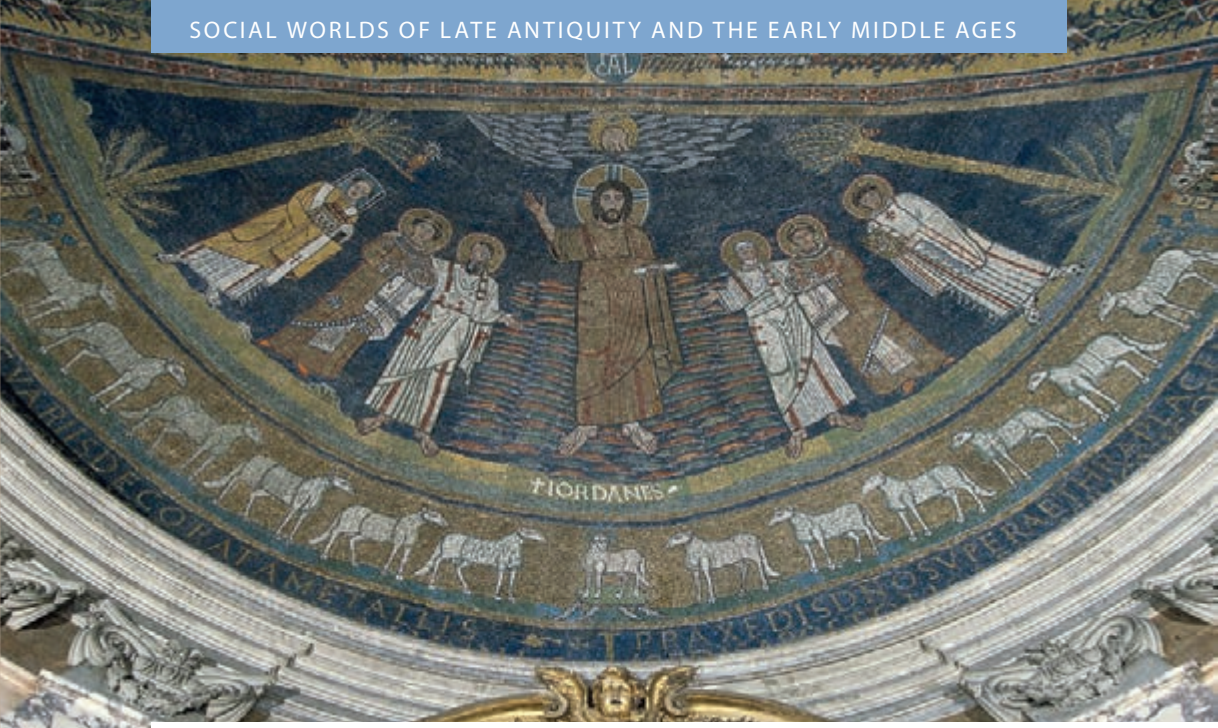
SOCIAL WORLDS OF LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES



Edited by Gregor Kalas and Ann van Dijk

Urban Developments in Late Antique and Medieval Rome

Revising the Narrative of Renewal

Amsterdam University Press

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Social Worlds of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages

Late Antiquity experienced profound cultural and social change: the political disintegration of the Roman Empire in the West, contrasted by its continuation and transformation in the East; the arrival of 'barbarian' newcomers and the establishment of new polities; a renewed militarization and Christianization of society; as well as crucial changes in Judaism and Christianity, together with the emergence of Islam and the end of classical paganism. This series focuses on the resulting diversity within late antique society, emphasizing cultural connections and exchanges; questions of unity and inclusion, alienation and conflict; and the processes of syncretism and change. By drawing upon a number of disciplines and approaches, this series sheds light on the cultural and social history of Late Antiquity and the greater Mediterranean world.

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A publication of the Marco Institute for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Cover illustration: S. Prassede, Rome, apse vault, 817–24 (photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden
Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

ISBN 978 94 6298 908 5
e-ISBN 978 90 4854 149 2
DOI 10.5117/9789462989085
NUR 684

Table of Contents

Preface and Acknowledgments

Recent studies in the post-classical and medieval history of Rome have focused attention upon historical memory with great nuance, exploring how perceptions of the past generated innovations and new expressions of identity. This volume considers Rome's cultural developments during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages by shifting discourse away from the concepts of decline and renewal. There is no doubt that ancient Rome generated a consequential afterlife, since long-lasting reverberations originating from the imperial era shaped the medieval city. Further, there is clear evidence of post-classical Rome suffering from terrible hardships, and there is no denying the gravity of problems that arose throughout the Middle Ages. Yet Romans responded productively and inventively to both changing conditions and dire circumstances. They formulated new modes of literary production, new responses to food shortages, new approaches to scholarly thought, new formats of music and liturgies, and new schemes for presenting monumental artworks during the periods following the so-called fall of Rome. The essays included here by no means ignore periods of renewal, nor do we dispose of the indications of decline altogether; we simply wish to call attention to the importance of cultural stability and productive responses to evolving circumstances. In sum, the authors included in this volume take the post-classical city of Rome out of the shadow of its classical past to explore its continuing transformations and enduring creativity.

Most of the research in this volume stems from a series of scholarly talks hosted by the Marco Institute for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, each of which questioned the theme of renewal by analyzing an aspect of Rome's culture during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The Institute's support brought together scholars who considered the ways in which post-classical Rome turned away from classical norms and how Romans responded productively to harsh circumstances. Grateful appreciation is due to all who were involved for their various contributions, including helpful feedback and excellent questions.

The editors would like to thank the staff of the Marco Institute for Medieval and Renaissance Studies for generous assistance facilitating work on this publication. Thomas Burman, who now directs the Medieval Institute at Notre Dame, previously served and offered terrific guidance as the Riggsby Director of the Marco Institute. Jay Rubenstein, subsequently appointed to the same post, provided beneficial support and expert oversight. Dorothy Metzger Habel, Jacob Latham, and Amy Neff joined the two editors of this

volume to serve on the committee developing the program. Particular recognition goes to Vera Pantanizopoulos-Broux and Katie Hodges-Kluck, successive program coordinators at Marco, for their intelligence and leadership. This volume was facilitated by generous financial support from the Marco Institute for Medieval and Renaissance Studies endowment, with major funding from Stuart and Kate Riggsby. The editors express further appreciation to the Jimmy and Dee Haslam Marco Fund, which provided additional assistance for this volume's production.

R.J. Hinde and Lynn Sacco of the University of Tennessee generously paved the way for a 'Ready for the World' grant; this subvention supplemented the generous support from the departments of English and History at the same university. Dean Theresa M. Lee of the College of Arts and Science at the University of Tennessee has been a constant source of encouragement and Professor Jason Young, Director of the School of Architecture, has offered both intellectual guidance and wise insights.

Erin Dailey of Amsterdam University Press was the impressive editorial overseer of these essays and his stewardship of this volume was preceded by the support of Simon Forde. An anonymous peer-reviewer is to be thanked for helpful comments.

The authors express their gratitude to faculty colleagues and graduate students at the University of Tennessee for sharing ideas and logistical assistance. Particular thanks go to Laura Howes, Katie Kleinkopf, Maura Lafferty, Anne-Hélène Miller, Kyrie Miranda, Brad Phillis, Bryan Pickle, Tina Shepardson, Klayton Tietjen, Aleydis Van de Moortel, Lydia Walker, and Lauren Whitnah.

Thanks are finally due to our colleagues who either read versions of these essays, discussed the contents of the volume, shared publications, or provided other scholarly insights. For this, the authors thank Tommaso Astarita, Brenda Bolton, Stephen Collins-Elliott, Kate Cooper, Shaina Destine, Dillon Dunn, Chris Eaker, Kristine Iara, Anne Hrychuk Kontokosta, Ann Kuttner, Jessica Maier, Maureen Miller, Kirsten Noreen, Laurie Nussdorfer, Silvia Orlandi, Betsey Robinson, Michele Salzman, Cullen Sayegh, and Jessica Westerhold.

List of Abbreviations

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*, 68 vols. (Antwerp and Brussels: Societé des Bollandistes, 1643–1940. Reprinted Paris: Victor Palmé, 1863–1870. Vols. 1–60 reprinted Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–1971).
AE	*L'Année épigraphique*
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954–).
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–).
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (Berlin, 1862–).
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1866–2011; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012–).
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: Weber, 1828–1897).
ICUR	*Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, ed. by Giovanni Battista De Rossi, 2 vols. (Rome: Officina Libraria Pontificia, 1857–1888).
ICURns	*Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores, nova series*, ed. by Angelo Silvagni and others (Rome: Befani, 1922–).
ILCV	*Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, ed. by Ernst Diehl, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925–31).
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
	Auct. Ant. — Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores antiquissimi, 15 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1877–1919).
	Epp. — Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Selectae, 5 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1916–1952).
	Fontes iuris — Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Fontes iuris (Hannover: Hahn, 1869–).

SS rer. Ger. N.S.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series (Berlin: Weidmann, 1922–1967; Hannover: Hahn, 2003–).
SS rer. Lang	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum (Hannover: Hahn, 1878–).
PCBE	*Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, ed. by Charles Pietri and Luce Pietri, 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1999–2000).
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1857–1866).
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 1st ed., 217 vols. (Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1844–1855; reissued Leiden: Brill, 1990). Digital edition: Patrologia Latina: The Full Text Database, Proquest.
PLS	*Patrologia Latina. Supplementum.*
PM	*Paléographie musicale: les principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican publiés en fac-similés phototypique par les Bénédictins de Solesmes* (Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1889–).
SC	Sources chrétiennes (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1958–).

1. Introduction: Revising the Narrative of Renewal for Late Antique and Medieval Rome

Gregor Kalas and Ann van Dijk

This volume considers Rome during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages by documenting continuity and innovation in the city's artistic, cultural, economic, intellectual, and ritual life. Admitting the influential legacy of antiquity, the essays presented here shift discourse away from episodes of renewal in Rome so as to shed light on cultural stability and the emergence of new trends, including the creative responses to adversity. To be sure, the past exerted a pervasive influence on medieval Rome. Despite ample evidence that urban population levels and governing institutions suffered after the fifth century CE, the political and social turmoil of these times frequently sparked innovation. Turning toward the cultural changes of post-classical and medieval Rome without categorizing them as desperate measures, this collection of essays valorizes the city's resilience.

The story of renewal hinges on the concept of decline; yet people feared Rome's decay long before Alaric's invasion in 410 CE and the city's fall that supposedly ensued. Notices of the city's dented pride appeared already during the imperial period, when authors sometimes pondered why the wounds appeared to have been self-inflicted. Tacitus, for example, distinguished between the capital's natural tragedies and those sparked by urban unrest by noting that Rome 'was devastated by fires; the most ancient shrines were destroyed and the Capitol itself was burnt at the hands of the Roman people.'[1] Rome's integrity as an imperial capital, already vulnerable in the first century CE, began to be deemed as particularly threatened in the wake Alaric's sack of 410. For instance, Jerome perceived the assault on the city as a portent of

1 Tacitus, *Histories* 1.2, (ed. Moore), pp. 6–7: 'et urbs incendiis vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio civium manibus incenso.'

Kalas, G. and A. van Dijk (eds.), *Urban Developments in Late Antique and Medieval Rome: Revising the Narrative of Renewal*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021
DOI 10.5117/9789462989085_CH01

the empire's demise. 'The head of the Roman empire was hacked off, and, to speak more truly, the entire world perished together with that one city,' wrote Jerome in a play on words that relies on the similarity between *urbs* (city) and *orbis* (world).[2] Jerome's prediction of the end times from his commentary on the prophet Ezekiel drew upon his readings in the *Apocalypse* of John. As an exile in Palestine, Jerome railed against emperor Honorius's military policies in the western empire while advocating for the ascetic practices of elite women in Rome, whose virtues appeared as if a bulwark against invasions.[3] Plausibly, Jerome sounded the apocalyptic alarm to galvanize potential supporters for his cause after the demise of his main patron, Pammachius.[4] Predictions of a total political collapse were rhetorically charged in the early fifth century; yet scholars currently attend to evidence of lengthy imperial residences in Rome by Valentinian III after 440 when the city's senatorial office holders maintained diplomacy and beefed up the secular administration there.[5] While Jerome's stance seems to assert the demise of Rome's influence on the global stage, this turned out to overstate the case.

Rome remained a hub for empire-wide networks until at least the 470s. Emperors residing in the palace on the Palatine Hill bolstered the ideal of Rome's ceremonial role as a Mediterranean-wide center of imperial authority.[6] Geiseric pillaged the city for two weeks in 455 without causing the elite to flee permanently. In the decades following the Vandal sack, aristocrats repopulated the city and placed their agendas at the top of the policy docket due to senatorial officials gaining more influence over the imperial administration than they had held during the Theodosian dynasty (379–455).[7] Bishops also asserted their prominence in Rome after the fourth century with the foundation of grand, Christian basilicas and, in their public ceremonies, church officials adopted the insignia of high rank.[8] The broad

2 Jerome, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem*, prologus 1 (ed. Glorie), p. 3: 'Romani imperii truncatum caput: et, ut verius dicam, in una urbe totus orbis interiit.' See the discussion in Edwards, *Writing Rome*, pp. 74–82.

3 Salzman, 'Apocalypse Then?', pp. 178–188; 190–192.

4 McLynn, 'Orosius, Jerome and the Goths', pp. 328–331, notes that Marcella and Pammachius, the latter being Jerome's consistent supporter, had died around the time of the sack. For the recurring theme of imperial collapse, see Shoemaker, *Apocalypse of Empire*, pp. 11–15.

5 Humphries, 'Valentinian III', pp. 166–174; Gillett, 'Rome, Ravenna'; Marazzi, 'Rome in Transition', pp. 37–38.

6 Gillett, 'Rome, Ravenna'; Dey, *Afterlife of the Roman City*, pp. 68–73.

7 Salzman, 'Emperors and Elites', pp. 246–253. The authors eagerly anticipate her monograph under preparation, Michele Renee Salzman, *The 'Falls' of Rome: The City in Late Antiquity (270–603 CE)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

8 Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope?'

influence of Rome's senatorial elite, resulting from their extensive property holdings throughout the empire, generated impressive largesse benefiting both church construction and civic projects.[9] Evidence for collaboration among bishops, emperors, and senators appears in epigraphy, hagiography, and late antique historical narratives, revealing that the papacy's growth occurred in tandem with strong civic institutions and the wide participation of the secular elites.[10]

The physical remains of antiquity were ever-present in medieval Rome with its impressive infrastructure surviving mostly intact, including the sturdy aqueducts, walls, and the network of streets. It is therefore important to link the enduring structures with the strategies through which bishops, elites, merchants, and civic authorities coopted them while also generating new activities within them. Thanks to important archeological discoveries, this process of transformation can be understood as an ongoing process of adaptation, reuse, and reconstruction that wisely optimized the pre-existing built environment.[11]

Archeological Evidence

A highly nuanced understanding of urban continuity has emerged from extensive excavations indicating numerous instances in which key facets of Rome were preserved from antiquity into the early Middle Ages. Archeological campaigns indicate that Rome's ancient built environment hardly suffered from early medieval neglect, since reused ancient structures began to serve as markets, residences, social service centers, and manufacturing workshops.[12] Important adaptations of urban infrastructure point toward the city's continuing vitality due to conscientious maintenance efforts; for example, emperor Honorius (r. 395–423) elevated the height of the Aurelian walls by making a major addition to the late third-century circuit.[13] Funding

9 Matthews, *Western Aristocracies,* pp. 355–388; Salzman, *Making of a Christian Aristocracy,* pp. 178–199.

10 Cooper and Hillner, 'Introduction'. For an analysis of the inscription evidence, see Niquet, *Monumenta virtutum titulique*, pp. 111–172. Machado, *Urban Space*, pp. 124–161, presents evidence that aristocrats played important roles in key ceremonies.

11 Goodson, 'Roman Archaeology', pp. 18–26.

12 A good case is the archeological evidence that official policies led to residential occupation in the Forum of Trajan during the ninth and tenth centuries, see Meneghini, 'L'origine'. For social services, see Taylor and others, *Rome*, pp. 176–187.

13 Dey, *Aurelian Wall*, pp. 137–155; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'altomedioevo*, pp. 53–65.

for the significant repairs in Rome originated from local taxes, imperial revenues, and personal contributions from elite local officials, revealing that restorations provided important political benefits to emperors and the city's upper echelon.[14] Twenty-five years of attentive archeological campaigns in the imperial fora and the Crypta Balbi have further documented activities such as artisanal production and commercial shops inserted into the ancient structures.[15] The Forum of Trajan remained well maintained prior to the ninth century, presumably due to great investments to sustain this architectural marvel.[16] The preservation of ancient architecture gained momentum with the adaptation of pre-existing structures to establish churches, such as the transformation of a hall in the Templum Pacis to establish the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano in the sixth century.[17] Central Rome also benefited from new housing construction and adaptive reuse for residences during the early Middle Ages.[18]

By the fourth century CE, builders in Rome instigated a transformed approach to construction when compared to the preceding centuries. New structures began to draw upon ample supplies of stockpiled and recycled materials. Around 350 CE, the dramatic change in Rome's building industry was revealed in a dramatic slowdown in the production of new bricks; this was preceded by a reform that consolidated all building trades into a single, amalgamated entity.[19] Rather than signaling a shortage in materials or a need to economize during a period of hardship, the late antique approach of combining building elements from storage with reused items occurred in impressive buildings, including the Constantinian basilicas of St. Peter's and the Lateran.[20] Moreover, the shift toward building with readily available elements occurred at the same time during which imperial directives proclaimed that reusing pre-existing structures was better than building anew. An imperial order issued in 376 to Rome by emperors Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian II prioritized adaptations. 'No one of the prefects of the city

14 For the taxes known as the *arca vinaria*, from the proceeds of subsidized wine, see Dey, *Aurelian Wall*, pp. 106–107; for imperial budgets and the involvement of emperors together with urban prefects who administered the imperial budgets, see Machado, *Urban Space*, pp. 78–82.

15 Arena and others, ed., *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*, I; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'altomedioevo*, pp. 157–188; Manacorda, *Crypta Balbi*.

16 Meneghini, *I fori imperiali*.

17 Tucci, *Temple of Peace*, II, pp. 627–649.

18 Meneghini, 'Episodi di trasformazione'; Coates-Stephens, 'Housing in Early Medieval Rome'; Coates-Stephens, 'Dark Age Architecture'.

19 Santangeli Valenzani, 'Public and Private', pp. 441–443; for the single *collegium fabrum* into which all the building associations were consolidated, see Fabiano, 'Builders'.

20 Bosman, *Power of Tradition*, pp. 19–56; Bosman, 'Spolia'.

or other judges whom power has placed in a high position shall undertake any new building in the city of Rome, but shall direct attention to improving the old.'[21] Commending those civic officials who safeguarded venerable monuments, the emperors implied that architectural preservation lent great prestige to benefactors, because the old structures kept alive memories of past generations of Romans. Among those who fostered the repairs were prominent members of the elite. A leading aristocrat (*patricius*), with the name of Decius, inscribed his name on one of the columns of the Temple of Mars Ultor during an episode of reuse, most likely occurring as early as 486 or as late as 546.[22] Another individual belonging to the highest social rank, Gerontius *vir spectabilis*, attested to a campaign of reuse at the Colosseum between 487 and 523.[23] In addition to purposefully recycling architectural elements, sponsors allocated extensive funds for both repairing structures and reusing them.[24] The evidence of senatorial authorities participating actively in both adaptive reuse and the recycling of building materials counters perceptions that repurposed materials in high prestige projects signaled decline. There were indeed neglected buildings after the fifth century; yet the ruins coexisted with significant examples of repairs.[25] The consistent importance of patronage focusing upon recycling and architectural adaptations persisted into the seventh century as these gestures of munificence generated excellent publicity for patrons, even as new civic construction projects so prevalent in the imperial era were increasingly rare.

Historiography and the Discourse of Decline and Renewal

All of the efforts to sustain Rome physically into the early Middle Ages belie the narrative that the city declined precipitously. Nonetheless, Rome carries with

21 *Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.19 (in *Theodosiani*, ed. Mommsen and Meyer, II, p. 805): 'Nemo praefectorum urbis aliorumve iudicum, quos potestas in excelso locat, opus aliquod novum in urbe Roma inclyta moliatur, sed excolendis veteribus intendat animum.' Trans. by C. Pharr, *Theodosian Code*, p. 425.

22 The inscription is in the Epigraphic Database Roma (EDR) as number 003101= TM numerus 268351: 'Pat(rici) Deci,' with an indication of either Basilius Decius (consul in 486) or Flavius Decius (consul in 546). It was inscribed on a column in the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus; see Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'altomedioevo*, pp. 71, 179–180.

23 Rea, *'Rota Colisei'*, pp. 153–160.

24 Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, pp. 38–48, 92–118, 203–228. For an important discussion of architectural repairs in the imperial fora during Late Antiquity, see La Rocca, 'Nuova immagine'.

25 Orlandi, 'Past and Present', p. 264.

it an inherent ambiguity, as Romans early on conflated city with empire, the former understood as both the summary and epitome of the latter.[26] Jerome's comments, quoted earlier, demonstrate the currency of this notion in the early fifth century, and modern reports of Rome's decay have long intertwined concepts of imperial power with the fate of the physical city. Edward Gibbon published *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1789) as a way to explore historical change through the premise that the city of Rome displayed signs of the empire's demise. More recent scholarly investigations attest that the events of the early fifth century elicit a wide divergence of responses, since some researchers champion episodes of transformation while others focus on events leading to collapse. Starting around the year 2000, a number of major studies returned to more traditional readings of the period that emphasize external invasion, material decline, and the loss of classical ideals in politics and culture.[27] Lately, climate change and other environmental factors have taken center stage as determining factors.[28] As for scholarship on the city of Rome, the year 2010 witnessed at least three major conferences plus a spate of other publications marking the 1600th anniversary of its sack by Alaric's forces.[29] Examining the episode from a multitude of angles, the ensuing publications arrived at a broad consensus that mainly minimizes the severity of the assault on Rome, when viewed in isolation, while recognizing that its wider significance, both in the immediate aftermath and in the long run, remains open to a broader range of interpretation.

Recent iterations of the traditional view of Rome's fall tend to downplay the role and significance of church authorities in preserving institutions and the development of ecclesiastical administration.[30] This, too, has long historiographic roots. As J.G.A. Pocock demonstrates, Gibbon's arguments that the Later Roman Empire relocated its base of operations to other cities denied popes the same authority as the emperors.[31] Indeed, Gibbon understood the empire's decline to be largely synonymous with a lapse into religiosity during the Middle Ages.

26 Edwards and Woolf, eds., *Rome the Cosmpolis*, especially their introductory chapter, 'Cosmopolis: Rome as World City', pp. 1–20.

27 For example Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City*; Ward-Perkins, *Fall of Rome*; Heather, *Fall of the Roman Empire*. See also Rutenburg and Eckstein, 'Return of the Fall of Rome'.

28 For example Harper, *Fate of Rome*. For a critique of this and other scholarship in this vein, see Sessa, 'New Environmental Fall of Rome'.

29 The conferences were published as Di Berardino and others, eds., *Roma e il sacco del 410*; Lipps and others, eds., *The Sack of Rome*; Harich-Schwarzbauer and Pollmann, *Der Fall Roms*. See also Van Nuffelen, 'Not Much Happened'.

30 Rutenburg and Eckstein, 'Return of the Fall of Rome', pp. 119–121.

31 Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, pp. 286–291.

In its negative attitude towards the medieval church, Gibbon's account parallels the medieval legends that attribute the destruction of ancient books and statues to members of the papacy, the two commonly named culprits being Silvester I and Gregory the Great.[32] Popularized in the thirteenth century, notably in Martinus Polonus's much-translated *Chronicle of the Emperors and Popes*, legends from these texts presented popes 'triumphing' over paganism as praiseworthy and thereby imply that classical culture itself was a heretical movement. To the humanist supporters of ancient learning, however, the destructive acts attributed to Silvester and Gregory became a source of regret and, ultimately, criticism. An early example of this is Fazio degli Uberti's *Il Dittamondo* (begun 1345) in which a personified Rome laments:

> Alas, how I am still pained by the memory of my great, beautiful and noble monuments which Gregory destroyed. I still bemoan the writings of my sons and the leaders of my armies, those works collected together with such labour and nearly all damaged or destroyed by this Pope. […] I do not know whether Gregory's motives were good. But his deed brought me great sorrow.[33]

Even more pointed is Lorenzo Ghiberti's critique of the destruction, which he placed in the time of Emperor Constantine and Pope Silvester, and the demise of the arts of sculpture and painting that he claimed was a result.[34] Giorgio Vasari, in addition, disdained the Byzantine emperor Constans II for assaulting historic buildings in Rome, referring to the ruler stripping away valuable materials from ancient structures in 663 during a visit to

32 Buddensieg, Gregory the Great', pp. 44–65; Frazier, *Possible Lives*, pp. 206–210.

33 Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo,* ii. 16, pp. 91–102; translation by Buddensieg, 'Gregory the Great', p. 50:

> Ahi, quanto ancor mi duole a ricordare
> i grandi e belli e sottili intaglio
> i quai Gregorio allor mi fe' disfare!
> E duolmi ancor che con lunghi travagli
> erano compilati piú volumi
> dei miei figliuoli e di miei ammiragli
> ne' quali il bel parlare e i bei costumi
> e l'ordine de l'armi eran compresi
> sí ben, ch'a molti, udendo, facean lumi,
> che la piú parte fun distrutti e lesi
> per questo Papa; e se'l pensier fu bono
> non so; ma dur di ciò gran doglia presi.

34 Barkan, *Transuming Passion,* p. 117.

Italy.[35] Complaining of ancient imperial monuments suffering from neglect, Vasari commented that, 'everything that had not been ruined by the popes, and particularly [Pope] St. Gregory I, who is said to have disposed of all the surviving statues on [Rome's] buildings, finally fell miserably in the hands of this most wicked Greek [Constans II].'[36] Despite the accusations of later authors, however, antipathy to pre-Christian art was, by and large, minimal in Rome during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, as witnessed in the numerous preservation projects mentioned above. Indeed, the presumption of an opposition between paganism and Christianity has begun to unravel; for instance, Michele Salzman carefully demonstrates that Christians numbering among Rome's elites by no means left aside the cultural inheritance of their forebears.[37] Luxury objects with mythological imagery such as the Projecta Casket or illuminated manuscripts featuring texts by classical authors such as the Vatican Vergil demonstrate that late antique patrons continued to sponsor artworks in keeping with earlier traditions.[38] The benefactions by Roman elites and ecclesiastical officials given to churches included donations of gold, silver, precious marbles, and extremely valuable textiles so that church gifts closely resembled earlier aristocratic and imperial munificence.

The corollary to the traditional reading of Rome's late antique history as a tale of unmitigated decline is the notion of the city's periodic renewal in subsequent centuries. In this, scholarship on the city of Rome follows a major trend in the general development of medieval studies, a field that long felt the need to justify its existence in reaction to the primacy accorded the Renaissance in nineteenth-century scholarship.[39] Working to establish their period's value as an object of study, many scholars of the Middle Ages sought to diminish the sharp contrasts commonly used to distinguish the brilliance of the Renaissance from the barren and barbarous Dark Ages preceding it. They did this, in part, by demonstrating the periodic resurgence of the

35 *Liber Pontificalis*, I, pp. 343–344, attests to the destruction when Constans II visited Rome. For an earlier instance in which Pope Honorius received permission from the Byzantine emperor Heraclius to remove roof tiles from the Temple of Venus and Roma, see *Liber Pontificalis*, I, p. 323.

36 Vasari, *Vite*, p. 97: 'E così tutto quello che non avevano guasto i pontefici, e San Gregorio massimamente, il quale si dice che messe in bando tutto il restante delle statue [. . .] e degli edificii, per le mani di questo sceleratissimo greco finalmente capitò male.' See Kinney, 'Rape or Restitution of the Past?'

37 Salzman, *Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, pp. 200–230.

38 For the fourth-century Projecta Casket from Rome that is now in the British Museum, see Shelton, *Esquiline Treasure*, pp. 47–56. The Vatican Vergil is in the Vatican Library (Vat. lat. 3225); see Wright, *Vatican Vergil*.

39 As exemplified by Michelet, *Renaissance*; Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance*.

types of cultural and intellectual activity popularly thought to have died out between the fourth and the fourteenth centuries.[40] The identification of a series of classical revivals, characterized by a revitalization of literature, art, political thought, and other forms of learning through a renewed awareness and emulation of ancient models, became a major preoccupation among twentieth-century scholars of medieval Europe. The 1920s were a particularly active decade for studies of this type, producing such works of enduring influence as Charles Homer Haskins's *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* and Percy E. Schramm's *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*.[41] As the century progressed, additional 'renaissance' movements were discerned, with the creation of significant bodies of scholarship devoted to Theodosian, Carolingian, Northumbrian, Macedonian and Palaeologan Renaissances, among others.[42] In the English-speaking world, perhaps no work was more influential in promoting the narrative of the Middle Ages as an era punctuated by intermittent classical revivals than Erwin Panofsky's *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, which shaped the thinking of a generation of scholars, particularly in the field of art history.[43] However, almost entirely absent from his account, as from most early scholarship in this vein, is any discussion of medieval Rome.[44]

Panofsky's slightly younger and long-lived contemporary, Richard Krautheimer (1897–1994), deserves the greatest credit for addressing this omission and articulating Rome's position within the broader narrative of intermittent revival and rebirth as it was then understood. An architectural historian, he developed a richly detailed and nuanced history of late antique and medieval Rome structured around a series of papally sponsored renewals. Starting from his seminal 1942 article, 'The Carolingian Revival of Constantinian Architecture', Krautheimer's understanding of this history found its fullest

40 Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, particularly Chapter 11, 'The Revolt of the Medievalists. The Renaissance Interpreted as Continuation of the Middle Ages', pp. 329–385. Already as early as 1840, Jean-Jacques Ampère made the precocious claim that the *'grande renaissance'* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was but the last of three – the first occurring during the reign of Charlemagne and the second in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries: Ampère, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, III, 32ff. See also Sot, *'Renovatio*, renaissance et réforme', pp. 62-72.

41 The same decade also saw the publication of Patzelt, *Die karolingische Renaissance* and Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter*.

42 See, for example, the studies collected in Treadgold, ed., *Renaissances Before the Renaissance*.

43 Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western* Art; an earlier version of the first two chapters appeared almost twenty years earlier as an article, 'Renaissance and Renascences'.

44 Notable exceptions are Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*; Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke*.

expression in his magisterial *Rome: Profile of a City*, first published in 1980 and the distillation of more than forty years of research on the city and its buildings.[45] As he stated in the preface, among the goals he set himself was to show:

> [...] how the memories of [Rome's] ancient glories, pagan and Christian, kindled by tradition and by the ever-present monuments of her past, remained alive, even at the lowest points of her fortunes; how, together with the ever-growing might of the Church, spiritual, political, and material, these memories became a potent factor in shaping Rome's dominant place in the medieval world; how that heritage, revived time and again, molded the minds of visitors, patrons, and artists and exerted its impact on church planning, painting, and sculpture and on the way the city grew [...].[46]

In addition to expanding on his own earlier publications, Krautheimer championed the work of younger scholars, notably Hélène Toubert (b. 1932), who, in a series of articles published in the 1970s, made a persuasive case for a paleochristian *renouveau* in Roman mural arts of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries that served the ideals of the Gregorian Reform.[47]

Krautheimer's agenda in *Rome: Profile of a City* is evident in the chapter titles. Opening with 'Rome and Constantine', they include 'The Christianization of Rome and the Romanization of Christianity', 'Renewal and Renascence: The Carolingian Age', and 'The New Rebirth of Rome: The Twelfth Century'.[48] Together, these chapters insist on the pivotal and enduring significance of Constantine to the city's history and its powerful bishops. First describing the physical mark Constantine left on the city, they go on to tell the story of Christian Rome's initial embrace of its classical heritage in the later fourth and fifth centuries and its subsequent 'renaissances' in the eighth–ninth centuries and then again in the twelfth–thirteenth

45 Among his numerous other publications, the five-volume *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae* deserves special mention, as do the articles 'The Architecture of Sixtus III' and, for his approach to interpreting architecture in general, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture"'. All three articles mentioned were reprinted with postscripts and additional bibliography in Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, pp. 115–150, 181–196, 203–256.

46 Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, xv.

47 Toubert, 'Le renouveau paléochrétien à Rome'; *Eadem*, 'Iconographie et histoire de la spiritualité médiévale'; *Eadem*, 'Rome et le Mont-Cassin'. They were reprinted with a new introduction in Toubert, *Un art dirigé*.

48 Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, pp. 3–31, 33–55, 109–142, 161–202.

largely through the evocation of a specifically Constantinian past. These chapters also provide the context for Krautheimer's presentation of some of the city's most prominent and well-known Early Christian and medieval monuments, including the churches of Santa Sabina, Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Prassede, San Clemente and Santa Maria in Trastevere. By contrast, Krautheimer's intervening chapters describe Rome's 'utter shabbiness' in later fifth and sixth centuries (in Chapter 3, 'The Times of Gregory the Great') and the city and papacy 'at their nadir' in the tenth (in Chapter 6, 'Realities, Ideologies, Rhetoric').[49] Described in geographic terms, the history of Rome assumes the topography of a hilly landscape whose bright summits alternate with deeply shadowed valleys.

The impact of *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* since its publication cannot be overstated. To achieve his goal of sketching a portrait of the city 'as a living organism,' told '*through*, rather than *of* her monuments,' Krautheimer supplemented his own intimate knowledge of the city's fabric with a broad range of sources and studies in other disciplines to produce a vivid account in which political, social, economic, religious, and cultural history intersect.[50] Forty years later, scholarship on medieval Rome continues to show the imprint of Krautheimer's compelling vision of the city. Inevitably, however, scholars have also begun to probe his methodology, question some of his conclusions, and augment his account with new research into portions of the city's historical record that he himself recognized required attention.[51]

One aspect of Krautheimer's narrative that has attracted particular scrutiny is the 'renaissance' framework on which it hangs, as well as the outsize influence it attributes to the person and memory of Constantine. This has emerged clearly in recent art historical scholarship on Carolingian Rome, for example. The 'reappearance' of the T-shaped basilica, championed by Krautheimer as key evidence for Constantinian revival, has lost some of its significance, in part because it is questionable that this architectural type ever truly disappeared in Rome, and in part because the ground plan – indeed, the architecture it generates – is just one of many features defining churches of this period.[52] Even in a structure as clearly related to Old St.

49 *Ibid*., pp. 65, 145.

50 *Ibid*., pp. xxiii. Emphasis is original.

51 For example, the excellent critical article by Carver McCurrach, '*Renovatio* Reconsidered', as well as the essays by Kinney, 'Krautheimer's Constantine', and de Blaauw, 'Richard Krautheimer e la basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore'.

52 Coates-Stephens, 'Dark Age Architecture in Rome'; Goodson, 'Material Memory'; *Eadem*, *The Rome of Paschal I*, pp. 81–159. For the U-shaped basilica as an alternative to the T-shaped basilica, see Coon and Sexton, 'Racetrack to Salvation'.

Peter's as Pope Paschal I's Santa Prassede [Fig. 6.1], the motivation now seems less to evoke the imperial splendor of Constantine than to create a setting that would highlight the papal celebrant and promote his role in fostering the cult of saints and their relics.[53] Indeed, the whole notion that artistic production in this period consciously revived venerated prototypes associated with an illustrious past – the foundation of the concept of a Carolingian 'renaissance' – is called into question in recent scholarship on the apse mosaics in Paschal I's churches.[54] Sharing iconographic and epigraphic features with a group of mosaics ranging in date from the sixth to the ninth centuries, the Carolingian apse decorations present themselves neither as distinct creations, nor as copies of an ancient (but lost) model. Rather, in their cumulative repetition of visual and textual formulae that endured for three centuries, they display a changeless vision of the *Ecclesia Romana* existing in a continuous present.

The discussions of art and architecture echo the papacy's own institutional history in which bishops are the city's major protagonists, unintentionally generating another discourse of waning imperial authority to characterize the civic governance of early medieval Rome as decreasingly robust. From its initial compilation in the sixth century and the subsequent updates added thereafter, the *Liber Pontificalis* creates the impression in its papal biographies that bishops consistently gained prominence while imperial influence waned. Rosamond McKitterick has established that papal biographers repurposed some of the narrative commonplaces about emperors generated by Suetonius, Aurelius Victor, and the anonymous author of the *Historia Augusta*, among others, so as to legitimate episcopal governance using imperial terms.[55] The accounts in the *Liber Pontificalis* depict the papacy absorbing imperial prerogatives, and the biographies also erased the dissenting voices of episcopal rivals. Given the paucity of narrative sources furnishing civic perspectives on early medieval Rome, it is challenging to articulate the vigorous roles of artisans, merchants, and civic leaders. Even the institutional history of Rome's bishopric remains difficult to see from outside the church's own discourse. Kate Cooper and Julia Hillner have offered methods of using non-canonical historical documents to counter the pro-papal bias of many official sources.[56] Thus, the picture of Rome

53 Emerick, 'Focusing on the Celebrant'; Pace, 'La *"felix culpa"* di Richard Krautheimer'; Goodson, *The Rome of Paschal I*.

54 Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome*, pp. 13–38.

55 McKitterick, *Invention of the Papacy*, pp. 9–11.

56 Cooper and Hillner, 'Introduction' in *Religion, Dynasty*, pp. 1–18.

recovering thanks to popes stepping into the vacuum left by absent emperors was carefully crafted to bolster the authority of bishops.[57] The governance of Rome was surely more complex.

Indeed, civic institutions and the contributions of the laity to medieval Rome appear to be as vital as the contributions of ecclesiastics. Thanks to scholarship that looks at private life in early medieval Rome, there is evidence to support the nuanced view that influential aristocrats worked together with bishops and that both groups asserted their authority in the city by establishing themselves in impressive residences.[58] Early medieval ecclesiastical culture fostered new chants, liturgies, visual iconographies, and cult practices that point toward creative resilience. The involvement of lay benefactors and monastic institutions in running the charity centers of Rome has been noted by Chris Wickham and Hendrik Dey, both of whom acknowledge that the papacy transformed such joint ventures into regional centers for the ecclesiastical management of the city.[59] The locations of church-based charities, or *diaconiae*, indicate that many of these institutions reused pre-existing urban structures including granaries and markets together with the well-constructed architectural infrastructure repurposed as hostels, or *xenodochia*, since many of these facilities housing pilgrims or the poor reused buildings from antiquity [Fig. 1.1]. Interconnected networks among high-ranking papal administrators and members of the clergy were critically important in the sense that bishops relied upon priests serving in each of the city's regions, as Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri has demonstrated.[60] The participation of individuals of varied social ranks in the church-related economy, as analyzed by Federico Marazzi, indicates that the dichotomy between civic and religious life was not strict, particularly given that members of all these groups helped to supervise the vast territories in the papal patrimony fanning out beyond Rome's walls.[61]

The culture of early medieval Rome was shaped but not necessarily constrained by hard times. There were indeed serious challenges due to the fifth-century Vandal raids followed by civil war and the sixth-century Byzantine reconquest of Italy. A rapidly growing body of recent scholarship

57 The traditional view has been revised by Sessa, *Formation of Papal Authority*, pp. 127–173, 208–246, who attests to the gaps in episcopal authority and she also documents the controversies over the bishop's administrative practices.

58 Guidobldi, 'L'edilizia abitativa'. For the image of Rome's bishop as a householder, see Sessa, *Formation of Papal Authority*.

59 Dey, '*Diaconiae*'; Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 20–34.

60 Di Carpegna Falconieri, *Il clero*.

61 Marazzi, '*Patrimonia*'.

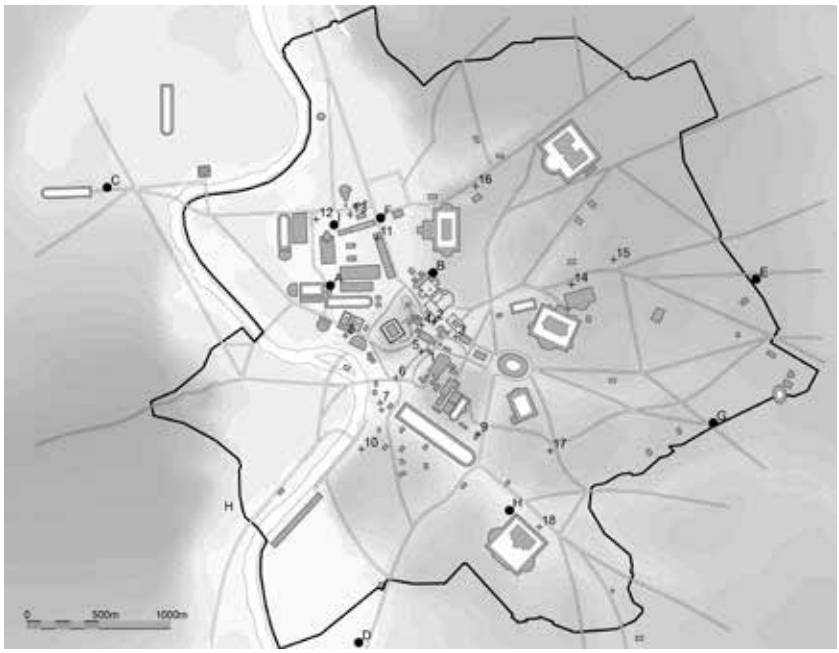

Fig. 1.1. Map of Rome in the ninth century indicating the location of charity centers (*diaconiae*) labeled with numbers and the hostels (*xenodochia*) labeled with letters (drawing by Bryan Pickle).

examines the impacts of environmental changes in this period, and Kyle Harper has argued that a global plague pandemic during the sixth and seventh centuries instigated economic decline and a terrible increase in mortality rates.[62] Resilience can nonetheless be noted in some of the reactions to crises. For instance, Jonathan Arnold's work establishes how the militarized Ostrogothic elite transformed themselves from warring factions and enemies of the collapsing western empire into those who upheld Roman values in Italy.[63] Of course, the Byzantine imperial reconquest of Italy returned the Ostrogoths to their previous role of enemies of imperial authorities. Nonetheless, the reaffirmation of connections between East and West after the Gothic Wars put the elites of the Latin-speaking world in communication once again with Byzantine Constantinople, as Jonathan Conant argues, even if the political integration of Rome and all of Italy into Byzantium as foreseen at the outset of the Gothic Wars did not fully come to fruition.[64]

62 Harper, *Fate of Rome*. However, see also the issues raised in the review of this scholarship in Sessa, 'New Environmental Fall of Rome'.

63 Arnold, *Theoderic and the Roman Imperial Restoration.*

64 Conant, *Staying Roman*, which relies mostly upon North African sources.

Medieval Resilience

Embracing the seemingly contradictory notions of self-preservation (implying resistance to change) and adaptation (implying, on the contrary, openness to change), resilience is a complex concept with a rich, at times overlapping history in multiple disciplines.[65] Popular in the social sciences, especially ecological and environmental studies, resilience as a theoretical paradigm has provided new tools for analyzing how human societies and natural environments react, as complex systems, to different types of stress.[66] Recent work by historians, notably John Haldon, has employed this paradigm in collaborative work that seeks to expand understanding of how past changes in the natural world have impacted human societies and contributed to shaping the course of their political, social, economic and cultural developments.[67] A particularly promising aspect of this method is its granularity; recognizing that human social units (states, empires or, as in this case, cities) are not monolithic and do not react to stress in a unified manner, it provides a means to analyze the varying responses to conditions and thus arrives at a nuanced understanding of how the unit as a whole adapts while maintaining certain fundamental aspects of its character.[68] While, to our knowledge, no studies have yet applied this particular approach to the city of Rome, the value of resilience as a concept for understanding its postclassical and medieval history seems clear as the many recent findings outlined above demonstrate.

A particularly positive aspect of Rome's post-classical culture that demonstrates urban resilience is the creation of the city's holy identity. For instance, the pro-Chalcedonian position ushered in with Pope Leo I's christological definition and adopted by later popes is closely intertwined with significant waves of immigration from the Greek-speaking East during the seventh century, including such notable figures as Maximos the Confessor.[69] These new arrivals of the seventh century, opposed to what they perceived as dangerous theological innovation on the part of the patriarch

65 Alexander, 'Resilience'.

66 For a useful introduction to Formal Resilience Theory (also known as the Theory of Adaptive Change) with bibliography, see Haldon and Rosen, 'Society and Environment'.

67 Haldon and Rosen, 'Society and Environment', as well as the other essays in the same issue of *Human Ecology*.

68 Haldon and Rosen, 'Society and Environment', pp. 277–278. Perhaps the most sustained application is Haldon, *The Empire that Would Not Die*.

69 See the introductory essays by Richard Price, Phil Booth, and Catherine Cubitt in *The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649,* pp. 5–108.

in Constantinople, encouraged the papacy to identify Rome separately as a global center for Chalcedonian orthodoxy by hosting the anti-monothelete Lateran Council of 649. The Roman church also curated the vital roles of foreign saints in a dynamic manner that forged strategic alliances with both the eastern Mediterranean and, later, Carolingian Francia as recounted by Maya Maskarinec.[70] Finally, it should be emphasized that Rome's culture was remarkably consistent, as if the imagery in apse mosaics or the chanted liturgies or the poetic inscriptions placed in churches and the tombs of the martyrs all represented hallmarks of early medieval life that remained ever-vital.

This collection of essays does not attempt to chronicle all of the accomplishments that deserve recognition for establishing the vitality of early medieval Rome. Nor would it be productive to ignore the multiple crises that afflicted the city. In the pages to follow, a multi-disciplinary group of nine scholars explores some examples of resilience and creativity, while reflecting on a variety of approaches to the study of medieval Rome. Within the culture of innovation explored here, some cultural phenomena proved long-lasting, self-consciously referring to the past and yet undisturbed by moments of rupture. While the essays presented here accept the inadequacy of those traditional concepts of renaissance that privileged the revitalization of classical forms as the standard for success, the studies also recognize that the past (pre-Christian and Christian) was ever-present in Rome. Romans then appear to have been particularly adept at creatively assimilating the past in order to redefine themselves and meet the evolving challenges they faced in the Middle Ages.

Studies in Urban Developments

Some of the essays in this volume present case studies of productive reactions to the challenges instigated by famine, political instability, and military vulnerability; meanwhile, other essays explore the continuities of art, literature, liturgies, rituals, and ecclesiastic culture. Certain studies also lay the foundation for reflections on the historiography of medieval Rome. Crises afflicting early medieval Rome raise the methodological challenge of characterizing the severity of physical suffering without setting forth apocalyptic narratives. Kristina Sessa takes up a fundamental problem in the late antique city by examining how the bishops Gelasius (r. 492–496)

70 Maskarinec, *City of Saints*.

and Pelagius I (r. 556–561) confronted war-time hardship, emphasizing an institution under construction in its nimble responses to distress. Sessa's contribution, 'Rome at War: The Effects of Crisis on Church and Community in Late Antiquity', examines the strategies of these bishops as examples of 'disaster ecclesiology,' drawing upon the arguments about 'disaster capitalism' of Naomi Klein. Gelasius, for instance, responded to an influx of refugees from Liguria seeking Rome's food supplies by creating innovative grain distribution networks using the church's wealth, a highly developed charitable system that by far outpaced the earlier alms given to the poor. Assistance provided to the refugees demonstrated Gelasius's administrative acumen, according to Sessa, since the pope fundamentally transformed property management through alliances with elite landholders under the rubrics of transforming the patrimony's governance. Sessa also shows that Pelagius built upon the network of alliances that Gelasius had already established when he forged bonds with the bishops of Arles and the nearby landowners in Gaul, since wars had disrupted the church's protection of its closer lands in Italy. Relief to the poor functions as an important instance of crisis response, showcasing the leadership potential of bishops in creating effective systems to manage their vast estates. Through their responses to famine, these popes worked closely with landowners and the bishops of other cities in innovative ways and thereby bolstered the church as a resilient institution. Resisting the decline/renewal dichotomy, Sessa opens our eyes to important accomplishments by which late antique bishops shored up the papacy during hard times with long-lasting benefits to this institution.

Major developments in the art and poetry of late antique Rome remind us that the public appreciated imagery eradicating the traces of hardships. The picture of literary culture in late antique Rome reveals that poetry helped the city's populace to accept sieges and war according to Gregor Kalas, who argues that the recently revealed lecture halls of the Forum of Trajan hosted poetic performances where the city's literary luminaries were in the spotlight during Late Antiquity. The article, 'Portraits of Poets and the Lecture Halls in the Forum of Trajan: Masking Cultural Tensions in Late Antique Rome', connects these auditorium spaces with the statues depicting Claudian, Merobaudes, and Sidonius Apollinaris, documented as on display in the Forum of Trajan. All three poets wrote using a distinct literary genre – the epic panegyric – invented in Rome during Late Antiquity. Kalas argues that the authors used literary novelty – ironically – to deny the passage of time by characterizing emperors and their leading military elites as engaging in imaginary dialogue with Roma,

an old-time goddess who began to speak with other deities as well as living emperors in the late antique poetry. The significance of the portrait statues located in close proximity to the audience halls is that both point toward fifth-century Roman audiences' continuing hunger for poetic fictions depicting eternal Rome using literary reminiscences traced back to works by Vergil. Poetry represented Rome not as a city abandoned by its emperors or doomed by threats from Goths or subjected to the strategies of its controversial military commanders, but it seemingly retained Trajan's past in the fictional, everlasting realm depicted in the verses. This article serves as a reminder that the literary discourse on eternal, unchanging Rome remained vital throughout the fifth century, when wars inspired poets to consolidate the ideologies tied to the city's preservation using an innovative poetic genre.

Rome was an important center for processions that both celebrated and revealed the evolving character of rulership during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, as Jacob Latham demonstrates in his analysis of the *adventus* (arrival) ritual. Tracing this procession from the late imperial era to the Carolingian period, 'Rolling Out the Red Carpet, Roman Style: The Arrival at Rome from Constantine to Charlemagne', suggests that the continuing practices of imperial rituals – even when honoring a military general or an Ostrogothic king – activated the monuments lining major thoroughfares and the grand plazas as the rites also turned the public's attention toward governing authorities. Evidence in the sources that some Christian rulers rejected the tainted practices associated with ancient sacrifices during imperial rituals – refusing, for example to ascend the Capitoline Hill – possibly overemphasize the offensiveness of the traditional shrines, according to Latham. Nonetheless, there were shifts, such as the move toward grand gestures of munificence donated to St. Peter, or to the institutional church, and the inclusion of the Vatican basilica in the *adventus* itineraries. The official position of St. Peter's in the processions of Charlemagne and the eighth-century popes shows the innovative ways in which Rome's populace awarded authority to both bishops and secular rulers in the Christian city. The dynamic process of transforming the *adventus* ritual reminds us that respect for the ancient city and its ceremonial practices survived long after the tumultuous fifth century. At the same time, Rome displayed an openness to new authorities and new ritual practices during the early Middle Ages that is seen in the various iterations of the arrival procession.

Cultural traditions and the many rhythms of daily life crumbled during the hardest times of the sixth-century Gothic Wars; yet, in the seventh century – after the last reported assembly of senators occurred – the city

experienced a flourishing production of art and poetry. Dennis Trout documents Pope Honorius I's (625–638) contributions to Rome's identity as a city of martyrs through this bishop's patronage at various pilgrimage sites. These included poetic compositions that both pay homage to the important verse inscriptions set up publicly by earlier popes and attest to Honorius breaking new ground in the ambition of his verses and their virtuoso compositions. In '(Re-)Founding Christian Rome: The Honorian Project of the Early Seventh Century', Trout calls attention to the lasting legacy of verse inscriptions sponsored by Pope Damasus (r. 366–384) displayed at martyrs' tombs and how the fourth-century poetry inspired the seventh-century pope. Trout analyzes Honorius's activities at the Sant'Agnese complex on the Via Nomentana which, in part, show this bishop's close attention to that earlier, epigraphic tradition. Pope Honorius also looked back at the poetic verses inscribed in previous centuries at the major basilicas, such as those texts sponsored by Pelagius II (r. 579–590) at Old St. Peter's, where Honorius installed a long inscription on the main doors, newly sheathed in silver. By recapitulating bygone days, the seventh-century pope identified himself as one who continued the accomplishments of his forebears. In this way, Honorius's literary projects cast a retrospective glance at Damasus and Pelagius II that seems to parallel the ways in which Claudian and his followers reinstated the discourse of Vergil, as analyzed by Kalas. Yet Trout also establishes that Honorius outstripped his predecessors in his striking language, thematic complexity, and ambitious self-presentation. This study is significant, then, for documenting how the self-referential system of poetry that commenced in late antique Rome was continually updated so as to create an ongoing dialogue lasting for multiple generations.

In 'After Antiquity: Renewing the Past or Celebrating the Present? Early Medieval Apse Mosaics in Rome', Erik Thunø focuses on the imagery of apse mosaics whose consistency, which spanned centuries, created a sense of timelessness. Challenging arguments that Roman church decoration schemes experienced periodic upticks during a series of diachronic episodes of growth, Thunø sees a synchronic unity in the apsidal compositions produced between the sixth and the ninth centuries. Both the imagery and the verse inscriptions exhibit great uniformity, the latter typically displaying letters of golden tesserae that reflect light against dark-blue backgrounds so as to activate the metaphors of luminosity contained in the poetry. Similar to Trout's discussion of the consistency between the fourth-century texts of Damasus and those from the seventh-century by Honorius at Sant'Agnese, Thunø identifies a self-referential system of apse

decoration, starting with the sixth-century mosaics at SS. Cosma e Damiano near the Roman Forum, the earliest extant example, and continuing up to the ninth century, in which apocalyptic themes, dedicatory saints, the papal patron, and the poetic inscription all appear repeatedly. Thunø proposes that each early medieval Roman apse composition refers back to multiple exemplars from different points in time. There are many aspects of the consistency: shimmering light, for example, as mentioned in the verse inscriptions, describes the celestial light believed to have shined forth from the relics of the martyrs. Yet the distinctions among the mosaic inscriptions and the accompanying apsidal compositions exist topographically in Thunø's account, since the differences between the evocation of a saint by an image at the basilica of San Marco varies significantly from the assembly of relics stored at the church of Santa Prassede, with each having a particular, local function in the wider city. Thus, the network of churches featuring apsidal mosaic imagery and accompanied by verse inscriptions, as studied by Thunø, tied the city together through their ongoing evocation of the community of saints.

In an essay that engages with the process by which Rome created a new identity for itself as a holy city, John Osborne identified the early medieval period and specifically the seventh century as the pivotal turning point in the city's transformation from imperial to Christian capital. Accepting the premise explored earlier by Kristina Sessa, Osborne acknowledges the productive capacity of upheaval to generate change. Following and frequently responding to the calamities of war, plague, and famine that beset the area in the late fifth and sixth centuries, Rome experienced many new developments in the seventh century: shifting demographics, the development of new elites (both lay and clerical), and changing burial and devotional practices. In this situation, Osborne argues, many of Rome's monuments were repurposed or reinterpreted in order to incorporate them into an altered understanding of the city's history, one that claimed that its Christian identity was pre-ordained. The transformation of such prominent buildings as the Pantheon and the Senate House into churches are well-known examples of this. Osborne pays special attention to a less-known instance, Pope Sergius I's (687–701) translation of the body of Pope Leo I (440–461) from a location near the entrance of Old St. Peter's to a new chapel constructed in the basilica's south transept, in close proximity to the apostle's tomb. Seeking to understand the motivation behind this act, Osborne links it to the creation of a path for pilgrims that led the faithful past monuments in a sequence illustrating the transformation of Rome from a city of emperors to a city of popes, culminating in the tomb of St. Peter

himself. Taking up a theme earlier addressed by Jacob Latham, Osborne also discusses how newly established litany processions contributed to Christianizing the city by imposing a network anchored by sites of religious significance on the urban landscape.

In three essays by Dale Kinney, Luisa Nardini, and William North, the focus turns to the creative complexity of eleventh- and twelfth-century developments in art, music, and the intellectual training offered to the Roman clergy. In 'Rewriting the *Renouveau*', Dale Kinney interrogates the idea, long dominant in art historical scholarship, that the revival of Early Christian models of art and architecture after the eleventh century served as a material expression of ecclesiastical reform. Inventorying the rather modest artistic output associated with the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere in the eleventh century – two manuscripts and the remains of a sculpted portal – Kinney reminds us that, in Rome, the church officials who promoted moral renewal did not instigate the large-scale material renovation of church buildings before the twelfth century. Moreover, she points out that recent research on both artistic production and social organization (both lay and clerical) calls into question the traditional top-down model attributing the essential authorship of works of art in this period to learned, high-ranking clerics who determined the subject matter, dictated the iconography, and directed artists in the creation of artworks that effectively conveyed the official line of the Reform papacy. Instead, she proposes a collaborative model that posits a process of negotiation between donors (frequently lay), the resident (usually lower) clergy, and the artists, each of whom, while plausibly inspired by the Reform atmosphere surrounding them, nonetheless acted from differing motivations. Embodying those motivations, the resulting works of art likely satisfied multiple aims in their evocation of the past, including the expression of pious devotion and personal taste, and the display of artistic skill.

Luisa Nardini's 'Renewal, Heritage, and Exchange in Eleventh-Century Roman Chant Traditions' presents a study of the gradual manuscript (Cologny-Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 74 or Bod74) produced at Rome's church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere in 1071. The earliest to include musical notation, eleventh-century Roman chant manuscripts have traditionally been valued primarily as a means to attempt the reconstruction of an earlier and supposedly more pristine version of the Roman chant melodies they contain. Focusing on what defines Bod74 as a document of its own time, Nardini finds evidence both for the creative invention of new chants and modes of ornament in Rome, as well as a lively culture of musical exchange with other centers. In this, she sees parallels to the cosmopolitanism and

influence of such figures as Desiderius of Montecassino, under whose tenure at Santa Cecilia in Trastevere the manuscript was produced.

Finally, in 'Reforming Readers, Reforming Texts: The Making of Discursive Community in Gregorian Rome', William North addresses the creation of the institutional imaginary undergirding the ecclesiastical reform and renewal of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Like Kinney, North rejects a simple top-down model, characterizing the intellectual formation of the Roman curia throughout the period as an ideological work in progress that was both more complex and varied, and less sturdy, than usually assumed. Analyzing the careers and writings of three important contributors – Peter Damian, cardinal bishop of Ostia under Stephen X, Nicholas II and Alexander II; Atto, cardinal priest of San Marco; and Bruno, cardinal bishop of Segni – North discerns a recurring emphasis on the need to create communities with a shared knowledge and informed understanding of key authoritative texts, above all the Bible. In their attempt to forge such communities, all three authors worked to transform the Roman clergy into effective leaders and agents of reform and the Roman Church into an institution that could support its leaders' increasing claims to primacy.

Rome's imperial past and the historical claims generated by the Christian rulers who supervised the city appear to be ever-present and remained relevant in many of the studies in this volume, as if Romans constantly sustained memories in an ongoing process rather than instigating revivals. A further theme reappearing in many of the essays is that of *not* prioritizing a single model or point of origins that generated all subsequent outgrowths. Much like Kristina Sessa argues for the varied approaches of Gelasius and Pelagius I in building up the Roman church in ages of crisis, Erik Thunø emphasizes that each of Rome's apse mosaics has a specificity that does not disturb the overall sense that these mosaics belong to a timeless assembly scattered throughout the city. Further, Luisa Nardini rejects the study of extant chants to recreate a lost original, pointing out that this search for origins prevents us from appreciating how the preserved sources embed us in a lively culture of production and experimentation. Finally, it should be emphasized that the quest to explain historical change should not prevent us from seeing the degree to which post-classical and early medieval culture embraced the challenges presented by adversity while trying to idealize timeless persistence. Given the appreciation for preserving the past and safeguarding Rome that is well documented for Popes Honorius and Sergius I in the seventh century, it is clear that they built their positions on foundations that Claudian, Damasus, Gelasius, and others had built up long before.

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