the reverse of the route in the Einsiedeln manuscript:

> In the morning [of Christmas] [the pope] says Mass at Sant'Anastasia; when it is done, he goes down in procession by the street alongside the Porticus Gallatorum before the Temple of the Sibyl, and between the Temple of Cicero and the Porticus Crinorum; and continuing between the Basilica of Jupiter and the Circus Flamineus, thence he goes next to the Porticus Severianus, passing in front of the Templum Craticulae and in front of the Insula Militena of the Standard-Bearers. And so on the left hand he descends to the main via Arenula, passing by the Theatre of Antoninus and by the Palace of Chromatius, where the Olovitreum was, and under the arch of the emperors Gratian, Theodosius, and Valentinian; and entering [the Vatican] by the Bridge of Hadrian in front of his temple …[39]

A reader with no extra-textual knowledge of Rome might never realize that the eighth- and the twelfth-century itineraries cover the same ground. Except for Sant'Anastasia, they do not share a single toponym. Unlike the Einsiedeln itinerary, which intersperses landmark antiquities with churches, the *Ordo* does not name any Christian buildings between Sant'Anastasia and St Peter's; and except for the Circus Flamineus and the triumphal arch of Gratian, Theodosius and Valentinian, none of its ostensibly ancient buildings is found in classical sources. The twelfth-century route is defined almost entirely by unlikely-sounding temples and other structures with equally unconvincing Latin names.

Despite its fantastic appearance, however, the *Ordo*'s route is traceable and still practicable. Departing Sant'Anastasia and passing, without notice, Santa Maria in

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35   Coarelli, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 3:15–17, s.v. 'Hercules Invictus, ara maxima'; Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom*, 132–7. Coarelli refutes the common view that the portico incorporated into the west end of the church was the *statio annonae*; cf idem, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 4:345–6, s.v. 'statio annonae'.

36   Walser (ed.), *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung*, 208–9; A. Mucci, in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 1 (Rome, 1993), 61–2, s.v. 'Aqua Appia'.

37   A. Augenti, *Il Palatino nel medioevo. Archeologia e topografia (secoli VI–XIII)* (Rome, 1996), 37–40; *Le Liber pontificalis*, 2:1; *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, 180.

38   J.F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome, 1987), 129, 134–5, 153–4, 157–8.

39   Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:211–12.

Cosmedin, the cortège arrives at the Porticus Gallatorum. First mentioned under this name in the *Ordo* and the *Mirabilia*, this structure extended between the two ancient market areas, from a point near the surviving rectangular temple of Portunus (Fig. 10.5, no. 12; erroneously known as the 'temple of Fortuna Virilis') to the three parallel temples that lined the west side of the Forum Holitorium adjacent to the Theatre of Marcellus (Fig. 10.5, nos. 6–8).[40] The name 'Gallatorum' probably derived from 'Gallae', after a shrine or oratory associated with the sixth-century St Galla. In the eleventh century, the oratory was replaced by a church called Santa Maria in Portico, consecrated by Pope Gregory VII in 1073.[41]

'Templum Sibillae' and 'Templum Ciceronis' were medieval names for two of the trio of temples at the Theatre of Marcellus, known today as Spes and Janus. By the eleventh century, they were partly engulfed by the church of San Nicola in Carcere, which had been inserted into the central temple (Juno Sospita) while the Pierleoni family occupied the surrounding ruins.[42] There is no classical basis for a Temple of the Sibyl nor, of course, for a Temple of Cicero (Marcus Tullius); the latter can be explained, however, as a learned solecism motivated by knowledge of a jail, thought to be the 'Tullian prison' (*carcer Tullianus*), which existed near San Nicola in Carcere. The *Mirabilia* makes the connection explicitly ('templum Ciceronis in Tulliano'), and the *Graphia* goes further: 'the Temple of Cicero where the house of the sons of Petrus Leonis is now. The *carcer Tullianus* is there where the church of San Nicola is.'[43] The prison near San Nicola ('at the Elephant') is documented in the eighth century in the biography of Pope Hadrian I (772–95). It was not, however, the famous *Tullianum* described by Sallust and mentioned in many other classical sources, which is on the east slope of the Capitoline Hill facing the Forum Romanum. This prison was known in the Middle Ages as *privata Mamertini*, so our medieval authors can be excused for thinking that the *Tullianum* was elsewhere.[44]

Twelfth-century sources agree that a 'Portico of the Fibre-Workers(?)' (*Porticus Crinorum*) stood between San Nicola in Carcere and the Capitoline cliff; the *Ordo* implies that it was opposite the Temple of Cicero, and the *Mirabilia* mentions that it was below the Temple of Juno and Moneta on the *arx*. Lanciani showed that this portico must have been one of the ancient ones that formed the eastern boundary of the Forum

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40   C. Buzzetti, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 4:153–4, s.v. 'Portunus, aedes'.

41   The 'porticus Gallae' is mentioned in the biography of Pope Paschal II (1099–1118): *Le Liber pontificalis*, 2:301; ignoring this, Ferruccio Lombardi traces 'Gallatorum' to *callatori*, criers or auctioneers: *Roma. Le chiese scomparse. La memoria storica della città* (Rome, 1996), 309–10. Santa Maria in Portico was rebuilt and rededicated to Santa Galla in 1725, and disappeared in 1936. See J. Barclay Lloyd, 'The Medieval Church of S. Maria in Portico in Rome', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 76 (1981): 95–106.

42   Coarelli, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 3:90–91, s.v. 'Ianus, aedes (apud Forum Holitorium, ad theatrum Marcelli)'; 128–9, s.v. 'Iuno Sospita (in Foro Holitorio)'; 4:336–7, s.v. 'Spes, aedes'. D. Kinney, 'Making Mute Stones Speak: Reading Columns in S. Nicola in Carcere and S. Maria in Aracoeli', in *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer*, 83–5.

43   Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:63, 94.

44   *Le Liber pontificalis*, 1:490; L. Richardson, Jr, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore and London, 1992), 71; G. De Spirito, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 1:237–9, s.v. 'Carcer Tullianus'.

Holitorium (Fig. 10.5, no. 4). A fragment of one of them, cleared of medieval accretions in 1933, is visible on the Via Petroselli. The Porticus Crinorum could have been the same portico that led the Einsiedeln traveller to the Elephant. Lanciani, like everyone else, was at a loss to explain its 'bizarre' medieval name.[45]

From this portico, the *Ordo* continues 'between the Basilica of Jupiter and the Circus Flamineus', to arrive beside the Porticus Severianus; that is, the Porticus of Octavia (Fig. 10.4). The *Mirabilia* calls the same buildings (correctly, in one case) *templa*: 'the Temple of Jupiter, where there was a golden pergula', and Templum Severianum, 'where Sant'Angelo is'.[46] The route is still that of the Einsiedeln Itinerary, hugging the curve of the Theatre of Marcellus (never mentioned) to pass between Sant'Angelo in Pescheria and the Circus Flaminius. An intriguing bit of evidence that the Temple of Jupiter was still a conspicuous feature of this terrain is provided by a thirteenth-century Ionic capital in San Lorenzo fuori le mura, on which a lizard appears in one volute and a frog in the other. Winckelmann was the first to recognize the connection between these odd motifs and an anecdote told by Pliny about the temples in the Porticus Octaviae, that the carvings of a lizard and a frog on the column bases were glyphic signatures of the Spartan builders 'Sauras' and 'Batrachus'.[47] Although increasingly eroded and obscured by parasitic structures, the temple of Jupiter remained identifiable until the seventeenth century, when the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli covered most of the ground on which it stood.[48]

Continuing on the line – although no longer on the level – of the ancient Via Tecta, the procession comes to a 'Temple of the Grate' (*templum Craticulae*), which the *Mirabilia* specifies was *ad caccavari*, in the zone of the makers of kettles (*cacabi*). A number of medieval churches had this toponym, including San Salvatore de Caccabariis on the modern Via di Santa Maria del Pianto.[49] On or near this street, the cortège also passes a building (*insula*) called *Militena et drachonariorum*, which cannot be identified (Fig. 10.3).[50]

45 Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:51–2; R. Lanciani, 'I portici del Foro Olitorio e il tesseramento delle derrate nell'antica Roma', *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, 45 (1918): 184–92; Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, 165.

46 Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:63.

47 Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXVI.iv.42; G. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti* (Rome, 1767), 1: pl. 206, and 2:269–70. Winckelmann mistook the capital in San Lorenzo for a *spolium* from one of the temples, an error that echoes in modern publications, for example, Viscogliosi, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 3:159; but see P.C. Claussen, *Magistri doctissimi romani. Die römischen Marmorkünstler des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1987), 143–4, fig. 202, and I. Voss, 'Studien zu den ionischen Kapitellen von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 26 (1990): 41–86, esp 54, 63–4.

48 Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms*, 2:529–37.

49 Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:63, 211; C. Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma nel medio evo. Cataloghi ed appunti* (Florence, 1926; repr. Rome, 2000), 433, cf. 209–10, 315. San Salvatore was demolished in 1612 to be replaced by Santa Maria del Pianto, which is still incomplete; Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms*, 3 (Vienna, 1974), 93–7. The *templum Craticulae* was more likely a ruin near San Salvatore than the Crypta Balbi, as proposed by Lanciani, because the latter stands too far north (Lanciani, 'L'Itinerario di Einsiedeln', 520; followed by Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:63, n.6).

50 The connection made by Valentini and Zucchetti between 'Militenam' and 'Lycaoniam', indicating proximity to the island, seems strained (*Codice topografico*, 3:211, n.6).

At this point, the twelfth-century itinerary diverges from the eighth-century one, turning left (south-west) to the sandy area ([*h*]*arenula*) near the Tiber rather than continuing on towards San Lorenzo in Damaso. The more southerly route coincides with the modern Via Capo di Ferro, Piazza Farnese, Via di Monserrato and Via dei Banchi Vecchi (Fig. 10.3).[51] Here, the procession encounters the 'Theatre of Antoninus'. Unknown in classical sources, this monument is also mentioned in the *Mirabilia*, which calls it both a theatre and a circus and locates it 'at the Bridge of Antoninus, where Santa Maria in Cataneo is now'.[52] The bridge was a ruin on the site of the modern Ponte Sisto, which had collapsed in a mammoth flood in 791 and was never repaired. Built in the second or third century and renovated under Emperor Valentinian in 365–66, whence it was also called *pons Valentiniani*, it appears in eleventh-century papal documents as the 'Broken Bridge' (*pons fractus*; not to be confused with the present Ponte Rotto on the other side of Tiber Island).[53] Santa Maria in Cataneo was up-river from the bridge, on or near the site of its replacement, Santa Caterina della Rota, which faces the Via di Monserrato north-west of Piazza Farnese. The 'Theatre of Antoninus' would have been somewhere between the church and the bridge, perhaps in the area of the Farnese palace.[54]

Beyond Santa Maria in Cataneo, the route rejoins that of the eighth century, and the procession passes by 'the Palace of Chromatius, where the Olovitreum was'. The *Mirabilia*, again, is more precise, noting that the palace was on the site of Santo Stefano in Piscina, a church that stood until early modern times on the east side of Via dei Banchi Vecchi, near Santa Lucia del Gonfalone (Fig. 10.3).[55] The author bestows unusual attention on these buildings, which he knew from hagiography:

> At Santo Stefano in Piscina [is] the Palace of the Prefect Chromatius, and the temple called Olovitreum, made entirely of crystal and gold by the art of mathematics, where there was an astronomy with all of the signs of heaven; St. Sebastian destroyed it with Tiburtius the son of Chromatius.[56]

The *cubiculum holovitreum* plays a pivotal role in the late antique *Passion of St Sebastian*, where it is described as a room in the house of the prefect Agrestius Chromatius

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51   R. Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980), 248; Manselli, 'De la Rome impériale à la Rome papale', 56.

52   Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:63, 211–21.

53   É. Hubert, *Espace urbain et habitat à Rome du Xe siècle à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Rome, 1990), 109–10; V. Galliazzo, *I ponti romani*, 2: *Catalogo generale* (Treviso, 1994), 8–10, no. 2.

54   Huelsen, *Chiese di Roma*, 325–6; Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms*, 1 (Vienna, 1967), 508–10. Roman remains under the Palazzo Farnese date from several periods. The latest, dateable to the third century, include a hypocaust and a mosaic floor and could have been part of a bath; see H. Broise, R. Hanoune, P. Pomey, Y. Thébert and J.-P. Thuillier, 'La présence de l'Antiquité sous le Palais Farnèse', in *Le Palais Farnèse*, 3–15. Coarelli opts for the older view that they were associated with the stables of one of the late antique circus factions: Coarelli, 'La topographie', 35.

55   Huelsen, *Chiese di Roma*, 482; Manselli, 'De la Rome impériale à la Rome papale', 54; Lombardi, *Roma. Le chiese scomparse*, 191.

56   Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:22, n.3, 63–4.

containing a mechanical zodiac with crystal images.[57] Told by St Sebastian that he must destroy these astrological representations in order to complete his conversion to Christianity, Chromatius baulks, insisting that the precious room can safely be preserved as ornament, whereupon his son Tiburtius intervenes to help persuade his father that the images must be wrecked. As soon as the crystal and gold idols have been smashed, a youth with a fiery face appears to Chromatius and tells him to be baptized.

Topographers grant that the buildings in this story might have existed. When Santo Stefano in Piscina was demolished in 1741, a building of 'curious structure' with precious coloured marble columns came to light, and some have thought that it was the Holovitreum; recent opinion, however, locates the palace of Chromatius on the Palatine, where most of the action in the *Acta Sancti Sebastiani* takes place.[58] If this is correct, the twelfth-century authors who found it in the Campus Martius were guilty of mistaken identity, but not of inventing an antiquity *ex nihilo*. From their perspective, the *Passion of St Sebastian* was a reliable historical source.

The final monument on the city side of the Tiber is the triumphal arch of Gratian, Theodosius and Valentinian, which was erected in 379–83 to mark the main pilgrimage artery from St Peter's to St Paul's – the very route described in the Itinerary of Einsiedeln.[59] The *Ordo* has the papal procession pass through this arch to reach the bridge (Fig. 10.3). The *Mirabilia* muddles the topography, locating the 'arch of the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian and Gratian' *ad Sanctum Ursum*, at the church of Sant'Orso, which was south of the bridge where the Largo Tassoni was created in 1888. Deliberate or not, this is a confusion with a second late antique arch, dedicated to Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius, that was near Sant'Orso. It survived, although denuded of its marble covering, until the fifteenth century.[60] 'Signor X' calls the arch nearer the bridge the 'Golden Arch of Alexander' and puts it *ad sanctum Celsium* (*sic*), where the arch of Gratian, Theodosius and Valentinian actually did stand, built into the bell tower of the medieval church of San Celso. The arch collapsed in the time of Pope Urban V (1362–70) and has disappeared, but the church, in an eighteenth-century incarnation, is still in place on the Via del Banco di Santo Spirito.[61]

Although more than a century has passed, repeating Lanciani's comparison between the Itinerary of Einsiedeln and the *Ordo* of Canon Benedict produces essentially the same result, affirming his view that both texts are fundamentally veristic. Both follow streets through the ancient Campus Martius that were laid out in the time of the Roman

57 J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Acta S. Sebastiani martyris*, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, 17 (Paris, 1845), 1021–58, esp. 1044–7.

58 Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, 1, 3, ed. C. Huelsen (Berlin, 1907), 597–8, n.104; De Spirito, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 3:30, s.v. 'Holovitreum'; 4:41, s.v. 'Palatium Chromatii'.

59 C. Lega, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 1:95–6, s.v. 'Arcus Gratiani, Valentiniani et Theodosii'.

60 Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:18; C. Lega, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 1:79–80, s.v. 'Arcus Arcadii, Honorii et Theodosii'; Lombardi, *Roma. Le chiese scomparse*, 178.

61 Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 4 (Rome, 1953), 117; Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms*, 1:519–25.

Republic and whose course is preserved to this day.[62] The routes seem different from one another because the classical toponyms used by the eighth-century author have been replaced by pseudo-antique ones in the *Ordo*. The disappearance of the classical names can be explained, in part, by a perceptible alteration of the real topography, as the ancient city that had survived recognizable – if dilapidated – through the Carolingian period finally succumbed: collapsed, despoiled, vanished behind commercial and domestic façades or into the strongholds of the emergent baronial families.[63]

Some of the pseudo-antique names in the *Ordo* (for example, Porticus Gallatorum) also occur in contracts or other documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and seem to have been in common use; others, like the 'Temple of Cicero', are shared with the *Mirabilia* and the *Graphia* and are peculiar to them. D'Onofrio's claim that these toponyms would have seemed 'archaic' to twelfth-century readers is correct, but it does not necessarily follow that they were reproduced from an earlier source, as archaism could have been a deliberate effect rather than a product of quotation. Schimmelpfennig noted that the clerical terminology in the *Ordo* is similarly out of date; moreover, the stational procession from Sant'Anastasia to St Peter's was no longer performed when it was written. According to Peter Mallius, Canon Benedict's contemporary and also a canon of St Peter's, there had been a Christmas station at St Peter's 'in days of old, that is, until the time of Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085)'; but in Mallius' time, the pope went from Sant'Anastasia back to Santa Maria Maggiore, 'because the way is short, and the day is brief'.[64] Schimmelpfennig concluded that Canon Benedict must have copied his account of the procession to St Peter's from an older document, which because of the emphasis on antiquities probably originated in the eleventh century, in a moment of *renovatio Romae* preceding the papal Reform. But this begs the question of the identical topographical information in the *Mirabilia*, which, as Miedema convincingly argued, originated in the fourth or fifth decade of the twelfth century.

The *MuR* is intimately related to the *Ordo*, but has a different character, as can be seen from the chapter containing most of the antiquities that appear on the route of the Christmas procession:

> At the steps was the Temple of the Sun. Santo Stefano Rotondo was the Temple of Faunus. In the Elephant, the Temple of the Sibyl, and the Temple of Cicero in the Tullianum, and the Temple of Jupiter where the golden pergula was, and the Severian Temple, where Sant'Angelo is. In Velabro, the Temple of Minerva. On the Bridge of the Jews, the Temple of Faunus. In Caccavari, the Templum Craticulae. At the Bridge of Antoninus, the Circus of Antoninus, where Santa Maria in Cataneo is now. At Santo Stefano in Piscina, the Palace of the Prefect Chromatius, and the temple called Olovitreum, made entirely of crystal and gold by the art of mathematics, where there was an astronomy with all of the signs of heaven; St Sebastian destroyed it with Tiburtius the son of Chromatius.[65]

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62   Coarelli, 'La topographie', 20–23.

63   Manselli, 'De la Rome impériale à la Rome papale', 51, 57–9; D. Manacorda, *Crypta Balbi. Archeologia e storia di un paesaggio urbano* (Milan, 2003), 55–74.

64   Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:439–40; Manselli, 'De la Rome impériale à la Rome papale', 56; Hubert, *Espace urbain et habitat*, 118; Schimmelpfennig, 'Die Bedeutung Roms', 50–51.

65   Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:62–4.

The description moves in the same direction as the procession, south-east to north-west from the base of the Aventine to the Tiber crossing at Castel Sant'Angelo, but not in a linear way. It sometimes backtracks, for example, from Sant'Angelo to the Velabro; and it includes sites that were not on the papal route: a Temple of the Sun *ad gradellas*, two Temples of Faunus, a Temple of Minerva *ad Velum Aureum*. In every case, the temple is precisely located with reference to a contemporary site, usually a church; and often, though not always, it is made clear that the antiquity no longer exists: *fuit templum …, ubi fuit …, ubi nunc est …, ubi erat …*. In no case is the identification of the temple acceptable to modern archaeologists; but in no case is it without some textual or material justification.

The 'Temple of the Sun' could have been inspired by the late antique regionary catalogues, which list a 'Temple of the Sun and the Moon' first among the monuments in the Region called Circus Maximus. The temple actually stood inside the circus.[66] In placing it 'ad gradellas', the twelfth-century author transposed it to the Forum Boarium, where there was a church of Santa Maria *de gradellis* between the Temple of Portunus and the so-called Janus Quadrifrons (Fig. 10.5, nos. 12, 17).[67] The Temple of Portunus ('Fortuna Virilis'), converted in the time of Pope John VIII (872–82), was also dedicated to Mary. Renaissance readers of the *Mirabilia* thought, perhaps correctly, that it was the author's *templum Solis*, but in the absence of one of his standard formulas – *ubi fuit, ubi est* – we cannot be entirely sure.[68]

'Sanctus Stephanus rotondus' was not the famous church of that name on the Caelian Hill, but the round temple near the bank of the Tiber that is recognized today as the Temple of 'Hercules with Olives' (*Hercules Olivarius*), probably constructed in the second century BCE (Fig. 10.5, no. 13). The first mention of it as a church is contemporary with the *Mirabilia*, in a bull of Pope Innocent II (1140) in which it is described as 'nearly destroyed by the schismatics' – partisans of the Pierleoni pope Anaclete II.[69] The notion that it had been a temple of Faunus must have come from Ovid's *Fasti*, a source that the author names more frequently than any other.[70] 'On the Ides the altars of rustic Faunus smoke, there where the island breaks the parted waters'. The poet's description is easy to construe if the reader knows that Rome's only temple to Faunus stood on the north end of Tiber Island; otherwise, though, it is less obvious.[71] The twelfth-century author seems to have hesitated between a location on

66   Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 1:132–3, 178; P. Ciancio Rossetto, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 4:333–4, s.v. 'Sol (et Luna), aedes, templum'.

67   The meaning of *gradellas* is uncertain, but the location of the church is well documented; Lombardi, *Roma. Le chiese scomparse*, 307.

68   Huelsen, *Chiese di Roma*, 336–8.

69   Coarelli, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 3:19–20, s.v. 'Hercules Olivarius'; Huelsen, *Chiese di Roma*, 484.

70   Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:47, 52, 56; D. Kinney, '"Mirabilia urbis Romae"', in A.S. Bernardo and S. Levin (eds), *The Classics in the Middle Ages* (Binghamton, 1990), 210–14. He also names the Nativity sermon attributed to Pope Leo the Great and the *vita* of St Sylvester; Valentini and Zucchetti, (eds), *Codice topografico*, 3:46, 56.

71   Ovid, *Fasti*, II.193–4; trans Sir J.G. Frazer, *Ovid*, 5, *Fasti* (Loeb Classical Library; repr. Cambridge, MA, 1976), 71. D. Degrassi, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 2:242, s.v. 'Faunus, aedes'.

the river bank – where there was a conspicuous temple needing a name – and one on
the island, or more precisely on 'the Bridge of the Jews' (*pons Fabricius*), which connects
the island to the city just behind the Theatre of Marcellus (Fig. 10.5, no. 27).[72] Unable to
choose, he left us with two temples to Faunus on two wrong, but not impossible, sites.

Velum aureum (gold curtain or tent) was a medieval substitution, at least as old as
the eighth century, for Velabrum, the ancient name of the low-lying zone between
the Forum Boarium and the Palatine Hill, extending from the Circus Maximus almost
to the Forum Romanum (Fig. 10.5).[73] Ovid alludes to its use as a route for triumphal
parades ('Where now the processions are wont to defile through the Velabrum to the
Circus').[74] There was actually a shrine of Minerva there, where the Velabrum approached
the passage to the Forum. Modern topographers know it from literary sources, and
conjecture that it was near the complex of first-century buildings that adjoins Santa
Maria Antiqua.[75] It is a mystery how the twelfth-century author was aware of it, since
the sanctuary had probably vanished long before his day and no textual reference to it,
by itself, is sufficient to locate it.

The author of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* – if not Canon Benedict of St Peter's, then
surely an intimate colleague – describes his method as a combination of textual research
('read in the oldest annals'), observation ('see with our own eyes'), and interview ('[hear]
from the old'). I see no reason to doubt him. To believe him is not necessarily to reject
Miedema's view that the *Mirabilia* offers a rhetorically constructed reality rather than a
purely empirical one. She perhaps goes too far in denying that the author '[wished] to
test the particulars against reality', nor is it clear to me that 'the text names allegedly
ancient buildings on sites where no ruins were found'. Her larger claim, however, points
the way to further research:

> Putting fictive elements and elements that matched the real topography next to one another
> in the text placed both on the same plane; through the mixing of real and fictional elements
> the latter laid claim to reality.[76]

The question is not whether this semiotic analysis is valid – I think it is – but whether
it also describes the author's intention. We know neither what the author experienced
as 'real', nor what he would have recognized as fiction. Elements that seem fictive to us
may be better understood as false inference (the 'temple of Cicero'), loose terminology
('Severian Temple'), or inability to decipher his sources (two temples of Faunus).
Duchesne's view that the *Mirabilia* is 'the oldest attempt at learned topography' cannot
yet be entirely dismissed.

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72   J.-M. Salamito, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 4:109–10, s.v. 'Pons Fabricius'.

73   F. Guidobaldi and C. Angelelli, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 5:102–8, s.v.
'Velabrum'. *Ad Velum aureum* is interpolated into the life of Pope Leo II (682–83); the earliest
dateable instance is in the biography of Pope Zacharias (741–52). *Le Liber pontificalis*, 1:360, 434.

74   Ovid, *Fasti*, VI.405; trans Frazer, *Fasti*, 349.

75   J. Aronen, in *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 3:251–2, s.v. 'Minerva'.

76   Miedema, *'Mirabilia Romae'*, 450.

Juniors Teaching Elders
Columbanus, Rome and Spiritual Authority

Damian Bracken

Letters from Rome

By 640, the southern Irish had conformed to what they considered to be the Roman practice for calculating Easter Sunday;[1] the recalcitrants in the north held out, preferring to stick with their own traditions rather than accept a method which, as early as the sixth century, they knew to be mathematically unsound.[2] Their defiance brought a stinging rebuke from the Irish cleric Cummian. Around 630 he wrote to Ségéne, the abbot of Iona, and to the recluse Beccán, warning of the consequences of particularism. Their appeal to 'the traditions of the elders' was a pretence, nothing more than 'a cloak for your rejection'.[3] They had a duty to lead and should be aware of the consequences for themselves and their flock if they led badly. According to Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, around the same time the Irish received another missive on the proper celebration of Easter, this time from the pope, Honorius. It was followed in 640 by yet another letter from Rome in which the pope, now John IV, told the Irish that their refusal to accept guidance in this matter was tantamount to heresy. The letter is quoted *in extenso* by Bede and, like Cummian's, was addressed to northern clerics who are named in the opening salutation.[4] The Tomianus who heads the list is probably Tomméne mac Rónáin, bishop or abbot of Armagh, and the ten clerics named with him have been identified as leaders in the northern church. The Segenus who appears among them is probably the Ségéne to whom Cummian had written less than a decade before.

The three letters of Columbanus (d. 615) to the popes are among the earliest surviving evidence of native Christians from the islands of Ireland or Britain seeking spiritual direction from Rome. He recalls that the Irish church had been founded by Rome;

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1   It is my privilege to claim Éamonn Ó Carragáin as my teacher, who led me *ad caput urbium*. This paper is dedicated to him. For an account of the Easter question in Ireland, see T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge 2000), 391–415.

2   In Letter 1, to Gregory the Great, Columbanus says that the tables of Victorius of Aquitaine earned ridicule rather than acceptance in Ireland; G.S.M. Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 2 (Dublin 1957), 6, from which all quotations and translations are taken (some with slight modification).

3   M. Walsh and D. Ó Cróinín (eds and trans.), *Cummian's letter 'De controuersia paschali' and the 'De ratione conputanti'*, Texts and Studies 86 (Toronto 1988), 74–5.

4   M.P. Sheehy (ed.), *Pontificia hibernica: Medieval Papal Chancery Documents concerning Ireland, 640–1261*, 2 vols (Dublin 1965) 1:3–4, no. 1; Bede, *HE*, II.19; B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* (Oxford 1969), 198–202.

indeed, for him, Rome is the *fons*, 'source', of Irish Christianity (*Ep.* 5, 3). This is more than a casual reference to the status of the Roman church; it is an acknowledgement of a major theme in the development of Roman claims to primacy. Because it was considered to be the first founded church in the West, Rome saw itself as *fons et origo*, the 'spring and source', of the church.[5] The phrase is echoed back at Rome in the synodical letter of 451 from Ravennius and other Gaulish bishops to Pope Leo the Great.[6] There is no evidence that Columbanus received any direct reply, but the papal letters and contacts made by Irish clerics in the decade after 630 could be described as the high-water mark of communication between Ireland and Rome in the early Middle Ages. Perhaps the most significant evidence for this contact is Cummian's Easter letter written in order to spread word of the results of a mission sent to Rome. This marks another first, as it is the earliest recorded instance of an official delegation being sent by the Irish or English churches to Rome seeking instruction in spiritual matters. Cummian applies the same epithet to Rome as Columbanus, for he says that the leaders of the Irish church who dispatched the mission did so out of respect for the leadership given 'by the source [*a fonte*] of our baptism and wisdom'.[7] Bede tells us that Honorius wrote to the Irish after he learned that they were in error about the proper observation of Easter. As reported in the *Historia ecclesiastica*, he warned them 'not to consider themselves, few as they were and placed on the extreme boundaries of the world, wiser than the ancient and modern Churches of Christ scattered throughout the world'. Some propose that Honorius' letter set in train the events that led to the mission recorded by Cummian. It is not impossible that Cummian's letter was, on some level, a response to Honorius, because the themes to which Bede alludes in his synopsis of Honorius are developed in Cummian's epistle.

Honorius describes the Irish as geographically remote; this theme is found throughout Cummian's letter: for him they are 'an insignificant group of Britons and Irish who are almost at the end of the earth, and, if I may say so, but pimples on the face of the earth'.[8] This negative representation of the Irish by Pope Honorius and Cummian is in marked contrast to that of Columbanus. Because of their position at the furthest point in the West from Rome, Columbanus saw recognition of Rome's primacy by the Irish as affirmation of the universal extent of the bishop of Rome's responsibility.[9] Rome's role in evangelizing the Irish when Pope Celestine appointed Palladius to be their

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5   On these terms, see P. Batiffol, 'Petrus initium episcopatus', *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 4 (1924): 440–53, at 442; A. de Halleux, 'Le vingt-huitième canon de Chalcédoine', in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica*, 19 (1989): 160; idem, 'The Work of Optatus as a Turning Point in the African Ecclesiology', *The Thomist*, 37 (1973): 668–85, at 676–7.

6   PL 54, 968. The Gaulish bishops declare the Apostolic See to be the *fons et origo*, 'source and fount', of their religion. See L. de Paor, *Saint Patrick's World* (Dublin 1996), 63.

7   Walsh and Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter*, 90–93.

8   Ibid., 73–5. This theme of Britain and Ireland's geographic remoteness is the subject of a recent landmark paper to which I am much indebted by Jennifer O'Reilly, 'Islands and Idols at the Ends of the Earth: Exegesis and Conversion in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*', in S. Lebecq, M. Perrin and O. Szerwiniack (eds), *Bède le Vénérable: Entre tradition et postérité* [*The Venerable Bede: Tradition and Posterity*], Collection 'Histoire de l'Europe du Nord-Ouest' (Lille, 2005).

9   See Damian Bracken, 'Authority and Duty: Columbanus and the Primacy of Rome', *Peritia*, 16 (2002): 168–213, at 168–82.

first bishop in 431 CE marked the point at which Rome realized its claim to universal responsibility for all churches (*sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*) and became the *universalis ecclesia*.[10] The representation, in a letter to or from Rome, of the Irish as inhabitants of the periphery of the known world, was therefore doubly significant. The Roman church was seen as the guardian of orthodoxy precisely because of its role as the focus for unity within the universal church. As 'the primordial church [*ecclesiam principalem*], the very source of episcopal unity [*unitas sacerdotalis*]',[11] it occupied the central point in the Christian world, while the Irish inhabited its furthest edges. The related themes of the universality of the church and its unity on matters of faith are commonplace in the earliest Christian literature. This insistence on universality and unity was, for churchmen of the early Middle Ages, more than an ideal; it was a doctrinal imperative. In matters of faith, universality and unity assured orthodoxy. Christ established one church based on one truth. When disagreement arose about the faith, by definition one side must be right, the other wrong. But when all are united in the same belief, and all profess that faith, it is orthodox. Universality and unity were therefore the guarantees of orthodoxy. The opposite qualities characterize heresy: it is peripheral, it is geographically disparate or remote, and its doctrines are known to few as apposed to the universality of orthodox belief. Themes of particularism and geographic remoteness as opposed to the universal extent of orthodox belief became standard in descriptions of the heterodox. When Honorius refers to the isolation of the Irish in the context of the Easter question, he has in mind not just geographic remoteness – a people far removed geographically from the cultural centre – but also a people who are far removed from the doctrinal orthodoxy of Rome, the religious centre. In casting themselves adrift from the apostolic norm established and maintained at Rome, the Irish came close to heresy. This is also Cummian's intention when he writes of the isolation of the Irish. He develops this theme of geographic isolation – which, as in Honorius' letter, is seen as a symptom of doctrinal waywardness – to accuse the Irish and British who hold out against the authority of the universal church of arrogance. Cummian writes, 'What, then, more evil can be thought about Mother Church than if we say Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antioch errs, the whole world errs; the Irish and British alone know what is right'.[12] For Cummian, his countrymen's presumption has led them to ignore the allegiance they owe to the source of their own faith; they have displayed disloyalty to their own origins.

When Columbanus and Cummian both acknowledge their duty to reverence this source, they show an awareness of the doctrinal dimension of theories of Christian

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10   For example, Leo, *Ep.* 10 to the bishops of Vienne, prefaces his instruction on how the affairs of the Gaulish province are to be ordered by asserting the special character of the Roman See as the head of the universal church; PL 54, 629. On the Roman Church's universal responsibility, see, for example, M. Maccarone, 'Apostolicità, episcopato e primato di Pietro: Ricerche e testimonianze dal II al V secolo', *Lateranum*, 2 (1976): 1–341, esp. 27 ff.

11   Cyprian, *Ep.* LIX, 14; Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 3, ii, 683; Corpus Christianorum Series Latina ['CCSL'] 3C, 361; see G.W. Clarke (trans.), *The Letters of St Cyprian of Carthage*, Ancient Christian Writers 46 (New York, 1986), 82.

12   'Quid autem prauius sentiri potest de aecclesia matre quam si dicamus Roma errat, Ierosolima errat, Alexandria errat, Antiochia errat, totus mundus errat; soli tantum Scotti et Britones rectum sapiunt', Walsh and Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter*, 80–81.

leadership and authority. Columbanus' contemporary, Pope Gregory the Great, wrote on the duty of the head to acknowledge the source of his authority. The teacher must always acknowledge his own master. The leader is duty-bound to admit the source of his wisdom. If he fails to do so, he claims the doctrine or virtue for himself; this pride cuts him off from the source of his authority and his ministry is undermined. The image Gregory uses to convey this principle is that of the river flowing from its source or spring (*fons*), but returning to that source in recognition of the origins of its power. He writes, 'For if they attributed any virtue to themselves, they would not be able to abide in that which they had received … what they [holy men] pour forth [*fundunt*] in public in words and deeds, they draw [*hauriunt*; cf. Jn 4:14] in secret from their source [*de fonte*] of love … Therefore, rivers return to the place from which they came in order to flow again'.[13] Gregory is writing here of the authority of the holy man, but the image was already long in use to represent the universal extent of Rome's authority. As early as the beginning of the fifth century, the papacy used it to express the duty it felt that junior and peripheral Christian communities had to acknowledge Rome as the source of their faith. In the letters of Popes Innocent I (d. 417) and Vigilius (d. 555),[14] the churches of the West are rivers flowing from the source, which is Rome.[15] In his letter to Gregory the Great, Columbanus quotes John 4:14 and expresses the desire to journey to Rome 'to drink that spiritual channel of the living source [*vivi fontis*], and the living stream of wisdom which flows from heaven and springs up unto everlasting life' (*Ep*. 1, 8). In Letter 5 (613 CE), Columbanus, a junior in the faith, presumes to advise – even to admonish – his senior, Pope Boniface IV (608–15). Yet in doing so he says that 'whatever I say that is useful or orthodox [*aut utile aut orthodoxum*] will rebound to you [Boniface]; for the master's praise lies in the doctrine of his disciples; thus if the son speaks wisely his father will rejoice; and yours will be the credit, since, as I said, it [the faith] was delivered by you' (*Ep*. 5, 3). Columbanus alludes here to the sending of the mission of Palladius to the Irish by Pope Celestine, Boniface's predecessor. Anything wise or true that Columbanus writes he therefore dutifully attributes to the source of his knowledge, the bishops of Rome. The disciple who deviates from the truth in which he was established by his master is motivated by pride and arrogance, a preference for his own teaching above that of his master. This is the accusation which Cummian levels at the northern clerics. Columbanus protects himself against the charge of arrogance or lack of reverence for his superiors when he claims that any failing on his part is caused by tactlessness, not pride (*elatio*). In line with the leader's obligation to acknowledge the source of his authority, Columbanus claims no authority for himself, but uses the stereotypical metaphor to acknowledge the source of his faith, for he acknowledges

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13   *Hom. Ez.* 1, 5, 16; PL 76, 828; see T. Gray (trans.), *The Homilies of St Gregory the Great on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (Etna, CA, 1990), 53.

14   Innocent I, *Ep*. 29 (*De requirendis*); PL 20, 582–88, at 583; on which, see M. Maccarrone, in P. Zerbi, R. Volpini and A. Galuzzi (eds), *Romana ecclesia, cathedra Petri*, Italia Sacra: Studi e Documenti di Storia Ecclesiastica 47 (Rome 1991), 24–5; R.A. Markus, *Saeculum. History and Society in the Theology of Saint Augustine* (Cambridge 1989), 128–9; idem, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge 1997), 202; similar sentiments are expressed in Vigilius' letter to Profuturus of Braga; PL 69, 15–16. See Bracken, 'Authority and Duty', 178–80.

15   In *De ecclesiae catholicae unitate*, Cyprian of Carthage, discussing Peter as the focus for unity, wrote of the church dividing into many streams spreading throughout the world: CCSL 3, 253.

Rome to be that source, and writes, 'purity is due, not to the river, but to the source [*fonti*]' (*Ep.* 5, 3). Honorius I (625–38) warned the Irish not to think that they excelled in wisdom the churches of the whole of the world. Cummian reports the results of the Council of Mag Léne in Munster, in the south of Ireland (631), summoned, some have argued, in response to Honorius' letter (though this is not certain). In the letter, Cummian says that the elders of the Irish church acknowledged Rome as the source (*fons*) of their wisdom. Very significantly, he says that they claimed the authority of their predecessors in support of their decision to follow Rome's lead. That decision demonstrates the orthodoxy of the leaders of the Irish church and of the traditions of their forebears. The claim by those who adhere to the older methods for calculating Easter – the 84-year Easter cycle, or the so-called 'Celtic' Easter cycle – that they follow the tradition of their elders is a pretence. For Cummian, the authentic tradition of his elders was to follow Rome.

Little is known of Honorius' letter, but Bede gives enough information in the *Historia ecclesiastica* to see that the charge made against the Irish is a serious one of lapsing into heresy. Although both the papal letters to the Irish in this chapter of the *Historia ecclesiastica* concern Easter, there seems at first glance to be little else that links them. However, the second letter, from Pope-elect John, can also be seen as a charge of heresy where the accusation is much more explicit. John was responding to a letter received in the pontificate of his predecessor, Severinus, sent probably by the northern Irish clerics named in the greeting. The letter bears not only John's name, but also those of Hilary the Archpriest (*archipresbyter*), John the First Secretary (*primicerius*), and John the Counsellor (*consiliarius*) of the Holy See. This may have been protocol in the time before the official inauguration of the pope's reign; it certainly indicates the seriousness with which Rome viewed the matter. Evidently, the signatories felt that the issues raised in the letter to Severinus should not go unattended for long. John's letter – or what we have of it – is intriguing. He gives advice on the proper calculation of Easter, but then warns the Irish clerics not 'to rake up the ashes amongst you of those whose weapons have been burnt', for, he alleges, the Irish are reviving the heresy of Pelagianism, condemned some two centuries ago. Scholars for many years found this either puzzling (what is a lesson on Pelagianism doing in a letter on Easter?), or interpreted it literally to mean that Pelagianism was alive and well in seventh-century Ireland.[16] Yet a lesson on the evils of Pelagianism was entirely appropriate in a papal letter concerning Easter to the Irish. Columbanus drew attention to the Roman origins of Irish Christianity in his letters to Rome and, perhaps, to the Roman mission led by Palladius in 431 to the Irish as their first bishop.[17] The church was held to be properly instituted in any territory

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16   For discussion, see D. Ó Cróinín, '"New heresy for old": Pelagianism in Ireland and the Papal Letter of 640', *Speculum*, 60 (1985): 505–16.

17   On this mission and Prosper Tiro's recording of it, see M. Maccarrone, 'La concezione di Roma città di Pietro e di Paolo da Damaso a Leone I', in Zerbi *et al.* (eds), *Romana ecclesia, cathedra Petri*, 198–201; R.A. Markus, 'Chronicle and Theology: Prosper of Aquitaine', in C. Holdsworth and T.P. Wiseman (eds), *The Inheritance of Historiography 350–900*, Exeter Studies in History 12 (Exeter 1986), 37–9; T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'Palladius, Prosper, and Leo the Great: Mission and Primatial Authority', in D.N. Dumville (ed.), *Saint Patrick, A.D. 493–1993* (Woodbridge, 1993); R.W. Mathisen, 'Barbarian Bishops and the Churches "in barbaricis gentibus" during Late Antiquity', *Speculum*, 72 (1997): 664–97, at 667.

only with the appointment of a bishop. As the first bishop in Ireland, Palladius' posting marked the formal beginnings of the church in Ireland. His mission was conducted in the context of a papal campaign against the heresy of Pelagianism. According to the anti-Pelagian Prosper Tiro of Aquitaine, Palladius had convinced Pope Celestine to send Germanus to Britain in 429 to combat Pelagianism there before Palladius himself led the mission to Ireland. It is debatable whether the memory of that mission was alive in Rome in the middle of the seventh century, but the words of the letter ('the poison of the Pelagian heresy has of late *revived* amongst you') indicate that John knew of the early phase of the controversy. To an Irish readership aware of the historical origins of their church, the lesson was clear: to be true to those origins they should follow the Roman lead on Easter.

Furthermore, because the letter offers instruction, John evidently felt that the heresy of Pelagianism was directly relevant to the Easter question. Pelagius and the system identified with him were condemned in 416 at the synod of Carthage.[18] He was accused of teaching that all humans are born in the same condition as Adam. No original sin was inherited from the first parents; salvation depended on how well the individual used his God-given abilities to avoid evil and do good. Pelagius' theology was stretched by his attackers to the point where it obviously offended orthodox belief. The emphasis on unaided individual endeavour left little room for grace or for the redemptive mission of Christ.[19] By the seventh century, Pelagianism may long have been something short of a dead letter in Ireland,[20] but in presuming that they could resolve the problem of the proper celebration of the Easter feast for themselves without reference to any other authority, the Irish were behaving in a way that could be characterized as Pelagian. What the Irish stood accused of in John's letter is not a formal allegiance to the heresy of Pelagianism, but an attitude of mind which, in its refusal to acknowledge human shortcomings and the need for help, was in essence Pelagian. This sets the subject of respect for authority in its doctrinal setting. John says that even though Pelagianism had long ago been condemned, it continues to be combatted by the church for 'it is daily condemned by us and buried beneath our perpetual ban'.[21] Even though the battle against the formal heresy had been fought and won, John saw it as his duty to combat Pelagianism in whatever guise it emerged, including the Irish refusal to accept guidance or what was perceived to be their failure to respect the authority of the universal church.

Columbanus refers in his letters to the standards of ecclesiastical leadership in his homeland. Coming 'from the world's end' (*de extremo mundo*; *Ep.* 5, 8), he describes the battles fought by the 'spiritual leaders' (*spiritales duces*) there; he says that his expectations of the spiritual leaders at Rome, at the centre of the Christian world, were therefore

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18   J. Patout Burns, 'Augustine's Role in the Imperial Actions against Pelagius', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 29 (1978): 67–83.

19   See introduction to T. de Bruyn, *Pelagius's Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford 1993).

20   M.W. Herren and S.A. Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century*, Studies in Celtic History 20 (Rochester, 2002), argue, however, for the prevalence of Pelagian thought in early Ireland; but see the review by G. Bonner in *Peritia*, 16 (2002) and his 'The Pelagian Controversy in Britain and Ireland', ibid., 144–55.

21   Bede, *HE*, II.19; Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 200–201.

high.[22] His descriptions of Irish identity conform to many of the stereotypes of the day and cannot be taken at face value; in his letters to Rome, for example, much of that identity is expressed in the idiom of the papacy. There are, however, passages in his writings concerning ecclesiastical leadership that have parallels in the seventh-century literature of the Irish church.[23] What he says on the subject can, to some extent, be seen as representative of the ideals that prevailed in early Ireland. At the very least, his works show that one Irish cleric in the time before John's letter thought that the lessons learned in the fight against Pelagianism had a bearing on the question of obedience to ecclesiastical authority. The evidence is found in his fourth letter, sent to his followers, in particular to Attala, written while he, as *persona valde non grata* in the eyes of the Merovingian rulers of Burgundy, was awaiting expulsion from Gaul. The letter, like the others, concerns the nature of ecclesiastical leadership, the standards expected of the leader, and what the proper response to ecclesiastical authority should be. Columbanus is often subtle to the point of being elusive, particularly in his handling of biblical passages that were central in theological debate. However, he quotes such verses in precisely the context one would expect to find them in the theological literature. A verse which, from the beginning, figured in the literature of Pelagianism is Romans 9:16, *Igitur non volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei* ('So, then, it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy'). This verse suggests that neither human resolve nor action is sufficient; all depends on God's mercy. In his commentary on Paul's letter to the Romans, when Pelagius comes to examine this verse he says that it is not spoken in the affirmative, but in a voice of one who questions or refutes.[24] Pelagius, and others before him, interpreted Rom. 9:16 as in part a question intended to assert the necessity of individual endeavour and reject the idea that salvation was a matter of divine caprice. In support, he cites other Pauline verses which represent the struggle in life to achieve salvation as a runner competing in a race (an image that appears frequently in Columbanus' works). If it is true that man is incapable of running the course, Pelagius argues, why then does Paul write that 'I have finished the course' (2 Tim. 4:7)?

Augustine takes the opposite view in his interpretation of Rom. 9:16. Human will or endeavour is not strong enough to reach its goal; divine inspiration and help are always needed.[25] In Letter 4, Columbanus directly addresses Attala, his eventual successor as abbot of Bobbio. He advises him on his role as leader and the dangers he should guard against among the brethren: 'Whoever are rebellious, let them depart away; whoever are obedient, let it be they who become heirs' (*Ep.* 4, 4). The letter concerns the leader's

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22   He discusses the basis of spiritual authority among the Irish in *Ep.* 5, 11.

23   Bracken, 'Authority and Duty', 188–207.

24   'Unde intellegitur quia hic interrogantis uoce utitur [et redarguentis] potius quam negantis', *Pelagii expositio in Romanis*, 74; 'For this reason it is understood that here he takes on the voice of one who questions [and refutes], rather than of one who denies'; see De Bruyn (trans.), *Pelagius's Commentary*, 118. Augustine, in *A Work on the Proceedings of Pelagius*, 39, gives an account of how Bishop John confronted Pelagius on his reading of this verse at the synod of Carthage, but Pelagius seems to have sidestepped confrontation on the issue.

25   Augustine interprets Rom. 9:16 in this way in *On Grace and Free Will* (7, 16); *Against Two Letters of the Pelagians* (5, 10); *A Work on the Proceedings of Pelagius* (14, 35, 37; 15, 38; 26, 51); *On the Grace of Christ* (10, vi, 51); and *The Gift of Perseverance* (9, 25).

duty to exercise discernment (*discretio*), the highest of the monastic virtues, and his role as a discerner of spirits. Columbanus then considers his own predicament and his eminent expulsion from the Merovingian lands; and he warns Attala that persecution is the fate of the leader. In the circumstances, one must rely on God's help: 'For he who perseveres up to the end shall be saved. For it is at the end that judgment holds its session, and at the outcome that praise is sung. But that he should be persevering, let each constantly beseech the help of God with all humility of mind; for it is not of him that willeth, we are told, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy (Rom. 9. 16) …' (*Ep.* 4, 6). Columbanus quotes Rom. 9:16 in the context of a discussion of the necessity for instruction and how humility is the prerequisite for it makes one instructible and capable of accepting help: 'the proud man does not merit it; he is left alone and hardened; he is unthankful, unprayerful, irreligious'. He quotes the verse again in the same context a little later and reveals more clearly how he sees obedience to authority in a Pelagian setting. We have seen that Pelagius pairs Rom. 9:16 with 2 Tim. 4:7 in order to argue that human endeavour and not divine selection alone is necessary for salvation. More than one scholar has commented on how these verses are frequently combined in the literature of Pelagian and anti-Pelagian polemic.[26] Augustine made the same association in his works against Pelagius.[27] In the following century, Caesarius of Arles[28] combined the verses, as did Faustus, Bishop of Reiz, when commissioned by his metropolitan, Leontius of Arles, to write *De gratia*, a treatise against Pelagianism.[29] Columbanus had a high regard for Faustus and *De gratia* is a work he may have read.[30] These writers combine these same biblical verses, but offer an interpretation that runs contrary to Pelagius. They argue that one may finish the race (2 Tim. 4:7) and one may run to obtain the prize (1 Cor. 9:24), but no one exerts himself unless he has first been called, because 'It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy' (Rom. 9:16). When Columbanus comes to consider *virtus* (*humana*), translated '[human] goodness' by Walker but a word carrying the range of meanings encompassing 'ability' and 'strength', he says the following:

> See what adversities surround us, and what as it were tumultuous eddies wash us round, my dearest disciple, not to speak of those which lurk within and daily fight against us in ourselves. Thus in the midst of so great dangers to will and to run [cf. Rom. 9:16], though it be your duty, is not in your power; for human goodness [*virtus humana*] is not strong enough

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26　See the observations of De Bruyn, *Pelagius's Commentary*, 118. Thomas Smith says, 'In *De grat. et lib. arb.* 7, 16 and *De gest. Pel.* 14, 35, Augustine, like Faustus, counterposes 2 Tim. 4:7, in both instances he tends to subsume this passage beneath Rom. 9:16, arguing that Paul's "running" was done by divine power', *'De gratia': Fautus of Riez's Treatise on Grace and its Place in the History of Theology*, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 4 (Notre Dame, 1990) 116, n19.

27　Augustine, *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, I, ii, 10; cols 116–17 of vol. 6 in the Benedictine's edition of the works of Augustine (Paris 1841); *A Work on the Proceedings of Pelagius*, 35.

28　Caesarius, *Sermo 226*, 895.

29　Faustus, *De gratia dei et libero arbitrio*; PLS 783–836, at 796–7.

30　The degree of Columbanus' familiarity with Faustus is discussed by C. Stancliffe, 'The Thirteen Sermons Attributed to Columbanus and the Question of their Authorship', in M. Lapidge (ed.), *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, Studies in Celtic History 17 (Woodbridge 1997), 93–202, at 182–5.

to reach the goal it wishes between so many opposing forces, unless the mercy of God also provide the will – that the pilgrim's desires should be fulfilled and have free course [*currere*], and by his avoiding the slips and stumbles and opposing chances of good fortune, that his course should be completed [cf. 2 Tim. 4:7] without stumbling.[31]

His repetition of Rom. 9:16 here and, particularly, his combining of that verse with 2 Tim. 4:7, show that Columbanus refers to the literature of anti-Pelagianism. What follows immediately in this letter has been described as showing the same preoccupations with Pelagianism, for Columbanus displays 'an awareness of the need to avoid a Pelagian self-sufficiency and a desire to acknowledge man's dependence on God's grace, at the same time as stressing the importance of man's own fight against sin'.[32] It is difficult to say what Columbanus' source is; although the parallels with Augustine's *Ad Simplicianum* are certainly suggestive, any Augustinian influences were probably mediated. These passages, though short, give an insight into Columbanus' complex ecclesiology and theory of the nature of authority. They show how he sees the practical matters of authority, like the respect owed by the junior to the senior, in a theological setting. In their letters to the Irish on the subject of Easter, the bishops of Rome saw obedience to authority and the willingness to take instruction as a doctrinal imperative. Those who resist the demands of authority, who are not open to instruction, or react adversely when help is offered are characterized as heretics and dressed in Pelagian clothes. Their proud self-reliance causes them to react violently to any offering of help or correction. Columbanus writes that this help (*auxilio*) leaves the proud man 'alone and hardened; he is unthankful, unprayerful, irreligious' (*Ep.* 4, 7).[33] (Cummian also writes how this refusal to accept correction and to abandon a wrong position is the mark of the heretic.[34]) Columbanus' letters reveal how he sees the relationship of junior to senior

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31 *Ep.* 4, 7: 'Ecce quibus circumdamur adversitatibus et quibus circumluimur acsi vorticum fragoribus, carissime discens, exceptis quae intrinsecus latent et intra nosmetipsos cottidie militant contra nos. Ideo in tantis periculis velle et currere, licet tuum, non est tuum; non enim sufficit virtus humana inter tantas contrarietates pervenire ad quod vult, nisi misericordia Domini et velle faciat – vota gradientis compleri et currere, et, prosperitatis lapsus et offendicula casusque contraries evadente, cursus inoffense finiri'.

32 Stancliffe, 'The Thirteen Sermons', 191. The same emphasis is found in the *Breviarium in psalmos*, PL 26, 1154 attributed to Jerome: 'Non est enim volentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei. Videte quid dicat: Non ait: non est jacentis, neque dormientis, sed miserentis est Dei. Sed vide quid dicit: Non est volentis neque currentis, sed miserentis Dei. Si non ergo voluerimus et cucurrerimus, Deus nobis nihil proderit. Nostrum est velle et currere, et postea Deus miseretur. Athleta enim dormiens perdit victoriam'. For a discussion of this text and attribution, see the literature listed in M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic Latin Literature*, Royal Irish Academy Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources Ancillary Publications 1 (Dublin 1985), 98, no. 343.

33 Cf. also Columbanus' *Regula monachorum* X *(De mortificatione)*; Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, 138–41. This is how Bede describes the fiery-tempered Finán, apologist for the so-called 'Celtic' Easter at the Synod of Whitby. The Romanizing Rónán 'made him the more bitter by his reproofs and turned him into an open adversary of the truth'. *HE*, III, 25; Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 296–7.

34 'It is proper to heretics not to correct their opinion; to prefer a perverse opinion rather than abandon one they had defended'; Walsh and Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter*, 95.

as reciprocal. It imposes mutual obligations, for the junior must respect the authority of the senior, but the senior must respond by giving good leadership. Furthermore, the letters show how he believes that the superior is not above the need for help. Indeed, his refusal to accept help from the junior implies that the way to truth is open only to those in positions of authority, not to all members of the church (*Ep.* 5, 12). The junior is judged by his reaction when assistance is proffered; the superior is also judged by the same criterion, for he must take in good part any warranted correction. Columbanus bases his call on the most senior ecclesiastic, the bishop of Rome, to listen to him, 'the lowliest … the least' (*humillimus … minimus*; *Ep.* 5, 1), on another theological tradition, for in Letter 5, to Pope Boniface IV (608–15), there is a subtle but unmistakable allusion to the tradition of fraternal correction.

Columbanus and the Tradition of Fraternal Correction

Columbanus' letter to Boniface concerns the schism that resulted in the West following the doctrinal wavering of his predecessor, Pope Vigilius (537–55), at the time of the Three Chapters controversy. In an effort to placate Eastern monophysite ecclesiastics, Emperor Justinian (527–65) condemned the persons and, or, writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia,[35] Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa – the Three Chapters – who were all supporters of a 'two natures' christology.[36] In the West, this was seen as a repudiation of the Synod of Chalcedon's definition of the dual nature of Christ. Vigilius' subsequent attempt to backtrack did nothing to calm the controversy; in fact, by seeming to admit that he was wrong he greatly damaged Rome's prestige and reputation as the 'teaching church' from which all others learn. When he wrote in 613, Columbanus was living in northern Italy and connected to the court of Agilulf, King of the Lombards, and of Theodelinda, his wife. Agilulf, according to Columbanus, was a heathen (*gentilis*; *Ep.* 5, 14)[37] and Theodelinda Catholic, but the North Italian church was not in communion with Rome because it repudiated the teaching of Vigilius.[38] In Letter 5, Columbanus calls on Boniface to act and heal the schism, and to restore unity.

The noticeable change of tone in papal correspondence from the middle of the sixth century reflects the limits of Rome's ability to regain what had been lost in the aftermath of Vigilius' pontificate.[39] The confident assertion of authority and the claim

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35   On Justinian's action against Theodore, see M.V. Anastos, *The Immutability of Christ and Justinian's Condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia*, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 6 (1951): 123–60.

36   See P.T.R. Gray and M.W. Herren, 'Columbanus and the Three Chapters Controversy: A New Approach', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 45 (1994): 160–70. Columbanus seems to have had a greater grasp of the theological issues at stake than the authors allow.

37   S.C. Fanning, 'Lombard Arianism Reconsidered', *Speculum*, 56 (1981): 241–58, at 254.

38   J.T. Hallenbeck, *Pavia and Rome: The Lombard Monarchy and the Papacy in the Eighth Century*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 72 (1982), 14n., where, indeed, Columbanus is described as a supporter of the Trecapitoline schism.

39   R.B. Eno, 'Papal Damage Control in the Aftermath of the Three Chapters Controversy', in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica* 19 (Oxford 1989), 52–6. For a treatment of the political context of the schism, see T.S. Brown, 'The Church of Ravenna and the Imperial Administration in the Seventh Century', *English Historical Review*, 94 (1979): 1–28.

to universal responsibility for all churches that Vigilius made in his letter to Profuturus of Braga[40] is tempered by a more conciliatory tone in the letters of his successors. The line taken by Pope Pelagius II (579–90) in his Letter 3, to the bishops of Istria, has attracted some attention. The author's unwillingness to compel assent but instead to convince by argument is said to reflect the spirit of Gregory the Great;[41] indeed, Paul Meyvaert has shown that the letter was ghost-written by Gregory himself in his time as Pelagius' deacon. The letter attempts to excuse Vigilius' retraction of his condemnations of the Three Chapters by citing his ignorance of Greek[42] and failure to follow the argument, and by appealing to biblical precedent when the princes of the apostles, Peter and Paul, had changed their minds on vital issues.[43] Paul had persecuted preachers, but came eventually to believe in their message.[44] The second example of a change of mind, and one made in response to the reproval of a junior, is Peter's inferred response to Paul's correction as told in Galatians 2:11–12. This is seen as significant and treated at greater length in the letter. Peter had been insisting on circumcision for gentile converts to Christianity, refusing to associate with those who had not been circumcised. Peter corrected his error in response to Paul's public reproof, giving, Gregory says, an important lesson on the nature of spiritual authority, for what is reprehensible is not to change one's mind, but to adhere to an opinion which one knows to be wrong. Indeed, Pelagius II's letter has been described as the first careful defence of a change of policy by the papacy.[45]

Paul's confrontation with Peter figures prominently in the literature of the Three Chapters controversy, but also served in patristic literature as a fundamental lesson on the nature of authority. In this context, what has been surmised about Peter's reaction to this warranted correction is significant. Augustine examined the account of Paul's correction of Peter in his *Commentary on Galatians*. In suffering correction before all, Peter 'was willing to endure this rebuke from a junior shepherd for the salvation of the flock'.[46] Ultimately, the one in error, Peter, was shown to be more admirable in allowing himself to be corrected by another, 'and that a junior, and all of this in front of everyone'. Gregory the Great wrote his *Homilies on Ezekiel* towards the end of the sixth century, when the effects of the Trecapitoline controversy were still very evident. He discusses Paul's correction of Peter and how he 'withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed' (Gal. 2:11).[47] However, Gregory says that in his praise for Paul in

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40   PL 69, 15–16.

41   P. Meyvaert, 'A Letter of Pelagius II Composed by Gregory the Great', in J.C. Cavadini (ed.), *Gregory the Great: A Symposium* (Notre Dame, 1995), 92–116; Markus, *Gregory the Great*, 126–8.

42   PL 72, 722.

43   An examination of the central issues from a theological perspective, including a useful summary of the sources, is found in O. de Urbina, 'Quali sententia "tria capitula" a sede romana damnata sunt?', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 33 (1967): 184–209.

44   PL 72, 722–3.

45   Markus, *Gregory the Great*, 128.

46   E. Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians: Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford 2003), 144–5.

47   *Hom. Ez.* 6, 9; PL 76, 1002–3; see Gray (trans.), *Homilies*, 221. This passage from Gregory and the tradition of fraternal correction in Bede's account of relations between Iona and Jarrow

his second epistle (2 Pet. 3, 15–16), Peter 'yielded even to his lesser brother for harmony and thereby became a follower of his inferior … Behold he is rebuked by his inferior and does not take offence at the rebuke'. Paul, the junior, shows his maturity in the faith by correcting Peter, his elder. However, Peter's reaction to justified correction was seen by both Augustine and Gregory as a demonstration of his worthiness to lead. 'The Lord did not say', writes Augustine, '"Take my yoke and learn from me, because I raise four-day-old corpses from the tomb and cast out all demons and diseases from people's bodies", and other such things, but rather, *Take my yoke and learn from me, for I am gentle and humble of heart* (Matt. 11. 29)'. Miracles, he continues, are signs of spiritual realities, but Peter's humility and preservation of love are the spiritual realities themselves.[48]

Paul's confrontation with Peter therefore provided those caught in the Three Chapters controversy with an important precedent in which the status of the founder of the Roman church did not suffer when he was shown to be wrong by a junior and was willing to change his mind. But Pelagius II's (or Gregory's) letter was certainly not the first time the papacy attempted to explain its position in the controversy by appealing to Peter's change of heart; nor does it mark the first attempt by the papacy to defend a change of policy. If Vigilius' letter *Scandala* is genuine, it marks a significant development, for it contains an appeal to the memory of Augustine who himself set out his changes of heart in the *Retractions*.[49] We are on firmer ground with Pelagius I (556–61), Vigilius' successor. In some ways, his position was even more intractable than his predecessor's, for he had rejected Vigilius' condemnation of the Three Chapters before eventually agreeing to the censure. In 558, he addressed his actions in the Three Chapters controversy in his Letter 19, to Sapaudus of Arles and the Gaulish bishops.[50] In this remarkable document, Pelagius excuses his error as a deacon and appeals to the advice of Augustine, who, in his treatise *On the soul and its origin*, counselled Vincentius Victor to retract his errors, for 'your amendment of your own errors would bring you more admiration than if you had never entertained them'.[51] There follows a quotation from the prologue to Augustine's *Retractions* where he admits his own errors and duty to correct them. Pelagius then warns of the dangers of separation from Peter's chair and recalls the schismatic provinces (he numbers them at three or four) to the unity of the universal church. He follows the *Scandala* when he affirms his adherence to the first four general councils (Nicaea, Constantinople I, Ephesus and Chalcedon), thereby

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are examined by Jennifer O'Reilly in the introduction to S. Connolly, *Bede: On the Temple*, Translated Texts for Historians 21 (Liverpool, 1995), xlii–xliii.

48   Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians*, 144–5.

49   De Urbina, 'Quali sententia "tria capitula" a sede romana damnata sunt?', 194–5, questions the genuineness of *Scandala*, but says of its contents: 'Auctor concedit postea se retractare et corrigere antecedentia iudicia a se prolata. Nulla debet esse verecundia in hoc. Etiam ipse Augustinus correxit suas priores sententias'.

50   P.M. Gassó and C.M. Batlle, *Pelagii I papae epistulae quae supersunt*, Scripta et Documenta 8 (Barcelona, 1956), 55–61.

51   Gassó and Batlle, *Pelagii I papae epistulae*, 58: '… laudabilior eris censor in te ipsum, quam si quemlibet alium recta ratione repraehenderis, et mirabilior eorum emendator quam si nunquam illa sensisses'. The editors reference *De anime et eius origine*, III, 15, 23; trans. in P. Schaff (ed.), *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 5 (Grand Rapids, MI, 1956), 352.

downgrading the importance of the fifth, the second Council of Constantinople of 553, at which the imperial condemnation of the Three Chapters was confirmed. His purpose may have been to distinguish these synods, which defined matters of faith, from Constantinople II, which did not, and minimize the significance of Vigilius and Pelagius' support.[52] The most striking feature of the letter, however, is the quotation Pelagius takes from Cyprian of Carthage's Letter 71, to Quintus. The letter concerned the clash between the Church of North Africa, for whom Cyprian spoke, and Rome.

At issue was whether those who had been baptised by heretics had to be baptised again if they sought admission to the Church. Cyprian insisted that rebaptism was necessary; Pope Stephen I (254–57) argued that it was not. At some point in the controversy, Stephen appealed to Matthew 16:17 ('Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church') and claimed to speak with the authority given to Peter. This is one of the first examples of this verse being applied to the Bishop of Rome in this way.[53] Cyprian, however, argued that tradition must give way to reason, as Peter himself had when confronted by Paul, his junior, in Galatians 2:11:

> For neither did Peter, whom first the Lord chose, and upon whom he built his Church, when Paul disputed with him afterwards about circumcision, claim anything to himself insolently, nor arrogantly assume anything; so as to say that he held the primacy, and that he ought rather to be obeyed by novices and those lately come. Nor did he despise Paul because he had previously been a persecutor of the church, but admitted the counsel of truth, and easily yielded to the lawful reason which Paul asserted, furnishing thus an illustration to us both of concord and of patience, that we should not obstinately love our own opinions, but should rather adopt as our own those which at any time are usefully and wholesomely suggested by our brethren and colleagues, if they be true and lawful.[54]

Remarkably, as early as 558, Pope Pelagius I quoted much of this passage in Letter 19, to Sapaudus, concerning the Three Chapters,[55] showing that the papacy appealed to the tradition of fraternal correction represented by Paul's confrontation with Peter immediately following the Three Chapters débâcle. Gregory's appeal to the same

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52   See Pelagius' *professio fidei* in Gassó and Batlle, *Pelagii I papae epistulae*, 38, and his declaration of adherence to the faith as defined by the first four general councils; also De Urbina, 'Quali sententia "tria capitula" a sede romana damnata sunt?', 200, for comment.

53   Batiffol, 'Petrus initium episcopatus', 444; K. Schatz, *Papal Primacy from its Origins to the Present*, trans. J.A. Otto and L.M. Maloney (Collegeville, MN, 1996), 13–14.

54   'Nam nec Petrus, quem primum Dominus elegit, et super quem aedificavit Ecclesiam suam, cum secum Paulus de circumcisione postmodum disceptaret, vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter aut arroganter assumpsit, ut diceret se primatum tenere et obtemperari a novellis et posteris sibi potius oportere. Nec despexit Paulum quod Ecclesiae prius persecutor fuisset, sed consilium veritatis admisit, et rationi legitimae quam Paulus vindicabat facile consensit (Gal. 2, 14); documentum scilicet nobis et concordiae et patientiae tribuens, ut non pertinaciter nostra amemus, sed quae aliquando a fratribus et collegis nostris utiliter et salubriter suggeruntur, si sint vera et legitima, ipsa potius nostra ducamus', PL 4, 410; trans. in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 5 (Grand Rapids, MI, n.d.), 377–8.

55   'Documentum scilicet nobis concordiae et patientiae tribunes ut non pertinaciter nostra amemus, sed quae aliquando a fratribus et collegis nostris utiliter subgeruntur, si sint uera et legitima, ipsa potius nostra dicantur', Gassó and Batlle, *Pelagii I papae epistulae*, 56.

precedent in the letter of Pelagius II is therefore part of an established tradition; it does not represent a peculiarly 'Gregorian' vision of the church, but signifies a broad change in emphasis by the papacy in how it viewed its standing in relation to other churches. Therefore, what Columbanus says towards the end of his letter when he gives his own *professio fidei* is especially significant. He follows his declaration of his Christian belief with advice to the pope calling on him to take action against those whose orthodoxy is suspect. His quotation from Galatians 2 is a subtle reference to Paul's correction of Peter and to the tradition of fraternal correction.

> … thus I beseech you for Christ's sake, spare none who has tried to separate you from Christ; but rather withstand him to the face [*ei in faciem resistite*; cf. Gal. 2:11], if any, refusing to believe rightly, has wished to recall you from the Catholic faith.[56]

Paul's confrontation with Peter as told in Galatians 2 appeared in papal letters as part of the papacy's attempt to rehabilitate its reputation in the aftermath of the Three Chapters controversy, examples of which date from Columbanus' own lifetime. It is unlikely that a writer as well-informed as he about what was at stake in the controversy, and who was so subtle in his treatment of biblical passages that were theologically controversial, would have been unaware of what Galatians 2 signified for a contemporary readership or what his use of the verse in his own letter to the pope signalled. Throughout the letter to Boniface, he presents himself as a humble supplicant, a 'dull Irish pilgrim' (*peregrinum Scotum hebetem*; *Ep.* 5, 14), but one who presumes nevertheless to advise the chief of pastors. His humility protects him from the charge of overstepping his station, but the allusion to the tradition of fraternal correction in a letter to the pope, and one which concerned the Three Chapters, is all part of a theologically impressive letter of admonition that appeals to traditions that allow the junior to advise the senior. It could be that in appealing to the tradition of fraternal correction, Columbanus casts himself in the role of Paul. But in his call on the chief of pastors to act decisively and to correct the wayward he alludes to Gal. 2:11 in such a way that Boniface, the one who is to call the errant to account, is presented as the Pauline figure.

In Letter 71, Cyprian sees in Paul's confrontation with Peter an image of the church in which all members, even those who, like Paul, had once been the church's persecutors, can speak the truth, even if it is to admonish the most senior. Pope Pelagius quotes Cyprian to show that even the prince of the apostles had to suffer correction by a junior as a means of excusing himself, for he, as Peter's successor, faced the opposition of the bishops of the West. Paul's correction of Peter was seen as the foremost example of fraternal correction, but it must have added a certain piquancy to the debate that Cyprian, in his demand for rebaptism of heretics, was ultimately shown to be in error and Pope Stephen vindicated. Indeed, Augustine, in *On Baptism, Against the Donatists*, quotes the same passage from Cyprian as Pelagius I did in his letter to Sapaudus, and compares Cyprian's insistence on rebaptism to Peter's demand that converts should undergo circumcision.[57]

56　'… ideo, quaeso vos pro Christo, nulli parcite, qui vos a Christo separare tentaverit; sed potius *ei in faciem resistite*, si quis, nolens recte credere, vos a fide catholica revocare voluerit', *Ep.* 5, 13.

57　Augustine, *On Baptism, Against the Donatists*, 2, 4, 5.

In many ways, the type of church advocated by Columbanus has striking parallels with that envisaged by Cyprian and found in the papal correspondence in the wake of the Three Chapters controversy. Cyprian states that Peter did not 'claim anything to himself insolently, nor arrogantly assume anything; so as to say that he held the primacy, and that he ought rather to be obeyed by novices and those lately come'. The obvious inference is that this is the standard his successors must emulate. In a tone that is quite similar, Columbanus refers to Peter's status as the key-bearer (*clavicularius*) and warns Boniface that 'you perhaps on this account claim for yourself before all others some proud measure of greater authority and power in things divine'.[58] It is the true nature of the church that 'the unity of faith has produced in the whole world a unity of power and privilege'; therefore, 'by all men everywhere freedom should be given to the truth, and the approach of error should be denied by all alike' (*Ep.* 5, 12).

Columbanus' second letter was sent to the Gaulish clerics meeting in conference at Chalon-sur-Saône in 603. He commends their efforts, but excuses himself from attending. They were meeting to discuss Easter, but for Columbanus what was at stake was much more fundamental; it was 'the truth of faith and good works' (*Ep.* 2, 2). And so, at the very beginning, he introduces faith and works as a dominant theme of this letter. His purpose is to teach the Gaulish clergy, whom he sees as worldly, a lesson on the nature of their pastoral responsibilities. The pastor's duty is to preach good deeds, but also to exemplify that counsel by performing good works. This congruence between ideal and practice protects the churchman from any accusation of hypocrisy. In Letter 4, he presents humility as the prerequisite that makes the individual capable of being instructed, and therefore capable of accepting the help necessary to overcome human weakness and so achieve salvation. So, too, humility is seen as essential to maintain, or achieve, harmony and a united outcome to the synod. In a masterfully controlled argument, Columbanus shows the clerics that issues of faith and good works, the pastor's rejection of the worldly, and his duty to lead by example are all necessary if harmony is to be achieved; this harmony will result in the unity that is essential if their synod is to succeed. He takes the example of the good shepherd of John's Gospel to instruct them in these virtues.

Although Columbanus says that the Gaulish clerics were meeting to discuss 'the truth of faith and good works', this becomes the subject of his own letter to them. Gregory the Great emphasized the centrality of faith and works in the life of the pastor. Instruction begins with experience, and so the preacher attracts the carnal man to the faith by the example of his good life. Once the pastor's virtues have drawn his follower to the faith, he may begin to instruct him in its principles.[59] This new faith is then brought to fruition in the good works which the pastor must nurture in the new believer; and so the process begins again as the believer draws others to the faith by the virtue of

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58 '… et vos per hoc forte superciliosum nescio quid prae ceteris vobis maioris auctoritatis ac in divinis rebus potestatis vindicatis', *Ep.* 5, 12.

59 See C. Leyser, 'Expertise and Authority in Gregory the Great: The Social Function of *peritia*', in Cavadini (ed.), *Gregory the Great*, 41–6. On the responsibilty of the pastor to teach by word and example, see R.A. Markus, 'Gregory the Great's *rector* and his Genesis', in J. Fontaine *et al.* (eds), *Grégoire le Grand* (Paris 1986), 137–46.

his life.[60] This evolution from works to faith and so back to works again is typical of the way Gregory constructs his argument. The return to the starting point brings his case to completion and confirms it. However, in this dynamic of works leading to faith and, in turn, being fulfilled in works, the preacher is the starting point; he oversees the spreading of the faith and its fulfilment in works. Columbanus was aware of these Gregorian principles and introduces them at the beginning of the letter. Faith and works were fundamental pastoral responsibilities, and this allows Columbanus to give the Gaulish bishops a forthright reminder of their duties as pastors. By concentrating on them, he warns the bishops that only by striving to fulfil those priestly responsibilities and to meet the standards worthy of a cleric will their synod reach a successful conclusion.

The importance of remaining faithful to the source of belief occurs early in the letter. For clerics, this was the duty to follow Christ 'since the son should not be degenerate, and the disciple should not contradict the master in his preaching' (*Ep.* 2, 3). As seniors of the church, the bishops have a responsibility to lead through their teaching of the faith, but also by the example of their works in how they lived. The pastor must put into practice what he preaches as the guarantee of his ministry before his flock. Columbanus cites as an example of that principle the good shepherd of John 10, whose duty to care for his flock was exemplified by Christ when he suffered crucifixion: the faith of the preacher was fulfilled in his works and duty was met by action. The flock recognizes the voice of the good shepherd (Jn 10:4) because there is no dissonance in the words preached and the actions performed. It is not sufficient for the pastor simply to preach the tenets of Christianity; he must illustrate them by imitating Christ in his life. Clerics had a duty to preach the faith, but also to perform the good works of faith. The mid-seventh-century Irish *De duodecim abusiuis saeculi* (*De XII*) puts the learned preacher who does not translate the faith he preaches into works in the first grade of the iniquitous: 'The first grade of scandal is if he is a wise man without works and a preacher who neglects to fulfil in deeds what he teaches by word. When they see that the deeds of the preacher are at odds with the words that are preached, the hearers easily condemn the words of the teaching. For the authority of the proposer is never effectual unless it clings firmly to the heart of the hearer by the performance of deed'.[61] Unlike the good shepherd who 'giveth his life for his sheep' (Jn 10:11), the hireling, 'whose own the sheep are not … flieth, because he is a hireling; and he hath no care for the sheep' (Jn 10:12–13).

Columbanus writes of the role of juniors in teaching seniors and expresses precisely these ideas in the letter when, writing of 'work and word', he tells the Gaulish clergy

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60   In the *Homilies on Ezekiel*, Gregory wrote, 'For we do not come via virtues to faith but we arrive at the virtues through faith; [Cornelius] did not come by his works to faith but by faith came to works'; *Hom. Ez.* 2, 7, 9, 'Non enim uirtutibus uenitur ad fidem, sed per fidem pertingitur ad uirtutes … non operibus uenit [Cornelius] ad fidem, sed fide uenit ad opera'; CCSL 142, 322, in Grey (trans.), *The Homilies*, 235–6.

61   'Primus abusionis gradus est si sine operibus sapiens et praedicator fuerit, qui quod sermone docet, actibus explere negligit. Auditores enim doctrinae dicta facile contemnunt, cum praedicatoris opera a praedicationis verbis discrepare conspiciunt; numquam enim fit efficax auctoritas instituentis, nisi eam effectu operis cordi afflixerit audientis …', S. Hellmann (ed.), *Pseudo-Cyprianus: De xii abusiuis saeculi*, Texte und Untersuchungen 34 (Leipzig 1909), 32–3; Bracken, 'Authority and Duty', 203.

that 'if you are willing for us juniors to teach you fathers, you may ever keep in work and word this saying of the true shepherd, which his sheep know – "for they do not know the voice of strangers, but flee from him" [Jn 10:5] whose voice they know not, which, unless it be exemplified in practice, does not agree with the voice of the true shepherd' (*Ep.* 2, 4). He runs a series of biblical quotations together to press on the Gaulish clerics his point that preaching the faith is not sufficient; good works are the necessary demonstration of true faith.[62] The words of the hireling have no effect on his hearers because 'what the master begins by slighting in his actions, he cannot with bare speech transmit for an example of obedience' (*Ep.* 2, 4). The pastor can be effective in preaching Christ only by being himself Christ-like. Columbanus defines what it is to imitate Christ at the beginning of the letter: '… let it be enough to have indicated that each will need to be moulded to the example of his redeemer and the pattern of the true shepherd, who first preaching humility, and adding seven beatitudes to the first, which is poverty of spirit …' (*Ep.* 2, 3).[63] He repeats his emphasis on humility and poverty as the two qualities that make the preacher conform to Christ. To imitate Christ is 'to walk even as Christ walked – that is, both poor and humble' (*Ep.* 2, 3); the pastor must 'choose to be humble and poor for Christ's sake' (*Ep.* 2, 5); he follows Christ 'by humility and by willing poverty' (*Ep.* 2, 5). After this instruction on the importance of the twin virtues of humility and poverty in the proper conduct of the pastor, Columbanus moves to the real business of his letter. He has a poor opinion of the Gaulish clergy and is not prepared to expose himself to their attack in a synod. However, as in his letters to the popes, he is also slow to pass up any opportunity to voice his opinion and, while protecting himself and his followers from their attack, he subtly rebukes them for their failings. Humility and poverty, the means by which the cleric follows Christ and matches his words with action, are the two points on which he builds his criticism of the Gaulish bishops in Letter 2.

To take his treatment of humility first, Columbanus refers to this virtue repeatedly in the letter to show that it is a virtue the Gaulish clergy lacks. He emphasizes this point in the context of his discussion of a church council because according to the doctrinal ideal, humility was essential to the proper conducting of a synod.[64] Through humility and by 'laying aside the swelling growth of pride', Columbanus argues that the Gaulish divines can 'seek to record a unanimous verdict' in their council. As part of his argument, Columbanus proposes (as does Cummian) that through unity and unanimity, orthodoxy will be maintained and the truth discerned. Christ's words in John 6:38 that he comes 'not to do my will but the will of him that sent me' exemplify humility because

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62 "'Faith without works is dead in itself [Jm 2:17 and 20], and the Lord replies to fools who rely on faith alone, "That I have not known you" [Mt 7:23], and to those who believe well and keep saying "Lord, Lord" [Mt 7:21], he declared, that "they shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven"' (*Ep.* 2, 3).

63 As noted by Walker, Columbanus here quotes Jerome's *Commentarii in Matheum*; for discussion, see N. Wright, 'Columbanus's *Epistulae*', in Lapidge (ed), *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, 67–8.

64 For an overview, see B. Tierney, *Foundations of Conciliar Theory; The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (London, 1968).

'Pride does its own will, humility does the will of God';[65] and so the humble become the discerners of God's will. If all who have gathered for the council are motivated by humility, the unanimous result of their deliberations must be respected for it is the discernment of God's will (*Ep.* 2, 5). Furthermore, 'if the humble cannot strive' (*Ep.* 2, 5) and seek God's will, not their own, they enter the synod with the intention not of seeing their position prevail over others, but with discerning truth. According to this ideal, a synod will not degenerate into a contest between opposing parties, but become a united attempt to discern truth. And so 'with the causes of disagreement and difference cut off, all the sons of God shall mutually enjoy between themselves a true peace and entire charity, by the likeness of their characters and the agreement of their single will' (*Ep.* 2, 5). If all are united in this objective, once the truth has been discovered it becomes the property not of the party which proposed it, but of all who seek truth. Humility and openness to discerning truth in others results in the triumph of truth, not in the domination of one party over another. A synod in which there is a united quest for truth in humility will reach a successful conclusion 'when none is vanquished except error, and when none boasts in himself but in the Lord' (*Ep.* 2, 5).

However profound the spirituality of Columbanus' argument, writing to senior clerics gathered in a synod on the nature of their pastoral responsibilities is a pointed gesture. At the end of the letter and after his lesson on the significance of humility in clerical life, he then turns to poverty, the second virtue that makes the cleric conform to Christ. He contrasts the poverty and asceticism of his monastic followers with the worldliness of the Gaulish bishops, and here his attack is more direct. He praises the virtue of poverty, which, in its broader meaning, is taken to signify of a rejection of the worldly. Columbanus criticizes those who 'often look at women and who more often quarrel and grow angry over the riches of the world' (*Ep.* 2, 8). They are caught up in the concerns of the world and so cannot follow Christ, for the rejection of the mundane was essential in the search for the transcendent. Columbanus denounces the Gaulish bishops as worldly to Pope Gregory in Letter 1. They ordain for money, and they are 'adulterers' who continue to enjoy sexual relations with their wives after becoming clerics, 'which among our teachers is reckoned to be of no less guilt' (*Ep.* 1, 6).[66] If the measure of the true shepherd is humility and poverty, then 'our party, once renouncing the world … consider that they may more easily fulfil the Lord's word in nakedness than wealth'. In Letter 2, Columbanus writes about the importance of detachment from the world in that part of the letter where he directs his criticism squarely at the Gaulish bishops, leaving no doubt that they are firmly in his sights in this denunciation of worldly clerics. These denunciations of the Gaulish episcopacy are significant because Columbanus believed no bishop, including the bishop of Rome, to be above censure or

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65   'Superbia quippe facit voluntatem suam; humilitas facit voluntatem Dei', Augustine, *Trac.*, 25, 16, commenting on Jn 6:38; PL 35, 1694. Columbanus wrote *Instructio* X on the mortification of the will and, quoting Jn 6:38, writes, 'that none should seek his own' (… *ut nullus quod suum est quaerat*).

66   Columbanus imposes a penance of seven years on bread and water on clerics who continue relations with their wives after their ordination as deacons in his penitential; Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, 174.

the need for fraternal advice. The ideals against which he measures the Gaulish clergy and finds them wanting are the same ideals he requires the pope to meet, and he is no less blunt in his criticism of the papacy for disappointing his expectations on that score.

In Letter 5, Columbanus subjects Pope Boniface to the same warnings he directs at the Gaulish bishops. He calls on him to match his words with actions and, supporting his plea with the same allusions to the *pastor bonus*, appeals to Boniface to 'succour your sheep', 'use the known voice of the true shepherd' (cf. Jn 10:5)[67] and 'stand between sheep and wolves'. He warns him that he must detach himself from the worldly snares and lead by example lest the chief of shepherds (*princeps pastorum*) 'find you heedless and striking your fellow servants with the blows of a bad example and eating and drinking with the drunken' (*Ep.* 5, 4). Far from being above criticism, Columbanus considers that the pope's elevated station creates greater expectations and greater scandal should he fail to meet them: 'It is not enough for you, who have undertaken responsibility for many, to be careful for yourself; for to whom more is entrusted, from him will more be demanded' (*cui enim plus creditur, plus ab eo exigitur*; *Ep.* 5, 4).[68] This is perhaps a paraphrase of Luke 12:48 (*cui commendaverunt multum, plus petent ab eo*), as Walker indicates,[69] and Columbanus' peculiar rendering of the verse may be influenced by Jerome's Letter 14.[70] Cummian certainly quoted this form of the verse from Jerome's letter in his penitential,[71] and the letter is also the probable source for Pseudo-Bede's *Collectanea*.[72] A similar rendering of Luke 12:48 is found in the near contemporary *De XII* (where *committitur* replaces the *exigitur* of Columbanus' letter). The particular chapter, discussed above, concerns 'the wise man without good works and the preacher who neglects to fulfil in deeds what he teaches by word' (*sine operibus bonis sapiens et praedicator … qui quod sermone docet, actibus explere neglegit*). It reads:

> *Cui enim plus committitur, plus ab eo exigitur, et servus qui domini sui voluntatem intellegens non facit, acrioribus et gravioribus vindictis vapulabit* ('To whom more is entrusted, from him will more be demanded; and the servant who, knowing the will of his master, does not do it, shall be beaten by sharper and heavier punishments').[73]

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67   As we have seen, the voice of the true shepherd is taken as teaching supported by action. Later in the letter, Columbanus calls on Boniface to 'sound the note of the true shepherd, which his sheep know, who hear not the voice of others but flee from such' (*Ep.* 5, 9).

68   Columbanus makes a similar point later in the letter: 'And thus, even as your honour is great in proportion to the dignity of your see, so great care is needful for you, lest you lose your dignity through some mistake' (*Ep.* 5, 11).

69   Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, 40, *in apparatu*.

70   Wright, 'Columbanus's *Epistulae*', 67.

71   L. Bieler (ed. and trans.), *The Irish Penitentials*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 5 (Dublin 1963), 132: '*Potentes potenter tormenta patiuntur* (Wis. 6, 7). Unde et quidam sapiens Domini ait: Cui plus creditur, plus ab eo exigitur'. The relevant passage in Jerome's *Ep.* 14, 9 reads: 'Cui plus creditur, plus ab eo exigitur. *Potentes potenter tormenta patientur*' (CCSL 54, 58).

72   M. Bayliss and M. Lapidge (eds), *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 14 (Dublin 1998), 124.

73   Hellmann (ed.), *De XII*, 32–4. The lines are discussed in A. Breen, 'Pseudo-Cyprian *De duodecim abusivis saeculi* and the Bible', in P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Irland und die Christenheit: Bibelstudien und Mission* (Stuttgart, 1987), 230–45, at 233–4. The parallel with Jerome's

Two early seventh-century Irish sources, *De XII* and Columbanus' letter, therefore, cite this verse when warning senior clerics that their high rank imposes greater obligations. In both, those obligations concern the duty of leadership owed to the wider community. Pope Innocent I quoted Luke 12:48 in the same form as Columbanus when warning that the prelate has a responsibility not just for himself, but for those he was set over to guide. It is found in his famous letter to Victricius, bishop of Rouen, instructing him to refer all important cases (*causae majores*) to Rome. This letter was known in Ireland in the first half of the seventh century.[74] For Columbanus, the pope was the chief prelate and the principles of leadership that applied more generally to holders of the episcopal office apply with even greater force to the bishop of Rome.

Comparing the letters of Cummian and Columbanus, we see how Cummian draws on the principles of ecclesiastical leadership when reminding the Irish prelates of their duty of care. However, Columbanus takes these same general principles and focuses them on the papacy. Cummian warns the leaders of the Irish church about the dangers of delinquent or errant leadership. After a trawl through the biblical and early Christian sources concerning the proper dating of Easter, he moves to the contemporary and addresses the leaders of the Irish church:

> *For with the judgment you pronounce, you will be judged* [Matt. 7:2], and this is the danger hanging over you. For you are the heads and the eyes of the people, and if they are led into error because of your obstinacy you shall answer, according to Ezechiel, *for the blood of each soul* [Ez. 33:6 and 8] to the strict Judge.[75]

The words of Ezekiel (Ez. 3:17–21 and 33:2–21) that applied to the 'watchman' (*speculator*) were quoted in early Christian literature to remind the prelate, especially the bishop, of his role as 'watchman' of the church, since *episcopus*, 'bishop', meant literally *speculator*, 'watchman'; the bishop is therefore the eyes of the church. He has a duty of vigilance and of offering timely warning to the people of Israel at the approach of danger. The bishop who fails in his primary duty of care is responsible not only for his own delinquency, but also for the fate of all led astray through his negligence. On the other hand, if the people ignore the warning, the bishop has fulfilled his duty, but they are responsible for their own downfall. Columbanus presents these same lessons drawn from Ezekiel in Letter 5:

> Then, since according to the Lord's warning the blood of so many will be sought for at the hands of their shepherds [cf. Ez. 3:20; 33:6], careful watch must be kept, that is, the word of the Lord must be often preached, and preached by the shepherds, by the Church's bishops [lit. 'by the Church's watchmen'; *a(b) … ecclesiae speculatoribus*] and teachers, that none may

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Commentary on Isaiah is also striking: 'Cui enim plus creditur, plus exigetur ab eo. *Et servus, qui scit voluntatem Domini sui, et non fecerit eam, vapulabit multis* [Lk. 12:47]; et in alio loco scriptum est: *Potentes potenter tormenta patientur* [Wis. 6, 7]', (PL 24, 326).

74   Cummian quotes it in his Easter letter (Walsh and Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter*, 93); it is likely that it was known to the compiler of the *Liber Angeli* – see L. Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 10 (Dublin, 1979), 188-91 – and it is quoted *in extenso* in early Irish canon law, the *Collectio hibernensis*, 20, 3.

75   Walsh and Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter*, 74–5.

perish through ignorance; for if he perishes through lack of heed, his blood will lie on his own head [cf. Ez. 33:4].[76]

Cummian employs the watchman tradition to call on the Irish prelates to fulfil their duties of leadership and as a reminder of the standards they had to meet. However, while Columbanus draws on the same concepts, he relates them more particularly to the bishop of Rome, since the pope's elevated status did not place him above these concerns; on the contrary, because his 'honour is great in proportion to the dignity of [his] see', Boniface had to take greater care in guarding the dignity of his name and in fulfilling the duties of his high office.[77] At the end of Letter 2, to the Gaulish clerics, Columbanus represents the church as a body – a frequent theme in his writings to illustrate the principle of ecclesial unity – and says, 'we are all joint members of one body, whether Franks or Britons or Irish [*Iberi*] or whatever our race be' (*Ep.* 2, 9). He then cites Ephesians 4:13 ('Till we all meet into the unity of faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ'), a verse understood to signify the growth to spiritual maturity of the individual. He uses the verse, taken together with the preceding lines, to signify the growth to maturity of the body of the whole church: 'Thus let all our races rejoice in the comprehension *of faith and the apprehension of the Son of God*, and let us all hasten *to approach to perfect manhood, to the measure of the completed growth of the fullness of Jesus Christ* [Eph. 4:13]'. In that growth to perfection, the members exist in harmony, in mutual support, to the degree that each member is open to correction from the other: '… let us love one another, praise one another, correct one another, encourage one another, pray for one another' (*Ep.* 2, 9). This essential principle in Columbanus' ecclesiology explains his presumption in writing a letter of advice to the pope.

In his letter to the Gaulish bishops, Columbanus says that the way to truth is open to all and that those who have discerned truth have a duty to speak out, but their fellow seekers also have a responsibility to listen. This is central to his understanding of the nature of the subordinate's respect for ecclesiastical authority and, indeed, of the relationship of the junior churches with Rome; the junior must respond correctly to instruction, but the senior must acknowledge truth when spoken by the junior even to the point of taking in good part warranted correction. In the letter to Boniface IV, Columbanus sees Matthew 16:17 ('Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church') as the foundation of the papacy's claim to primacy.[78] Matthew 16:17 may have been interpreted as the biblical basis of the papacy's authority, but Columbanus sets this against the preceding verses where Peter professes his faith in the divinity of Christ (Matt. 16:16: 'Thou art Christ the son of the living God'). The bestowing of the keys on Peter was therefore a recompense for his rightful profession of the faith. Peter's rank as *clavicularius*, 'key-bearer', rests on his demonstration of orthodoxy; his successors,

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76 *Ep.* 5, 5. This is examined in greater detail in Bracken, 'Authority and Duty', 187–91 and 205–9. As elsewhere, here Columbanus' subtle references to his biblical sources led his editors (Grundlach, MGH Epp. 3, and Walker) to overlook his scriptural allusions.

77 '… even as your honour is great in proportion to the dignity of your see, so great care is needful for you, lest you lose your dignity through some mistake', *Ep.* 5, 11.

78 He acknowledges that 'it is known to all and there is none ignorant of how our Saviour bestowed the keys of the kingdom of heaven upon St Peter' (*Ep.* 5, 12).

the bishops of Rome, maintain the Petrine primacy and uphold Rome's status as the church from which all others learn by following Peter's example in the orthodoxy of their teaching. Leo the Great (pope from 440 to 461) wrote his letter to Flavian of Constantinople (the so-called 'Tome of Leo') at the time of the Council of Ephesus (431). Reacting against the monophysitism of Eutyches, Leo links Peter's profession of belief in the dual nature of Christ in Matthew 16:16 with the pre-eminence above the other apostles bestowed on Peter, and the universal responsibility of his successors, the bishops of Rome: for this 'divinely inspired confession was destined to profit all nations [*omnibus gentibus*]'.[79] Leo, as Peter's heir, spoke with the authority of the apostle because he, too, gave sound instruction on Christ's divine and human nature against the monophysites and the doctrinal errors of the 'robber synod' of Ephesus. Although they analyze these centrally important Petrine verses in a similar way, the conclusions Leo and Columbanus reach about their significance are different. For Leo, Peter's confession brought him preferment above the other apostles. This pre-eminence was transmitted to his successors and Matthew 16:16–18 was interpreted as the basis of Rome's exclusive claim to primacy. Columbanus, too, saw these verses as the foundation of Rome's primacy, but in his complex interpretation of the origins of that primacy the rights of the junior are defended while the authority of the superior is affirmed. For Columbanus, Matthew 16 shows that the foremost of Christ's followers, Peter, had first to prove himself before becoming *princeps apostolorum*. If even the most senior had first to demonstrate his competence and was allowed to establish his orthodoxy, then the junior members of the body of the church should have the right to show their grasp of the truth and to speak out, and 'it should be lawful even for your [the pope's] subordinates to entreat you' (*Ep.* 5, 12). There is no question but that Columbanus recognized the primacy of Rome and that he saw Matthew 16 as the proof text of that primacy. In his subtle interpretation of these verses, Columbanus links Peter's profession with the subsequent bestowing of authority. This meant that 'the unity of faith has produced in the whole world a unity of power and privilege, in such wise that by all men everywhere freedom should be given to the truth, and the approach of error should be denied by all alike, since it was his right confession [Matt. 16:16] that privileged even the holy bearer of the keys [*sancto claviculario*], the common teacher of us all' (*Ep.* 5, 12). Furthermore, if leaders – including Peter – have their authority bestowed on them because of the quality of their leadership, then the pope must remain loyal to the source of his office and exercise well his duty to lead. Columbanus therefore warns

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79   PL 54, 771; see C. Lett Feltoe (trans.), *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, vol. 12, 41. Leo makes the same point in his *Sermo* 3: 'Soliditas enim illius fidei, quae in apostolorum principe est laudata, perpetua est; et sicut permanent quod in Christo Petrus credidit, ita permanent quod in Petro Christus instituit'; PL 54, 145–6. Cf. the letter of Pope Agatho to Emperor Constantine, read at the Third Council of Constantinople, where Matt. 16:16 is linked to the universal mission of the church of Rome: '… but that it [that is, Peter's declaration of Christ's divinity] be preached in the whole earth more shrilly than a bugle: because the true confession thereof for which Peter was pronounced blessed by the Lord of all things, was revealed by the Father of heaven' (*… sed tuba clarius in toto orbe praedicatur: quia ejus vera confessio a Patre de coelis est revelata, pro qua a Domino omnium beatus esse pronuntiatus est Petrus …*); PL 8, 1168–9; see Lett Feltoe (trans.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, vol. 14, 331.

the pope that 'power will be in your hands just so long as your principles [*ratio*] remain sound …' (*Ep.* 5, 11).

Cummian's formula for guaranteeing orthodoxy is the rather simple prescription of remaining loyal to the source of the faith and following Rome's lead. Columbanus' position is more complex, for in compelling respect for authority he guarantees both the authority of the superior and the rights of the junior to speak out. He professes loyalty to Rome, the source (*fons*) of his faith, and therefore argues that the bishop of Rome should not take offence at what he says because, if it is truthful, Rome is the ultimate source of that truth.

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Ireland and Rome in the Seventh Century

Charles Doherty

In 431, Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine I (422–32 CE) as first bishop to 'those of the Irish believing in Christ'.[1] The Irish connection with Rome goes back, therefore, to the very beginning of organized Christianity in the country. Of the mission of Palladius we know virtually nothing. It appears as a shadow in seventh-century documents dealing with the cult of Patrick. Patrick in his own writings makes no direct reference to Rome, and his association with Rome is a result of Armagh propaganda in the seventh century as his developing cult elevated him to the status of National Apostle. However, it is in the documents concerning the cult of Patrick and the slightly earlier works of Columbanus that we find information concerning the Irish relationship with Rome.

The earliest evidence of the cult of Patrick is the hymn *Audite Omnes Amantes*,[2] probably written by Colmán Alo who died in 611. Colmán was associated with the church of Connor, near Slemish in Co. Antrim, and with Lynally, south of Durrow in the midlands. The Patrick of the hymn is the *magister Scotorum*, 'the teacher of the Irish'. He is the Apostle of the Irish and as such will act as their judge on Judgement Day.[3] Just like Peter, the church in Ireland is based on him.[4] He is the fisher of men and all the tribes of the Irish have been caught in his nets for Christ.[5] He is the perfect pastor who looks after his flock and provides sustenance for the clergy and fittings for the churches – thus conveying similar sentiments to those expressed in the *Pastoral Care* of Gregory the Great.[6] This is very powerful imagery, although neither Armagh nor any other place is mentioned in the hymn.

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1   D. Ó Cróinín, 'Who was Palladius, "First Bishop of the Irish"?', *Peritia*, 14 (2000): 205–37. See also the important comments concerning the Gaulish mission by Liam de Paor, *Saint Patrick's World. The Christian Culture of Ireland's Apostolic Age* (Dublin, 1993), 38–45. For the general context, see B.R. Rees, *Pelagius: A Reluctant Heretic* (Woodbridge, 1988).

2   L. Bieler, 'The Hymn of Secundinus', in R. Sharpe (ed.), *Ireland and the Culture of Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1987), Ch. IX; A. Orchard, '"Audite Omnes Amantes": A Hymn in Patrick's Praise', in D. Dumville (ed.), *Saint Patrick, A.D. 493–1993* (Woodbridge, 1993), 153–73, at 166–73; J. Stevenson, 'Irish Hymns, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers', in J.-M. Picard (ed.), *Aquitaine and Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1995), 81–110; C. Doherty, 'The Cult of St Patrick and the Politics of Armagh', in J.-M. Picard (ed.), *Ireland and Northern France, AD 600–850* (Dublin, 1991), 53–94.

3   Orchard, 'Audite Omnes', 172–3, lines 90–92; see also Doherty, 'Cult of St Patrick', 91–2.

4   Orchard, 'Audite Omnes', 166–7, lines 9–12.

5   Ibid., 166–7, lines 13–16.

6   See Doherty, 'Cult of St Patrick', 88–92.

Columbanus, in his letter to Gregory in 600, says that he has read his book containing the pastoral rule.[7] In his fifth letter (to Pope Boniface IV), written from Milan in 613, he says:

> For all we Irish, inhabitants of the world's edge, are disciples of Saints Peter and Paul and of all the disciples who wrote the sacred canon by the Holy Ghost, and we accept nothing outside the evangelical and apostolic teaching; none has been a heretic, none a Judaizer, none a schismatic; but the Catholic Faith, as it was delivered by you first, who are the successors of the holy apostles, is maintained unbroken.[8]

From this it is clear that the Irish clergy *c.* 600 CE (or at least some of them) were quite aware that Palladius had been sent by the Pope and that the earliest organized church in Ireland had a direct link to the papacy and Rome. As the hymn *Audite Omnes* shows, the clergy of Patrick were already manipulating his cult at the expense of that of Palladius. The sixth century may be a dark period, but it is clear that the cult of Patrick had not been dormant.

I have suggested elsewhere that it was in the survival of Patrick's own words in his *Confessio* and *Epistola* that the Irish continued to hear him speak.[9] One of Patrick's main themes is that he has taken the Christian message to the ends of the earth beyond which no man lives.[10] He is working in the last days, and in bringing Christianity to the Irish he is bringing to completion what the legions of Rome did not attempt. It is a theme that is followed by Columbanus where it becomes a conceit – the Irish are those who dwell at the world's edge, yet they now take part fully in the debates of the Christian world. In his second letter, to a French synod that met at Chalon in 603, he says '*unius enim sumus corporis commembra, sive Galli, sive Britanni, sive Iberi, sive quaeque gentes*', 'for we are all joint members of one body, whether Franks or Britons or Irish or whatever our race be'.[11]

In his fifth letter (to Boniface IV), written in Milan in 613, he says:

> But you must pardon me as I handle such rough passages, if any of my words have caused outward offence to godly ears, since the inner nature of the sequence of events allows me to omit nothing from my inquiry, and the freedom of my country's customs, to put it so, has been part-cause of my audacity. For amongst us it is not a man's station but his principles that matter; yet love for the peace of the gospel compels me to say all, to shame you both, who ought to have been one choir, and this motive is joined by the greatness of my concern for your harmony and peace; for if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it. For we, as I have said before, are bound to Peter's chair; for though Rome be great and famous, among us it is only on that chair that her greatness and her fame depend. For although the name of the city which is Italy's glory, like something most holy and far removed from heaven's common climes, a city once founded to the great joy of almost all nations, has been published far and wide through the whole world, even as far as the Western regions of earth's

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7   G.S.M. Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 2 (Dublin, 1957), 10–11 (§ 9).

8   Ibid., 38–39 (§ 3).

9   Doherty, 'Cult of St Patrick', 92–4.

10   D.R. Howlett, *The Book of Letters of Saint Patrick the Bishop* (Dublin, 1994), 74–5, § 34, lines 21–30.

11   Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, 22–3 (§ 9).

farther strand, miraculously unhindered by ocean's surging floods, though they leaped and rose beyond measure upon every side, yet from that time when the Son of God deigned to be Man, and on those two most fiery steeds of God's Spirit, I mean the apostles Peter and Paul, whose dear relics have made you blessed, riding over the sea of nations troubled many waters and increased His chariots with countless thousands of peoples, the Most Highest Pilot of that carriage Who is Christ, the true Father, the Charioteer of Israel, over the channels' surge, over the dolphins' backs, over the swelling flood, reached even unto us. From that time are you great and famous, and Rome herself is nobler and more famed; and if it may be said, for the sake of Christ's twin apostles (I speak of those called by the Holy Spirit heavens, declaring the glory of God, to whom is applied the text, Their voice is gone out into every land and their words to the ends of the earth) you are made near to the heavenlies, and Rome is the head of the Churches of the world, saving the special privilege of the place of the Lord's Resurrection.[12]

There could hardly be more eloquent testimony of how the Irish viewed Rome. They were conscious of having entered the only international organization in existence – the kingdom of God upon the earth. Perhaps this is a point that does not have to be made, but I think it helps when we approach the hagiographical literature of the seventh century. Cathy Swift has made the point in her article on Tírechán's motives that we must not imagine that all of this literature is simply propaganda on behalf of Armagh – and she is certainly right.[13] Indeed, the more one reads the seventh-century hagiography, the more one is astonished by its sophistication – it is subtle, layered, works on different registers, and is aimed at a variety of audiences.

Approximately forty years after the *Audite Omnes* was written, the composite document known as the *Liber Angeli*, 'Book of the Angel', was produced.[14] There are two passages describing the hospitality owed to the Bishop/Archbishop of Armagh while on visitation.[15] In the second passage, the status of the Archbishop has doubled. I have suggested that the document was almost certainly produced following the embassy to Rome concerning the proper date at which to celebrate Easter in 638/40.[16] However, I did not then give sufficient attention to the composite nature of the work. Recently, Thomas Charles-Edwards has suggested a date after 678.[17] David Howlett has argued for a date from the mid-680s onwards.[18] I would agree that these dates may be close to the final composite issue of the document, but would argue that there is an earlier stratum. Using the mechanism of an Angel's conversation with Patrick, we are presented with the thoughts and concerns of the Armagh clergy. Patrick is firmly associated

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12 Ibid., 48–9 (§ 11).

13 C. Swift, 'Tírechán's Motives in Compiling the *Collectanea*, an Alternative Interpretation', *Ériu*, 45 (1994): 53–82.

14 L. Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 10 (Dublin, 1979), 184–91.

15 Ibid., 186–9, compare §§ 14 and 24.

16 Doherty, 'Cult of St Patrick', 66–73.

17 T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), 436. See also the important discussion of Richard Sharpe, 'Armagh and Rome in the Seventh Century', in P.Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (eds), *Ireland and Europe: The Early Church* (Stuttgart, 1984), 58–72.

18 D. Howlett, 'The Structure of the *Liber Angeli*', *Peritia*, 12 (1998): 254–70, at 269.

with Armagh. It is his apostolic see. He is the *apostolicus doctor et dux principalis omnibus Hiberionacum gentibus.*[19] His heir is an *archiepiscopus*, a *praesul, pontifex, pastor perfectus.*[20]

   The main thrust of the document is that the church of Armagh, situated on a hill, is small and is hemmed in by the surrounding inhabitants. Its *suburbana*[21] are not sufficient to give shelter to those who wish to come within. So the Angel says that a *terminus uastissimus* is being established for Armagh: *Idcirco constituitur terminus a Domino uastissimus urbi Alti Mache, quam dilexisti prae omnibus Hibernensium telluribus,*[22] 'Therefore a vast *termon* is being established by the Lord for the city of Armagh, which you have loved more than all the lands of the Irish'. These lands, I have argued, are the territories of the over-kingdom of the Airgialla following their defeat of the Ulaid in the battle of Mag Roth in 637, and it is almost certainly Airgialla patronage that allowed Armagh to emerge at the head of the cult just at this point.[23] Of interest here is the word *tellus*, 'territory', a poetical word. Its use in this instance seems an intentional punning reference to (in effect, a learned calque on) Old Irish *tellach*, 'legal entry to property, the legal entry into an inheritance', as described in the legal tract *Din Techtugud.*[24] The main point here was that if Armagh had now emerged as the centre of the cult then it must be demonstrated that Patrick had a legal right to the site. Muirchú, the later seventh-century biographer of Patrick, has a more detailed episode demonstrating Patrick's legal right to Armagh based on the *tellach* procedure.[25]

   The *Liber Angeli* makes the further claim that:

> In this city of Armagh Christians of both sexes are seen to live together in religion from the coming of the faith to the present day almost inseparably, and to this aforesaid (city) also adhere three orders: virgins and penitents, and those serving the church in legitimate matrimony. And these three orders are allowed to hear the word of preaching in the church of the northern district on Sundays always; in the southern basilica [*in australi uero bassilica*], however, bishops and priests and anchorites and the other religious offer pleasing praises.[26]

An appendix to this document states that *Domine clamaui ad te* to the end, *Ut quid Deus repulisti* to the end, and *Beati inmaculati* to the end of the blessing and the fifteen gradual psalms are sung going to and returning from the basilica (*ad sargifagum martyrum*).[27] Armagh is presented here as a microcosm and has elements of all sections of the population living within. Indeed, this idea may owe something to Pope Gregory's division of Christian society into three orders.[28] David Howlett has found echoes of Cogitosus' 'Life of Brigit' in references to the population of Armagh.[29] She is referred to once as a *civitas*, a 'city': *Ista quippe ciuitas summa et libera a Deo est constituta et ab anguelo*

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19   Bieler, *Patrician Texts*, 186, lines 8–9.

20   Ibid., 186, line 14; 186, line 26; 188, lines 17, 24; 188, line 19; 188, line 18.

21   Ibid., 184, lines 23–4.

22   Ibid., 184, lines 24–6.

23   Doherty, 'Cult of St Patrick', 68.

24   F. Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), 186–7.

25   Bieler, *Patrician Texts*, 108–13.

26   Ibid., 186–7.

27   Ibid., 190–91.

28   R.A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge, 1997), 27.

29   Howlett, '*Liber Angeli*', 269.

Dei et ab apostolico uiro sancto Patricio episcopo specialiter dedicata, 'Now this city has been established by God as supreme and free and has been specially dedicated by the angel of God and by the apostolic man, the holy bishop Patrick.'[30] Everywhere else in the document, Armagh is referred to as *urbs* (*de Alti Mache urbe*) – she is the Rome of Ireland.[31] The theory is here spelled out that since Patrick converted the Irish, God has given him all the peoples of Ireland as a *paruchia*, 'parish', 'to you and to this city'. As a result, special taxes and dues are owed to his heirs. The idea of Armagh as the Rome of Ireland almost certainly arose following her acquisition of Roman relics on the return of the embassy that had been sent to Rome to enquire into the proper date at which to celebrate Easter. The text says: *Nihilhominus uenerari debet honore summorum martyrum Petri et Pauli, Stefani Laurendi et caeterorum*, 'Furthermore, it ought to be venerated in honour of the principal martyrs Peter and Paul, Stephen, Lawrence, and the others'. She also had a sacred linen cloth with the Blood of Christ on it. These relics were kept in the southern Basilica.[32] As Professor Eamonn Ó Carragáin pointed out to me many years ago, these relics are specifically relics of Rome.

Having been founded by God and dedicated by the Angel and Patrick, Armagh claimed precedence, *Preest ergo quodam p(re)uilegio omnibus aeclessiis ac monasteriis cunctorum Hibernensium uel superna autoritate summi pontificis illius fundatoris*, 'It therefore has precedence, by a certain privilege and by the heavenly authority of the supreme bishop, its founder, over all churches and monasteries of all the Irish'.[33] Based on her control of the Roman relics, Irish law was again called upon to claim that she could not be over-sworn – that there was no higher legal authority in the island:

> Idcirco non licet causa praedictae auctoritatis contra illam mittere [con-]sortem ab ulla aeclessia Scotorum neque ab ullo praesule uel abbate contra heredem illius, sed a se recte supraiuratur supra omnes aeclessias et illarum antestites, si uera necessitas poposcerit.

> Therefore, on account of the said authority, it is not lawful for any church of the Irish to draw lots with it nor for any bishop or abbot (to do so) with his (Patrick's) heir, but (any oath) is rightly oversworn by him over all churches and their bishops, if a true necessity should demand it.[34]

If his *familia*, 'community', or *paruchia*, 'those under his pastoral care', or his *insignia* (ecclesiastical clothing, but possibly other objects) are violated or insulted then payment must be made.[35]

In the event of an injury or insult, the Bishop of Armagh should be the sole investigator and judge without reference to other judges:

> Item quaecumque causa ualde difficilis exorta fuerit atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium iudicibus, ad cathedram archiepiscopi Hibernensium, id est Patricii, atque huius antestitis examinationem recte refferenda; si uero in illa cum suis sapientibus facile sanari non poterit

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30 Bieler, *Patrician Texts*, 186–7 (§ 17).
31 Ibid., 184, lines 5 and 25; 186, lines 18 and 27.
32 Ibid., 186, lines 32–3.
33 Ibid., 186, lines 30–32; 187, § (18).
34 Ibid., 188, lines 1–5; 189, § (20).
35 Ibid., 188, lines 27–35; 189, §§ (26), (27).

talis caussa praedictae negotionis, ad sedem apostolicam decreuimus esse mittendam, id est ad Petri apostoli cathedram auctoritatem Romae urbis habentem.

Further, any exceptional difficulty which may arise, (the law on which) is unknown to all the judges of the Irish tribes, is by law to be referred to the see of the archbishop of the Irish, that is, (the see) of Patrick, for examination by its bishop; if, however, such a suit in the said litigation cannot easily be decided there by the wise men, we decree that it is to be sent to the apostolic see, that is to the see of Peter the apostle, who has authority over the city of Rome. [36]

It is clear from this that Armagh was claiming to be the chief court of ecclesiastical appeal in Ireland. Her authority was based on *superna auctoritate summi pontificis illius fundatoris*, 'the heavenly authority of the supreme bishop, its founder'.[37] Whatever about the truth of the account recorded by Tírechán of clerics operating in Mag Aí *sine consilio* of Patrick, the incident is a paradigm for the authority of Armagh – a letter was sent and they did penance in Armagh.[38] This, of course, must reflect the submission of an independent group of churches in Roscommon to the authority of Armagh during the course of the seventh century rather than an event of the time of Patrick. Indeed, the discord is referred to again in the *Additamenta*.[39] These extraordinary claims and the whole tenor of the documents that make up the *Liber Angeli* must have been inspired by the works and influence of Gregory the Great on the one hand, and the visits of the Irish to Rome concerning the proper time at which to celebrate Easter on the other. And, of course, by the time Muirchú is writing, *c.* 690, he has Patrick visit Rome. 'He set out to visit and honour the apostolic see, the head, that is of all the churches in the whole world, in order to learn and understand and practise divine wisdom and the holy mysteries to which God had called him, and in order to preach and bring divine grace to the peoples beyond the Empire, converting them to belief in Christ'.[40]

The scale of the achievement of the Armagh clergy is breathtaking even allowing for their political good fortune and the misfortune of their opponents. Of course, not everyone was prepared to follow the line, and in the works of Muirchú and Tírechán in addition to the *Additamenta* we find arguments and devices used to subdue or mediate the opposition.

In a manner similar to Rome, Armagh portioned out relics to other churches. Objects such as books, patens or chalices were said to show Patrick's association with other churches. One of the alleged sayings of Patrick, recorded by Tírechán, was:

Aeclessia Scotorum immo Romanorum, ut Christiani ita ut Romani sitis, ut decantetur uobiscum oportet omni hora orationis uox illa laudabilis 'Curie lession, Christe lession'; omnis aeclessia quae sequitur me cantet 'Cyrie lession, Christe lession, Deo gratias'.

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36   Ibid., 188–91, §§ (28)–(29).
37   Ibid., 186, lines 31–2.
38   Ibid., 122–5, § (6).
39   Ibid., 170–73, § (6).
40   Ibid., 70–71, Bk I, Ch. 5, § (2).

Church of the Irish, nay, of the Romans, in order that you be Christians as are the Romans, you must sing at every hour of prayer that praiseworthy utterance *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison*; let every church that follows me sing *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Deo gratias*.[41]

Were there liturgical connections among Patrician churches? Tírechán refers to a *missa Patricii* at Ached Fobuir (Aghagower, Co. Mayo).[42] The foundations of churches are said to have been marked out and consecrated by Patrick. Patrick's chariot was sent to churches as a kind of support (as a symbol of the authority of Armagh), when *they* were under pressure.[43] During the seventh century, churches such as Sléibte (Sletty) in Co. Laois and the lessser-known Ahade in Co. Carlow joined the Armagh organization. There is much in dispute concerning these matters, but by the end of the seventh century, if not before, Armagh was well on the way to becoming the chief church – the Rome of Ireland.

However, Armagh was not the only *caput* in seventh-century Ireland – at least according to the hagiographers, for Tara is depicted as the *caput Scotorum* by Muirchú: 'In the days when this took place there was in those parts a great king, a fierce pagan, an emperor of non-Romans [*imperator barbarorum*], with his royal seat at Tara, which was then the capital [*caput*] of the realm of the Irish, by name Loíguire son of Níall, a scion of the family that held the kingship of almost the whole island'.[44] Edel Bhreathnach has pointed out that 'Muirchú consistently portrays Lóeguire in an unfavorable light, and his depiction of the king of Tara does not reflect that of a propagandist on behalf of the Uí Néill but rather of an ecclesiastic championing Patrick, and, in particular, Christianity.'[45] I agree with Edel Bhreathnach that we should shift our focus from the Uí Néill. Of course, we cannot ignore them, as the hagiographers themselves could not, since they were among the most powerful forces in seventh-century Ireland. But why is Tara important? We know that Tara was probably grass-grown by *c.* 800, when Óengus wrote *Atbath borg tromm Temra*, 'wasted away is the great borg of Tara'.[46] The use of the word *borg*, first found in the Gothic translation of the Bible by Ulfilas, with the meaning 'a high fortified place', is used to emphasize its pagan nature.[47]

Much later, in the twelfth century, the *cursus* at Tara was described as a banqueting hall, but it seems to have been overlooked that Muirchú is probably referring to the same thing when he refers to *in caenacolum Temoriae*.[48] So Tara was almost certainly grass-grown already by the mid-seventh century. Muirchú likens Loíguire to Herod *in domu regia id est in palatio Temoriae*.[49] Tara is described as the Babylon of Ireland.[50] It is a *civitas*,

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41 Ibid., 124–5, Bk II, Ch. 4, § (4).

42 Ibid., 152–3, § 37 (4).

43 Ibid., 178–9, § (15).

44 Ibid., 74–5, Bk I, Ch. 10, §§ (9), (1).

45 E. Bhreathnach, 'Temoria: Caput Scotorum?', *Ériu*, 47 (1996): 67–88, at 73.

46 W. Stokes, *The Martyrology of Óengus the Culdee* (London, 1905), 24, § 165.

47 W. Schlesinger, 'Stadt und Burg im Lichte der Wortgeschichte', in C. Haase (ed.), *Die Stadt des Mittelalters*, 3 vols (Darmstadt, 1969), 1:95–121, at 96.

48 Bieler, *Patrician Texts*, 92–3, Bk I, Ch. 19, §§ (18), (3).

49 Ibid., 84–99, Bk I, Ch. 15, lines 24–5.

50 Ibid., 84–5, Bk I, Ch. 15.

a 'city', with its own population.[51] Loíguire has his *senatus*, his council, there.[52] Patrick entered Tara '… *et uerbum faceret de fide sancta in Temoria coram omnibus nationibus, …*', 'to preach the holy faith at Tara before all the nations'.[53] Following his defeat of Loíguire, Patrick goes out from Tara to teach all peoples, *docens omnes gentes*.[54] It is his starting point for the conversion of Ireland. The vocabulary descriptive of Tara makes it clear that it is being presented as the secular Rome of Ireland. The *omnes nationes* and *omnes gentes* must be an echo of the *De Vocatione Omnium Gentium*, 'The Call of All Nations', now attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine.[55]

Irish kingship was peripatetic, having various centres, so the elevation of Tara to a political capital is significant. Also, whatever the justification of Armagh as a 'city' in this period, the description of Tara as a *civitas* seems extraordinary unless it too continued to be seen as a religious centre – in this case, of pagan worship. But how real was paganism in the seventh century? Whatever about the survival of custom, institutional paganism had disappeared a long time ago. For example, Muirchú found it necessary to use the Book of Daniel for his description of pagan Tara.[56]

But the hagiographers, Muirchú, Tírechán and Adamnán, were not concerned with institutional paganism. Adamnán does not mention Tara, probably because of its former religious associations. However, he does mention the high-kingship associated with it, and I would suggest that herein lies the explanation of why this site was of importance to the seventh-century clergy. I would recall my suggestion above that the Irish clergy were conscious of being part of an international organization. They may have lived on the edge of the known world, but, as the conceit of Columbanus indicates, they felt that their voice had equal value with that of any other. For example, as Maurice Sheehy pointed out, Irish canon law was meant to have universal application.[57] When we speak of kingship, we mean government in the early Middle Ages. The Irish clergy were faced with two kingdoms: the kingdom of God and the kingdom of man. If they were to create a Christian society on the earth, then they had to create a Christian form of kingship.

From the very beginnings of the spread of the Christian message in Ireland, a discourse had begun between Christianity and kings concerning the institution of kingship. Patrick had surrounded himself with the sons of kings as he went about his business.[58] He was concerned with a Christian form of government, as we can see from his comments in his 'Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus':

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51   Ibid., 86–7, Bk I, Ch. 16, line 16; 96–7, Bk I, Ch. 20, line 20.

52   Ibid., 96–7, Bk I, Ch. 21, line 1.

53   Ibid., 92–3, Bk I, Ch. 19, line 6.

54   Ibid., 98–9, Bk I, Ch. 22, line 6.

55   A. Hamman, 'Prosper of Aquitaine', in A. Di Berardino (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1992), 2:717; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 207–14.

56   Bieler, *Patrician Texts*, 84–5, Bk I, Ch. 15.

57   M. P. Sheehy, 'The *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* – A Celtic Phenomenon', in H. Löwe (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1982), 1:525–35, at 527.

58   Howlett, *The Book of Letters*, 86–7.

Whence, then, Coroticus with his most shameful men, rebels against Christ, where will they see themselves, they who distribute baptized little women as prizes because of a pitiable temporal realm which may indeed pass away in a moment? Just as a cloud or smoke, which indeed is dispersed by the wind, so fraudulent sinners will perish from the face of the Lord. But the righteous will feast in constancy with Christ. They will judge nations, and they will lord it over unjust rulers (*regibus iniquis*) for ages and ages. Amen.[59]

Patrick's reference to the *rex iniquus* was a harbinger of the description of this character in documents of the seventh century and later.

Politics in early Ireland meant constant warfare among a multiplicity of competing kingships. If there were to be peace in society then a powerful kingship was essential. In the ideal of the pagan high-kingship of Tara,[60] the clergy saw the model for a Christian kingship of all Ireland. Normally, the highest grade of king was that of a province, but an exceptionally powerful king could rise above his fellows to become 'king of the world'.[61] He could then hold the 'feast of Tara', in which he was wedded to the earth goddess. It was a form of kingship that had its roots deep in the past. The last king said to have been inaugurated with this pagan ritual was Diarmait mac Cerbaill in the middle of the sixth century, mentioned by Adamnán in his *Vita Columbae*. Adamnán presented Diarmait as having been ordained by God.[62] What were the benefits to the church in fostering such an institution?

In the late seventh century, Loingsech mac Óengusso was high-king. With his help, Adamnán convened the synod of Birr in 697, where the *Lex Innocentium* was promulgated.[63] Clergy and kings from all over Ireland and Scotland attended.[64] At his death, Loingsech was called *rex Hiberniae*[65] in the annals, a title that must have originated in Iona. With such a king, a law could be enacted – not just in a local *túath*, but over a vast area. And with a powerful kingship, people, at least theoretically, could sleep peacefully in their beds.

Irish clergy in the seventh century, therefore, were concerned not just with the Uí Néill or local politics. They wanted a new form of Christian government and were ruthless in their application of whatever native traditions that allowed them to bring this about.

Kingship was government. The references which Adamnán makes to the 'King of Ireland' comprise an attempt to channel the concept of the 'world king' into a Christian mould. He warns Áed Sláne, *Praecavere debes filii ne tibi a deo totius Everniae regni praerogativam monarchiae praedistinatam parricidali faciente peccato amittas*, 'My son, you must take heed lest by reason of the sin of parricide you lose the prerogative of monarchy

59   Ibid., 36–7.
60   F.J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-kings* (London, 1973), 48–69; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 469–521.
61   C. Doherty, 'Kingship in Early Ireland', in E. Bhreathnach (ed.), *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara* (Dublin, 2005), 3–31.
62   A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson (eds), *Adomnan's* Life of Columba (London, 1961), 280–81.
63   T. O'Loughlin (ed.), *Adomnán at Birr, AD 697* (Dublin, 2001).
64   Ibid., 57–9.
65   AU 704.

over the kingdom of all Ireland, predestined for you by God'.[66] Like the idealized king of pagan times, he had to be close to God. This is probably the reason for the use of the concept of ordination that we find in the work of Adamnán.[67] Enright's conclusions are important: 'Adamnán not only employs *ordinatio* to mean anointing, he actually presents a new theory of clerically mediated kingship based upon the unction created covenant of the Old Testament'.[68] Of course, such divinely ordained kings, the lord's anointed, should not be touched. Adamnán even employs what must be a ritual formula (the threefold death) in describing the killing of Diarmait, 'ordained by God's will the ruler of all Ireland':

> Ordinatus vero indebete Aidus sicuti canis ad vomitum revertetur suum. Et ipse rursum sanguilentus trucidator existet, et ad ultimum lancea jugul[a]tus de ligno in aquam cadens submersus morietur. Talem multo prius terminum promeruit vitae, qui totius regem trucidavit Scotiae.

> And Aid, unworthily ordained, will return like a dog to his vomit, and he will again be a bloody killer, and at last, pierced with a spear, will fall from wood into water, and die by drowning. He has deserved such an end sooner, who has slaughtered the king of all Ireland.[69]

For social and political reasons the experiment was premature, but the theory continued to be elaborated. Native concepts were worked into Irish canon law.[70] It was further elaborated by Sedulius Scottus in the ninth century and was eventually to contribute to the theory of the divine right of kings.[71] When the Irish embraced Rome, they truly felt themselves to be part of a new world order.

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66   Anderson and Anderson (eds), *Adomnan's* Life of Columba, 236–7.

67   Ibid., 472–5 and 278–83.

68   M. Enright, 'Further Reflections on Royal Ordinations in the Vita Columbae', in M. Richter and J.-M. Picard (eds), *Ogma. Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin* (Dublin, 2002) 20–35, at 35; see also the important work by M.J. Enright, *Iona, Tara and Soissons* (Berlin, 1985).

69   Anderson and Anderson (eds), *Adomnan's* Life of Columba, 280–83.

70   H. Wasserschleben (ed.), *Die Irische Kanonensammlung* (Leipzig, 1885 [1966]), 76–8, *De Regno*.

71   E.G. Doyle (ed.), *Sedulius Scottus: On Christian Rulers and The Poems* (New York, 1983).

Three Coins in a Fountain

Anna Gannon

This paper aims to explore *communis patria*, one of the facets of the rich relationship between Anglo-Saxon England and Rome. The time-span considered runs from the early seventh century, following the conversion to Christianity and the establishing of an independent coinage, to the tenth century. Three stages of Anglo-Saxon monetary history will be mapped as a progression which saw the Anglo-Saxons initially as beneficiaries of Rome and later as its active benefactors. This chapter will mainly, but not exclusively, deal with Anglo-Saxon coins and explore the evidence they can offer us of England's relations with Rome. I shall also touch upon the theme of pilgrimage in this light.

The title of the paper is that of a popular 1950s song which refers to the superstitious claim that a return to the Eternal City is guaranteed by coins thrown into the Trevi Fountain. In an Anglo-Saxon context, the title plays on the wish for a (return) visit and hints at themes such as the acquiring of a memory and the discharging of a duty. While the 'fountain' – albeit somewhat anachronistically – stands for Rome, the number alludes to the three main stages of Anglo-Saxon coinage that will be discussed here in relation to Rome. The first is the period of the so-called *thrymsas* and *sceattas*: these are the first Anglo-Saxon coins, respectively in gold, progressively debased, and silver; they were produced in the early seventh and up to the middle of the eighth century.[1] The second stage is that of the new silver coinage centred on the issues of King Offa of Mercia in the second half of the eighth century.[2] The third stage involves coins of the ninth to the tenth centuries.[3] Here coins which numismatists label as the 'horizontal' types on account of the layout of their inscriptions will be discussed. The article centres on coins: these, however, are treated from an eccentric, art-historical perspective rather than from a traditional numismatic viewpoint.

Although the Anglo-Saxons were well acquainted with coins, as the numerous finds of continental gold coins witness,[4] they apparently did not mint any of their own until

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1   M.D. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 3 vols (London, 1993–94); A. Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage* (Oxford, 2003).

2   C. Blunt, 'The Coinage of Offa', in R.H.M. Dolley (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Studies Presented to F.M. Stenton* (London, 1961), 39–62; D. Chick, 'Towards a Chronology for Offa's Coinage: An Interim Study', *The Yorkshire Numismatist*, 3 (1997): 47–64.

3   C.E. Blunt, B.H.I.H. Stewart and C.S.S. Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1989).

4   For the latest survey, see R. Abdy and G. Williams, 'A Catalogue of Hoards and Single Finds from the British Isles, *c.* AD 410–675', in B. Cook and G. Williams (eds), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World (c.500–1250)* (Leiden, 2006), 11–73.

soon after the advent of Christianity, at the beginning of the seventh century. How far any sophisticated concepts of an abstract 'monetary value' as opposed to an actual 'bullion value' of the coinage was understood at the time, or indeed how far throughout society coinage provided a framework for valuation beyond the simple bullion economy, as reflected by the use of shillings in the Kentish law codes, is debatable.[5] However, there can be no doubt that imported coins were appreciated in Anglo-Saxon England before the advent of Christianity as meaningful prestige objects in themselves, metaphors of wealth and connections with the world beyond: when mounted as jewellery they may have had ostentatious or amuletic functions – their use in burials is more difficult to assess, and may have encompassed a gamut of ideas.[6] As for their iconography, we can be sure that images were carefully observed and pondered upon: the classic example is that of the Undley Bracteate,[7] from the end of the fifth or early sixth century, which reproduces in gold on a single-sided medallion the obverse *and* reverse of a commonly found Roman coin.[8] However, one could argue how far it should be understood to be a faithful copy of the original Roman coin, as serious questions may be raised concerning the gender and role of the central figure, as well as the function of the object.[9] It cannot be denied that at least in the reproduction and 'translation' of the original inscription from Latin characters to runes, the bracteate manipulates the original to its own ends. It not only 'understands' the underlying significance of the original text, but also successfully transforms an imported declaration of power into another, more local one, however difficult for us the interpretation of the latter may be beyond the vague and unsatisfying assertion of 'magic'.

Similar caution is necessary when considering other 'reproductions' of objects derived from other cultural contexts. Other Anglo-Saxon artifacts of ultimate classical derivation, such as buckles, distributors, brooches, and even the splendid Sutton Hoo epaulettes, are often discussed as 'imitation'.[10] Yet these works go well beyond the mere copying of prestige items: they are actively engaged in a dialogue with the originals, translating them into an intelligible and sympathetic idiom that carries powerful connotations for their Germanic cultural context.

These prefatory reflections may serve to alert us to the complexities involved in properly understanding iconography and to argue for the need to explore beyond the

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5   G. Williams, 'The Circulation and Function of Coinage in Conversion-Period England, *c.* AD 580–675', in Cook and Williams (eds), *Coinage and History*, 145–92. Continental coins were used as jewellery or bullions or, possibly, as units of account and value.

6   There are numerous examples of coins mounted as jewels in Abdy and Williams 'Catalogue of Hoards and Single Finds', also discussed in Williams, 'Circulation and Function'. It could be argued that the handful of Merovingian coins included in the Sutton Hoo burial (Mound 1) may simply have been a complement to the man and his lifestyle, as the evidence of single finds suggests that the use of coinage was fairly common.

7   M. Archibald, M. Brown and L. Webster, 'Heirs of Rome: The Shaping of Britain AD 400–900', in L. Webster and M. Brown (eds), *The Transformation of the Roman World AD 400–900* (London, 1997), no. 107 and fig. 48.

8   R.A. Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire* (London, 1990), 169, no. 679.

9   Gannon, *Iconography*, 145–6, fig. 4.54.

10   See L. Webster and J. Backhouse (eds), *The Making of England. Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600-900* (London, 1991), nos. 14–15.

reductive identification of a patently obvious 'prototype'. Moreover, given the vast array of available sources and models for Anglo-Saxon coinage, the choice of a particular design implies a reasoned selection. The three stages of Anglo-Saxon coinage are explored as defined above in the light of the following question: what can the shifts in the iconography of the coins tell us about the changing relationship between Anglo-Saxon England and Rome?

It is not surprising that the visual vocabulary used on the very first Anglo-Saxon coins, the gold *thrymsas* and the subsequent debased issues of pale gold, should have been fairly conservative, and indeed should have closely mirrored Roman coinage and its continental derivatives (such as Merovingian coins, for instance). As I have argued elsewhere, use of a consistent iconography may have been considered a necessity for commercial credibility and as a guarantee of authenticity, as well as a disseminator of ideas and concepts.[11] The cautious iconographical options observed among the first issues should be understood as a rational and judicious choice in answer to the basic requisites of a new coinage. To be viable, the coin should look familiar, inspiring confidence in its authenticity. Further (at a local level), it should be possible for it to function as propaganda. As an example, we could consider how the comparatively close imitation of a late Roman issue commonly found in England, the 'Two Emperors' type,[12] with a bust with a (pseudo-)inscription on the obverse, and a 'Roman' design on the reverse, would have competently answered the basic requirements outlined above. The design would have been recognized and respected, but the image of the two companionable figures may have been chosen with a particular political reason in mind.[13]

It is worth considering the selection of designs made among the comparatively large repertoire of possible models offered by Roman coins. One might ask why it is not only easy-to-copy images, such as the so-called standards (squares inscribed with the geometric lettering ттохх),[14] but also technically challenging subjects like the 'clasped-hands' or the 'Two Emperors'[15] that should be chosen in preference to violent and imperialistic images, such as those portraying 'soldier spearing enemy horseman', 'rider spearing foe', 'emperor spurning foe', or just 'captives'.[16] Even Victories, very popular choices for Visigothic and Lombard coins,[17] appear to be avoided (with one possible

11   A. Gannon, 'Imitation is the Sincerest Form of Flattery', in Cook and Williams (eds), *Coinage and History*, 194–5.

12   Carson, *Coins*, 196, no. 852; Archibald, Brown and Webster, 'Heirs of Rome', no. 102.

13   Gannon, *Iconography*, 84–7, discusses the possibility that the iconography might allude to kingly baptismal sponsorship; Archibald, Brown and Webster, 'Heirs of Rome', no. 102, prefer to see two saints, perhaps Peter and Paul. The same iconography was also used in the ninth century for the unified issues of Alfred of Wessex and Coenwulf II of Mercia ; see M. Blackburn, 'The London Mint in the Reign of Alfred', in Blackburn and D. Dumville (eds), *Kings, Currency and Alliances* (Woodbridge, 1998), 113.

14   The iconography and inscription are derived from coins with standards with votive inscriptions (Carson, *Coins*, 180, nos. 740, 743–4) or possibly with inscribed altars (ibid., 160, no. 629).

15   Ibid., 87, no. 324 and 196, no. 852.

16   For instance, ibid., 179, no. 735; 183, no. 755; 173, no. 689; 187, no. 794; 180, no. 740.

17   P. Grierson and M. Blackburn (eds), *Medieval European Coinage* (Cambridge, 1986), 45 and 48, nos. 178–232, and 64–5, nos. 298–306.

exception).[18] Reverses with crosses, common in Merovingian issues,[19] dominate.[20] The choice seems deliberately oriented towards a positive iconography, amiable and peaceful, as if to promote a particularly positive image of the Roman world and obliterate any negative, domineering connotation. Arguably, one could ascribe this to the influence of the new religion. However, as is well known, the political realities of the context in which Christianity spread in seventh-century Anglo-Saxon England were certainly very distinct from the beatific imagery selected for the coins, and the raw energy of Germanic heroic ethos must still have been rampant, to judge by the range of imagery in use elsewhere in the period. A look at the sets of plaques of the Sutton Hoo helmet will suffice as an example:[21] here, glorifying the very type of scene that the contemporary coinage apparently eschews, the conqueror on horseback tramples the fallen enemy, while a male 'victory', a miniature version of the warrior with identical drapery, shield and other gear, guides his spear. That such potent, bellicose iconography, ultimately classical, and widely familiar from countless *stelae* erected in commemoration of Roman cavalry officers,[22] could be perfectly acceptable and deployed in a very Christian context is shown by the fragment from the Repton cross,[23] dated to the second half of the eighth century, more than a century after the coins here discussed. In contrast, surveying the earliest Anglo-Saxon coin types known to date, none of the early issues closely modelled on Roman prototypes projects anything but a very benevolent image of power. Whether this was part of a carefully orchestrated propaganda move, paving the way to a certain Roman-style *imperium* and political/religious allegiances is debatable, but it certainly suggests the deliberate selection of a certain type of iconography in the promotion of a certain type of ruler.[24]

The next stage of the early coinage, the so-called *sceattas* or silver pennies of the early eighth century, forms a plentiful currency characterized at first sight by a wealth of very diverse motifs. Despite this apparently bewildering array of variations, my iconographical research shows that when one considers the 'etymology' of the various designs these can actually be shown to be permutations on a limited number of themes and be classified into just a few categories.[25] Ultimately, all of these can still be said to take Roman iconography as their model, but this is now presented mainly as Christian imagery. Interestingly, however, the sources of the new designs shift drastically away from numismatic traditions and prototypes: the *sceattas* appear to take as models a whole new category of objects – such as manuscript illuminations, acquired prestige goods

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18   The origin of the coins is debated: a possible Anglo-Saxon origin, on account of provenance and iconography, is discussed in Gannon, *Iconography*, 79–81, fig. 3.2.

19   Grierson and Blackburn (eds), *Medieval European Coinage*, 138 and, for example, nos. 392–457.

20   Gannon, *Iconography*, 157–68.

21   A.C. Evans, *The Sutton Hoo Burial* (London, 1994), 48, fig. 28.

22   J. Laing, *Art and Society in Roman Britain* (Stroud, 1997) 150–52.

23   Archibald, Brown and Webster, 'Heirs of Rome', 225, no. 63. Although the fragment is incomplete, one can postulate 'something' being trampled below the horse, perhaps an abstract symbol of evil (see Gannon, *Iconography*, 96, n.123).

24   See also Williams, 'Circulation and Function of Coinage', 167.

25   Gannon, *Iconography*, 185–8; idem, 'Imitation'; idem, 'The Five Senses and Anglo-Saxon Coinage', *ASSHA*, 13 (2006): 97–104.

and gifts, casual Roman finds (which must have been as common then as now),[26] and perhaps also pilgrims' souvenirs with special significance. Travels, particularly to Rome, and via Christian lands, must have played a significant role, introducing the devout to a new range of objects and modes of visual expression.[27] It is worth speculating on the possible derivation of these designs, and why they were chosen to appear on the coins.

For instance, I have already suggested that the bird-on-cross found on the reverse of coins of Series B, a motif frequently met with in the Byzantine tradition,[28] may have been seen first-hand on bronze lamps, apparently of Coptic manufacture, where the reflector above the handle is decorated with a cross topped by a dove.[29] Such lamps, in all their design variations, appear to have been very common;[30] and relatively unremarkable artifacts. However, in the emotionally charged experiencing of holy places, objects such as these would probably not have been considered simply utilitarian, but would have been imbued with symbolic meaning, as bearers of light.

It is instructive to recall the emotional impression of the celebrations of the Feast of Ascension recorded by Bishop Arculf on his visit to Jerusalem in 670, when the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives was lit by innumerable lamps, so that their 'terrible and wondrous gleaming' seemed to show Mount Olivet and the whole city on fire.[31] Pilgrimage, it has been argued, quoting examples of pilgrims' explicit and analytical descriptions of what was not really meant to be noticed, makes one appreciate the 'background' – the pilgrim does not focus simply on the 'extraordinary', but the 'habitual' takes on a new, vivid meaning.[32] Conrad Rudolph, in his personal account of his pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, has referred to this phenomenon as 'white noise'.[33]

It should not surprise us, then, if seemingly ordinary objects, even if only tenuously connected to Rome and Christianity, when experienced in such a heightened state of wonder as experienced on a visit to holy places, might be seen as particularly meaningful and therefore be chosen as iconic. Of course, whether found locally, derived second-

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26   Gannon, *Iconography*, 185–6, and particularly n.31.

27   See J. Mitchell, 'The High Cross and Monastic Strategies in Eighth-Century Northumbria', in P. Binski and W. Noel (eds), *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures. Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson* (Stroud, 2001), 88–114, and D.H. Verkerk, 'Pilgrimage *ad Limina Apostolorum* in Rome: Irish crosses and Early Christian Sarcophagi', in C. Hourihane (ed.), *From Ireland Coming* (Princeton, 2001), 9–26; both consider the impact Roman monuments and sculpture would have had on the beholder.

28   See, for instance, f. 44 of the Ravenna mid-sixth-century Orosius, *Historia Adversum Paganos*, Plut. LXV, I, Laurenziana, Florence, illustrated on pl. 65c. in C. Nordenfalk, *Die Spätantike Zierbuchstaben* (Stockholm, 1970), and the pattern on the dress of one of the companions of the Empress Theodora in the mosaic in S. Vitale, Ravenna.

29   Gannon, *Iconography*, 108–9.

30   M. Conticello de' Spagnoli and E. de Carolis, *Le Lucerne di Bronzo: Musei della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Inventari e Studi I (Città del Vaticano, 1986).

31   B. Meehan (ed.), *Adamnan's* De Locis Sanctis, 2nd edn (Dublin, 1983), 69.

32   I am grateful to Wendy Pullan for discussing this with me after her paper 'Tracking the Habitual: Some Observations on the Changing Interpretation of the Pilgrim's Shell', was delivered at the 'Architecture and Pilgrimage 600–1600' conference (CRASSH, Cambridge, 7–9 July 2005).

33   C. Rudolph, *Pilgrimage to the End of the World* (Chicago and London, 2004), 36.

hand or directly from Rome, if not beyond, the route of introduction of new motifs to the coinage must remain speculative; it is true to say, though, that in this phase of Anglo-Saxon coinage, the primary design reference is to Christian iconography, and that this fits in with the visual culture of the time and finds precise correspondences within Anglo-Saxon artistic production.[34]

As brilliantly discussed, among others, by Elsner,[35] Christian iconography feeds on its Classical heritage and effortlessly translates its motifs. The coins bracketed as Series V, rare and distinctive coinage of the 720s, make a very interesting case in point. The coins have on one side a bird in a wreath of vegetation,[36] and on the other the motif of the she-wolf and twins (Fig. 13.1).[37]

Fig. 13.1   Silver penny of Series V; BMC 77. A (obverse): eagle in wreath; B (reverse): wolf and twins (photos: The British Museum, London; by kind permission)

At first sight, these are two very 'Roman' icons: the eagle in a wreath dominates proud standards and imperial insignia, while the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus is the symbol *par excellence* of the foundation of Rome. However, when we look more closely, the bird is ensconced in vegetation and happily feeding on berries: it must be understood

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34   Gannon, *Iconography*.

35   J. Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph* (Cambridge, 1998).

36   Webster and Backhouse (eds), *The Making of England*, no. 74; Gannon, *Iconography*, 119–20.

37   Gannon, *Iconography*, 145–7; idem, 'Animali sulle Prime Monete Anglosassoni: Simboli di Potere Spirituale o Temporale?', in *L'immaginario e il Potere nell'Iconografia Monetale* (Dossier di lavoro del seminario di studi Milano 11 marzo 2004), *Collana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini*, Società Numismatica Italiana, 5 (2004), 157–8; idem, 'A Chip off the Rood', in K.L. Jolly, C.E. Karkov and S. Larratt Keefer (eds), *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Morgantown, WV, forthcoming 2007).

as a variation on the theme of the bird-in-vine, a 'cameo' that makes reference to one of the classical motifs most enthusiastically taken over by Christian art, and often met with in Anglo-Saxon art: the inhabited vine-scroll.[38] As for the she-wolf and twins, this motif is of course also seen on Roman coins commonly found in England, as already discussed above with regard to the Undley Bracteate, and the story of the twins is also famously represented on the left side of the Franks' Casket,[39] and on the fragmentary Larling Plaque,[40] discussed below. The allegorical potential of this image is easily understandable, as it can be seen to allude to Rome as the see of the Church, and also be transformed into a Christian parable of providential nurturing.[41]

However, it may be worth noticing that such a well-known and potentially rich image was never used in the earlier imitative gold phase of Anglo-Saxon coinage – a surprising fact, considering, as discussed above, how closely early issues followed Roman precedents. It will be interesting to see if a new find eventually shows its existence, but in the meantime one could speculate whether this celebratory iconography could originally have been misunderstood and taken to represent a distressing encounter for the twins, in a land where wolves were common, or if the vignette could have been assimilated with the 'captives under banner' type, where two diminutive figures mourn their fate under the symbolic victorious banner of Rome.[42]

I would disagree with Neuman de Vegvar's dismissing of the iconography of Series V as 'derived from Roman coins by a process of geometricizing abstraction':[43] indeed, one should notice how remote the image of the she-wolf and twins is from the Roman prototypes that are normally cited, particularly when compared to the coins of Æthelberht of East Anglia issued in the 790s and discussed below.[44] On the fourth-century *Urbs Roma* coin types, just as, tellingly, on Æthelberht's issues, the she-wolf is normally left-facing,[45] and very much the protagonist of the story, its heavy body realistically proportionate to the diminutive twins.[46] In Series V, however, the focus of the scene is dramatically different, with the twins as the main protagonists, while the long-legged she-wolf's body is arched and stretched to make a scrawny canopy above them.[47] Conceptually, therefore, the body of the she-wolf becomes 'the cave', an element of a version of the traditional story typically represented on gems,[48] and that

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38   See D. Mac Lean, 'Northumbrian Vine-scroll Ornament and the *Book of Kells*', in J. Hawkes and S. Mills (eds), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), 178–90, for an interesting discussion.

39   J. Lang, 'The Imagery of the Franks Casket: Another Approach', in Hawkes and Mills (eds), *Northumbria's Golden Age*, 251–3; C. Neuman de Vegvar, 'The Travelling Twins: Romulus and Remus in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, 256–67; L. Webster, 'The Iconographic Programme of the Franks Casket', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, 239–41.

40   Webster and Backhouse (eds), *The Making of England*, no. 139

41   Gannon, *Iconography*, 146.

42   Carson, *Coins*, 189, no. 740.

43   Neuman de Vegvar, 'The Travelling Twins', 258.

44   Webster and Backhouse (eds), *The Making of England*, no. 222a.

45   This would not be a major obstacle, however.

46   Carson, *Coins*, no. 679.

47   Contrast Webster and Backhouse (eds), *The Making of England*, nos. 74a–b.

48   Neuman de Vegvar, 'The Travelling Twins', 260 and n.4.

also finds medallic expressions.[49] Thus, Series V might have been derived from a non-numismatic model, albeit one that can only be postulated.[50] Although not all the coins of Series V show the she-wolf turning towards her charges, the emphasis is nevertheless on what happens below her belly, focusing on the twins,[51] who, rather as on the Franks Casket, are adults rather than infants,[52] as well as on the milk dripping from the teats in the form of pellets.[53] The images on the obverse and reverse of Series V are potently made to relate to each other – both illustrate the same salvation theme. The she-wolf is protective and restorative, just like the vine-scroll for the bird on the other side of the coin: this is where, to paraphrase St John, 15:1–8, the twins find food and refuge.

These observations on the iconography of a few early coins serve to illustrate how the relation between the Anglo-Saxons and Rome at this early stage, immediately following the conversion, identifies Rome as the origin and embodiment of the Christian faith. The vocabulary seen on the coins is also that used in the other arts in contemporary Anglo-Saxon England, accruing a huge debt to Rome as Mother Church.

If the she-wolf and twins of Series V are emblematic of a vision of Rome as True Vine, where one will find spiritual food and the refuge of ultimate salvation, the same motif is famously found again about seventy years later on three coins of Æthelberht of East Anglia (d. 794) (Figs 13.2–13.3).

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49   See, for instance, Carson, *Coins*, 175, no. 706: *Urbs Roma* medallion (330–37), with the twins suckled by a she-wolf in a cave with two shepherds on either side.

50   Gannon, 'Animali'; idem 'A Chip off the Rood'.

51   It is interesting to compare the iconography of the Larling Plaque, where the twins, who are turned to face us, grip each other's arms and thereby form a lozenge-shaped space between them. The pose/gesture is reminiscent of details of the Book of Kells, as on f. 188r, but particularly significant is the lozenge-motif, ubiquitous in Kells, the centre of a cross (for example, f. 290v), or Chi-Rho (f. 34r). Here too, as with the crossed paws of the beasts on the Ruthwell Cross – see É. Ó Carragáin, 'The Necessary Distance: *Imitatio Romae* and the Ruthwell Cross', in Hawkes and Mills (eds), *Northumbria's Golden Age*, 193, fig. 16.1 – the twins recognize their Saviour.

52   A point noted by Carol Neuman de Vegvar, 'The Travelling Twins', 261–2 and n.5.

53   The pellets are probably to be understood as a Eucharistic reference. I take the drops/pellets as parallel to the 'berries' of which the bird on the other side of the coin partakes. On some issues (Prof. de Wit, private collection, Rotterdam, nos. 4111 and 3529), they are arranged in the shape of a cross. A further layer of meaning may be gleaned from the homilies of Ælfric – see J. Pope (ed.), *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, 2 vols, 259, 260, Early English Text Society (Oxford, 1967–68), 19.1–9 – where 'milk' signifies teaching, an appropriate simile for the she-wolf as Mother Church.

Fig. 13.2   Penny of Æthelberht of East Anglia. Obverse: profile bust and inscriptions of names of the moneyer Lul and Æthelberht (photo: The British Museum, London; by kind permission)

Fig. 13.3   Penny of Æthelberht of East Anglia. Reverse: she-wolf and twins
                   (photo: The British Museum, London; by kind permission)

Fig. 13.4   Penny of Offa of Mercia. Obverse: bust with inscription of cross-on-globe and Offa's name (photo: The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; by kind permission)

Fig. 13.5 Penny of Offa of Mercia. Reverse: she-wolf and twins with inscribed name of the moneyer Lul (photo: The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; by kind permission)

Here, the she-wolf and the (infant) twins are beautifully proportioned and very close to Roman numismatic representations; they are enclosed in a trapezoidal cartouche topped by the word REX. On the obverse, there is a sensitively rendered profile bust with a neat basket-weave effect for hair texture,[54] surrounded by an inscription giving Æthelberht's name preceded by that of the moneyer Lul, in a mixture of runes and Latin characters, as customary on coins in East Anglia. Until recently, the totally plausible explanation for this extraordinary choice so strongly allusive to Rome in its iconography and display of inscription was sought in the context of the fight for East Anglian independence against Mercian expansion. According to this reading, Æthelberht, having declared himself king, produced an independent coinage proclaiming the fact. Not only did he use the title Rex, but as further provocation and to underline his claim, he also flaunted the emblem of the she-wolf and twins, as both a pun on the name of his dynasty, the Wuffingas, and a boasting reference to their claim of descent from Caesar. This impudence, it was inferred, had cost him dearly: Offa had him beheaded in 794.[55]

In 2003, however, a metal detector facilitated the unearthing of a coin that caused historians and numismatists to re-examine the question. The new coin, found at Needham Market, Suffolk, was struck for Offa by the same moneyer, Lul, and also carries the she-wolf motif (Figs 13.4–13.5).[56] It is quite worn, and artistically could be said to compare rather unfavourably with Æthelberht's beautifully classicizing issues. On the obverse is a geometrical bust with a small head in a pelleted halo above, an arrangement typical of East Anglia portrait coinage.[57] Around the upward-gazing bust is the inscription OFFA REX preceded by a cross-on-globe with four pellets between its arms.[58] In a neat, rectangular cartouche framed by fine pellets, the reverse has a rather inelegant she-wolf, with downcast head and tail between her legs. Above the motif is the runic name of the moneyer Lul, flanked by small crosses; below the cartouche there are three small crosses of pellets; there are also additional pellets at the sides.

Which of the two coins came first, and does the earlier dramatic reading of historical circumstances still hold? Numismatically, the two coins are very close, and any criteria inconclusive.[59] Following the conventions of style history, one would be tempted to put

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54 Cf. the rendering on a coin of Offa by the moneyer Ibba; see Gannon, *Iconography*, fig. 2.12b (*BMC* 21).

55 See, for instance, B. Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London and New York, 1990), 64.

56 The coin is now in the collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (CM.2112–2003).

57 D. Chick, 'A Portrait Coinage for Offa in East Anglia', *Numismatic Circular*, 97 (July/August 1989): 192. See also the coin by the moneyer Lul found at Akenham, Suffolk, also with a zoomorphic design on its reverse, now in the collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (CM.2228–2003).

58 The final X of REX is exaggerated, as often seen on coins of Lul and Ibba (Blunt, 'Coinage of Offa', nos. 67–8 and 65). The cross before the inscription can be compared with those by the moneyer Ibba (ibid., nos. 61–2).

59 Technically, they both belong to the 'light issues', albeit probably transitional, just before the post-792 reform. See Grierson and Blackburn (eds), *Medieval European Coinage*, 280. One of Æthelberht's specimens is actually nearer the heavy reformed standard (Mark Blackburn, personal comment).

first Æthelberht's coins with their calm and composed profiles – in comparison, Offa's bust is to our eyes a 'provincial rendering', though perhaps purposely and astutely chosen for political reasons. Stylistic considerations are therefore equally unhelpful in attributing primacy. However, a fresh comparison between the coins of Æthelberht and Offa in the light of the use of regnal iconography and the choice of legends might help in the reassessment. On Æthelberht's coins, the bust is not shown wearing a diadem, nor is the title REX actually coupled with the name of Æthelberht around it. One could hardly suppose that this title, familiar from the earlier coinage of Beonna, King of East Anglia from 749 to 760,[60] not to mention Offa's, would have been missed, and accidentally used instead on the reverse. Indeed, the position of the word REX on Æthelberht's coin, which is placed above the cartouche framing the she-wolf and twins, so far has not been given enough attention: it is the main difference between the issues and it might provide the key to another reading. This may perhaps be better understood in the light of the iconography that we encounter displayed on the Rambona ivory diptych of *c.* 900,[61] now in the Vatican Museums.[62] Here, the she-wolf plays a major part in the iconography of the crucifixion scene: she literally provides the foundation to it. Her solid, stretched-out body occupies the whole width of the left-hand leaf, her back forming the base of Mount Golgotha. Calvary is represented by two twin triangular mounds, counterpart to the twins themselves, who are accompanied by the inscription ROMVLVS ET REMVS A LVPA NVTRITI. Prominent above the Christ crucified is the titulus REX IVDEORUM. The placement of the she-wolf and twins motif at the base of a cross can also be seen in the lowest of the delicate carvings on the south face of the Donaghmore Cross (Co. Tyrone), of the ninth or tenth century.[63]

How would the she-wolf and twins have been understood at the time, and why would the title REX have been associated with this image on Æthelberht's coins? Bearing in mind the spirit of the time, is it possible that Æthelberht may have looked upon this motif primarily as a religious symbol, as argued above for the iconography on Series V, and only secondarily as a political emblem? In this context, it is also relevant to consider the Larling Plaque,[64] found in 1970 near a Norfolk church dedicated to Æthelberht. Originally, it seemed obvious that the ivory plaque with the she-wolf and twins motif should be understood in the context of Æthelberht's ascendancy and his 'afterlife' as a saint venerated both in East Anglia and in Hertfordshire, where he had

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60   Used by Beonna on his reformed coinage *c.* 760s. See J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage, Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III c. 600–1272*, vol. 1, 3rd edn (London, 1994), N. 430. Henceforth, numbers preceded by the signature (N.) refer to coin types in this publication.

61   Most scholars consider the Rambona diptych as an artistically inferior, provincial production. It may be argued that conceptually its remarkable programme could have been derived from other more accomplished artifacts. It is possible to postulate that the programme displayed on the Larling Plaque may have stemmed from such models.

62   C. Morey, *Oggetti d'Avorio e Osso del Museo Sacro Vaticano* (Città del Vaticano, 1936), A62, 60–62, pl. 9.

63   H. Richardson and J. Scarry, *An Introduction to Irish High Crosses* (Dublin, 1990), 36, pl. 76.

64   See notes 40 and 51 above.

been murdered.[65] This connection is now considered fortuitous. As Leslie Webster was careful to gloss in *The Making of England*, 'the motif [of the she-wolf and twins] is also commonly used to symbolise the Church nourishing the faithful'.[66] For Æthelberht and his contemporaries, the she-wolf and twins would have counted as a devotional image and metaphor for Salvation that pointed to Rome's fundamental role in the triumph and spread of Christianity, shouldering and upholding the weight of the crucified Christ, bearer of the title of REX. If this was the primary meaning relevant to Æthelberht in his choice for his coinage and for his intended audience, part of the appeal of the image may have been that it could function on two levels at the same time, with undertones of ancestral associations.[67] It is poignantly touching that one of Æthelberht's rare coins should have found its way to Rome itself, where it was found in 1908.[68]

Why should Offa have elected to use the she-wolf and twins reverse, so different from the rest of the imagery deployed on his coinage? What did Offa see in that emblem? Would he have considered it as a religious symbol, or as a regional badge of regnal power? Or would he perhaps have read it at another level still, in a pan-European context, as a powerful political statement of *romanitas*? Is its deployment on the coin comparable to Charlemagne's presentation of the imported antique 'she-wolf' bronze statue as a meaningful point of reference in the cosmic order of his Palatine Chapel in Aachen, in the desire to identify Aachen as the new Rome?[69] If Offa was conscious of the antiquarian as well as political and religious significance of the symbol displayed on this coin, its link to Imperial Rome, and its importance in constructing and disseminating his ideal of kingship, he would have appreciated the wealth of possible meanings conveyed by the image.

This line of thought admits that Offa himself might have chosen the iconography as totally appropriate to his role, rather than following the traditional line, according to which Offa appropriated the East Anglian coin type as an imperious gesture of spite, and to reaffirm his sovereignty having dispatched Æthelberht and taken control of his lands. If, however, the East Anglia specimens were later than Offa's, we might wonder if Æthelberht's true defiance of Offa consisted in the re-appropriation of the symbol to the religious rather than the political sphere, and taking from Caesar/Offa what belonged to Christ: the title of REX.

Whichever coin issue took priority, while the she-wolf iconography is unique among Offa's coinage, it does fit into a production that shows a renewed interest in Roman

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65   A. Thacker, 'Kings, Saints and Monasteries in Pre-Viking Mercia', *Midland History*, 10 (1985): 5–7; Neuman de Vegvar, 'The Travelling Twins', 258–9.

66   L. Webster, in Webster and Backhouse (eds), *The Making of England*, 179, no. 139.

67   The coexistence of the two spheres, Roman as well as traditional, could be seen in the simultaneous use of runes and Latin script.

68   This is the specimen ex-Norweb collection, no. 105.

69   The 'she-wolf' is properly a bear, but it counted as Lupa in the late Middle Ages, and, it has been argued, in Charlemagne's time. See the discussion of this, and of the possibility of its having simply been appreciated by the Emperor as an antique statue, by A. Effenberger, 'Die Wiederverwendung römischer, spätantiker und byzantinisher Kunstwerke in der Karolingerzeit', in C. Stiegmann and M. Wiemhoff (eds), *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit (Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn 799)*, 3 vols (Mainz, 1999), 650–53, fig. 2. See also ibid., 113.

coinage, and in particular in the style of commanding Roman busts.[70] Offa, consummate politician that he was, used these astutely in order to manipulate and project a carefully constructed image.[71] There is no doubt that his relation to Rome was as intense as that of Charlemagne, and, as far as coinage is concerned, there is no question that Offa's production was far more handsome and redolent of the nobility of classical portraits than that of his rival Charlemagne.[72]

Another of Offa's experiments is the one known example of his famous dinar or mancus, also connected to Rome, where it was apparently acquired before 1841.[73] This is an extraordinary gold piece, copying an Islamic coin of AH 157 (773/74 CE) of the Abbasid Caliph Al-Mansur, complete with its exotic Kufic legend. Between the three horizontal lines that form the inscription in the central field of the reverse, but upside-down in relation to it, are inserted the words OFFA REX. According to Lord Grantley, the workmanship of this coin suggests that a die-cutter of remarkable skill had managed to copy the original inscription very closely, but clearly without understanding it.[74] The letters of the royal inscription have terminals ending in pellets: unusual, but not unknown in Offa's coinage,[75] and common in the runic inscription numismatic tradition.[76] This script was probably also selected to fit in with the Kufic characters. Offa's dinar was originally understood as a ceremonial coin struck in connection with the promise made by Offa in 786 to Pope Adrian I (772–95), through the papal legates George and Theophylact, to send to Rome a yearly gift of 365 mancuses for the relief of the poor and the maintenance of lights at St Peter's.[77] While doubts have been expressed whether a coin explicitly referring to Islam would have been a suitable gift to the papacy, it is probable that nobody at the time would have looked at the prototype coin with the exotic script as more than a curiosity.

Modern scholarship proposes that the dinar is better understood in the context of Mediterranean trade, also on account of the worn conditions of the coins and the test-marks on its surface.[78] It may best be considered in view of other western European

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70   Gannon, *Iconography*, 31–3 and 59–61.

71   Ibid., 31–3, n.68. See also S. Keynes, 'The Kingdom of the Mercians in the Eighth Century', in D. Hills and M. Worthington (eds), *Æthelbald and Offa*, BAR British Series, 383 (Oxford, 2005), 13. His badly edited note (ibid., n.119) mistakenly refers to 'Zipperer, below' instead of Gannon (*Iconography*, 31–3, n.68) over the question of the iconography of King David and Offa's coins.

72   One of the few exceptions is the impressive portrait of Charlemagne on the coin from Quentovic (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, PG 11892); Grierson and Blackburn (eds), *Medieval European Coinage*, no. 749.

73   British Museum, London: *BMA*, 14 (CM, 1913, 12-13-1).

74   P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, 'The Gold Mancus of Offa, King of Mercia', *British Numismatic Journal*, 5 (1908): 55–72; North, *English Hammered Coinage*, 82–3 (N. 258).

75   See, for instance, the coin by the East Anglian moneyer Oethelred, found at Monkton, Isle of Thanet, now in the collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (CM. 2232–2003).

76   As in the coins of the moneyer Wilfred, who issued coins for both Beonna of East Anglia and Offa; see Grierson and Blackburn (eds), *Medieval European Coinage*, nos. 221a–c.

77   Charter references are quoted at length in Carlyon-Britton, 'The Gold Mancus of Offa', 63–6. See also Grierson and Blackburn (eds), *Medieval European Coinage*, 330.

78   Blunt, 'Coinage of Offa', 50; Webster and Backhouse (eds), *The Making of England*, no. 148; G. Williams, 'Mercian Coinage and Authority', in M. Brown and C.A. Farr (eds), *Mercia, an*

imitations of Islamic coins, also dated to the second half of the eighth century, but which unfortunately carry no inscriptions, and are consequently difficult to attribute precisely to England or France.[79] Whether or not this intriguing coin was connected with Offa's donation to the Pope, the 786 promise seems to have played a part in the preliminary history of the so-called Peter's Pence,[80] and from the perspective of this article it shows the beginning of a change in the monetary interactions of Anglo-Saxon England with Rome, with money now officially flowing from England to Rome and actively contributing to the economy of the impoverished city, as well as to the maintenance of the schola in the *Burgus Saxonum* and of the shrine at St Peter's.[81]

It is rather surprising that there is no precise knowledge, nor modern reassessment, of the origins of Peter's Pence, or levied 'royal alms', which, under a variety of names, continued to be despatched to Rome until 1559.[82] Stenton notes the initially personal character both of Offa's gift, which the king nonetheless intended should be imitated by his followers, and that of Æthelwolf of Wessex, who in his testament ordered that his donation of 300 mancuses should be repeated yearly by his successors. However, more generalized payments were sent to Rome from Wessex as early as 887, and then from other parts of the country, as Alfred's authority grew.[83] The numerous Anglo-Saxon coins of the late eighth, ninth and tenth centuries now in the Vatican Library are understood in the context of Peter's Pence (more or less formalized) or of individual donations to the patrimony of St Peter. To these must be added casual losses and coin hoards.[84] Blunt stresses the numismatic importance of these finds, not only on account of the sheer quantity, but also of the diverse origins of the coins.[85] However,

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Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe (Leicester, 2001), 218–19; M. Brown, *Painted Labyrinth* (London, 2003), 38. Marion Archibald in *The Making of England*, no. 148, points out that if the mancus, whatever its function, had been absorbed in circulation, it may have come from a hoard, rather than being an isolated find.

79   N.M. Lovick, 'A New Type of *solidus mancus*', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 13 (1973): 173–82.

80   W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the VIII Century* (Oxford, 1946), 31

81   R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980), 82–3.

82   See F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–16), and Carlyon-Britton, 'The Gold Mancus of Offa', 66–70. I am grateful to Dr Martin Allen of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge for kindly bringing to my attention two numismatic articles that also deal with this subject: C.H. Roads, 'Peter's Pence', *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, 378 (November 1949): 526–9, and T. Sondergaard, 'The Denarius Sancti Petri in England 855–1534', *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, 534 (November 1962): 424–7.

83   F. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1971), 217.

84   C.E. Blunt, 'Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Italy', in M.A.S. Blackburn (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History* (Leicester, 1986), 159–69, at 163; Grierson and Blackburn (eds), *Medieval European Coinage*, 264–5. However, note that Blunt's 'Hoard No. 6, Near Rome Before 1859' (ibid., 162–3) cannot be connected with the ring with the legend +AVFRET, as the ring is Lombard, of the early seventh century and derived from a totally different context (Anna Gannon, 'The Double Life of Aufret – revealed', forthcoming).

85   Blunt, 'Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Italy', 159. This is particularly true in the case of the coinage of Edward the Elder, as both hoards of his coinage, the Morley St Peter's hoard – published and discussed in full by T.H. McK. Clough, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, 26, Museums in East Anglia (London, 1980) – and the Brantham hoard (to be published by Anna Gannon) are confined to East Anglia.

the 'visual content' of these coins is worthy of independent consideration. The majority of the coins of this period, with a few exceptions,[86] do not carry images, apart from busts; they do, however, commonly carry inscriptions on both sides, often arranged around a small cross. It is nonetheless still appropriate to discuss them in terms of iconography. The earlier pictorial *sceattas* seem to have followed the recommendation of Gregory the Great that images should be useful devotional means particularly for the illiterate,[87] but in the reformed Anglo-Saxon coinages of the second half of the eighth century onwards, from Northumbria to Kent, from Mercia to East Anglia, it is actually epigraphy – words, and the disposition and form of letters – that forms the main preoccupation of the coin designs.[88] While Offa's attractive epigraphic coinage still reflects an element of purely visual artistry by cleverly integrating lettering into seemingly endless variations on a cross motif,[89] later coins present inscriptions reflecting more sober continental ways.

It has been noted that Anglo-Saxon charters and documents were not modelled on late antique bureaucratic documents, but rather took new forms emulating the layout of impressive liturgical books, a telling fact regarding the initial impact of the written word for the Anglo-Saxons.[90] Could one go as far as claiming the same associations for inscriptions on coins? The ways in which inscriptions are used and displayed on Anglo-Saxon coins does seem to suggest so. While the more familiar numismatic precedent of obverse inscriptions, following the circumference of the coin around a bust or cross, persists, on some coins of Offa the inscription is laid out on three lines (for example, N. 320), probably after papal and Carolingian prototypes.[91] Other types have inscriptions on three lines (for example, N. 222, 423–9 and 622), four lines (N. 642) or two lines (N. 540, 637), and also various monograms (N. 241, 591, 644), 'inscribed crosses' (N. 618 and 620), or inscriptions from the liturgy ('Dominus Deus Rex' and 'Mirabila Fecit': N. 506–12).[92] These coins have the layout of a written page or of a dedicatory inscription, often with a clarity and calligraphic beauty to match. It is interesting to consider the impression that these coins and text would have had on the beholder. How were these coins appreciated in a society that must have been largely illiterate?

Can we elaborate on Gregory's comment, and suggest that 'text' might have been approached holistically, apprehended in the same way as an image, and met with the same reverence, in the way that the word REX, as I argued earlier, stood in as an abbreviated image? How were these 'verbose' and bureaucratic-looking coins understood? There are

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86   It is interesting to note that two rare Anglo-Saxon 'pictorial' types of Edward the Elder and Æthelstan inspired papal coins of John XI (931–36); see C.E. Blunt, 'Four Italian Coins Imitating Anglo-Saxon Types', *British Numismatic Journal*, 25 (1945–48), 282–5.

87   Gregory, *Epistolarum Libri XI, Epistola, XIII*, Patrologia Latina, 77, cols 1128–30. Eric John, in *Reassessing Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 1996), 63 (albeit in the context of the ninth century), states 'in a largely illiterate society … coins represented the nearest thing to a mass medium that then existed'.

88   Gannon, *Iconography*, 192.

89   Ibid., 168–71.

90   M. Brown in L. Webster and M. Brown (eds), *The Transformation of the Roman World AD 400–900* (London, 1997), 220.

91   Grierson and Blackburn (eds), *Medieval European Coinage*, 264.

92   North, *English Hammered Coinage*, n.60.

examples of complex interactions between image, letters and gestures, such as with the York mint reverses of Cnut's EBRAICE CIVITAS (N. 495), where Cnut's monogram is arranged on the arms of a cross in such a way as to suggest the sign of a cross, or the signing of self.[93]

Continental precedents undoubtedly do account for some of these layouts, but one might wonder if certain forms could have been charged with a special significance for Anglo-Saxon users. This might be true of the continued use of certain runic characters, particularly in East Anglia,[94] but also of the deployment of the peculiar form of the letter A, with a forked bar and an additional trait above. This is a form of 'utilitarian' origin,[95] but found in early Christian inscriptions in Rome and beyond from the fourth century, and often associated with omega in the Chrismon.[96] While this venerable form was not taken up in the beautiful characters of Pope Damasus' inscriptions,[97] nor in Carolingian circles,[98] for the Anglo-Saxons it appears to have retained a special place in manuscripts and inscriptions,[99] as well as on coinage, even, one might argue, if only for its beauty. This grand letter form is found on some of the earliest among the silver *sceattas*, the issues of Aldfrith of Northumbria (685–704),[100] and also, sporadically, in 'remains' of blundered inscriptions.[101] We find it as a preferred form for the legends on Offa's coins. Later, it is sometimes bound to or associated with omega and displayed

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93   Mark Blackburn, in Jolly, Karkov and Larratt Keefer (eds), *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England*. Among the Viking invaders, the so-called memorial coinages of York, dedicated to St Peter (N. 555–6), and of Lincoln, dedicated to St Martin (N. 486), show swords as two-lines dividers to the saints' names. Although on the St Peter coins the sword has been interpreted as 'sword of Carolus' – see Grierson and Blackburn (eds), *Medieval European Coinage*, 323 – it is worth considering that both saints, the bellicose St Peter and St Martin as a soldier, are actually associated with swords, a fact that might have appealed to the newly converted Vikings. See Gareth Williams's discussion of the use of symbols on Viking coinage to promote assimilation between pagan and Christian religion in J. Graham-Campbell and Williams (eds), *Silver Economy in the Viking Age* (Walnut Creek, 2007), 197–9. The third substantive group, the St Eadmund memorial coinage (N. 483–5, discussed below), has its prototype in the actual coinage of King Eadmund of East Anglia (N. 456).

94   Grierson and Blackburn (eds), *Medieval European Coinage*, 293; R.I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, 2nd edn (Woodbridge, 2003), 125–9.

95   As argued by G. Charles-Edwards, 'Insular Display Capitals and Their Origins', in R. Moss (ed.), *Making and Meaning in Insular Art*, Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Insular Art held at Trinity College, Dublin, 25 to 28 August 2005 (Dublin, 2007), 232–3.

96   For its origins and developments, see S. Morison, *Politics and Script* (Oxford, 1972), 87–93.

97   Ibid*.,* 93.

98   However, it is a form commonly used in Lombard inscriptions (A. Gannon, 'The Double Life of Aufret – revealed', forthcoming).

99   See J. Higgitt, 'The Display Script of the Book of Kells', in F. O'Mahony (ed.), *The Book of Kells*, Proceedings of a conference at Trinity College, Dublin, 6–9 September 1992 (Dublin, 1994), 224 on variations of A.

100 Gannon, *Iconography*, fig. 4.25.

101 Ibid.: for instance, the gold coins of figs 2.57 and 2.37c, and the silver *sceattas* of figs 2.29a–b.

in the centre of the coin,[102] for instance on issues of Ceolwulf I and Berhtwulf of Mercia (N. 384 and 421), and of Eadmund of East Anglia (N. 456). It is also found on imitations of Eadmund's coins struck by the Vikings in East Anglia, the so-called St Eadmund memorial coinage (N. 483–5), and on coins of Æthelwolf of Wessex (N. 591).[103] The loyalty to this venerable letterform in an Anglo-Saxon milieu might be due to its connection to the written word, the lasting heritage of Christian Rome, jealously guarded and reverently preserved.

This survey has shown how in the span of about four centuries, as manifested through coins, their iconography and inscriptions, the special relationship between Anglo-Saxon England and Rome matured and evolved. We have seen the tentative beginnings of a fledgling coinage establishing itself by copying from successful Roman (and Continental) precedents, making precise iconography choices to promote a new order, striving to gain international recognition and to become true heirs of Rome. The second, self-assured phase of the coinage is witnessed by the sophisticated metaphors of the *sceattas*, when imagery is shared across the arts and responds to the religious spirit of the time.[104] It bears witness to a wealth of culture and contacts, and although inscriptions are missing, potent religious texts and allusions are implied. This is the time when another facet of Rome, as the See of the Christian Church, is invoked and sought. At this stage, there is a fine balance between the absorbing of a rich Christian heritage, its re-elaboration and appropriation. The coinage of the time of Offa marks a further stage in the evolution of the coinage – we have seen how Roman imagery can be deployed in subtle, multilayered, political games. We have then moved beyond these to the cosmopolitan, widely circulating epigraphic coinage of the ninth and tenth centuries, with another facet of the Roman Empire, more bureaucratic and accountable, with precise and lengthy inscriptions now being employed. This is the time when much of our cross-evidence comes from coins that were taken to Rome by pilgrims and merchants and as alms. The history of Anglo-Saxon coinage reflects the enduring reciprocity of its relationship with Rome: fascination, awe of its power and reverence for its religious significance, while taking, re-elaborating, and repaying in kind.[105]

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102 Grierson and Blackburn (eds), *Medieval European Coinage*, 294, regarding the East Anglian mint, note that the letter A 'is a common obverse design which may have had the double meaning of *Anglia* and *alpha*'. One may wonder if the peculiar M used by Offa played on the resemblance to omega.

103 One might also like to consider the monograms of the mints of Canterbury and Rochester (N. 614–15), which are centred on this particular letter form.

104 This is, of course, only true of part of the coinage: a core of 'neutral', regal or mercantile coinage with less easily decipherable iconography, such as Series R or the porcupines (Gannon, *Iconography*, 171–81 and 192–3) alerts us to the complexities of fragmentation of and power struggles in Anglo-Saxon England.

105 Many thanks are due to Carol Neuman de Vegvar for patiently reading a draft of this work and offering much good advice and guidance, and to Gareth Williams for fruitful discussions and help, particularly for giving me access to much important unpublished numismatic material. Thanks also to Adi Popescu for bibliographical advice and to Martin Allen for his patience in giving me details of coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum collection.

Chapter 14

Authority and Care
The Significance of Rome in Twelfth-Century Chester

John Doran

In 1195, Lucian, a monk of the Benedictine house of St Werburgh in Chester, completed a treatise in praise of his city. In this substantial manuscript of 396 pages, Lucian devoted 22 pages to a comparison of Chester with Rome, the most illustrious city in the West. This unique text is full of surprises, using a range of ideas about the city of Rome in order to enhance Chester. Lucian did not rely merely on a crude juxtaposition of good and bad features, as might have been expected from a conservative Benedictine monk writing at a time of unparalleled English hostility to the Roman curia. Lucian instead presented an entirely unexpected view of the city of Rome, seen through the experiences of St Peter and his vicar, the pope. He intertwined this with the experiences of St Peter in Chester in order to present an enhanced view of the English city. Far from being denigrated, the city of Rome was given an overwhelmingly positive gloss by Lucian. This remarkable text has been all but ignored by historians, but it gives us a real insight into the image of Rome among the English in the twelfth century, and is a useful corrective to the better-known satirical tradition which had developed in response to the growth of papal government.[1] Indeed, Lucian's text shows that the prestige of Rome remained an important factor in twelfth-century England. Moreover, an examination of the reasons for its composition gives a valuable insight into the relationship between an 'old' Benedictine house, feeling the pressure of a changed world, and the papacy, perceived not as the grasping and corrupting devourer of English resources, but as a protector and guardian of ecclesiastical liberty.

The text exists in a single manuscript, probably written by Lucian himself, with annotations made in another, probably contemporary, hand.[2] The annotations are interesting in themselves. Those in the Rome section, to be discussed later, show that the text was initially in use, an important fact which should be noted, given the evidence that Lucian was later overlooked.[3]

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1   J.A. Yunck, *The Lineage of Lady Meed. The Development of Medieval Venality Satire*, University of Notre Dame Publications in Mediaeval Studies 17 (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1963), 47–117.

2   Oxford, Bodleian Libary, MS Bodley 672; partial edition (i.e., only the parts considered useful to a study of the topography of Chester) by M.V. Taylor, 'Extracts from the MS *Liber luciani de laude Cestrie*', Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents Relating to Lancashire and Cheshire 64 (1912), 1–78, at 6.

3   Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 2.

Ranulph Higden was also a monk of St Werburgh's, in the fourteenth century, and compiled an influential chronicle, the *Polychronicon*.[4] Until 1917, this was our only source for the *Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Rome* by the mysterious Master Gregory, a celebrated treatise on Rome, also perhaps contemporary with Lucian. Higden had clearly made use of a variant text of this treatise, which now survives only in the manuscript discovered by M.R. James in the library of St Catharine's College, Cambridge.[5] It is equally clear that Higden had not made use of Lucian's treatise,[6] and this has led to speculation that the manuscript was presented on completion to Lucian's patron, a canon of the collegiate church of St John the Baptist in Chester.[7] Henry Bradshaw, monk of St Werburgh's (d. 1513), compiled an English life of St Werburgh based on Latin documents in the monastery, and appears to have used Lucian's text.[8] All that can be said with certainty is that the *Liber luciani de laude Cestrie* was presented to the Bodleian library in 1601 by Thomas Allen, a native of Uttoxeter (Staffs.),[9] thus escaping the fate of the remnants of St Werburgh's library, which are reported to have been seized during the occupation of Chester by Cromwell's forces in 1648 and to have perished in 1666 in the Great Fire of London.[10]

The *Liber luciani de laude Cestrie* has not enjoyed a good press, as unfortunately it has not attracted a sympathetic editor. A proposed edition by the Chetham Society of Manchester in 1843 came to nothing and the work was edited in 1913 by Margerie Venables Taylor for the Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire.[11] Taylor, a Classical archaeologist, held Lucian in low esteem, not only for his poor Latin, which had been noted as 'desultory' by Bishop Tanner in 1697,[12] but also on account of his subject matter. She repeatedly expresses exasperation with Lucian's sermonizing, describing the work as 'one long sermon disguised as a guide-book'.[13] A similar antipathy to Lucian has been the general view of those scholars who have looked at his work since 1913. Taylor, however, has provided the only available edition, and her introduction is the starting point for any study of the

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4   *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis*, ed. C. Babbington and J.R. Lumby, 9 vols, RS 41/i–ix (1879–86); cf. J. Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden* (Oxford, 1966).

5   *Magister Gregorius (12e ou 13e Siècle), Narracio de Mirabilibus Urbis Rome*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Textus Minores*, 42 (Leiden, 1970), with a comparison of Higden's text, 35–44; Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle*, 54–7 and 81; M.R. James, 'Magister Gregorius de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae', *English Historical Review*, 32 (1917): 531–54, with Higden's text compared at 533–6; G. McN. Rushforth, 'Magister Gregorius de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae: A New Description of Rome in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 9 (1919): 14–58, at 14; J. Osborne (trans.), *Master Gregorius, The Marvels of Rome* (Toronto, 1987), 1.

6   Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 2.

7   Ibid., 12–13.

8   Henry Bradshaw, *The Life of St Werburge of Chester*, ed. C. Horstmann, Early English Text Society: Original Series, 88 (London, 1887); Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 2.

9   Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 1.

10   R.V.H. Burne, *The Monks of Chester. The History of St Werburgh's Abbey* (London, 1962), xiii.

11   Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 4.

12   Ibid., 4.

13   Ibid., 8, 17, 19–20, 20–1.

text. J.K. Hyde alludes to its importance, but notes that Lucian has allegorized his subject, interspersing it with 'all kinds of sermon material',[14] while Elizabeth Danbury criticizes Lucian's turgid and repetitive style, based on 'a variety of homilies and sermons', yet still manages to acknowledge the great interest of his work.[15] Taylor laments that Lucian's work 'might have been both interesting and readable', if, like William FitzStephen in his contemporary description of London, he had shorn it of its 'long diversions and sermons'.[16] Taylor's editorship resulted in only a small portion of the manuscript being published:

> At the outset it was seen that this MS guide to Chester contained far too much irrelevant matter to be printed in full, at least as a publication of the Record Society. The discourses that occupy so many of its pages might find a place among documents illustrative of mediaeval thought or scholarship as expressed in sermons, but they are hardly suitable in a volume of a series of local historical records. For this reason this MS has been carefully examined from beginning to end, and all passages that were thought to bear any reference to the history or topography of Chester and the neighbourhood have been extracted and are here printed. It is possible that some allusions to Chester may have escaped notice, for frequently they are so veiled in allegory that it is difficult to recognise them.[17]

It must be admitted that Lucian's style of writing and peculiar approach have not helped a wider appreciation of his work. All commentators have noted the poor quality of Lucian's Latin, and his tendency to obscure his meaning through the laboured construction of his text and liberal use of allegory. Taylor summed up the problems thus:

> Metaphor and allegory are worked to death, and much is mere verbiage. Long and often incoherent dialectical arguments occur with an enormous number of illustrations and examples, frequently quite inapt.[18]

She also drew attention to the curious attempt to balance sentences through word arrangement, alliteration and pun, and the tendency to group things in threes.[19] Yet it

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14   J.K. Hyde, 'Medieval Descriptions of Cities', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester*, 48 (1965–66): 308–40, at 323, now in J.K. Hyde, *Literacy and its Uses*, ed. D. Waley (Manchester, 1993), 1–32, at 16.

15   E. Danbury, 'The Intellectual Life of the Abbey of St Werburgh, Chester, in the Middle Ages', in Alan Thacker (ed.), *Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture at Chester*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 22 (Leeds, 2000), 107–20, at 109–11.

16   Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 15; William Fitzstephen, 'Descriptio nobilissimae civitatis Londoniae', in *Vita S Thomae: Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J.C. Robertson and J.B. Sheppard, 7 vols, RS 67/i–vii, iii, 2–13; cf. *English Historical Documents*, II: 1048–1189, ed. D.C. Douglas and G.W. Greenaway (London, 1953), 956–62; F.M. Stenton, *Medieval London: An Essay*. With a translation of William FitzStephen's description and a map of London under Henry II by M.B. Honeybourne, annotated by E. Jeffries Davis, Historical Association Leaflet, 93/94 (London, 1934), republished as William Fitz Stephen, *Norman London*, with an introduction by F.D. Logan (New York, 1990).

17   Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 33.

18   Ibid., 14–5.

19   Ibid., 15.

is these very features, so irritating to someone intent on extrapolating topographical information from a text, which provide an invaluable resource for an investigation of Lucian's intellectual horizons.

In his treatment of Rome, perhaps precisely because his template necessitated the multiplication of examples, Lucian brought forth a fascinating series of illustrations of the city and its patron. His copious observations on Rome allow us a unique insight into the perceptions of the city held at Chester in the 1190s and how those perceptions might be used to construct an overview of the authority of the papacy within the Church. Far from exasperating us with tedious and inconsequential padding, Lucian's text provides a comprehensive picture of how greatly valued in the 1190s was the association with the papacy to an English Benedictine house. Furthermore, when it becomes clear that Lucian had a very deliberate purpose in composing his treatise, and especially in including the references to Rome, his text becomes all the more remarkable as a barometer of relations between England and the papacy at a crucial moment in the development of papal authority.

Lucian was a monk of St Werburgh's Abbey in Chester. He was perhaps professed on 7 January, the feast of St Lucian of Antioch (d. 312), which would explain his unusual name.[20] All our evidence for Lucian and his life is provided by the *Liber luciani* itself.[21] He was not a native of Chester, although he tells us that he was educated in the collegiate church of St John the Baptist, so he must have been resident in the city from an early age. His education was sound if not spectacular, for he displays a wide knowledge of the Bible and the Church Fathers as well as some classical authors.[22] There are indications that the library of St Werburgh's was substantial,[23] but we cannot know how much use Lucian made of it. His diversion on the monastic office of the *scriptor* hints that this may have been his role in the monastery at some point, and the suggestion has also been made that he might have served at some time as the subprior of St Werburgh's, since he dedicated a section of his manuscript to a description of this office along with those of the abbot and prior.[24] We neither know how old he was when he composed his treatise, nor when he died. He wrote of the great Chester fire of 1180 as if he were an eyewitness, but there is little further evidence of his age.[25]

The purpose of the *Liber luciani de laude Cestrie* has been much debated. The work does indeed provide a description of Chester, but this is confined to the earlier part of the manuscript and is disappointingly sparse in its detail. J.K. Hyde noted its emphasis on allegory over topography.[26] However, Lucian's purpose was not primarily to write a physical description of the city. His work is more of a commentary on the attributes of the city, both physical and spiritual, and his main interest seems to have been to praise the city for no other reason than that it belonged to St Werburgh and was an extension of the monastery which housed her shrine. Taylor suggests that the device of

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20 Ibid., 10; Taylor gives 8 January as the feast.

21 Ibid., 10–12.

22 Ibid., 13; Danbury, 'Abbey of St Werburgh', 110.

23 Danbury, 'Abbey of St Werburgh', 113.

24 Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 11.

25 Ibid., 55, 2, 30.

26 Hyde, 'Medieval Descriptions of Cities', 323.

a Chester guidebook was adopted simply to win the interest of the citizens for what was essentially a collection of sermons.[27] We have no idea, however, of Lucian's purpose, and I would suggest that his intended audience was the monks of his own house and his purpose was the enhancement of its prestige. Chester belonged to St Werburgh and to her monks.

It has been suggested that Lucian was influenced by the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* of Canon Benedict,[28] or by the pilgrim guides to Jerusalem.[29] If Lucian knew the *Mirabilia*, or, indeed, the *Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Romae* of Master Gregory, he gave no indication of this in his text. His knowledge of Rome, as we shall see, contains nothing that could not have been taken from a reading of the most general accounts, such as that given by William of Malmesbury.[30] It should be stressed at the outset that Lucian's Rome was not the physical city, but a city of his imagination. We have no evidence that he had ever been to Rome; he revealed no knowledge of the topography of the city, or of specific monuments, and we must discount a detailed knowledge of the works of either Canon Benedict and his imitators or Master Gregory. One intriguing echo of Master Gregory does, however, exist in Lucian's treatise. Lucian stated that he was not interested in relating the fabulous stories of travellers, tainted as they were by *impudentissima mendacia*.[31] Master Gregory showed the same disdain for the tales of ordinary people:

> I shall give a wide berth to the worthless stories of the pilgrims and the Romans in this regard, and shall record what I've been told by the elders, the cardinals, and the men of the greatest learning.[32]

Yet, in spite of this, both Lucian and Master Gregory were capable of recounting the most unlikely stories.

For Lucian, Rome had two primary attributes; it was a symbol of power and a seat of authority. The use which Lucian made of the city is surprising. His references to Rome were overwhelmingly positive. This is all the more surprising when we consider that Lucian was writing in a period when attacks on Rome and its venality were at

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27   Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 20.

28   P. Fabre, L. Duchesne and G. Mollat (eds), *Le Liber Censuum de l'Église Romaine*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 3 vols (Paris, 1910–52), 1:262–83; R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, Reale Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 4 vols (Rome, 1940–53), 3:3–56; useful commentary in C. D'Onofrio, *Visitiamo Roma Mille Anni Fa. La città dei Mirabilia* (Rome, 1988), and M.A. Lanzillotta, *Contributi sui Mirabilia Urbis Romae* (Genoa, 1996). An English translation of the *Mirabilia*: F.M. Nichols (ed. and trans.), *The Marvels of Rome* (London, 1889).

29   Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 17–20; Danbury, 'Abbey of St Werburgh', 109. For pilgrim guides to Jerusalem, see J. Wilkinson (ed. and trans.), *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 2002), 1–28.

30   William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum anglorum*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998), 1:612–20.

31   Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 13.

32   Huygens (ed.), *Mirabilibus urbis Rome*, 13–4; Osborne (trans.), *Master Gregorius*, 20, 46.

their height.[33] Moreover, Lucian was writing from England, whence such attacks were particularly insistent.[34] In his study of invective against Rome, Benzinger devotes a section to English criticism, noting particularly that the hostility came from the English clergy rather than from the king.[35] This criticism was conventional, reflecting similar complaints from other areas of the West, but it was more voluminous than that found elsewhere.[36] Criticism of the papal curia had become a topos among English writers, honed by the more frequent contact following the election of an English pope, Adrian IV (1154–59), and the protracted dispute between Henry II of England and Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, which culminated in 1170.[37]

The roots of English hostility to Rome were financial. There is persistent evidence that some English visitors to the papal curia resented demands made upon them. As early as 1027, Cnut had complained of the heavy charges levied on the bishops who had accompanied him to Rome.[38] This is echoed in Roger of Howden's caustic remark that Richard the Lionheart, having landed at Ostia during his journey to take part in the Third Crusade, and having been met by the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, refused to make the short trip to the city and berated the Cardinal over the simony of the Romans.[39] Complaints about the financial burdens involved in visits to Rome were common in the twelfth century, although this did not hinder the dramatic growth of appeals to the Apostolic See.[40] Indeed, such appeals necessitated a financial system to pay for the bureaucracy.[41] We do not know how much these appeals would have cost, but the repeated appearance of complaints spanning three centuries suggests that the burden was heavy.[42] The large number of appeals, however, shows that the costs were no great discouragement.[43] Indeed, it has been estimated that between 1066 and 1215, 192 missions were sent from English monasteries to Rome; at least 133 of these were from Benedictine houses and the majority of them were dispatched in the later twelfth century.[44] The actual number of missions is likely to have been much higher than these figures suggest. St Werburgh's had sent a number of delegations to the papal curia in

33   J. Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam. Romkritik im Mittelalter vom 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, Historische Studien, 104 (Lübeck and Hamburg, 1968), 74–118; Yunck, *Lady Meed*, 47–117; idem, 'Economic Conservatism, Papal Finance, and the Medieval Satires on Rome', *Mediaeval Studies*, 23 (1961): 334–51.

34   Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam*, 100–5.

35   Ibid., 100.

36   Yunck, *Lady Meed*, 105–9.

37   A.J. Duggan, 'Thomas Becket's Italian Network', in F. Andrews, C. Egger and C.M. Rousseau (eds), *Pope, Church and City. Essays in honour of Brenda M. Bolton*, The Medieval Mediterranean 56 (Leiden, 2004), 177–201, on the more frequent contact.

38   W.E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (New York, 1934), 2:234–5; Yunck, *Lady Meed*, 88.

39   *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols, RS 51 (London, 1868–71), 2:84.

40   Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam*, 101–2.

41   Yunck, *Lady Meed*, 130–1, 114.

42   Ibid., 89.

43   C.R. Cheney, *Innocent III and England*, Päpste und Papsttum 9 (Stuttgart, 1976), 115–6.

44   G.B. Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy* (Rome, 1954), 126, 118; P.R. Schaeffer, *Englishmen in Italy in the Twelfth Century: Rome* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1923), 257–62, 318.

just this period, and Lucian would certainly have met monks from other houses who had been directly involved in some of the more protracted disputes. He had particular reason to inform himself of the case of the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury against their archbishop and must, therefore, have been aware of the bitter criticism of the corruption of the papal court.[45] This criticism was most concentrated in relation to legal procedures, and it is striking that Lucian wrote at length of the pope's judicial role without once mentioning the venality which others were so quick to point out.[46] It is inconceivable that this omission could have been anything other than the deliberate intention of the author to ignore the attacks of contemporaries on the papal curia. Many who made such attacks must have known that they were unjust, and the level of corruption at the papal court was certainly exaggerated. It is clear, moreover, that the supposed corruption did not stem the flow of litigants and petitioners to the papal court.

Lucian's treatment of Rome was based on an allegorization of the four city gates of Chester and the cross formed by the four streets that led from them. The gate of St John the Baptist was treated in eleven pages, of St Peter in thirty-three pages, of St Werburgh in sixty-six pages, and of St Michael the Archangel in fifty pages.[47] While Lucian's references to St Peter were not the most voluminous in his treatise, they were certainly the most original and important. His emphasis on the gates has led to speculation that he was influenced by the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, but Lucian could have adopted this convention from more limited descriptions of Rome, such as that given by William of Malmesbury, his most likely source, and the *Einsiedeln Itinerary*, or perhaps a fuller version than the surviving account of the visit of Sigeric, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 990.[48] Lucian began by noting the appropriateness of Peter's gate being on the seaward side of the city and broke into a prayer to the saint, a feature which recurs throughout the work.[49] St Peter was urged to keep Chester safe from the attacks of the wicked and the horrors of the night. The presence in the city of two churches, one dedicated to Christ and the other to Peter, both served for long periods by devoted clerics, showed how worthy Chester was to be the city of Peter.[50] Chester stands on a sandstone ridge, which led Lucian to note that the aptness of the words of the Petrine commission to Chester would be evident 'at least to the literate inhabitant'.[51]

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45   *Annales Cestrienses; or chronicle of the Abbey of S. Werburg, at Chester*, ed. R.C. Christie, *Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents Relating to Lancashire and Cheshire*, 14 (1886), 30–2, for the dispute at Canterbury.

46   Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam*, 110; Yunck, *Lady Meed*, 92.

47   Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 8; Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fols 17–23, 23–38, 39–62, 62–87, respectively.

48   William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum anglorum*, 1:612–20; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1871–85), 2:329–56, 646–63; Valentini and Zucchetti (eds), *Codice topografico*, 2:133–53 and 155–201; F.P. Magoun, Jr, 'The Rome of Two Northern Pilgrims: Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury and Abbot Nikolás of Munkathverá', *Harvard Theological Review*, 33 (1940): 267–89, at 268–77.

49   Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fols 24v, 26v; Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 51.

50   Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 51–2; Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fols 27–27v.

51   Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fols 27–27v; Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 51; C.P. Lewis and A.T. Thacker (eds), *The City of Chester*, vol. I: General History and Topography, A History of

It is curious, however, that despite his allusion to the church of St Peter, Lucian said nothing specific about it. At certain points of his comparison between Rome and Chester, he emphasized the devotion of the city towards St Peter, but he seemed to claim the credit for this for his own monastery. It is perhaps significant that a legend of the foundation of St Werburgh's, the earliest occurrence of which is in the fourteenth-century *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden, recounted that the body of St Werburgh was brought to Chester by the nuns of Hanbury in 875 and laid in a church dedicated to SS Peter and Paul on 21 June, the day later kept as the feast of her translation.[52] Henry Bradshaw expanded on this legend in his Life of St Werburgh by recounting that in 907 Æthelflæd, the sister of King Edgar, restored the church, renamed it in honour of St Werburgh and transferred the earlier dedication to SS Peter and Paul to a new parish church in the centre of the city.[53] This church of St Peter, moreover, was presented to St Werburgh's by Simon Fitz-Osbern some time between 1153 and 1184.[54] Lucian's reticence reinforces the perception that his work was intended to bolster the position of his abbey within the city, but it also points to another conclusion, reinforced by what follows in the text. Lucian saw St Peter as a protector of the city, but also, and perhaps more importantly, as a protector of the Abbey of St Werburgh. This protection was spiritual, and it was imperative that, in recognition, the monks of that abbey should lead the pious devotion offered to St Peter. The presence of a parish church with a rival claim to Peter's affection was not allowed by Lucian to upset his careful plan, and it seems that the former dedication of the Abbey to Peter and Paul had not been forgotten. It certainly suited his purpose.

Lucian adopted a complicated style, in which one idea was juxtaposed with another in order to give greater emphasis to each.[55] J.K. Hyde noted that there was a curious parallel to Lucian's text in this regard in the twelfth-century treatise on the monastic life attributed to Hugh of Fouilly, but there is no similar juxtaposition of Rome with another place.[56] Lucian presented Chester as a place adopted by Peter as a patron, in contrast to Rome, which had been given to him to govern. The pastoral burden of the city and its inhabitants, inherited by the pope as the successor of St Peter, was emphasized in the twelfth century by both Bernard of Clairvaux and Cardinal Boso, and Lucian here echoed their suggestion that this burden was something which the pope might wish to avoid.[57] Peter had chosen Rome that he might teach (*ut dictaret*), but

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the County of Chester, Victoria History of the Counties of England, 5 vols (four published, 1987–2005), 5(1):3.

52   Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 2. For the sources for the foundation, see J. Tait (ed.), *The Chartulary or Register of the Abbey of St Werburgh Chester*, Chetham Society New Series, 79 (Part 1) and 82 (Part 2) (Manchester, 1920, 1923), 1:vii–xxii.

53   Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 2.

54   Ibid., 9; Tait (ed.), *Chartulary*: 2:288–9, no. 502; cf. 289–90, nos. 503 and 504.

55   Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 14–5.

56   Hyde, 'Medieval Descriptions of Cities', 323.

57   Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, ed. J. Leclercq and H.M. Rochais, *S. Bernardi Opera*, III (Rome, 1963), 381–493; for English translation, J.D. Anderson and E.T. Kennan, *Bernard of Clairvaux, Five Books on Consideration. Advice to a pope*, Cistercian Fathers Series, Bernard of Clairvaux, 13 (Kalamazoo, 1976), 111; useful notes on this quotation are supplied also in Pierre Dalloz (trans.), *Saint Bernard de la consideration* (Paris, 1986), 163–6; L. Duchesne (ed.), *Le*

Chester that he might defend it.[58] The emphasis of Lucian's text is apparent. Rome was always associated with authority, governance and the conduct of legal cases. Chester, in contrast, represented Peter's deliberate choice of a place in which he enjoyed tranquillity and rest. In Rome, Peter's universal throne was established, while his special temple was in Chester:

> There inscribing the statutes of the law, here relieving us from the groans of our labour. There as the advocate of the disputations of litigants, here of the sweet praises of lovers. The clamouring obstruction of the Romans, but the loving affection of the English. The destination of the business of the peoples of the whole world, entreaties and prayers from the hearts of the humble and pious.[59]

Lucian repeatedly asserted the authority of St Peter in a legal context, and it is clear that his text here conflated the pope and his patron. For Lucian, St Peter acted through the pope.

Lucian emphasized the vast amount of business dealt with at the papal curia, perhaps exaggerating in order to contrast the tranquillity of Chester, and here there is, perhaps, a parallel with Alexander Neckam (1157–1217), who announced that he preferred the grassy countryside to the mausolea and pyramids of Rome.[60] However, Alexander's poem reflected a much more realistic picture of Rome than that achieved by Lucian, and he displayed an understanding of the legal process at Rome which was lacking in the more naïve Chester monk. Twelfth-century litigants in Rome produced much material hostile to Rome and to the papal curia. Alexander Neckam complained of the heat and disease of the city, but his emphasis was very much on the corruption of the curia, which he linked to the ancient history of the city, seeing corruption as an inheritance.[61] He was aware of the importance of the cardinals in judicial processes.[62] None of this, however, was novel. The most celebrated and accomplished satire against the curia was the *Tractatus Garsiae*, written by an anonymous canon of Toulouse in 1099, in which Bernard, Archbishop of Toledo, travelled to Rome to ask for the legation to Aquitaine from Pope Urban II (1088–99).[63] This text, and its manifold imitators, set out clearly the hostility to the corruption of the city of Rome and the papal curia, and revealed an awareness of the actors in the legal process. Whether Lucian had read or heard the exaggerated parody of the *Tractatus Garsiae* is impossible to say, but he must surely have been familiar with the sentiments expressed. Walter of Châtillon (1135–1201), another contemporary of Lucian, set out the same ideas in his poem *Propter Sion non tacebo*, in which he dissected the papal court and its judicial organs and denounced its

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Liber Pontificalis, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2nd ser., 2nd edn, 3 vols (Paris, 1955–57) ['*LP*'], 2:424–5.

58   Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 28r.

59   Ibid., fol. 28r and v.

60   T. Wright (ed.), *Alexandri Neckam De naturis rerum libri duo: with the poem of the same author, De laudibus divinae sapientiae*, RS, 64 (London, 1863), 357–503; text of *Roma, vale* is given in Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam*, 102, n.170.

61   Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam*, 102.

62   Ibid., 102.

63   Yunck, *Lady Meed*, 71–6, at 71; text reproduced in P. Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart, 1963), 45–50.

corruption.[64] Moreover, the Becket dispute of 1163 to 1170 had familiarized many with the workings of the papal curia and the importance of courting influence there.[65] Walter of Châtillon deliberately emphasized the role of the cardinals.[66] The same message had been disseminated among Benedictine monks by the monks of Christ Church in their long-running, and ultimately successful, dispute with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the voluminous correspondence with which they documented it.[67]

Legal processes in Rome, then, could hardly have been unknown to Lucian. It is surprising to find that he made no mention of the cardinals or of the other officials with whom litigants would have come into regular contact. There are hints that Lucian was aware of these, but he never made an explicit mention of them:

> Just as early in the morning he [the Pope] calls through the hall the revised knowledge of the law, so in the evening, leaving work aside, he closes the door. He, conscious of his keys and knowing the wisdom of his advisers, opens the graves of those unworthy of the crown of the Church….[68]

Lucian was clearly aware that the pope was advised by his cardinals, and in another reference his observation that the Italian experienced St Peter with consistories and disputes reflected some familiarity with procedures in Rome, where the consistory, a public gathering in which the pope consulted the cardinals on important matters, had been growing in significance since the eleventh century.[69] However, in spite of the widespread appreciation that papal government was a collegial affair, Lucian chose to concentrate solely on the pope and the attributes he received from his patron, St Peter.

There are further indications that Lucian was aware of the reality of papal government in Rome. Lucian referred several times to the difficulties which St Peter, and thus the pope, experienced in Rome. He wrote of the 'clamouring obstructions of the Romans' and described Peter as the 'master and scatterer of the Romans'.[70] Peter had 'the trouble of looking after Italy',[71] while in Rome he was burdened with judicial cases and the clamouring of the ever-present crowds.[72] The Romans had a poor reputation among twelfth-century commentators, but Lucian's observations on them were mild in comparison with others. St Bernard of Clairvaux wrote disparagingly of

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64   Yunck, *Lady Meed*, 97; text in *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*, ed. K. Strecker (Heidelberg, 1929), 18–30.

65   Duggan, 'Thomas Becket's Italian network', 178.

66   Yunck, *Lady Meed*, 98.

67   *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, in W. Stubbs (ed.), *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, 2 vols, RS, 38 (London, 1864–65), 2 (1865): 218; cf. ibid., 178 and 194.

68   Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 28v. The opening of the graves refers to Peter's power of binding and loosing, since the unworthy are consigned to hell.

69   I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198* (Cambridge, 1990), 99–120; J. Sydow, 'Il *concistorium* dopo lo scisma del 1130', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 9 (1955): 165–76; W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power*, 3rd edn (London, 1970), 320–5.

70   Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 28r; 28v.

71   Ibid., 29r.

72   Ibid., 29v.

the Roman citizens in his *De consideratione*, while his letters also contained denunciations of their pride and obstinacy.[73] Cardinal Boso, whose descriptions of the Romans in his series of papal biographies were usually restrained, nevertheless allowed himself one passage in which he openly criticized them.[74] The theme is common in English sources, especially after the elevation of Nicholas Breakspear as Pope Adrian IV. The relationship between the pope and the city had been complicated by the establishment of the Roman commune in 1143 or 1144,[75] and this peculiar problem became something of a topos as a result. In his *Policraticus*, for example, John of Salisbury recounted that the pope was forced to give gifts to the Romans in order to keep them quiescent, in spite of the fact that this would make him appear to be a hypocrite when he condemned simony.[76] The monks of Canterbury had initially welcomed the election of Pope Clement III, praising him precisely because he was Roman by birth but not by nature, but by 1191 they were content to denounce him, reporting simply that he was a Roman; no further explanation for his untrustworthiness was required.[77] Yet Lucian mentioned the Romans only in order to show how busy was St Peter in Rome; he did not dwell on the vices of the Romans or recount their crimes. Indeed, he noted that the Romans had a special place as the flock assigned to St Peter, who assisted them with maternal care.[78]

It is clear that Lucian was presenting an image of Rome as a prestigious city. The contemporary hand which annotated the manuscript, perhaps in 1200, appears at the edges of the pages with such observations as 'In Rome, authority; in Chester, affection',[79] 'the chair of Peter presides over the world',[80] and 'the singular authority of Rome'.[81] The references to Rome were thus considered of interest by someone other than Lucian himself, and it may be that Taylor was correct when she speculated that the work was used as a source book for sermons. Moreover, the text seems to have been compiled with an English audience in mind. There is a fascinating section on the peculiar relationship between the English and the papacy.[82] It is significant that Lucian mentioned the Donation of Constantine specifically in connection with the care of the pope for the English.[83] Lucian used the Donation as a basis for comparing St Peter's care for Rome with his care for Chester. He juxtaposed St Peter's protecting the privileges of Constantine in Rome and feeding and protecting the 'Isle of Augustine' in Chester.[84] By discussing England in the context of the Donation, Lucian must have been

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73 *De consideratione*, 381–493; Anderson and Kennan, *Five Books on Consideration*, 111; Letter 243: *Epistolae*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, *S. Bernardi Opera*, 8 (Rome, 1977), 130.

74 *LP*, 2:424–5.

75 E.D. Theseider, *L'idea imperiale di Roma* (Milan, 1942), 37–41, 124–41; P. Brezzi, *Roma e l'impero medioevale* (Bologna, 1947), 317–39.

76 *Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Policratici: Sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri III*, ed. C.C.I. Webb, 2 vols (Oxford, 1909), 2:409; Yunck, *Lady Meed*, 107.

77 *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, 2:218; cf. ibid., 178 and 194.

78 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 29v.

79 Ibid., 29v.

80 Ibid., 34r.

81 Ibid., 34r.

82 Ibid., 29r–29v.

83 Ibid., 28v.

84 Ibid., 29r.

referring to the claim made in the Donation to jurisdiction over all islands within the western Roman Empire. The claim to such jurisdiction was the basis of the surrender of England to Pope Innocent III by King John in 1214 and its restoration as a papal fief. Moreover, Lucian linked the Donation with jurisdiction over Ireland, since he had St Peter looking after Ireland from Chester. The theme of jurisdiction over Ireland may well have been of interest to Lucian. He reported the embarkation of Prince John from Chester on his mission to Ireland, probably in 1186, which enhanced the prestige of the city.[85] Furthermore, in 1183, the monks of St Werburgh's had founded a daughter house in Downpatrick at the invitation of Malachi, Bishop of Down (Ulster),[86] and an entry in the Abbey's cartulary records the gift of John de Courcy, Earl of Ulster, of ten carucates of land in return for providing a prior and monks to replace the canons he had expelled from the church of St Patrick, the cathedral priory.[87] However, although the new abbey was instituted by Chester monks and followed the Rule of St Benedict in accordance with the customs of St Werburgh's, a condition of the foundation was that there was to be no dependence on the Chester house, which may have rankled with Lucian.[88] He returned later to the theme of the Donation by stating that 'Rome rightly [*iure*, a legal pun] rejoices and gives thanks to God because it has been made worthy to become the head of the world, presiding more widely through the mercy of God in the religion of simplicity because of the donation of the gentiles, and reigning over its subjects more easily and happily through obedience than through power'.[89] Lucian gave no hint that the Donation was in any way detrimental to the papacy. This is surprising because it was a controversial topic in this period.[90] Gerald of Wales had been particularly critical of the Donation. He did not doubt that it was true, but blamed it for having introduced corruption into the Church, since it gave temporal power to a spiritual office.[91] It is clear that Lucian thought that the Donation bolstered papal authority in Rome and Italy, whereas Gerald contemptuously contrasted the reality of the Donation in Rome, where the pope was unable even to reclaim an alienated garden, with the power it allowed him to claim in England.[92]

Lucian dwelt at length on the care of St Peter for the English. He emphasized that the English were at the edge of the Christian world, but insisted that Peter's care nevertheless kept them within the general flock. In a striking allusion, Lucian wrote of Peter caressing the English with the blood of the mother's womb, intended for the young.[93] Ireland, too, was included in this care 'that Britain might believe, being

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85   Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 61–2; 9–10.

86   *Annales Cestrienses*, 28; Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 11.

87   Tait (ed.), *Chartulary*, 2:471–2; B.E. Harris (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, Victoria History of the Counties of England, 3:134–5.

88   Harris (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, 3:135.

89   Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 34v.

90   A. Graf, *Roma nella Memoria e nell'Immaginazioni del Medio Evo* (Turin, 1923), 407–63.

91   Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam*, 103–5; Anne Duggan has pointed out to me that Gerald used *Laudabiliter*, the bull sent to Henry II by Adrian IV, with its citation of papal jurisdiction over islands, as one of the five justifications of English rule over Ireland.

92   'Symbolum electorum', *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. Brewer, Dimock and Warner, 1:374, 377; Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam*, 103.

93   Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 29v.

blessed in the name of the Lord, and lest the simple Ireland should recede from the net of the faith'.[94] Maternal images, particularly of nurture, were applied to abbots in the twelfth century, and there is here a fascinating hint that Lucian might have been aware of the Irish tradition of the pope being the co-abbot of St Peter.[95] Certainly, the monks of St Werburgh's had a particular knowledge of Ireland and Irish affairs. Irish bishops officiated regularly at St Werburgh's in Lucian's time, while travellers to Ireland often stayed in the abbey as they waited for the tide.[96] Lucian also played on the subject of the English to honour Pope Gregory the Great, noting that Gregory showed that the English would bring light to the darkness with the precious lamp of doctrine.[97] Elsewhere in the treatise, Lucian proposed Gregory as the friend of monks, the ideal bishop to contrast with the bishops of his own day who harassed the monks in their dioceses.[98] Lucian's enthusiasm for Gregory was a useful counterweight to Master Gregory's limited reference; the latter mentioned him only in order to castigate him for the destruction of idols, a theme which was adopted by later humanists.[99] Once again, Lucian attempted to show the papacy in a positive light.

Lucian's text at times became an extended prayer to St Peter, suggesting that in Chester, and perhaps in the Abbey of St Werburgh in particular, Peter was honoured liturgically. The honour shown to the prince of the apostles made Chester worthy of his protection, and it is intriguing that Lucian tells us that Peter took the pilgrim under his protection and made him a citizen, perhaps equating Peter's Chester faithful (strangers) with the citizens of Rome.[100] He seems to be suggesting that Chester enjoyed a superior status because of its relationship with St Peter and it owed that special relationship to its monks. As we shall see, it is likely that Lucian was referring to papal protection. There was an explicit reference to this as Lucian compared Chester to Rome:

> That city [Rome] has high walls and has as friends those who honour God. They will not be able to jump over them there, nor here (Chester) will they be able to treat them with contempt … You especially deign to watch over Chester indefatigably, the place where your holy memory is contemplated, so that rejoicing under the shadow of your wings the safer she is kept, the more fully the praise of God is inflamed.[101]

A common theme in descriptions of Rome was the focus on the walls, and Lucian began his description of Chester with a description of its walls. It was this mention of the walls which began Lucian's prolonged meditation on the city of Rome.

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94 Ibid., 29v.

95 C.W. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), 267–8; G. Murphy, 'The *Coarb* of Peter: Innocent III and Irish Monasticism', in J.C. Moore (ed.), *Pope Innocent III and His World* (Aldershot, 1999), 141–9.

96 Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 30.

97 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 29r.

98 Ibid., 116r and v; Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 12.

99 *Narracio de mirabilibus urbis rome*, 13, 17; Osborne, *Master Gregorius*, 50–51; T. Buddensieg, 'Gregory the Great, the Destroyer of Pagan Idols', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 28 (1965): 44–65.

100 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 31v.

101 Ibid., 31v.

Lucian signalled that he was discussing contemporary Rome by a neat transition from a discussion on St Peter to one on the pope: 'But now the foster-child looks after the city, and the beloved provincial recognizes how much God has raised that seat in which he wanted so much to glorify the pontiff'.[102] Rome was the place where Peter was venerated more efficaciously because there his presence was more evident. Lucian, of course, was referring to the presence of St Peter in the pope as well as to the shrine of the apostle. The emphasis once more switched to authority, with Rome as the bastion of light and true doctrine. The pope was 'the counsellor of salvation and the leader of life, who worthily throws aside those following the error of infidelity'.[103] From Rome, 'the laws written by St Peter are sent out across the world and the throne of justice advises the churches of all the saints'.[104] Once more, Rome was presented as a setting for justice and sound doctrine.

It is in his explanation of the merits of the city of Rome that Lucian shows himself at his most original and most at odds with the sentiments of his era. He presented the contemporary city as being in continuity with the ancient city, but his attitude to the pagan city is intriguing. Master Gregory was notable for the way in which he almost entirely ignored the Christian significance of the city of Rome.[105] The only monuments to interest him were those of pagan antiquity. The *Mirabilia* showed a similar enthusiasm for antiquity, with only two of its thirty-two chapters dedicated to Christian Rome.[106] Lucian adopted his familiar tactic of juxtaposing ideas in order to explain the prestige of the Christian city. He revealed an ambivalence towards the pagan city which was not common among his contemporaries, whose disdain was reserved for the contemporary Romans. For Lucian, the pagan city was prestigious, but for less important reasons than those which secured the city's later fame. Lucian's purpose throughout was to show that the apostles Peter and Paul supplied the power and prestige sought by Rome's original founder. The moral authority which they established made the prestige of the ancient city, expressed in its palaces and monuments, pale into insignificance. This is an unusual argument for a twelfth-century monk. Much more typical in his attitude to Rome was Bernard of Cluny, whose *De contemptu mundi* was composed at Cluny during the abbacy of Peter the Venerable (1122–56).[107] It is interesting that Bernard may have been English, reflecting Lucian's appreciation of Gregory the Great by referring to him as *Gregorius meus*.[108] Bernard introduced Rome, which occupied lines 595 to 800 of Book 3, only after long treatments of the ills of the Church, from simony to unworthy bishops, with the city as an integral part of the problem. For him, the broken buildings of the ancient city reflected the ruined morals of contemporary Rome, but for Lucian they reflected a prestige which was transitory and which was destined to be replaced

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102　Ibid., 33v.

103　Ibid., 33v.

104　Ibid., 33v.

105　Osborne, *Master Gregorius*, 5.

106　C. Nardella, 'L'antiquaria romana dal *Liber Pontificalis* ai *Mirabilia urbis Romae*', *Roma Antica nel Medioevo. Mito, rappresentazioni, sopravvivenze nella* Respublica Christiana *dei secoli ix–xiii*, Atti della quattordicesima settimana di studio, Mendola, 24–28 agosto 1998 (Milan, 2001), 423–47, at 430.

107　R.E. Pepin, *Scorn for the World: Bernard of Cluny's 'De Contemptu Mundi'*, Medieval Texts and Studies, 8 (East Lansing, MI, 1991), xi.

108　Ibid., xi.

by a greater glory which would not perish. Lucian and Bernard used much the same argument, but Lucian avoided the disdain for ancient Rome shown by Bernard.

Lucian made an interesting observation on the ancient city of Rome. He noted that the sweat and blood of so many men in antiquity gained for Rome the general name of city,[109] meaning that the military prowess of Rome had made it 'the' city. He was referring to the custom, which remained in his own day, of referring to Rome simply as *Urbs*, the Latin word for 'city' which had become synonymous with Rome. This grammatical point is another of those hints that Lucian was aware of contemporary criticisms of Rome, since the grammar of the Latin language was widely used in order to ridicule and satirize the papal curia.[110] Thus, there was the common observation in satire that the very titles of the pope and his officials were derived from unflattering sources. *Papa* was said to have derived from *papare* (to eat) or *pavor pauperum* (the dread of the poor) or even *paie! paie!* (pay!), while cardinals were called *carpinales* or *carpidinares* (pluckers, or snatchers) or *di carnales* (carnal gods), and *caput* (head) was transposed into *capit* (takes) and *mundus* (world) into *mundum* (toilet).[111] Lehmann noted a poem which characterized Rome as in thrall to the accusative and dative: *Accusativus Romam regit, atque dativus* (the informer, or the plaintiff, rules Rome, and the briber).[112] Indeed, this poem was described by Yunck as 'something of a grammarian's *tour de force*'.[113] Gerald of Wales repeated the observation that Latin had the ablative case whereas Greek did not.[114] The most famous example of this sort of satire was the acrostic given by Walter Map: *Radix Omnium Malorum Avaritia* (ROMA).[115] Lucian cannot have been unaware of such examples when he made his own grammatical observation on Rome.

Lucian began his extended meditation on Rome with an observation intended to reinforce what he had already written, 'The city of Rome rejoices and exults all the more because it has been made worthy to serve his kingdom with the law'.[116] This was an authority prefigured by the greatness of ancient Rome, but that greatness was of no consequence in itself: '… but for this singularly it gained governance over the whole world, that within its breast it retained the chief of the apostles and became the head of all churches'.[117] Lucian thus neatly linked the twin themes upon which Roman apologetics had been based in the Early Church, the presence of the relics of St Peter and the authority of his successor.[118] Lucian continued with a comparison of Romulus

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109 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 33v.

110 Cf. A.J. Duggan, 'The World of the *Carmina Burana*', in M.H. Jones (ed.), *The* Carmina Burana*: Four Essays*, King's College London Centre for Antique and Medieval Studies (London, 2000), 1–23.

111 Yunck, *Lady Meed*, 93–6; Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam*, 110–3; Pepin, *Scorn for the World*, xix–xx.

112 P. Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1922), 76.

113 Yunck, *Lady Meed*, 95.

114 Ibid., 108; the ablative is named from its source, the Latin *auferre*, to carry away.

115 Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. M.R. James (Oxford, 1914), II, xvii, 82; Yunck, *Lady Meed*, 93; Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam*, 111.

116 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 33r.

117 Ibid., 33r–v.

118 C. Pietri, *Roma christiana: Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III, 311–440*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome (Paris and Rome, 1976),

and Remus and SS Peter and Paul. Leo the Great had covered much the same ground in his sermons for their feast (29 June), and the ideas were still current in the papal court and were used by Pope Innocent III in the decade after Lucian wrote.[119] The themes may have been familiar, but the ideas about the city itself developed by Lucian were novel. Romulus raised Rome up to great dignity, constructed walls, built great palaces and erected monuments. In all of these things, however, he was outdone by Peter, who constructed morals and piety. Romulus besmirched the city with fratricide through the murder of his brother Remus. Peter, in contrast, eschewed the singular dignity which Romulus craved and asked God to send him a companion (Paul) with whom to share his martyrdom: 'Thus Peter decorated the city better and more magnificently with his morals than Romulus with his circle of walls. And just as the merits of these two were exceedingly diverse, so were their monuments. For while all the power of Romulus has crumbled and putrefied, the piety of Peter has endured and lives.'[120] Lucian was repeating the juxtaposition of Romulus and Remus, Cain and Abel, and Peter and Paul developed by St Augustine in the fifth century.[121]

It is nevertheless surprising that Lucian devoted so little attention to the buildings of Rome. After all, these buildings were still standing and were capable of mesmerizing visitors. Indeed, Elizabeth and Jörg Garms have claimed that the legend of Rome's magnificence was so powerful that it beguiled visitors into seeing what was no longer there, and we might expect Lucian to have been similarly mesmerized.[122] At first glance, it might seem that Lucian had more in common with Hildebert of Lavardin, who had written a celebrated poem, quoted by William of Malmesbury, in which he lamented the lost greatness of Rome, evident still in its ruins; this melancholy over the decay of the ancient city characterized the twelfth century.[123] Yet Lucian said little about the physical city. He could have said far more about the magnificence of the ruins of Rome, given that his purpose was to enhance the prestige of the city, but he chose not to. Moreover, he reported that the great buildings and monuments of the city had crumbled to nothingness, whereas there is ample contemporary testimony that this was simply not

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1545, 1590; R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980), 46; Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government*, 2–14.

119 *PL* 54, 422–34; John Doran, 'In Whose Footsteps? The Role Models of Innocent III', in A. Sommerlechner (ed.), *Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis. Atti del Congresso Internazionale, Rome 9–15 settembre 1998*, 2 vols, Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria, 44 (Rome, 2003), 56–73, esp. 62–5.

120 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 33v.

121 C. Neuman de Vegvar, 'The Travelling Twins, Romulus and Remus in Anglo-Saxon England', in J. Hawkes and S. Mills (eds), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), 256–67.

122 E. Garms and J. Garms, 'Mito e realtà di Roma nella cultura europea. Viaggio e idea, immagine e immaginazione', in C. de Seta (ed.), *Il Paesaggio*. Storia d'Italia 5 (Turin, 1982), 561–662, at 579.

123 *Hildeberti Cenomannensis Episcopi Carmina minora*, ed. A.B. Scott, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Munich, 2001), 7–9; Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, 200–2.

the case.[124] Hildebert's lament is alien to Lucian because the Chester monk believed that the refoundation of Rome by Peter and Paul was the real glory of the city:

> Who [Peter], finding the city dead with many false lies, brought it back to life and made it resplendent, driving out the ferocity of demons in the name of the saviour and the recognition of the redeemer.[125]

So, the greatness of Rome lay not in buildings, but in morals. Lucian was treading a lonely path with this line of reasoning, since many of his contemporaries were convinced that Rome had no morals and was a den of iniquity.

The extent of the power of the Roman Empire was a source of wonder during the Middle Ages, when the vastness of its territory could hardly be conceived. For Lucian, however, this passes almost without mention. The global standing of Rome came from Peter, while the power of the Caesars was given only a passing mention:

> … extending the governance of the city through the Christian teaching office of peace and receiving as a reward for her submissiveness the subjection of all to her throne not through warlike labours, but fear of God, and presiding over the nations of the whole world with vigilance for the pastoral law of peace.[126]

The annotator of Lucian's text made a note at this point, highlighting 'the singular authority of Rome', and it was here that Lucian made his most telling statement about that authority:

> Thence, from all parts of the world, crowds of people converge to seek the glorious remains of Peter, to look for his tomb, and to seek his opinion; and receiving the laws of his judges, they do not presume to be bold enough to change them.[127]

Lucian thus restated the classic view of the authority of Rome, or, rather, of the papacy. The pope, for Lucian, was the guardian of the body of the apostle, but he was also the custodian of the apostle's judgements. The pope was the representative of St Peter and was imbued with Peter's charisma. Compared to this, the past glories of the city were worth little. Furthermore, those past glories were based on military oppression, envy and greed. The power of Rome was greater under the papacy than it was under the emperors. Lucian said that Rome deserved to become the capital of the world more through gentleness than through power.[128] Lucian's annotator summed up his argument by inserting a very Benedictine note here: 'He rules more through love than fear'.[129]

Lucian continued to provide hints of his awareness of Rome and its monuments. He referred to St Peter as a column which supported the gift of God, suggesting that he was aware of the columns which decorated the city and perhaps of the construction

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124 G. Tellenbach, 'Die Stadt Rom in der sicht ausländischer Zeitgenossen (800–1200)', *Saeculum*, 24 (1973): 1–40.
125 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 34r.
126 Ibid., 34r.
127 Ibid., 34r.
128 Ibid., 34v.
129 Ibid., 34v.

of Roman basilicas.[130] The shrine of St Peter 'shines in the city that it might give light to the world'.[131] Lucian followed this with a discussion of Peter's martyrdom, which became at times a monologue in which God addressed the saint in the second person singular.[132] Some interesting ideas are contained in this section. Lucian again emphasized the authority of Rome, but he stressed also the mercy of St Peter, the forgiveness which a sinner could find in Rome when Peter became his patron and guide. The language used suggests that Lucian was influenced by the tradition among the English of making penitential pilgrimages to Rome in expiation of crimes which were considered particularly heinous.[133]

Lucian completed his meditation on Rome with a reiteration, for the 'beloved provincial', of how much God had raised up the see of Rome.[134] The annotator signalled that this section was dedicated to the *Romana cathedra*.[135] Lucian reiterated some of his earlier arguments, stressing again that Rome had been given its singular dignity in order to advance the law of God in the world:

> Let the city of Rome, then, rejoice and exult all the more, which has been worthy to serve the law of his kingdom. So many men with sweat and blood obtained the common name for the ancient city [Urbs], but for this alone did it acquire the rule of the whole world, that within its breast it retains the first of the apostles and was made the head of all churches. Romulus the founder raised her, but Peter established her more excellently and raised her up. The former built with stones, but the latter consecrated with martyrdom. This one painstakingly crowned the circle of walls, but that one established the foundations of morals. The one built palaces which would perish, the other the merits of piety which will remain. The former made the city blush through its origins in fratricide, the latter spread Christianity from the outset through fraternity. Romulus burnt in pursuit of his singular dignity, but Peter freely surrounded himself in order to have sweet companionship … So Peter decorated the city more magnificently with his morals than Romulus girded it with his walls. 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.[136]

Lucian concluded this comparison of Romulus and Peter with a reiteration of how much more worthy Peter was. Peter became the prince of the apostles and the doorkeeper of the gates of heaven, bathed in angelic light, while Romulus tried to conceal his crime against God and nature by hiding in the darkness.[137]

Lucian continued his theme with the rehabilitation of the city through Peter:

130 Ibid., 34v; cf. *Mirabilia*, in Fabre, Duchesne and Mollat (eds), *Liber Censuum*, 1:263, 266, 270; cf. John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning. The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1988).

131 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 34v.

132 Ibid., 34v–36v.

133 R.A. Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimage to Rome in the Early Middle Ages', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 13 (1975): 65–83, at 69–75.

134 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 33r.

135 Ibid., 33r.

136 Ibid., 33r–33v.

137 Ibid., 33v.

Who, finding the Roman city dead with the manifold perfidies of falsehood, enlightened and revivified it with the faith and name of the saviour, driving out the fury of demons through the acknowledgement of the redeemer. He extended the governance of the city through the teaching office of Christian peace, receiving as his prize for his patience not the labours of war but fear of the Lord. All are subject to his throne, and he presides over all the nations of the world with pastoral vigilance laying down the laws of peace.[138]

For Lucian, then, the authority of Rome was based on the merits of St Peter, and his annotator provided the helpful note that the throne of Peter presided over the world.[139] Lucian reinforced this judgement with such further observations as, 'From there proceed the norms of belief and the forms of confession because what Peter decides and determines, the truth of this assertion is confirmed with his seal'.[140] Thus, the role of the pope was linked again to the apostle. The pope's seal confirmed the judgements of Peter's mouth. For good measure, Lucian stressed that anyone who avoided the judgement of Peter would be destroyed.[141]

Lucian linked this authority directly to events which occurred in Rome while Peter was alive and with his martyrdom. Lucian spoke of Peter's escape from prison being only a prelude to his embracing of martyrdom. He made a reference to Rome as Babylon, which he had taken from the first letter of St Peter in the New Testament (1 Pet. 5:13; cf. Rev. 17:5).[142] He wrote about the Church rejoicing in the doctrinal monuments of Peter, but the word used, trophies, would have reminded Lucian's readers of the shrines of SS Peter and Paul, which were commonly referred to as *tropheia*.[143] Christ directly addressed Peter, telling him that his arrival in Rome proved his love for his brothers and was a lasting example to all. Peter was established in Rome as Christ's pastor, by Christ himself, as the only shepherd, who would guide the Church with the power of the keys until the second coming.[144] Much of the language here was military, with Peter being presented as a warrior for Christ, the leader in battle of the Christian people, a counterpoint to the violence of the ancient Romans.[145]

Why did a monk of St Werburgh's Abbey in Chester take it upon himself to write such an elaborate exposition of St Peter and his earthly role? An investigation into the events of the 1180s and early 1190s shows that all was not well in St Werburgh's Abbey, where King Henry II had imposed an abbot on the monks. Furthermore, the career of Hugh de Nonant, Bishop of Lichfield, Coventry and Chester from 1185 until 1198, who was widely denounced as an enemy of monks, shows that the monks of Chester had every reason to seek papal protection at this time.[146] Ultimately, however, the motivation for Lucian was probably devotion to St Werburgh. Much of his treatise

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138 Ibid., 34r.

139 Ibid., 34r.

140 Ibid., 34r.

141 Ibid., 34r–34v.

142 Ibid., 35v; Doran, 'In Whose Footsteps?', 63.

143 Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, 19–20.

144 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 35v.

145 Ibid., 34v–35v.

146 Cf. J.T. Appleby (ed.), *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, 69–73, 86–7.

was taken up with Werburgh herself, not only the section in which he dealt directly with her. For example, Werburgh's intercession made the fire of 1180 less damaging than it might have been and saved many of the citizens.[147] Werburgh and Chester went hand in hand for Lucian, in the same way as did Peter and Rome. What was good for St Werburgh was also good for her monks, and it is in this context that we should see the exaltation of papal protection. The pope was able to give St Werburgh her rightful place in the city and to honour her through his protection of her monks. It is in this light that we should view the first example that we have of the monks of Chester seeking papal intervention. It is likely that we have only some of the relevant documents, since the cartulary of the abbey published by Tait is an inferior copy of a much larger manuscript which has not survived.[148] However, there were several significant contacts between the papacy and the abbey in the later twelfth century which allow us to see the context of Lucian's treatise.

Any discussion of the relations of an English Benedictine abbey with the papacy in the twelfth century must begin with the extraordinary privileges secured for St Albans from Pope Adrian IV. The abbey of St Albans had secured papal recognition of some of its privileges earlier in the twelfth century, but the elevation of Nicholas Breakspear, a native of the abbey's property and son of a member of the community, secured for the abbey the most lavish papal privileges granted to an English house.[149] In the course of a concerted campaign through the pontificate of Adrian IV, the abbot and monks received recognition of their status as the premier abbey in England,[150] exemption of both the monastery and its dependent churches from episcopal control,[151] and the right to express the pontifical capacity of the abbot through liturgical dress.[152] It is the last concession which may well have been of most interest to the monks of St Werburgh's. The pope granted privileges to St Albans expressly in order to enhance the cult of Alban, England's protomartyr.[153] The concession to the abbot of the right to wear the mitre, gloves, ring and sandals gave visual expression to the honour owed to St Alban and gave greater splendour to processions of the saint's relics and ceremonies enacted before his shrine.[154] Chester also housed the shrine of an English martyr of some antiquity, and the enhancement of Werburgh's cult was of prime importance to the monks of Chester. In 1075, the episcopal see was moved to Chester from Lichfield by the Norman bishop, Peter (1070–1109), who began the construction of a cathedral

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147 Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 2; Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 19.

148 Tait (ed.), *Chartulary*, 1:34.

149 B. Bolton, 'St Albans' Loyal Son', in Bolton and A.J. Duggan (eds), *Adrian IV, The English Pope (1154–1159)*, Studies and Texts (Aldershot, 2003), 75–103, 86–95.

150 Ibid., 75.

151 Ibid., 90–91.

152 Ibid., 95; cf. D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1963), 585–6; 'Abbaye nullius', in R. Naz (ed.), *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique*, 7 vols (Paris, 1935–65), 1:16–29; 'Exemption canonique', ibid., 5:637–46; 'Exemption des religieux', ibid., 5:646–65; 'Protection apostolique', ibid., 7:381–8.

153 Bolton, 'St Albans' Loyal Son', 95.

154 Ibid., 98–9.

at St John's Church, just outside the walls of the city.[155] Although subsequent bishops of Lichfield, Coventry and Chester chose not to live in Chester, the presence of a cathedral church is likely to have been unwelcome to the monks. Indeed, in the 1190s, as the slow work of building the crossing and choir of the abbey continued,[156] St John's may have appeared to be the grander church.[157] The right to wear pontifical ornaments would have secured precedence in processions for the Abbot of St Werburgh's and generally enhanced the cult of the saint herself. Such a privilege was secured from Pope Alexander III, granted either to Robert Fitz-Nigel, Abbot of St Werburgh's from 1157 to 1174, or to Robert II, between 1174 and 1184.[158] The pope conceded the use of the pastoral staff and ring and the right to bless priestly vestments. By the fourteenth century, the Abbot of Chester also enjoyed the right to wear the pontifical mitre.[159] Such grants were usually made in direct response to requests, and it is clear that the monks of Chester were enhancing the prestige of their house and patron.

Two further papal privileges were preserved in the cartulary of the abbey, both from the pontificate of Clement III (1187–91).[160] Volkert Pfaff has suggested that Clement himself deliberately encouraged the petitioning of privileges in order to enhance his limited financial resources,[161] but there were already ample reasons for the monks of St Werburgh's to seek papal protection at this time. Indeed, the fact that the monks sought two privileges during Clement's short pontificate, with no evidence of other requests from his successors until the fourteenth century, suggests that the monks had particularly pressing concerns.

In 1092, Hugh of Avranches, Earl of Chester (1071–1101), nicknamed Lupus, had founded the Abbey of St Werburgh,[162] and the earls of Chester were closely involved in the interests of the abbey in the twelfth century.[163] However, Earl Richard (1101–20), who died in the White Ship disaster in 1120, was later remembered as a persecutor of the monks.[164] The foundation of Basingwerk Abbey in Flintshire by Earl Ranulf II (1129–

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155 C.P. Lewis and A.T. Thacker (eds), *The City of Chester*, vol. 2: Culture, Buildings, Institutions, *Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of Chester*, 5(2):125; Harris (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, 3:5, says 1080.

156 Lewis and Thacker (eds), *A History of the County of Chester*, 5(2):185–91; Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 10, 14–6, 207.

157 Lewis and Thacker (eds), *A History of the County of Chester*, 5(2):125–33, esp. 126; see Tait (ed.), *Chartulary*, 2:299–302 for a contemporary agreement between the churches on privileges within Chester.

158 Tait (ed.), *Chartulary*, 2:114.

159 Fabre, Duchesne and Mollat (eds), *Liber Censuum*, 2:81–2; Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 78–81, 95, 106; *A History of the County of Chester*, 3:140–1.

160 Tait (ed.), *Chartulary*, 1:109–12, 115–6.

161 V. Pfaff, 'Papst Clement III. (1187–1191), mit einer Liste der Kardialsunterschriften', *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte Kanonistische Abteilung*, 66 (1980): 261–316, 266–7.

162 Harris (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, 3:132–3; Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 1–4.

163 Tait (ed.), *Chartulary*, 1, 'Charters of the Earls', 13–82; Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 5–18, 196–201.

164 Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 6–7; Harris (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, 3:133–4.

53) also indicated that the days of expansion were over for St Werburgh's.[165] Ranulf granted Holywell to Basingwerk, in spite of its earlier concession to St Werburgh's, and there are indications that he encouraged his followers to endow the new abbey to the detriment of St Werburgh's.[166] The petition for pontifical ornaments from Alexander III may have been a response to such losses, some of which were redressed by Earl Hugh II (1153–81).[167] The death of Hugh in 1181 left Ranulf III (1181–1232) a minor, as the ward of King Henry II, and Henry seized the abbey upon the death, in 1184, of Abbot Robert II.[168] The circumstances of the vacancy are obscure, but they provide a context for the papal privileges issued by Clement III.

The *Annales Cestrienses* report that in 1186, Henry II and Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed Robert de Hastings as abbot of St Werburgh's after the abbacy had been kept vacant for two years.[169] Robert had been a partisan of Baldwin in his dispute with the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the monks of Chester were unhappy with his appointment.[170] It is likely that the monks had already elected Geoffrey, one of their number, as abbot. The privileges requested from Clement III may well have been a response of the monks to the appointment of Robert. On 24 March 1188, Clement confirmed the property of the abbey and decreed that there should be neither undue interference in nor burdens imposed upon the dependent churches of the abbey by either the bishop or his officials.[171] The pope also allowed some properties of the abbey to be assigned to the provision of hospitality. However, Clement also issued a much more comprehensive letter at a later date in his pontificate, specifically naming Robert as abbot.[172] This confirmation of possessions and privileges gave a list of the properties of the abbey, with some inconsistencies, and appears to be the result of an inspection of the charters of the abbey by the pope or his officials. The cure of souls for the clergy appointed to the parishes belonging to the abbey was to be sought from the local ordinary, but if he attempted to levy any charges this care was to be exercised on the authority of the pope. Similarly, the confection of chrism and holy oils, the consecration of altars and churches, and the ordination of clergy, were to be sought from the local ordinary, but any attempt at levying a charge was to leave the monks free to request such services from a bishop of their choice. The most important provision was that the monks were to enjoy the right of free election as envisaged by the Rule of St Benedict, and the abbot so elected was to be free to seek benediction from a bishop of his choice. The *Annales Cestrienses*, which recount the benediction of abbots both before and after this privilege, show clearly that the abbots of Chester had customarily sought benediction from the bishop of Coventry, Lichfield and Chester, but appear to have avoided doing so after this privilege, going to London or Canterbury instead, although the rights of the diocesan appear to have

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165 Harris (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, 3:134.

166 Ibid., 3:134.

167 Ibid., 3:134; Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 11.

168 *Annales Cestrienses*, 34; Harris (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, 3:134–5; Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 11–3.

169 *Annales Cestrienses*, 30, 34.

170 Harris (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, 3:134–5; Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 13.

171 Tait (ed.), *Chartulary*, 1:115–6.

172 Ibid., 1:109–12.

been reasserted after the mid-thirteenth century.[173] Further privileges were granted by Clement. Monks professed at Chester were forbidden to leave the monastery without the permission of the abbot, and the monks were to be free to continue their offices, in private, even during a general interdict.

The privilege of Clement III was not a grant of exemption. The rights of the diocesan bishop were specifically reserved in the grant, but the effect of the privilege was to limit the dependence of the monks of St Werburgh's on the local ordinary. It is clear that the services of Irish bishops were regularly secured in the abbey. The privilege thus reflects the shifting ecclesiology of the twelfth century, which began with the alliance of the papacy with monasteries in the furtherance of reform, but which later saw the development of greater cooperation between popes and bishops and the curtailing of monastic privileges.[174] Clement did not grant exemption to St Werburgh's, and he did not grant to the abbey the fullness of papal protection. Only in the fourteenth century was St Werburgh's entered into the *Liber Censuum*, thus becoming the property of the Roman Church.[175] What was conceded to the monks by Clement was papal protection, a limited protection of the interests and privileges of the abbey, and a protection which relied on the acquiescence of the local bishop for its effectiveness. Nevertheless, it is clear that the concession of papal protection allowed far greater autonomy to the monks of St Werburgh's, and the grant of Clement III was considered to be a useful precedent when the Abbot of St Werburgh's sought full exemption in the fourteenth century in the teeth of opposition from his own monks.[176]

It seems likely that the privilege of Clement III was issued in response to the imposition on the monks of Robert de Hastings. In 1194, when Earl Ranulf III, de Gernons, returned as an adult from the Third Crusade, a compromise was engineered by which Robert de Hastings, deprived of his patron after the death of Baldwin in 1190, retired on a pension of 20 marks per annum, while Geoffrey succeeded him as abbot, a position to which he seems to have been elected by his brethren eight years before, the *Annales Cestrienses* reporting the confirmation of his abbacy without mentioning a new election.[177] Earl Ranulf was praised by the *Annales Cestrienses* for his part in this outcome, which had been argued over at some length in the presence of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his memory was honoured by the monks. Indeed,

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173 *Annales Cestrienses*, 22 (Robert Fitz-Nigel, 1157–74, received benediction at Lichfield), 26 (Robert II, 1174–84, received benediction at St John's Church, Chester), 34 (Robert de Hastings, 1186–94, received benediction at Canterbury), 60 (Roger Frend, 1240–49, received benediction at Coventry), 93 (Simon de Whitchurch, 1265–91, received benediction from the Bishop of Lichfield at Tachebrook).

174 M. Maccarrone, 'Primato Romano e monasteri dal principio del secolo xii ad Innocenzo III', *Istituzione Monastiche e Istituzione Canonicale in Occidente (1123–1215)*, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevale, 9 (Milan, 1980), 49–132, at 60–74.

175 Fabre, Duchesne and Mollat (eds), *Liber Censuum*, 1:225; for the text of Clement VI's letter, ibid., 2:81–2.

176 Harris (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, 3:140–41; Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 78–81, 95, 106.

177 *Annales Cestrienses*, 44; Tait (ed.), *Chartulary*, 1:111; Harris (ed.), *A History of the County of Chester*, 3:135; Burne, *The Monks of Chester*, 13, 16–7.

Ranulf enjoyed an unrivalled reputation for goodness after his death, and this may have been enhanced by the favourable view of the monks.[178]

While the election of 1186 was clearly frustrating to the monks of St Werburgh's, and it remains a possibility that the privileges of Clement III were sought without the knowledge of Abbot Robert, it may also be the case that the monks embraced their new abbot for the protection which his relationship with Baldwin could provide against Hugh de Nonant. Hugh had been appointed to the diocese of Coventry, Lichfield and Chester in 1185.[179] He had almost immediately sought to remove the community of monks from Coventry Priory because they claimed the privilege of electing the bishop.[180] Hugh was at the papal court in Verona already by 1186, and secured from Pope Urban III a retraction of the right of the monks of Coventry to elect the bishop.[181] Hugh dispersed the monastic community and replaced it with a college of secular canons. Hugh spectacularly fell from grace in 1194 because of his collusion with John and Philip Augustus of France in a plan to persuade Philip of Swabia to keep Richard I in indefinite captivity.[182] It may well be that his disgrace allowed the compromise over the abbacy of Chester, but in any case it is clear that his reputation for ruthlessness would not have escaped the monks of Chester. Indeed, Lucian included a diatribe in his *Liber de laude Cestrie* against bishops who persecuted monks and reported that the situation was growing worse,[183] and there is perhaps a link between this and the continued influence of Hugh at Chester, shown in the note in the abbey's cartulary that he instituted clerks in three of the abbey's churches on the presentation of Abbot Geoffrey.[184] Hugh de Nonant was vilified by English monastic chroniclers for his interference in Coventry Priory.[185] It is ironic that Archbishop Baldwin was in a very similar dispute with the monks of Canterbury, yet his friendship with Abbot Robert de Hastings, while it lasted, may have provided protection for the Chester monks against a common enemy. Baldwin certainly stayed at St Werburgh's between 1 and 3 July 1187, a visit which was described by the *Annales Cestrienses* as a legatine visitation, and at Easter 1188 on his return from preaching the Third Crusade in Wales. Subsequent abbots of Chester occasionally sought their benediction from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, as was the case with St Albans, the archbishop may have been seen as a protector against depredations by the diocesan bishop.

Lucian, then, wrote his treatise in praise of Chester, with its extraordinary panegyric on papal protection, in the immediate aftermath of a troubled period for the Abbey of

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178 J.W. Ashton, 'Rymes of … Ranulf Erl of Chestre', *English Literary History*, 5 (1938): 195–206, at 197–8.

179 M.J. Franklin, 'Nonant, Hugh de', *Dictionary of National Biography*, 40:991–3, at 991; D.E. Desborough, 'Politics and Prelacy in the Late Twelfth Century: The Career of Hugh de Nonant, Bishop of Coventry, 1188–98', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 64 (1991): 1–14, at 1; M.J. Franklin (ed.), *Coventry and Lichfield 1183–1208*, English Episcopal Acta 17 (Oxford, 1998), xxxvi–xlvii for Hugh's career, and xxx–xxxiv for the dispute with the monks of Coventry.

180 Franklin, 'Nonant', 992; Desborough, 'Politics and Prelacy', 6–9.

181 Desborough, 'Politics and Prelacy', 7.

182 Ibid., 6.

183 Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Bodley 672, fol. 116; Taylor, *Liber luciani*, 12.

184 Franklin, 'Nonant', 993; Tait (ed.), *Chartulary*, 1:125–6.

185 Franklin, 'Nonant', 992; Desborough, 'Politics and Prelacy', 6–9.

St Werburgh. The monks of Chester had seen the minority of their earl exploited and an abbot imposed upon them. They had seen the appointment of a diocesan bishop denounced for his rapacity. They had sought a remedy to their vulnerability in the acquisition of papal privileges and apostolic protection. Of course, the possibility of papal intervention in defence of the rights of monks in England was limited. The Abbey of St Albans, in spite of the unrivalled privileges obtained from its erstwhile son Pope Adrian IV, had nevertheless been forced to compromise in the king's court with the Bishop of Lincoln.[186] The monks of Chester were aware of the limitations of papal protection, but they secured it as another element in their armoury. Papal protection took its place alongside the forging of charters and the enthusiastic pursuit of litigation in the response of the monks and their abbots to the closing of the age of expansion. As it became clear that the lavish grants of the past were unlikely to be repeated, the monks attempted to secure what they had by any means at their disposal.

Lucian may well have been aware of the weakness of papal protection. His lengthy description of the prerogatives of the papacy and the power of St Peter may have been an attempt to curb his own anxieties and those of his brothers. The language used by Lucian certainly suggests that he was trawling other texts which were extolling papal authority, for equally self-interested reasons, such as the *Speculum Ecclesie* of Gerald of Wales.[187] Once the monks had secured the protection of the pope for their monastery, Lucian set about making the most of it by emphasizing the special relationship between Chester and St Peter, just as the abbots kept the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield at bay by using their new privileges to emphasize their autonomy. What Lucian shows us is that just as papal protection exasperated some who sought it, and brought forth bitter complaints about corruption and vice, so too it was capable of producing a greater appreciation of the benefits of that protection, particularly of the nurturing of monastic communities, of which the pope was seen as a sort of overarching abbot and father.[188] Lucian also warns us not to take too seriously the seemingly endless flow of bile against the corruptions of Rome and the curia, and the speculations of historians that pilgrimage to the city was in decline in the twelfth century.[189] He shows us that it was still possible at the end of the twelfth century to see Rome as a holy city, a place hallowed by the blood of countless martyrs who had followed the example of Peter and Paul, the founders who had remade Rome as a city pleasing to God. Perhaps he was out of step with the scholarly descriptions of Rome of his period, but it may be that Lucian provides what was a more widespread opinion. His description of Rome may reflect more clearly than either the work of Master Gregory or the *Mirabilia* the opinions of ordinary people hearing mention of the city of Rome. Lucian's Rome was still worthy of attracting pilgrims, and a city from which an English knight might well carry a slab of marble in his arms for a thousand miles as a fitting addition to the tomb of St Cuthbert.[190]

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186 Bolton, 'St Albans' Loyal Son', 99.

187 *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, iv.

188 Maccarrone, 'Primato Romano e monasteri', 104.

189 D.J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1998), 150–1, 185–6, 204–5.

190 Garms and Garms, 'Mito e realtà di Roma', 587.

Lucian's sympathetic view of the papacy should not surprise us. Indeed, Walter of Châtillon, for long regarded as the bitterest critic of the papacy, used his brilliant wit to compose a fierce diatribe against the corruption of the papal court in *Propter Sion non tacebo*, providing a caustic denunciation of the corruptions of Rome, the wiles of the cardinals, and the countless perils of the city.[191] Yet Walter ended his poem with some lines in praise of Pope Alexander III, in the hope that Alexander would rescue him from the torrid waters between Scylla and Charybdis.[192] Walter has been taken as typical of the hostile view of the papacy among twelfth-century scholars, but his praise for Alexander shows that we should be wary of simplistic assessments of satirical literature. Lucian produced a lengthy text in praise of Rome and the judicial role of the papacy. His purpose was to emphasize the singular authority of St Peter and his successor, the pope, and his motivation was the granting of apostolic protection to the Abbey of St Werburgh by Pope Clement III. King Richard may have speculated that Clement was the Antichrist,[193] but for Lucian he was a protector, and his protection was made more powerful and useful by a meditation on the singular privileges of the city of Rome.

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191 Yunck, *Lady Meed*, 97.

192 Ibid., 98.

193 *Chronica Magistri Rogeri*, 2:78.

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