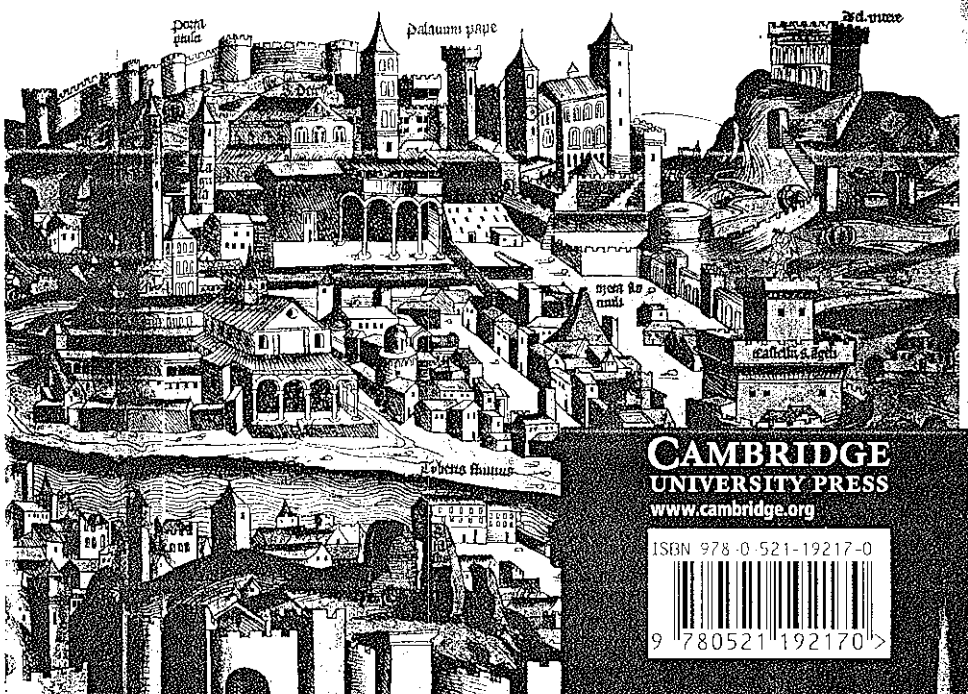
Medieval Rome was uniquely important, both as a physical city and as an idea with immense cultural capital, encapsulating the legacy of the ancient Empire, the glorious world of the martyrs and the triumph of Christian faith. *Rome Across Time and Space* explores these twin dimensions of 'place' and 'idea' and analyses Rome's role in the transmission of culture throughout the Middle Ages. Ranging widely over liturgy, architecture, sculpture, and textual history, the authors focus on the mutual enrichment derived from the exchange of ideas and illuminate how cultural exchanges between Rome and its 'neighbours' (Byzantium, Northern and Southern Italy, England, and France), and within Rome (between ancient and Early Christian Rome and the medieval city) worked as catalysts for change, both to shape the medieval city and to help construct the medieval idea of Rome itself. The result is a rich and original perspective on a beguiling city with enduring appeal.

Cover illustration: panorama of the city of Rome from the Nuremberg Chronicle (1493) fols. 57v–58r, from Archbishop Parker's coloured copy in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
www.cambridge.org
ISBN 978-0-521-19217-0
9 780521 192170

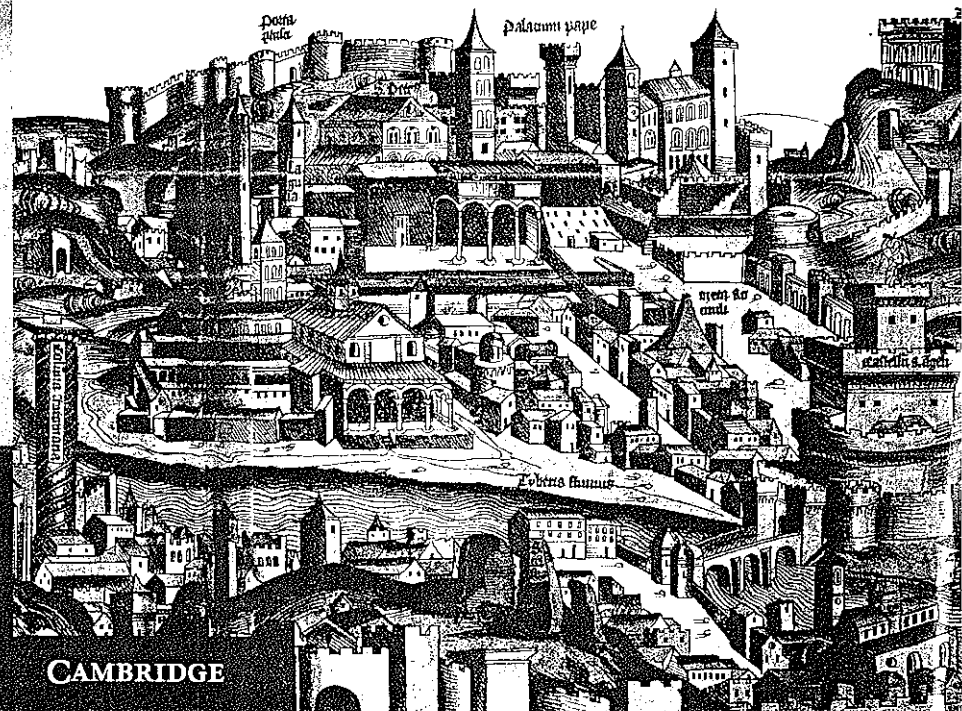
Bolgia, McKitterick and Osborne
Rome Across Time and Space

CAMBRIDGE

Rome Across Time and Space

Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas, c. 500–1400

EDITED BY
Claudia Bolgia
Rosamond McKitterick
John Osborne



CAMBRIDGE

Rome Across Time and Space

Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c. *500–1400*

Edited by

Claudia Bolgia, Rosamond McKitterick, and John Osborne

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press,
New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521192170

First published 2011

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-0-521-19217-0 Hardback

Contents

Tables and Maps

Tables

Maps

Contributors

CLAUDIA BOLGIA is Lecturer in the History of European Art at the University of Edinburgh. Her research focus is medieval Rome, and its historical and intellectual context. Author of the forthcoming *S. Maria in Aracoeli and the Franciscans in Rome (c. 1250–1400)*, she has published widely on Rome, in both edited books and academic journals such as *Speculum*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, *The Burlington Magazine*, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. She held fellowships at Pembroke College Cambridge (2004–7) and at Villa I Tatti – The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies (2009–10). She is adviser of the e-journal *Art in Translation* (Oxford University Press), and was the organizer of the international conference *Ex Changes: Rome Across Time and Space, c. 500–1400* (Cambridge, 3–5 July 2008), which was the catalyst for the present book.

ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK is the Professor of Medieval History at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of Sidney Sussex College. She has published many books and articles on Frankish history, early medieval manuscripts, literacy, and the writing of history in the early Middle Ages, including *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (1989), *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Middle Ages* (1994), *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages* (1995), *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (2004), *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (2006), *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (2008). She held the Hugh Baldson Fellowship at the British School at Rome in 2002, was Fellow in Residence of the Netherlands Institute of Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences 2005–6, is a Corresponding Fellow of the Medieval Academy of America, and a Korrespondierendes Mitglied of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften and of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica.

JOHN OSBORNE is a medievalist and cultural historian, with a particular focus on the art and archaeology of the cities of Rome and Venice in the period between the sixth and thirteenth centuries. His publications cover topics as varied as the Roman catacombs, the fragmentary mural paintings from excavated churches such as S. Clemente and S. Maria Antiqua, the decorative programme of the church of S. Marco in Venice, seventeenth-century antiquarian drawings of medieval monuments, and the medieval understanding and use of Rome's heritage of ancient buildings and statuary. Currently serving as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Carleton University in Ottawa, he has held visiting fellowships at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; the Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini, Venice; and the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington. In 2006 he was elected as an Honorary Fellow of the British School at Rome.

JESSE D. BILLETT Post-doctoral Fellow, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto.

PAUL BINSKI Professor of the History of Medieval Art at Cambridge University and Fellow of Gonville and Caius College.

BRENDA BOLTON Formerly Senior Lecturer in History, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London.

LOUISE BOURDUA Reader in the History of Art, University of Warwick.

MAURIZIO CAMPANELLI Ricercatore, Università degli Studi di Roma I 'La Sapienza'.

GEORGE DAMERON Professor of History, Saint Michael's College, Vermont, USA.

WILLIAM R. DAY, JR Research Associate, Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

SIBLE DE BLAAUW Professor of Early Christian Art and Architecture, Radboud University, Nijmegen.

JUDSON J. EMERICK Loren Barton Babcock Miller Professor in Fine Arts and Professor of Art History, Pomona College, Claremont, California, USA.

JULIAN GARDNER Foundation Professor of the History of Art at Warwick University.

JANE HAWKES Reader in the History of Art, History of Art Department, and Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York.

YITZHAK HEN Professor of Medieval History, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

DALE KINNEY Eugenia Chase Guild Professor in the Humanities, Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, USA.

JOHN MITCHELL Reader, School of World Art Studies and Museology, University of East Anglia.

ÉAMONN Ó CARRAGÁIN Emeritus Professor of Old and Middle English, University College Cork.

MICHAEL D. REEVE Emeritus Kennedy Professor of Latin (1984–2006) and Director of Research (2006–7), University of Cambridge, and Fellow of Pembroke College.

Acknowledgements

The original catalyst for the essays composing this book was a conference I organized in Cambridge, 3–5 July 2008. I gratefully acknowledge financial support from the British Academy, CRASSH (the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences, and Humanities of the University of Cambridge) and the Trevelyan Fund, Faculty of History, University of Cambridge.

For the first stages of the conference conception and shaping, I am grateful to Anna Gannon, whose fruitful and stimulating collaboration has been invaluable. For the following stages, I am thankful to Gianluca Raccagni who dealt with academic and organizational issues with great professionalism, and Anna Malinowska at CRASSH, who supervised all practical arrangements and caringly fulfilled all the speakers' requests. Graduate students Emily Guerry and Irene O'Daly offered invaluable help for the duration of the conference.

I owe special thanks to Christopher de Hamel, Donnelley Fellow Librarian at Corpus Christi College, who organized an outstanding display of manuscript illuminations on the theme of *Rome and cultural transmission, c. 500–1400* for the intellectual enjoyment of all the conference participants.

I am also indebted to the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College for allowing us to use the Old Library for a conference dinner, offering colleagues the opportunity to keep exchange of ideas going in a unique environment.

I am grateful beyond words to all my Cambridge colleagues, in particular to Paul Binski and Bill Day, for warmly welcoming the non-local speakers, opening the doors of colleges and of the department of coins and medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum.

My warmest thanks go to Rosamond McKitterick and John Osborne, who believed in this project and generously agreed to share the labour of editing this volume. Their collaborative nature, unfailing efficiency, and wise good sense have made this experience the most pleasurable and

rewarding one could possibly wish for. I have been immensely fortunate to work with such a supportive team.

CLAUDIA BOLGIA

We wish to thank all contributors for their generous spirit of intellectual exchange during the preparation of this volume, and for their patience and prompt collaboration during the editorial process. We are grateful to the editorial team at Cambridge University Press, especially Michael Watson, Elizabeth Friend-Smith, Chloe Howell, Daniel Dunlavey, and our copyeditor Anna Zaranko, and the anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press who gave us very helpful advice.

We wish to thank the following for permission to reproduce their photographs or drawings: Ross Trench-Jellicoe (Ruthwell Cross); Franziska Bächer and Daniela Mondini (Rome, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, longitudinal section); the Master and Fellows, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Corpus Christi College, MS 23, fol. 39^{v}); Musée National du Moyen Âge – Thermes et Hôtel de Cluny, Paris (Consular Diptych of Aereobindus); the Director and Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge (denier, ducats, and denari in the Grierson Collection, Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge); the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome (tomb of Clement VI, San Francesco, Viterbo); the Courtauld Institute of Art, London (tomb of Cardinal Ancher de Troyes, S. Prassede, Rome); Centro Studi Antoniani, Padua (Crucifixion and St Catherine on the wheel from the oratory of S. Giorgio, Padua), the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge (cover illustration of the panorama of the city of Rome, from Archbishop Parker's coloured copy of the Nuremberg Chronicle).

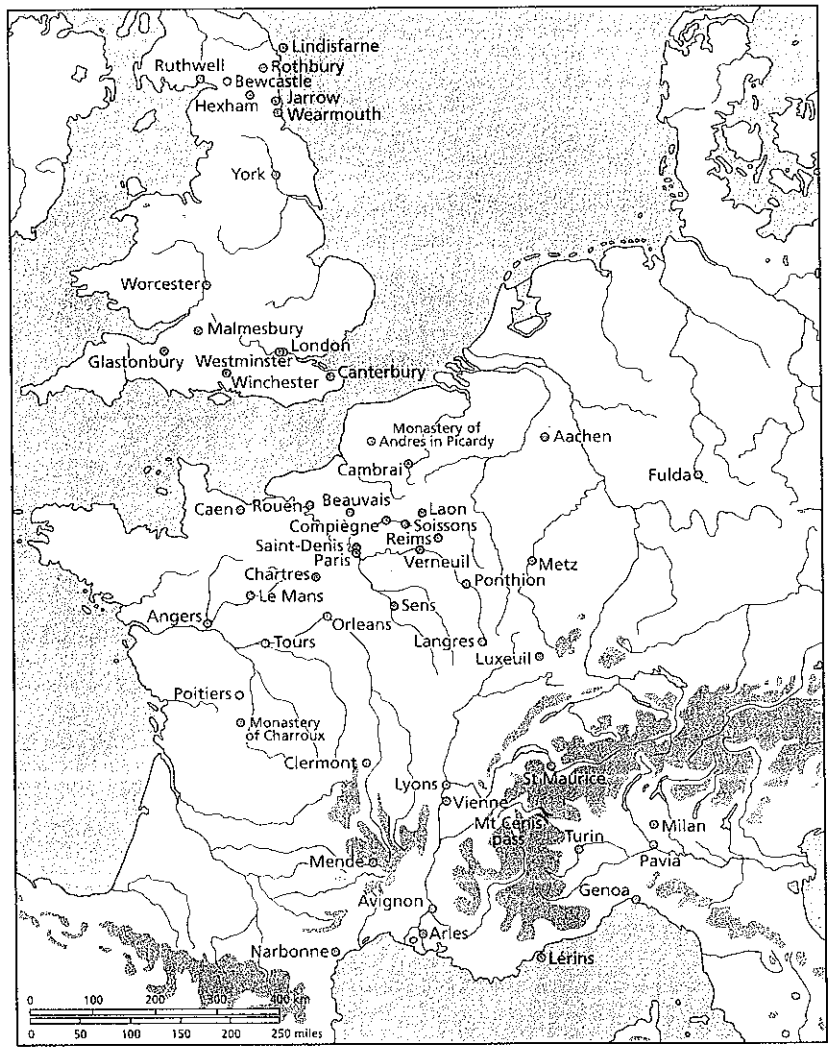
CLAUDIA BOLGIA, ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK, AND JOHN OSBORNE

Abbreviations

AEMS	American Early Medieval Studies
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
CASSS	Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1952–)
CLA	EA. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century* I–XI plus Supplement, Oxford (1935–71)
CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
HE	Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, in B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (eds.), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969)
LP	*Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis* 2 vols. (Paris, 1886–92)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
AA	*Auctores Antiquissimi*, 15 vols. (Berlin, 1877–1919)
Cap.	*Capitularia, Legum Sectio* II, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, 2 vols. (Hanover, 1883–97)
Conc.	*Concilia. Legum Sectio* III, *Concilia* II, ed. A. Werminghoff (Hanover, 1906–8); vol. III, ed. W. Hartmann (Hanover, 1984)
Epp.	*Epistolae* III–VII (= *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi* (Hanover, 1892–1939)
Epp. Sel.	*Epistolae Selectae in usum scholarum*, 5 vols. (Hanover, 1887–91)

Fontes	*Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi*, 13 vols. (Hanover, 1909–86)
Formulae	*Formulae merowingici et Karolini aevi* (Hanover, 1882)
Leges nat. germ.	*Leges Nationum Germanicarum*, ed. K Zeumer (*Lex Visigothorum*); L.R. de Salis (*Leges Burgundionum*); F. Beyerle and R. Buchner (*Lex Ribuaria*); K.A. Eckhardt (*Pactus Legis Salicae* and *Lex Salica*); E. von Schwind (*Lex Baiuariorum*), 6 vols. in 11 parts (Hanover, 1892–1969)
Libri Memoriales	*Libri Memoriales*, and *Libri Memoriales et Necrologia Nova series* (Hanover, 1979–)
Poetae	*Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, ed. E. Dummler, L. Traube, P. von Winterfeld, and K. Strecker, 4 vols. (Hanover, 1881–99)
SRG	*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, 63 vols. (Hanover, 1871–1987)
SRL	*Scriptores Regum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1898)
SRM	*Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, ed. B. Krusche and W. Levison, 7 vols. (Hanover 1885–1920)
SS	*Scriptores* in folio, 30 vols. (Hanover, (1824–1924)
PL	*Patrologia Latina* J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1841–1864)
RCAHMS	The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
Settimane	Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo
V.Abb.	Bede, *Vita Beatorum Abbatum*, in C. Plummer (ed.), *Venerabilis Baedae opera historica*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896), pp. 364–87.

Italy in the Middle Ages



North-western Europe in the Middle Ages

Introduction: Rome across time and space, *c.* 500–1400: cultural transmission and the exchange of ideas

Claudia Bolgia

Medieval Rome is fascinating, intoxicating, compelling. Its uniqueness resides, *inter alia*, in its double nature of both 'place' and 'idea': a place and an idea that escape any clear-cut attempt at definition, especially since their perception and reception change remarkably over the chronological span under consideration (500–1400). As a physical place, medieval Rome is a city, indeed is the City: seat of the papacy and foremost pilgrimage centre of Latin Christendom. Nevertheless, in the very early period covered by this book, it could be seen as extending as far as the Mediterranean basin and Gaul, the area that once belonged to the Roman empire.

Rome is also an 'idea', a 'mental' place, and as such encapsulates worlds: the world of the ancient Empire, with the immense cultural capital of its literary tradition and physical legacy, and the glorious world of the martyrs and the triumph of Christian faith. These worlds, and especially the qualities and values associated with them – chief amongst these *auctoritas*, *gravitas*, splendour, and magnificence – could hardly be said to have been separate in the medieval mind, but instead were fused to form a highly charged and multifaceted concept of *romanitas*, which could be assimilated, appropriated, and adapted to serve different aims and aspirations.

This volume originates from a conference that I organized in Cambridge in July 2008, at the core of which was the aim of addressing medieval Rome in its double dimension of 'place' and 'idea'. Participants focused on either what one might call a 'horizontal' line of enquiry – transmission across space – or a 'vertical' one – transmission across time – and, in most cases, combined both by addressing the ever-shifting relationship between Rome 'as a physical place' and Rome 'as a mental place'.

The main aim was to explore the theme of cultural transmission between Rome and its neighbours (Byzantium, Southern and Northern Italy, England, and France) and/or from the past to the present within Rome itself (from ancient or Early Christian Rome to 'medieval' Rome).

The foci of our enquiry were cultural transmission and the exchange of ideas, with cultural transmission seen as a broader process, whose outcomes become visible over a period of time, and the second as a more 'immediate' and more episodic, but equally fertile and fruitful, phenomenon.[1] Indeed, transmission from and to medieval Rome or within Rome itself from the past to the present was always an adaptation, transformation, and reinterpretation, in other words a form of translation.

The conference was conceived as a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary project, bringing together international scholars across a wide range of disciplines, with the aim of addressing the notion of 'culture' in its broadest sense and all its various aspects, including the legacy of Antiquity and the Classical Tradition, religious and political thought, liturgy and music, literature and language, art, archaeology, architecture and numismatics. The idea was to articulate the quest across a number of case studies and wide time/place axes, and to offer a range of methodological approaches and interpretations. The original title, 'Ex Changes', was a word-play referring to two major aims of the conference: one was to explore the reciprocity and mutual enrichment that derive from the exchange of ideas and the processes of reception, assimilation, and transformation that secure and bring about cultural changes; the other was to offer speakers, colleagues, and students in the audience an opportunity to engage each other, and their specialties, in a productive 'exchange' of ideas on the role of Rome in the transmission of culture throughout the Middle Ages.

Research on how cultural exchanges worked as catalysts for change in their turn called for the exploration of how these processes of exchange contributed both to shape the medieval City itself and to construct the medieval idea of Rome, thereby expanding the notion of medieval Rome as the product of such interactions.

[1] Over the past decades, there has been an increasing interest in the study of cultural transmission and translation. The literature is extensive. See notably, S. Budick and W. Iser (eds.), *The Translatability of Cultures. Figurations of the Space Between* (Stanford, 1996); H. Ziegler (ed.), *The Translatability of Cultures. Proceedings of the Fifth Stuttgart Seminar in Cultural Studies* (Stuttgart and Weimar, 1998); L.H. Hollengreen (ed.), Translatio *or the Transmission of Culture in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Modes and Messages* (Turnhout, 2008); and, with a focus on artistic exchange, S.J. Campbell and S.J. Milner (eds.), *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City* (Cambridge, 2004). For a revision of issues associated with the concept of travel in the medieval period, including cultural migration (but with a focus on England), see P. Horden (ed.), *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 15 (Donington, 2007). The Thirty-Second International Congress in the History of Art, held in Melbourne in 2008, was also devoted to the theme of cultural intersections: J. Anderson (ed.), *Crossing Cultures. Conflict, Migration, and Convergence* (Melbourne, 2009).

While the title of the book has changed slightly to echo the principal emphases emerging from the conference itself, these aims form the foundations of this volume, where the ongoing dialogue between the different contributors (encouraged in the form of e-mail exchanges more than a year before the Cambridge meeting and still going on at the time I am writing) creates dialectic and fertile intersections across the papers, all variously concerned with such topics as the 'imitation', translation, and recreation of Rome, the mechanisms that initiate and facilitate exchanges, the processes by which meaning is re-written in the present from the materials of the past, the responses to cultural change and innovations (including emulation, misunderstanding, and resistance), and the re-transmission of ideas.

As a natural consequence of the degree to which the original papers themselves complemented each other, the book is designed in six thematic sections, in which short essays contribute to the discussion from the vantage point of the author's special expertise, but also engage with the arguments of the other members of each section. Since the section themes are markers of emphasis rather than strict compartmentalizations, each research question resonates and finds further answers throughout the various sections.

Medieval Rome is a hotspot of scholarly attention. There have been many other books devoted to medieval Rome published in recent years, most notably those produced in relation to the year 2000. Without the ambition of being inclusive, I should at least mention the exhibition catalogues from that year as well as the Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo for 2000 and 2001, on the themes *Roma nell'alto Medioevo* and *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente* respectively.[2] There is also the publication of the proceedings of the international conference *Arredi di culto e disposizioni liturgiche a Roma da Costantino a Sisto IV*, on the important issue of the relationship between church furnishing and liturgical use of architectural space in Rome, edited by Sible de Blaauw.[3] In addition there is the volume edited by Julia Smith,

[2] M. D'Onofrio (ed.), *Romei e giubilei. Il pellegrinaggio medievale a S. Pietro (350–1350)* (Milan, 1999); S. Ensoli and E. La Rocca (eds.), *Aurea Roma. dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (Rome, 2000); L. Pani Ermini (ed.), *Christiana loca. Lo spazio cristiano nella Roma del primo millennio* (Rome, 2000); *Roma nell'alto Medioevo*, Settimane 48, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 2001); *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente*, Settimane 49, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 2002). The volume *Roma medievale*, edited by Andrè Vauchez, vol. II of the *Storia di Roma dall'antichità a oggi* (Rome and Bari, 2001), is a good reference volume: it is conceived primarily as a history handbook, consisting of rigorous scholarly essays.

[3] S. de Blaauw (ed.), *Atti del colloquio internazionale 'Arredi di culto e disposizioni liturgiche a Roma da Costantino a Sisto IV', Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome. Historical Studies* 59 (Rome, 2000).

Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West, which divided its attention between aspects of early medieval Rome and particular links between papal Rome, England, and Francia in the early Middle Ages.[4] There have also been volumes of studies devoted to the material culture of Rome, such as that edited by Herman Geertman, *Atti del colloquio internazionale 'Il Liber pontificalis e la storia materiale'* and those on *Roma dall'antichità al Medioevo*, sponsored by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, and books dedicated to various aspects of Early Christian Rome, such as *Das Bild der Stadt Rom in Frühmittelalter* by Franz Alto Bauer, and *Religion, Dynasty and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900*, which focused on aristocratic patronage.[5] On the later period, *Roma e la riforma gregoriana. Tradizioni e innovazioni artistiche (XI–XII secolo)*, co-edited by Serena Romano and Jillian Enckell Julliard, deals with the artistic production in Rome associated with the Gregorian reform.[6] Finally, *Roma Felix. Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, edited by Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Neuman de Vegvar, groups papers given at recent International Congresses around the themes 'articulating the city' and 'reading the city', the first dealing with communities, congregations, and cults; the second with envisaging and interpreting medieval Rome.[7]

Two important ongoing projects are also worth a mention: Maria Andaloro and Serena Romano's catalogue of the medieval paintings of Rome, and Peter Cornelius Claussen's *Corpus* of the Roman churches, 1050–1300, centred on architecture and liturgical furnishing.[8]

[4] J.M.H. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000). A collection of various earlier essays on Rome by Valentino Pace was also published in the year 2000: V. Pace, *Arte a Roma nel Medioevo. Committenza, ideologia e cultura figurativa in monumenti e libri* (Naples, 2000).

[5] H. Geertman (ed.), *Atti del colloquio internazionale: 'Il Liber pontificalis e la storia materiale'*, *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 60/61 (2001–2); *Roma dall'antichità al Medioevo*, vol. I: M.S. Arena and P. Delogu (eds.), *Archeologia e storia. Nel Museo Nazionale Romano, Crypta Balbi* (Milan, 2001); vol. II: L. Parodi and L. Venditelli (eds.), *Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali* (Milan, 2004); F.A. Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom in Frühmittelalter. Papststiftungen im Spiegel des Liber pontificalis von Gregor dem Dritten bis zu Leo dem Dritten* (Wiesbaden, 2004); K. Cooper and J. Hillner (eds.), *Religion, Dynasty and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900* (Cambridge, 2007).

[6] S. Romano and J. Enckell Julliard, *Roma e la riforma gregoriana. Tradizioni e innovazioni artistiche (XI–XII secolo)* (Rome, 2007).

[7] The papers were originally delivered at Leeds (2003), Kalamazoo (2003), and the 2005 meeting of the Medieval Academy of America. É. Ó Carrágain and C. Neuman de Vegvar (eds.), *Roma Felix. Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome* (Aldershot, 2007); reviewed by C. Bolgia at: www.h-net.org/reviews/showpdf.php?id=24152.

[8] P.C. Claussen, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050–1300* (Stuttgart, 2002–), of which two volumes have appeared so far: volume I, covering churches in alphabetical order A–F (2002), and volume II, entirely devoted to the Lateran Basilica (2008). M. Andaloro and S. Romano (eds.), *La pittura medievale a Roma, 312–1431. Corpus e Atlante* (Milan, 2006–), of which three volumes have been published so far: *Corpus*, vol. I: M. Andaloro (ed.), *L'orizzonte tardoantico e le nuove immagini: 312–468* (Milan, 2006); *Corpus*, vol. IV: S. Romano (ed.), *Riforma e tradizione: 1050–1198* (Milan 2006); *Atlante*, vol. I: Maria Andaloro (ed.), *Suburbio, Vaticano, Rione Monti* (Milan 2006).

All these books are excellent and offer significant insights into individual aspects of the medieval city. In addition, the conference proceedings *Roma antica nel Medioevo. Mito, rappresentazioni, sopravvivenze nella 'Respublica Christiana' dei secoli IX–XIII* offers a number of case studies on the survival of ancient Rome in the Middle Ages.[9]

What distinguishes *Rome Across Time and Space* is three-fold. First, there is its chronological and geographical range and the consequent dialogue between scholars across conventional periods and national boundaries. Secondly, there is the interdisciplinary interaction between art and architectural historians, archaeologists, liturgical and musical scholars, historians, literary scholars, linguists, and numismatists. Most important of all, however, are the general themes of cultural transmission and exchange coupled with the specific theme of the appropriation, assimilation, and transformation of both the idea and the history of Rome. Furthermore, there is the overarching theme of Rome 'as a place' and 'as an idea', which runs through the chapters within each section and across the sections.

The volume opens with a section devoted to the transmission of classical and patristic texts, and its implication in the wider context of medieval constructions and perceptions of the history of Rome. The unifying theme here is that of Christianizing Rome, via a translation of ideas from secular or pagan to Christian contexts.

The transmission of classical histories of Rome has more often been considered from the point of view of textual transmission than in terms of the role played in shaping medieval histories of Rome. Rosamond McKitterick adopts the latter approach to discuss one of the most important texts for the history of medieval Rome, the *Liber pontificalis*. By exploring the historical and historiographical context of the first (sixth-century) redaction of the Life of the Pontiffs, McKitterick identifies the historiographical genre of serial biography rather than the early martyr narratives and martyrologies as the principal model for the extraordinary format of the *Liber pontificalis*. She therefore argues that its distinctiveness in relation to other contemporary histories is that it offered an alternative reading of the Roman past. As Christian, and Christianized, Roman history the *Liber pontificalis* not only generated many new associations and emulators, but itself played a major role in re-orienting perceptions of

[9] *Roma antica nel Medioevo. Mito, rappresentazioni, sopravvivenze nella 'Respublica Christiana' dei secoli IX–XIII. Atti della quattordicesima Settimana Internazionale di Studio Mendola, 24–28 Agosto 1998* (Milan, 2001).

Rome and its past, and present, and indeed in shaping the history of the papacy in subsequent years.

The Christianization of the Roman past is also an underlying theme in the chapter of Maurizio Campanelli, who adopts a philological approach to examine the images of Rome offered by medieval 'descriptions' of the city. As opposed to traditional 'evolutionary' interpretations of these texts, aiming at identifying increasing signs of 'proto-humanism' and Renaissance mentality, this perspective has the advantage of offering a reading from within the texts, exploring the image of Rome that they present on their own terms and unveiling the mechanics of the construction of the medieval idea of Rome, each author using monuments and books in very different ways and measure.

The Rome of the *Mirabilia* – as Campanelli shows – is a Rome without inhabitants, populated only by hundreds of monuments. It is not a living city, but a 'history' book. The city, in its physicality, is the source of its own story. At the opposite pole from the Rome 'without uncertainties' of the *Mirabilia*, where everything can be identified and reconstructed, is Master Gregory's Rome, a supernatural space which can neither be fully described nor entirely explained. While the *Mirabilia* and Master Gregory started from monuments to reconstruct historical events – the books providing only additional details – the process was reversed in the fourteenth century, when the point of departure became the books themselves. The Rome of Giovanni Cavallini is a Rome where places become symbols, and names play a crucial role as a fundamental guarantee of historical continuity. The continuum between past and present can only be uncovered by recovering the original names and reconstructing their evolution. Names, Campanelli shows, were therefore a philological concern which became a historiographical tool: the thread which tied together monuments and histories, but also ancient Rome and contemporary Rome.

To appreciate the relevance of textual transmission for the construction of the idea of Rome in the Middle Ages, it is necessary to explore – with Michael Reeve – the extent to which medieval Rome was a repository of ancient texts. The emperor Augustus and Pope Nicholas V each planned a library for Rome on the Alexandrian model, but information is scarce from the period in between on the holdings and use of public or private libraries in the city. Furthermore, though the few extant late-antique manuscripts of Latin texts have tended to be associated with Rome, the debate about their origins has recently been reopened. Reeve provides an important contribution to this debate by reviewing the evidence for the survival and use at Rome, in both Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, of classical and patristic texts.

By focusing on liturgical forms, texts, and practices in Carolingian Francia, Anglo-Saxon England and the Atlantic Islands of Britain and Ireland, the contributors to the second section consider the translation of the Roman liturgy north of the Alps. It was *romanitas* (which in the ecclesiastical realm means the richness and authority of the Roman tradition, of its basilicas, of its ceremonies, of its liturgical norms and practices) that made Rome the centre par excellence in which to learn about Christian liturgy. However, such an overwhelming richness and complexity determined a need for selection: it was impossible, and also unnecessary, for any northern ecclesiastical visitor or reformer to assimilate all this richness, still less to replicate it at home. What they did was to select structures and forms (as in the case of the Divine Office discussed by Billett), customs and rituals (as exemplified by the Ruthwell Cross, examined by Ó Carragáin), feasts and liturgical practices (as in the case of the Frankish liturgy, explored by Hen), and to translate these into a more comprehensible language, which could fit local conditions and changing circumstances.

In dealing with liturgy as a crucial aspect of cultural translation and exchange, this section addresses a number of questions including what it meant to speak of 'Roman' liturgy outside Rome, the sources and extent of the translation of 'Roman' liturgical forms and texts, their reception alongside non-Roman traditions, and the ways in which 'peripheral' churches' perception of their Roman liturgical heritage changed across time.

Ó Carragáin explores the 'paradox' that the 'peripheries' produced some of the most sophisticated and original syntheses of Christian thought and liturgy. To make their own what the 'centre' had to teach, early insular clerics had to grasp what was essential and central in Christian tradition, and translate this into non-Latin languages and non-Roman visual cultures. In addition to the Codex Amiatinus and the Lindisfarne Gospels, a powerful translation of the essentials of the Roman liturgy is seen by Ó Carragáin in the Ruthwell Cross, a unique 'imaginative construct, at once visual and verbal, which brings together sculpture, iconography and poetic chant, in Latin and English, in Roman script and runes'.

The very claim made by the Anglo-Saxon authors that the English Church had learned its liturgy from Rome is discussed by Jesse Billett, who examines how the English attitudes to the *romanitas* of their Office liturgy evolved over time. In the period of closest liturgical contact with Rome, the English Office liturgy was characterized by openness and eclecticism: non-Roman texts and chants, and even structurally relevant non-Roman elements, were accommodated within a Roman liturgical framework. What mattered was not to use only Roman texts or Roman

music, but to praise God in harmony with the catholic Church throughout the world, which was best done *more Romano*. But as the so-called Roman Office came into wider and wider use on the Continent through the Carolingian liturgical programmes of the eighth and ninth centuries, attention shifted away from the basic structural elements of the Office that made it characteristically Roman. Instead, incidental elements that had always been open to eclecticism (chants, readings, prayers) were retrospectively endowed with 'Roman authority' as a way to preserve English liturgical peculiarities in the face of powerful Continental influences, particularly at the Conquest. Billett therefore concludes that the later Anglo-Saxon attitude to the Divine Office as a local manifestation of Roman tradition to be jealously guarded was an exact inversion of earlier English views of participation in the Roman Office as a means of experiencing unity with the wider Church.

Finally, Yitzhak Hen revises the traditional interpretation of the Romanization of the Frankish liturgy in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. He shows that, despite the prevailing notion of unity that characterizes contemporary sources, no general Romanization of the entire Frankish rite was ever desired, and that the liturgical reforms promulgated by Pippin III and Charlemagne were limited to the introduction of a few Roman books and practices, realized only through a slow process of criticism and experiment. The Frankish kings' interest in reforming the liturgy, Hen argues, was mainly aimed at ensuring that the Frankish bishops and priests celebrate the liturgy 'properly'. The concern with *correctio* on the one hand, and the preoccupation with authority on the other, gave rise to what Hen calls a 'rhetoric of reform' aimed at associating the Frankish Kings with Rome, 'the very city of cities, the mighty head of the whole world' (Gregory of Tours), a symbol of authority, orthodoxy, and unity. This association played a vital role in shaping Carolingian political ideology and religious identity.

The third section examines architectural inspiration and sculptural models within and without Rome. It addresses questions such as the extent to which Rome – as both a 'place' and an 'idea' – was a source of inspiration in the architectural and sculptural fields, the nature of such an inspiration (was it formal, or functional, or both, or did it vary over time and across space?), the role played by concepts of continuity and discontinuity in transmission processes, and the factors that determined the changes in the perception of Rome's physical legacy, across space and time.

Judson Emerick discusses the role of Early Christian architecture as a source of inspiration for Carolingian church building, by taking as a focus of analysis the relationship between the abbey church of Saint-Denis,

built by Abbot Fulrad, King Pippin and Charlemagne, and its architectural model, Old St Peter's. This involves a revision of how perceptions of Constantine's architectural patronage changed over time. St Peter's, Emerick argues, was not seen as a 'Constantinian' basilica by the patrons of Saint-Denis, but as a 'papal' basilica: it was a basilica that had been transformed over the centuries, and especially by the eighth-century popes, not only into Rome's foremost centre for the worship of the saints, but also as a stage to display the popes as religious leaders, precipitating new associations and meanings. The eighth-century Frankish leaders who built at Saint-Denis focused mainly on this *contemporary* papal monument, imitating not only its form, but also its function.

Sible de Blaauw argues for a priority of form in the reception of the Early Christian architecture of Rome within the city itself in the period between the mid eleventh and the early fourteenth centuries. He identifies two types of approaches towards the Early Christian architectural heritage of Rome: a 'conservative' one, exemplified by Old St Peter's and S. Paolo fuori le mura, where special care was taken to preserve the original form unaltered, and an 'interventionist' approach, a more invasive type of intervention, exemplified by S. Lorenzo fuori le mura and the Lateran basilica. The insertion of the transept in the latter was the most significant instance, in this period, of a transformation of ancient churches into transept basilicas as part of a strategy of making them appear even more 'Early Christian' than they had been originally. Ultimately, both approaches were driven by the very same aim of emphasizing continuity. This could be achieved either by simple preservation or by physical alterations that changed the perception of the ancient basilicas, enhancing their resemblance to St Peter's and S. Paolo fuori le mura, and making them all conform better to an 'idealized' prototype – the perfect *exemplum* of Early Christian architecture in Rome – which in its turn could be used as the most appropriate model for new contemporary buildings.

The 'reinterpretation' of the physical legacy of Rome via later architectural interventions for the sake of a 'forged' continuity is yet another aspect of that construction of an idea of Rome within Rome itself through an adaptation and transformation of the past that finds a textual parallel in the descriptions and 'histories' of Rome discussed by McKitterick and Campanelli.

John Mitchell starts from Rome to retrace the narrative of the history of art and architecture in eleventh-century Italy, reversing the traditional narrative that starts from Montecassino and its reforming abbot, Desiderius. Desiderius is usually credited with the predominant role in what amounts to an artistic and cultural revolution, involving the introduction of a new pattern of ecclesiastical architecture, a new exploitation

of the arts of sculpture, painting and mosaic, and a new engagement with the visual traditions of the Early Christian Church in papal Rome. Mitchell's essay looks past the dominating figure of Desiderius to Rome and other centres in Italy. Rather than seeing Desiderius as a lone heroic initiator of a new direction in art and architecture, Mitchell situates the reformation of Montecassino within the flow of developments in Italy and Europe. The story of this new visual language that drew afresh on examples from Classical Antiquity therefore started in Rome, moved down to the Benedictine monastery of S. Vincenzo al Volturno, some 200 km south-east of Rome, and only finished at Montecassino, a day's trek to the west; and the wider stage was the opening horizons of the contemporary world, across the Alps into northern Europe and across the Mediterranean East to Byzantium.

The investigation of transmission via sculptural and architectural models finds its most appropriate conclusion in a discussion of columns. Monolithic cylindrical columns are explicitly 'Roman': they are one of the most enduring emblems of Rome and the classical tradition. One might say that they are also the 'supports' and 'frame' of this volume, as they appear in nearly all the papers, as the most characteristic feature of the Roman basilica (Kinney), as the visual emblem of one of the most prominent Roman families (Binski), as an influential source of artistic inspiration (Bourdua), and as the symbol of one of the most important Roman *rioni* (Campanelli), to cite only some examples. Dale Kinney's paper confronts Rome and *romanitas* through the explication of the two medieval 'discourses' of columns: the exegetical one, rooted in a few key passages in the Latin Bible, and the secular one rooted in classical prose and panegyric and the material practice of building. Neither was autonomous and both were an integral part of larger discourses (the exegesis of *Ecclesia*, the rhetoric of marble ornament, etc.), yet their autonomous discussion is illuminating on the contribution of Rome – as both a place and an idea – to medieval building practice and exegetical imagination.

It is impossible, in the space of this introduction, to evoke all the connections across the thematic sections of this book, but it is worth mentioning that what the discourse of columns tells us about Charlemagne (Kinney) is very consonant with what the 'rhetoric of architecture' (Emerick) and the 'rhetoric of reform' in liturgy (Hen) say about the Carolingian king.

Next comes a section that revolves around the theme of cultural exchange as a 'true' exchange, underlining in particular the two-way nature of the process and highlighting how Rome both 'exported' and 'imported', both 'taught' and 'learnt' (from its own past, and its neighbours, and from its own past as it had been re-elaborated by its neighbours), thus playing a

vital role as a crucial point of contact between cultures, past and present. This revision of the concept of exchange as a loop between givers and takers, where ideas are transmitted, transformed, and retransmitted in a different form, involves a reconsideration of the traditional notion of dominating centre and marginal periphery, which is indeed replaced by more historically grounded patterns of exchange. Even the very nature of the ideas actually exchanged is questioned in this section.

Jane Hawkes suggests that we 'exchange' the traditional focus of discussions when studying exchanges between Rome and Anglo-Saxon England in relation to sculpture. In trying to understand what was perceived and understood as 'Roman art', for instance, attention should be shifted from the figural to the non-figural, in order better to understand the manner in which visual repertoires from different cultures were deployed in the light of each other in Anglo-Saxon contexts, but also to enhance our understanding of non-figural art within Roman visual traditions, a type of art usually neglected in the study of the late-antique and Early Christian cultures of Rome.

By presenting a variety of examples of cultural and artistic transmission between Rome and Constantinople, in both directions, in the course of the ninth century, John Osborne challenges another traditional view, namely that Rome definitively broke with Byzantium by the late eighth century. Evidence from material and visual culture – with a focus on style, iconography, language, and technique – matches evidence from the political and ecclesiastical realm, revealing that the links between 'Old' and 'New' Rome (the first of the 'New Romes' one will encounter in this book) not only remained active, but were indeed substantially reinvigorated after the formal renunciation of iconoclasm in 843, with 'Old' Rome serving as a primary point of contact between the Latin and Greek cultures, and hence a vital site for the transmission of ideas.

Bill Day explores cultural transmissions and exchanges of ideas through coinage, across time from ancient Rome to the medieval period, and across space between Rome and Florence in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance. From the twelfth-century *denaro provisino* struck by the Roman Senate, which revived the ancient republican formula *Senatus Populusque Romanus* to the later Florentine gold *scudo* which displayed the legend *Senatus Populusque Florentinus* – no doubt to broadcast republican propaganda – Day shows that *romanitas* could also mean an idealized past permeated by republican values. Ancient Rome was not the only source of borrowings and appropriations, however: Trecento Rome was inspirational for the imagery on Florentine coins, whereas 'signed imitations' – effectively authentic translations in 'Roman language' of Florentine coins – were commissioned by contemporary popes in their

'new' Rome, Avignon: a true two-way exchange, favoured not only by the circulation of fast-moving objects such as coins, but also by the movement of highly specialized mint-masters and engravers.

The role of human agency in the transmission of ideas is one of the underlying themes of this book, running across the volume from section to section. The fifth section, in particular, highlights this aspect of the process, exploring the role of patrons and artists in the movement of ideas, with a focus on France and northern Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The three chapters in this section also offer an insight into the motivations that drive cultural dynamics and movement of art ideas, ranging from personal taste to more ideologically charged reasons, such as the promotion of great cults and the recreation of the past grandeur and authority of Rome in a contemporary court.

Julian Gardner demonstrates that the initial, immensely influential, impetus towards French forms in Rome derives from the initiative of French patrons – the cardinals at the papal curia and their executors – responsible for the creation of tomb sculpture innovatory in both detailing and design. Whereas Gardner examines Italian 'Frenchism' via means of a prosopographical approach, Paul Binski explores the other side of the coin – French 'Italianism', whose major contributing factor is usually seen in the removal of the papal court to Avignon in the early fourteenth century. By associating the 1297 arrival in Rome of a French painter on royal business with the fall of the Colonna, Binski is able to suggest an earlier date (the late 1290s) for the movement of artists from Rome to France and to propose a new explanation for French interest in Roman art at this time, to be found in the need for artistic ideas that could most successfully secure the promotion of the cult of the newly canonized royal saint, Louis IX. While highlighting the large-scale ideological forces at work behind the movement of 'art ideas', Binski shows that by the end of the 1290s the Roman revolution in painting and the associated promotion of mendicant cults in France and Italy may have had far broader and deeper implications for the development of western European art than has been supposed.

Louise Bourdua addresses the complex methodological conundrum of the respective roles of patrons, artists, and advisers in visual transmissions of ancient Roman works within a fourteenth-century court that aimed at associating itself with the magnificence and power of ancient Rome. Bourdua argues that the visual translations from classical models in the work of the Veronese painter Altichiero are more substantial than previously suggested. But what is even more important here is the exploration of what may account for such transmissions: the artist's direct visit to

Rome or the role played by the Carrara inner circle, an elite group of courtiers and humanists at the service of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara, ruler of Padua from 1355 to 1387. The question is inevitably bound to issues of perception and reception, demanding exploration of whether artists and literary people within the same circle saw objects, in particular Roman antiquities, in similar ways, and whether such borrowings were recognizable to contemporary viewers as derivations of the antique.

The final section investigates cultural transmission associated with papal jurisdiction. A crucial and distinctive feature of medieval Rome was the place of papal residence and activity, to the extent that 'Rome' throughout the Middle Ages often meant the institution of the Church. If the unifying theme of the first section of this book was the Christianization of Rome, through a translation of ideas from secular to Christian contexts, the natural conclusion for this volume is a section focusing on transmissions and exchanges associated with the papacy. Of course, this theme crosses the boundaries of its section and runs across the book from chapter to chapter – one need only remember Gardner's exploration of the impact of an international and cosmopolitan curia on art. However, this final section aims to centre specifically on transmissions associated with the nature of the papacy as an office, a position of administrative and governmental requirements.

In concentrating on those places where the popes resided during periods of itinerancy in the early thirteenth century, Brenda Bolton considers examples of cultural transmission between the city of Rome and the Patrimony of St Peter. With a focus on Viterbo as a case study, she explores the provisions made by Innocent III (1198–1216) in order to recreate in his new residence the liturgical, administrative, and ceremonial practices of Rome. Rather than adapted and transformed, Rome (its administrative structures, religious artifacts, and symbols) was literally 'imitated' and 'recreated' in Viterbo. The 'boundaries' of Rome, in terms of full papal jurisdiction, were the boundaries of the Patrimony: an imitation of Rome, a 'New Rome' proper, was only possible at this time within the Patrimony.

The Viterbo of Innocent III thus opened the way for the creation of the 'virtual Rome' which came to exist within the curia at Avignon during the fourteenth century. What made it possible for Viterbo to become a 'Roma secunda', a second seat of papal government, Bolton demonstrates, was Innocent's view that the primacy belonged to Peter himself (and to the pope who was his representative) and did not depend on where he resided. The papal intentions were soon matched by people's perceptions, if a contemporary visitor could state 'at long last I arrived in Viterbo and there I found Rome' (William of Andres).

Bolton's discussion of the increasingly expansive sense of Rome that the late-medieval papacy generates leads us to the concluding paper of the volume, which deploys church patronage as a lens through which to explore over space and time interactions and cultural exchanges involving a variety of actors, including the papal curia in Rome and Avignon, decretists, decretalists, judge-delegates, and the proctors actually engaged in ecclesiastical disputes. Historians of the later Middle Ages agree that one of the most dominant themes after the first millennium was the gradual centralization of papal authority, a process in which the development of canon law played an important role. However – as George Dameron shows – the law was not simply a blunt instrument of papal control and power. Cases of ecclesiastical patronage in Tuscany between 1100 and 1350 demonstrate that legal rules in and of themselves – quite apart from papal politics and strategic intentions – mattered to all parties concerned. In addition, they reveal that appeals to the papal court offered ways to resist papal provisions and thereby prevent the encroachment of papal power on the local level. Like other culturally significant examples of contacts and exchanges considered in this volume, appeals to the papal court at Rome and Avignon were complex, dialectical interchanges that allowed communities to shape and transform Roman traditions to fit local needs and demands.

The papers in this volume readdress a number of issues crucial to the notion of cultural transmission.[10] First of all the numerous examples of exchanges between 'centres' (Rome and Constantinople, Aachen, Paris, Florence, etc.) and between 'centre' and 'periphery' considered here involve a reexamination of the concepts of 'centre' and 'periphery' themselves. A revision of these notions was first offered by Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg in a seminal article which, however, focused on a different reality: that of Italian art from the late Middle Ages to the early modern period.[11] In the specific case of Rome, across the 'time' and 'space' covered by this volume, and across many branches of cultural studies, the notions of centre and periphery cannot be retained: indeed it is more productive to describe Rome as a crucial, influential, and receptive node in networks of exchanges rather than as a

[10] The issue of cultural transmission via translation of relics, which is central to the history of medieval Rome, has been intentionally left out of the discussion (though some essays refer tangentially to it). The reason for this is that this is a very well-studied aspect (in the work of Alan Thacker and in Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, to cite only two names), while this book aims at following new paths of enquiry.

[11] E. Castelnuovo and C. Ginzburg, 'Centro e periferia', in G. Previtali (ed.), *Storia dell'arte italiana. Parte prima: materiali e problemi*, 3 vols., vol. I: *Questioni e metodi* (Turin, 1979), pp. 283–352; Engl. trans. by E. Bianchini, in E. Bianchini and C. Dorey (eds.), *History of Italian Art*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1994), vol. II, pp. 29–113.

centre (the notion of 'centre' would inevitably imply an irradiating role and a marginal periphery). Even more importantly, the case studies analysed here – taken collectively – expand our understanding of medieval Rome itself as the product of such exchanges and interactions.

Exploring how travellers to Rome learnt not only from the Eternal City, but also from all the places they passed through on their journey, and from the ways in which those communities were assimilating and/or modifying Roman traditions, the contributors also focus attention on the process of 'inculturation' and learning during the journey.

Many of the essays in this book examine the phenomenon of the 'creation' of 'New Romes' (Viterbo, Florence, and Avignon have been discussed, in addition to Constantinople), contributing to the 'provisional and partial map of the *Romae secundae*', first traced by Settis in his pioneering article 'Continuità, distanza, conoscenza: tre usi dell'antico'.[12]

Finally, this volume offers the opportunity to reflect on the dynamics of cultural transmission: the intertwined dynamics of objects and ideas (objects carried – and thus transmitted – ideas, both formal and conceptual, and ideas often took the physical form of objects); and the dynamics of human agency. The role of living, thinking, and speaking people was crucial in the movement and exchange of both objects and ideas, thus bringing about cultural changes. Artists created; patrons commissioned; moneyers selected their model; disputants negotiated; scribes (mis-)transcribed; compilers synthesized, added, omitted; etc. They all travelled. The historical and political specificity of each act of cultural encounter, appropriation, and transmutation, which emerges from the different case studies, illuminates some of the complex and nuanced processes by which meaning is transformed as a consequence of cultural transmission. Of course, the topic is by no means exhausted, and it is hoped that this volume opens up a fresh and inspiring field of enquiry.

[12] S. Settis, 'Continuità, distanza, conoscenza: tre usi dell'antico', in S. Settis (ed.), *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, vol. III: *Dalla tradizione all'archeologia* (Turin, 1986), pp. 373–486.

7 Building *more romano* in Francia during the third quarter of the eighth century: the abbey church of Saint-Denis and its model

Judson J. Emerick

An early Carolingian abbey church built *more romano*

Art historians have long treated the church that Abbot Fulrad (750–84), King Pippin III (751–68), and Charlemagne (768–814) built at the royal Frankish abbey of Saint-Denis, dedicated in 775, as key to understanding the Carolingian *Renovatio* as a cultural programme. They see this first major building project of the new ruling dynasty as a kind of political manifesto. In a famous 1942 essay, Richard Krautheimer argued that the early Carolingian church at Saint-Denis had been built *more romano* (in the Roman manner) as an 'effigy' of the T-shaped basilica that the Emperor Constantine (306–37) had erected at the tomb of Peter in Rome.[1] The early Carolingian abbey church may have been much smaller than Constantine's complex at the Vatican, but it too had a columnar basilica (three aisles at Saint-Denis; five at the Vatican) culminating in a continuous transept focused at the centre by a semi-circular apse (Fig. 7.1). Krautheimer argued that medieval builders sought out such formal references deliberately.[2] Thus in 1942, noting how at Saint-Denis the early Carolingian builders strove to revive or renew an Early Christian, Roman, *Constantinian* model, Krautheimer could sum up stating that the real content of the Carolingian *Renovatio* was evident right at its outset: Saint-Denis's sponsors clearly hoped to revive or renew Constantine's *Imperium Christianum*.[3] For nearly seventy years now this interpretive idea (or architectural iconographical analysis) has generally anchored our histories of Carolingian architecture.[4]

[1] R. Krautheimer, 'The Carolingian revival of Early Christian architecture,' *The Art Bulletin* 24 (1942), pp. 1–38, at pp. 11–12.
[2] R. Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), pp. 1–33.
[3] Krautheimer, 'Carolingian revival', pp. 36–8.
[4] Compare recently, for example, R. Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (Oxford, 1999), chap. 2 and passim; or C. B. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture. Building in*

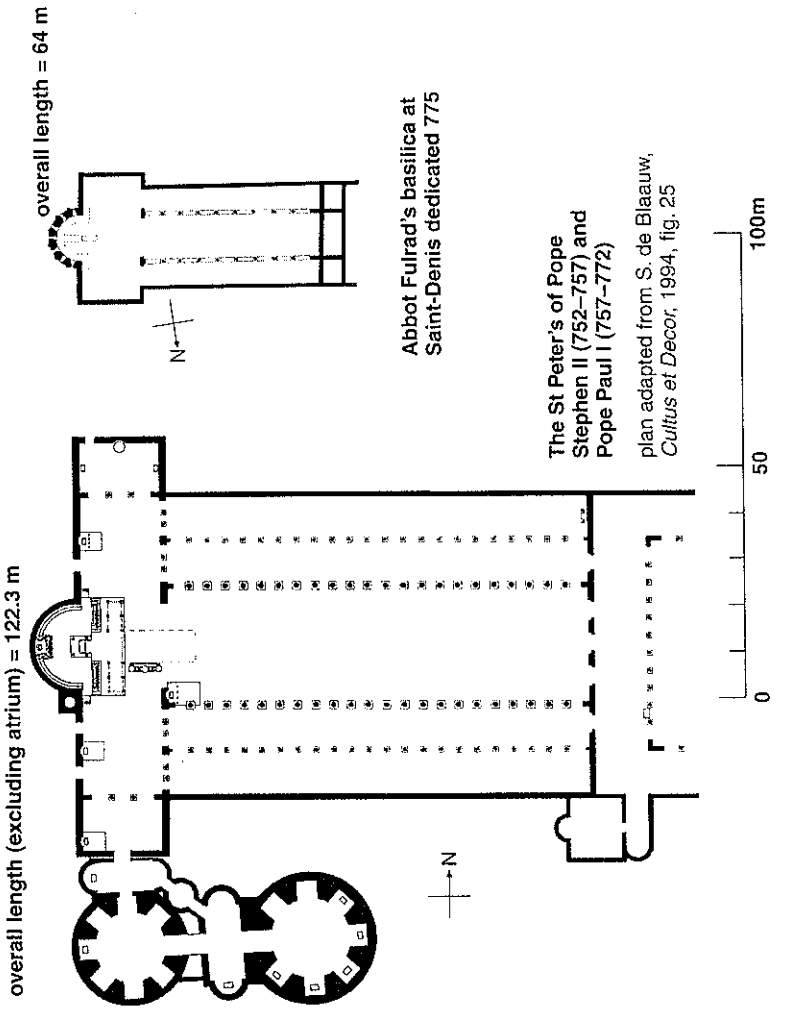


Fig. 7.1. Plans: St Peter's and the main abbey church at Saint-Denis to the same scale

But accepting this consensus means setting aside the studies of Saint-Denis that problematize the *Renovatio* Krautheimer described – especially Werner Jacobsen's contributions during the last quarter century.[5] Jacobsen, it is true, retained an important aspect of Krautheimer's analysis throughout. Although he argued that *liturgical* concerns played a much more important role in Carolingian architecture than the iconographical initiatives, and claimed that Carolingian builders tried various formal solutions as the liturgy they sought to stage in their new churches followed local Frankish or imported Roman precedent,[6] he still granted Krautheimer's iconographical analysis of the church at Saint-Denis, agreeing that the T-shaped basilica dedicated there in 775 *did* count as a formal, architectural revival – as an *imitatio* of an Early Christian, Constantinian model, that is, of Old St Peter's.[7] But this *Renovatio*, he insisted, was inchoate and utterly isolated, without any immediate resonances in building projects that Charlemagne and the elites of his realm undertook during the next two decades and more. In other words, while accepting Krautheimer's conclusion that Saint-Denis had been built *more romano*,[8] Jacobsen could not make that project underpin any of his histories of Carolingian architecture.[9]

Jacobsen's scruples and hesitations point up nagging problems that still dog our assessment of the T-shaped church at Saint-Denis. Let me attempt here, therefore, a new reading of the early Carolingian monument that I hope will better coordinate its 'architectural iconography'

Europe, AD 600–900 (New Haven and London, 2005), chap. 5 and pp. 86–90 on Saint-Denis.

[5] W. Jacobsen, 'Saint-Denis in neuem Licht: Konsequenzen der neuentdeckten Baubeschreibung aus dem Jahre 799', *Kunstchronik* (1983), pp. 301–8; Jacobsen, 'Die Abteikirche von Saint-Denis als kunstgeschichtliches Problem', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie. Les Pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, 2 vols. (Sigmaringen, 1989), vol. II, pp. 151–84. Also W. Jacobsen, 'Gab es die karolingische "Renaissance" in der Baukunst?', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 51 (1988), pp. 313–47; Jacobsen, 'Saints' tombs in Frankish church architecture', *Speculum* 72 (1997), pp. 1107–43; Jacobsen, 'Die Renaissance der frühchristlichen Architektur in der Karolingerzeit', in C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff (eds.), *799 – Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, 3 vols. (Mainz, 1999), vol. III, pp. 623–42.

[6] See the convenient summary in Jacobsen, 'Die Renaissance der frühchristlichen Architektur in der Karolingerzeit', pp. 631 and 636–8. For his doubts about the significance of formal, architectural iconographical analysis see the conclusion to his 'Saints' tombs', pp. 1142–3.

[7] Jacobsen, 'Die Abtei Kirche von Saint-Denis', pp. 175–84.

[8] Jacobsen, 'Gab es die karolingische "Renaissance" in der Baukunst', pp. 321–3 and passim.

[9] For example, Jacobsen, 'Saints' tombs', never mentions the *early Carolingian* church at Saint-Denis and its ring crypt even though his study spans Frankish architecture from the fifth to the ninth century and has a section devoted to crypts built *more romano* (pp. 1134–9).

with its undeniable religious, political, and cultural importance in the Carolingian world. I shall argue that the early Carolingian builders at Saint-Denis did not aim at any revival at all. To be sure, they did seek to emulate Old St Peter's, and no doubt memories of Constantine, its putative Early Christian builder, did linger there for them. But by the third quarter of the eighth century new patrons and sponsors, namely the popes, had taken over. They had transformed Constantine's old Vatican complex (with its martyrium for Peter and attached cemetery basilica) into Rome's foremost centre for the worship of the saints, then used it as a stage to display themselves as priests, that is, as religious leaders. In the process, they invested it with new associations and new meanings. The eighth-century Frankish leaders who built at Saint-Denis focused mainly on this *contemporary*, early medieval, papal monument.

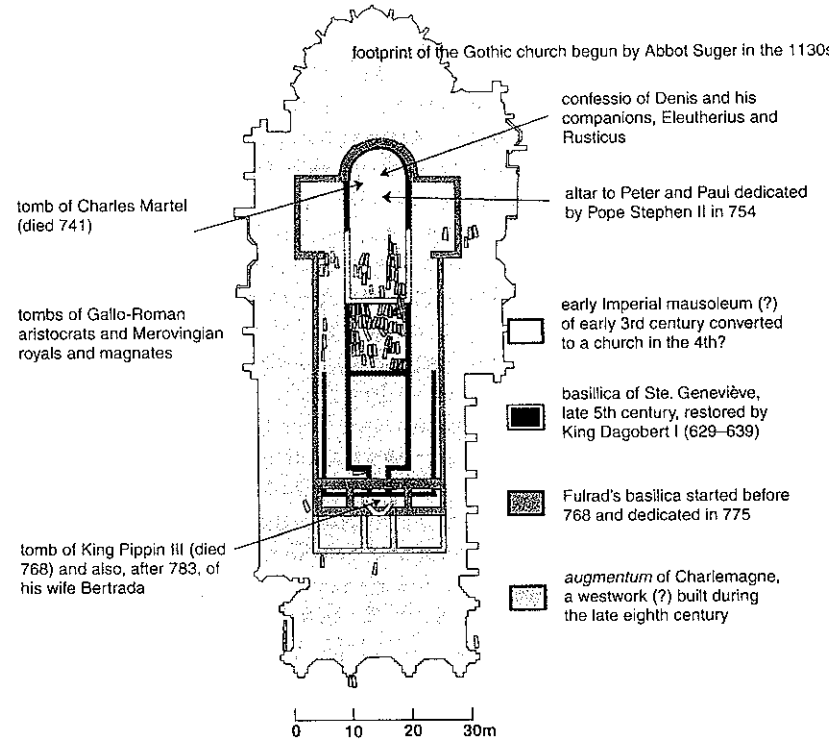
These Frankish leaders had special reasons for doing so. Who were these patrons of Saint-Denis? How did they hope to use the abbey?

Saint-Denis, a royal monastery

The sanctuary of Saint-Denis, which rose up in an early imperial *castellum* some six miles north of Paris's Île-de-la-Cité on the ancient road leading to Rouen, had a long history already when, for the first time, in a life of Paris's patron saint, Geneviève, written in the 520s, we hear of Denis, the third-century protomartyr and first bishop of Paris.[10] Geneviève is said to have pushed the Parisian clergy to promote Denis's cult by constructing a large church in his honour, a basilica *ad corpus* apparently, to rise in the early imperial suburban cemetery where Denis's remains had long been honoured (Fig. 7.2). Geneviève was active during the last half of the fifth century, that is, right through the time that saw the Merovingian Frankish takeover in Gaul under King Clovis I (481–511). Since the surviving foundation walls of a three-aisled, 60-metre long, covered cemetery at Saint-Denis may be dated to precisely that time – these walls sit beneath and thus predate some Gallo-Frankish tombs whose contents seem to have originated in the early sixth century – most scholars now identify the church in question as the 'Geneviève basilica'.[11] This structure apparently expanded upon an earlier one in the old cemetery, possibly an early imperial mausoleum, as shown by the fact that the tombs within, aligned with its walls, could be dated back to the third century.

[10] *Vita sanctae Genovefae verginis Parisiensis*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM*, III (Hanover, 1896), pp. 215–38; W.S. van Egmond, *Conversing with the Saints, Communication in Pre-Carolingian Hagiography from Auxerre* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 107–27.

[11] M. Wyss, *Atlas historique de Saint-Denis. Des origines au XVIIIe siècle*, Documents d'archéologie française 59 (Paris, 1996), pp. 30–2.



plan adapted from A. Bossoutrot; see M. Wyss, *Atlas historique de Saint-Denis* (1996)

Fig. 7.2. Plan: Saint-Denis' sanctuary from its origins to the thirteenth century

Was this building appropriated by Early Christians in the course of the fourth century?[12]

Geneviève leads priests and other members of the Parisian clergy, not the bishop, to build at Denis's tomb.[13] But by thus focusing on Paris's 'first bishop' the legend of course underpins the idea of episcopal leadership and *potestas* throughout. As a local pilgrimage site and covered cemetery, the Geneviève basilica was doubtless overseen and administered by the bishop of Paris from the earliest moment onward. He may well have

[12] Wyss, *Atlas*, 28–9, for the archaeological investigations (with bibliography).

[13] J. Semmler, 'Saint-Denis, von der bischöflichen Coemeterialbasilika zur königlichen Benediktinerabtei,' in Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie*, vol. II, pp. 75–123.

arranged for its doorkeepers and guardians, and for clergy to lead offices before the tombs of the saints, and not only at Denis's tomb, but at those of his two companions too, the deacons and/or priests associated with his mission to Paris from Rome, named Eleutherius and Rusticus. They appear in legend during the course of the sixth century – first recorded in a redaction of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* made during the 590s.[14] Towards the end of the sixth century, as relic cults began to multiply at the sanctuary, a sure sign of its rising religious prominence, we find the secular grandees and magnates of the Merovingian Frankish realm becoming ever more occupied with its enterprise, that is, more and more engaged with the symbols of episcopal power in the Parisian territory. That is what the find in 1959 of a richly appointed tomb inside the Geneviève basilica apparently shows – that the church of Saint-Denis early became a Merovingian royal mausoleum. Most now believe that the 'Arnegundis regina' named on the famous thumb-ring from this tomb belonged to the Merovingian queen Aregund, one of the wives of King Chlotar I (d. 561) and mother of Chilperic I (561–84): Aregund died sometime between 580 and 583.[15] Increasingly, devotion to Saint Denis and attention to his martyrium became *royal* Merovingian prerogatives.[16] By the early seventh century the Frankish King Chlotar II (584–629) had declared Denis his 'peculiar patron',[17] and Chlotar's son, Dagobert (629–39), had linked himself and his house emphatically with the sanctuary, using it to engage in the religio-political life of his realm.[18]

Dagobert was attracted by the monks at Saint-Denis whose prayers could serve the royal family in this world and the next. By the 630s monks had indeed taken over from the former doorkeepers and cemetery guardians, and organized prayer had become the shrine's raison d'être.[19]

[14] *MH*, ed. G.B. de Rossi and L. Duchesne, *Acta sanctorum Novembris*, vol. II, *Pars prior* (Brussels, 1894), entry for 9 October, p. 130:

PARISIUS, Natal(icia) ss. Dionisi episcopi, Eleutherii presbiteri et Rustici diaconi

On the *MH*'s date and places of origin, see van Egmond, *Conversing with the Saints*, chap. 4, esp. pp. 71–4.

[15] See now V. Gallien, P. Périn, *et al.*, 'La tombe d'Arégonde à Saint-Denis: Bilan des recherches menées sur les restes organique humain, animaux et végetaux retrouvés en 2003', in A. Alduc-Le-Bagousse (ed.), *Inhumations de prestige ou prestige de l'inhumation. Expressions du pouvoir dans l'au-delà (IVe–XVe siècle)* (Caen, 2009), pp. 203–26 (with bibliography).

[16] K.H. Krüger, *Königsgrabkirchen der Franken, Angelsachsen und Langobarden bis zur Mitte des 8. Jarhhunderts*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 4 (Munich, 1971), pp. 171–89, esp. pp. 179–81 (= catalogue of burials at the site of important members of the Neustrian Merovingian house).

[17] A. Bruckner and R. Marichal (eds.), *Chartae latinae antiquiores*, 46 vols. (Lausanne and Dietikon-Zurich, 1954–96), vol. XIII, pp. 6–7, no. 550.

[18] Semmler, 'Coemeterialbasilika zur Benediktinerabtei', pp. 81–3.

[19] L. Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne. II: Les origines de St Denis', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 86 (1925), pp. 5–99. Saint-Denis comprised a *laura* with monks living individually in cells disposed haphazardly around the church, following the custom of St Martin of Tours.

The king thus undertook to enhance the monastic establishment there. He restored the Geneviève basilica and magnified and re-staged the tomb of Denis in its apse,[20] and he may also have enlarged, enhanced, or erected a new series of claustral buildings as well.[21] To increase the number of monks available to perform perpetual psalmody day and night for himself and his royal house,[22] he provided the growing monastery with many gifts of property in the Paris region and beyond. Dagobert also established the abbey's first great commercial fair, which opened each year with the celebration of Denis's *natalicium* on 9 October and ran for seven weeks thereafter,[23] then ensured that its profits went exclusively to the abbey.[24] Here the king not only relinquished his own right to the tolls (as his gift to Saint-Denis), but also cut off others from claiming them – other secular magnates to be sure, but especially the bishop of Paris. By so doing Dagobert helped establish the abbey as a separate religious entity in the diocese with its own sources of income distinct from that of the cathedral; and as chief patron of the abbey, he also assumed a bishop-like role as religious leader.[25] At his death in 639 he was buried in the abbey's main basilica,[26] and this act helped fix these events in memory and set the die for the future. As the

[20] Jacobsen, 'Saint's tombs in Frankish church architecture', pp. 1109–10.

[21] Levillain, 'Études sur Saint-Denis, II'; J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 126–31; Wyss, *Atlas*, pp. 30–2; and Semmler, 'Coemeterialbasilika zur Beneditinerabtei' (1989), pp. 82–3. By the mid seventh century, monks at Saint-Denis, now cloistered, followed a mixed rule influenced by both insular and Mediterranean models (the rules of Columbanus at Luxeuil and of Benedict at Montecassino).

[22] On the model of the monastery at Saint-Maurice d'Agaune; see Semmler, 'Coemeterialbasilika zur Beneditinerabtei', p. 83; A.W. Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 9–18; and now B.H. Rosenwein, 'Perennial Prayer at Agaune', in S. Farmer and B.H. Rosenwein (eds.), *Monks, Nuns, Saints and Outcasts* (Ithaca, 2000), pp. 37–56; Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London, 2001), pp. 35–7.

[23] Two others, St Matthias's in February and the famous Lendit in mid June, were instituted towards the end of the ninth century; see S. McKnight Crosby/P.Z. Blum, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis* (New Haven and London, 1987), pp. 47 and 113–14, citing (mainly) L. Levillain, 'Essai sur les origines du Lendit', *Revue historique* 155 (1927), pp. 241–76, and Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne. IV: Les documents d'histoire économique', *Bibliothèque de l' École des chartes* 91 (1930), pp. 5–65 and 264–300.

[24] Levillain, 'Documents d'histoire économique', pp. 10–14; Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, pp. 128–9; and now J. Semmler, 'Verdient um das karolingische Königtum und den werdenden Kirchenstaat: Fulrad von Saint-Denis', in O. Münsch and T.L. Zotz (eds.), *Scientia veritatis. Festschrift für Hubert Mordek zum 65. Geburtstag* (Ostfildern, 2004), pp. 91–115, esp. pp. 108–15 on Saint-Denis's privileges as landlord.

[25] B.H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space. Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1999), pp. 63–4.

[26] *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* II, *Liber IV, Continuationes*, chap. 79, p. 161; also attested in a charter of Clovis II in favour of Saint-Denis, see *Chartae latinae antiquiores* XIII (1981), doc. 558 (22 June 654).

Pippinid/Arnulfing family from Austrasia triumphed as mayors of the palace in Neustria in the eighth century, both Charles Martel, and then his son, Pippin III, who usurped royal power from the Merovingians in 751 to become the first Carolingian king, would follow in Dagobert's footsteps to take up patronage of Saint-Denis,[27] making the abbey into a Frankish royal mausoleum.[28] Charles Martel, to be sure, was buried programmatically in imitation of Dagobert in the Geneviève basilica.[29] But Pippin III had the dignity of being buried in a new church there.[30]

Of course, the shrine of Saint-Denis helped stage the Frankish rulers as leaders in the church of God, much as the late-antique emperors had pretended to be.[31] This is an old pattern. One recalls the imperial mausoleum in Constantinople at the Holy Apostles, founded by Constantine,[32] or the Basilica Apostolorum in Milan, which Bishop Ambrose built at the end of the fourth century in imitation.[33] In each of these, burial associated the emperor (or members of his family) with a martyrium – with saints' actual tombs and/or memorials. The martyria in question had no parishes nor pastoral clergy, or at least not at the outset. But at Saint-Denis, burial linked the Frankish kings with a sanctuary that combined a martyrium with a parish church. Years ago Léon Levillain explained that from Early Christian times onward the tomb of Denis had focused the worship of lay people in a rural parish, the *vicus* of Saint-Denis on the outskirts of Paris, and that the main basilica at the abbey retained this aspect of its lay status down through the early Middle Ages.[34] From the middle of the seventh century onward, as the monastery grew in importance and abbots took over leadership, they also took charge of a *basilican clergy* there that provided sacraments for lay people, both the

[27] Wallace-Hadrill, *Frankish Church*, pp. 131–42; compare now R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 43–9, 57–136 (= chap. 2 on the rise of the Carolingians) and here esp. pp. 69–75; also pp. 198–9 and 217 for the charters of Charlemagne in favour of Saint-Denis.

[28] Krüger, *Königsgrabkirchen*, pp. 31, 35, and 181–3; and J.L. Nelson, 'Carolingian royal funerals', in F. Theuws and J.L. Nelson (eds.), *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 131–84, esp. pp. 141–2.

[29] *Fredegarii ... Liber IV, Continuationes*, ed. Krusch, chap. 24, p. 179; Krüger, *Königsgrabkirchen*, p. 181; A. Dierkens, 'La mort, les funérailles et la tombe du roi Pépin le Bref (768)', *Médiévales* 31 (1996), pp. 37–51, esp. p. 41.

[30] *Fredegarii... Liber IV, Continuationes*, ed. Krusch, chap. 53, p. 193; *Annales regni francorum*, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH SRG* 6 (Hanover, 1895), anno 768, pp. 27–8; Krüger, *Königsgrabkirchen*, p. 182; Dierkens, 'La tombe de Pépin le Bref'.

[31] J. Roldanus, *The Church in the Age of Constantine. The Theological Challenges* (London and New York, 2006), esp. chap. 2.

[32] Cyril Mango, 'Constantine's mausoleum and the translation of relics', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1990), pp. 51–62.

[33] Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals. Topography and Politics* (Berkeley, LA, and London, 1983), pp. 80–1.

[34] Levillain, 'Études sur Saint-Denis, II', p. 98.

local parishioners, and the pilgrims from all over western Europe who were coming in ever greater numbers to pray at the tombs of Denis, Eleutherius, and Rusticus. Indeed, from the seventh century on down through the eighth, as the cult of relics grew rapidly in the Latin-speaking Christian world, Saint-Denis rose to such prominence *as a church* in the Parisian diocese that it came to rival the cathedral.[35] As a martyrium of great distinction, certainly, but also as a church with priests serving both a local diocesan, and a far-flung, supra-diocesan, lay audience, the abbey could provide its patrons very special opportunities.

Merovingian and Carolingian rulers used Saint-Denis to enhance their rulership by offering the abbey gifts, privileges, protection, and especially *immunity* from episcopal control. Dagobert I began the process, but Clovis II and his vigorous queen, Bathild, pushed it forward dramatically when, in 653–4, they arranged for Bishop Landeric of Paris to give up his rights to requisition Saint-Denis' valuable properties.[36] Here lay ruler, bishop, and abbot appeared to cooperate to ensure and enhance the monastery's integrity as a holy site: huge new barriers went up to protect Denis's sacrosanct tomb. The immunity networked all parties concerned in a series of mutually advantageous exchanges, and both blurred and defined roles.[37] The king and queen emerged as church leaders and acted to force a much stricter rule upon the monks.[38] It is true that during the later seventh and the first four decades of the eighth century (to the death of Charles Martel), Merovingian kings in Neustria, and especially their mayors, pushed hard to dominate the abbey and thus disturbed the reciprocities instituted earlier.[39] But as Pippin III took over after 741, then usurped Merovingian kingship between 751 and 754,[40]

[35] Semmler, 'Coemeterialbasilika zur Benediktinerabtei', pp. 96–7.

[36] *Chartae antiquiores latinae* XIII (1981), no. 558 (22 June 654), compare no. 555 (datable to the reign of Clovis II, 639–57); Semmler, 'Coemeterialbasilika zur Benediktinerabtei', pp. 85–7.

[37] Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 74–96, esp. pp. 76–81.

[38] Especially Bathild, after 657, when she became regent for her young son, Chlotar III. See J.L. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels: The careers of Brunhild and Bathild in Merovingian history,' in D. Baker (ed.), *Medieval Women. Dedicated and Presented to Professor Rosalind M.T. Hill on the Occasion of her Seventieth Birthday*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 1 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 31–77; Robertson, *Service-Books*, pp. 19–24; Hen, *Royal Patronage*, pp. 37–41.

[39] Did mayor-of-the-palace Charles Martel (715–41) confirm Clovis II's exemption for Saint-Denis in a charter he issued on 1 March 724? Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, p. 133, and Semmler, 'Coemeterialbasilika zur Benediktinerabtei', p. 92, both thought so. However, the diploma was forged at Saint-Denis shortly after Pippin III's death; see C. Brühl and T. Kölzer (eds.), *MGH, Diplomata Regum Francorum e Stirpe Merovingica* (Hanover, 2001), pp. 458–62, doc. 185.

[40] R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 133–55; M. Becher and J. Jarnut (eds.), *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751. Vorgeschichte,*

he issued a series of charters to re-establish Saint-Denis's privileges and confirm all the prior gifts and exemptions of his *Merovingian* royal predecessors.[41] When Pippin's sons, Carloman (d. 771) and Charlemagne, took over rule of the Franks after Pippin's death in 768 they not only confirmed their father's gifts to Saint-Denis but granted gifts and privileges of their own, following a path that Pippin III had already blazed.[42] But the Carolingian kings exceeded the Merovingian, not just in the extent of their gifts, but in the way those gifts magnified Saint-Denis as a royal monastery.

Their sponsorship helped produce Fulrad, the first great abbot of Saint-Denis,[43] who served from around 749 or 750 until his death in 784. It was Fulrad who managed, extraordinarily, to have the *pope* reconfirm and secure his monastery's immunity from episcopal control.[44]

Fulrad was Pippin III's friend and political adviser, and he travelled extensively between Carolingian Francia and the papal court, while also overseeing the Franco-papal military campaigns in central Italy against the Lombards.[45] Suffice it to say that, early on, King Pippin III recognized Fulrad's support by conferring the abbacy of Saint-Denis upon him, and in 757, after Fulrad's great services in Italy to both king and pope, Pope Stephen II (752–57) rewarded him with the unusual privilege, already mentioned, that allowed him, personally, to found monasteries on Saint-Denis's property and administer them in the fullest independence from the oversight of any local bishop.[46]

Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung (Münster, 2004); and McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 292–3.

[41] For example, *Chartae latinae antiquiores* XV (1986), nos. 598 (8 July 753); 599 (29 July 755); 602 (23 September 768); and 603 (September 768). McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 75.

[42] For Carloman's grants in favour of Saint-Denis see *Chartae latinae antiquiores* XV (1986), nos. 605 and 606 (both dated January 769); for Charlemagne's gifts, nos. 608 (13 January 769), 615 (25 February 775), 616 (14 March 775), and 618 (26 June 775).

[43] The monastery's second great abbot? See G. Annas, 'Abt Suger von Saint-Denis (um 1081–1151), eine historisch-biographische Skizze', in A. Speer and G. Binding (eds.), *Abt Suger von Saint-Denis, Ausgewählte Schriften. Ordinatio, De consecratione, De administratione* (Darmstadt, 2000), pp. 67–111.

[44] A.J. Stoclet, 'Fulrad de Saint-Denis (v. 710–784), abbé et archiprêtre de monastères "exempts"', *Le Moyen Âge* 88 (1982), pp. 205–35; Stoclet, *Autour de Fulrad de Saint-Denis (v. 710–784)* (Geneva, 1993); Robertson, *Service-Books*, pp. 29–31; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 97–134, esp. pp. 106–9; Semmler, 'Verdient um das karolingische Königtum', pp. 91–115.

[45] See still T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St Peter. The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984), chaps. 3–5, esp. pp. 91–2 and 101–2.

[46] P. Jaffe and P. Ewald (eds.), *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ... ab anno DXC usque ad annum DCCCLXXXII*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885–88), vol. I, doc. no. 2331 (in two versions, A and B). H.H. Anton, *Studien zu den Klosterprivilegien der Päpste im Frühen Mittelalter*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters IV (Berlin and New York, 1975), p. 88 and passim. In 'Fulrad ... abbé et archiprêtre', pp. 234–5, Stoclet provides a critical edition of version A.

Fulrad took advantage of this extraordinary benefice to extend his own reach as a leader. He operated his new monasteries, located on the eastern Frankish frontier in Alsace-Lorraine and Alemannia, as *Eigenkirchen*. Equipped with precious relics and functioning as foci for local pilgrimage, these were valuable properties, and Fulrad profited by taking a portion of the offerings at their altars. But as abbot of Saint-Denis, Fulrad's personal property also belonged to the monastery he led,[47] something that became quite apparent in the way he arranged to provide pastoral services at his new foundations. Fulrad obtained approval from Pope Stephen II to establish a 'cloister bishop' at the mother abbey, Saint-Denis, a bishop-without-a-seat (or diocese) who provided pastoral services for pilgrims throughout the san-dionysian network of sanctuaries. This was immunity from local (or diocesan) episcopal control of the most expansive, exceptional kind. But the fact that two years after Fulrad's death, in 786, Pope Hadrian I reconfirmed the immunity granted by Pope Stephen II for Fulrad's successor at Saint-Denis, Abbot Maginarius,[48] shows how such arrangements, which underpinned the Carolingian royal monastery as an institution, might be quite thoroughly *naturalized* in the Frankish church.[49]

Fulrad thus not only rose to great prominence in the *ecclesia Parisiensis*, but in an *ecclesia* that we have every reason to construe as identical to the Frankish realm, ruled by Fulrad's great royal protectors, Pippin III and Charlemagne.[50] Though an abbot, Fulrad nevertheless moved among and advised bishops in the Frankish church and thus took on what amounted to a supra-diocesan administrative role as if he were a kind of bishop. To be sure, Fulrad never became one,[51] but he did claim the next highest such priestly office in the emerging Frankish *Kirchenstaat*. As *archipresbyter* – and Pope Hadrian even distinguished him as 'arch-priest of Francia' (*Franciae archipresbiter*)[52] – he

[47] In 777, Fulrad drew up a last will and testament in which he gave all 'his' monasteries to Saint-Denis – as daughter-houses to the mother-house. See *Chartae latinae antiquiores* XVI (1986), nos. 622, 623, and 624. A.J. Stoclet, *Autour de Fulrad de Saint-Denis (v. 710–784)* (Geneva, 1993) devoted an extensive study to it.

[48] Jaffe and Ewald (eds.), *Regesta*, doc. no. 2554.

[49] Semmler, 'Verdient um das karolingische Königtum', pp. 98–107.

[50] See now Mayke de Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity', in S. Airlie, W. Pohl, and H. Reimitz (eds.), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 334 (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters II) (Vienna, 2006), pp. 113–32.

[51] Semmler, 'Verdient um das karolingische Königtum', pp. 100–2.

[52] Jaffe and Ewald (eds.), *Regesta*, doc. no. 2417; Stoclet, 'Fulrad ... abbé et archiprêtre', p. 210.

served as Pippin's, then Charlemagne's *capellanus regis* or archchaplain.[53] Twenty-five years ago, in a masterful study on the Frankish church, J.M.Wallace-Hadrill argued that the immunities that the Frankish secular patrons (kings, queens, mayors of the palace) sought for the abbots of the great monasteries they supported, and especially Saint-Denis, were intended to enhance *clerical* pastoral effectiveness in the territories they ruled.[54] With Fulrad's career, we see vividly how this actually worked.

Thus I hypothesize that Fulrad's church at Saint-Denis, the one that replaced the Geneviève basilica, did not just stage the abbey's monastic and secular patrons as leaders in God's church, but also as bishops of a sort, as leaders who might pose as God's earthly vicars.

Fulrad's basilica: written records, archaeological finds

Charlemagne dedicated Fulrad's church on 25 February 775 – a diploma recounts this[55] – but no one can be quite sure when it was begun. In the document just cited, Charlemagne takes full credit for the new building, but in the early 830s, when the monks of Saint-Denis recorded their patron's various miracles, they stated instead that King Pippin III had begun the work, and Charlemagne had finished it.[56] For a long while most scholars judged that Fulrad and his royal sponsor Pippin must have started building around 750, basing their argument on a letter that Emperor Louis the Pious had written to Abbot Hilduin at Saint-Denis towards the year 835. Two pieces of information, deemed precious in this context, come from it. The letter relates that when Pope Stephen II anointed Pippin III as king of the Franks at Saint-Denis on 28 July 754, Stephen also dedicated an altar to Peter and Paul directly in front of the tomb of Denis, *ante sepulchrum ... domni Dionisii*. Secondly, it tells that when Pippin died in 768 he was buried at the 'edge' of Saint-Denis, *ante limina basilicae sanctorum martyrum*.[57] Thus many supposed that Fulrad must have started his new basilica soon after Pippin had made him abbot (in 749 or 750) since he, Fulrad, had already completed its choir by 754.

[53] Semmler, 'Verdient um das karolingische Königtum', pp. 107–8.

[54] Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, chaps. 8 and 10, esp. pp. 171–8.

[55] *Chartae latinae antiquiores* XV, pp. 90–1, no. 615: *a novo aedificavimus opere et modo cum magno decore iussimus dedicare.*

[56] *Miracula Sancti Dionysii*, ed. J. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti, saeculum III, pars secundum* (Paris, 1672), pp. 343–64, at p. 347 (Book I, chap. 14). Wyss, *Atlas*, pp. 38–43, at p. 42. Also L. Levillain, 'Les sources narratives. Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 82 (1921), pp. 5–116.

[57] *Epistolae karolini aevi III*, ed. E. Dummler, *MGH Epp.* V, (Berlin, 1899), no. 19 on pp. 325–7, esp. lines 26–35 on p. 326.

Construction must have proceeded from east to west by stages, and the new basilica must have come a long way toward completion when Pippin died in 768 and was buried at its 'edge', presumably its western entry. Carloman and Charlemagne would then have taken over. Carloman died in 771, but Charlemagne would have continued and finished in 775. The whole project would have spanned some twenty-five years.[58] But in the early 1980s, new evidence came to light, namely a two-page description of Fulrad's basilica written by an anonymous monk of Saint-Denis in 799,[59] that many thought quite trumped what could be gleaned from the *Miracula* and the letter of Louis the Pious. In 1983, Werner Jacobsen claimed that the so-called *Descriptio 799* recounted clearly – he said 'obviously' – that, at Pippin III's command, his sons Carloman and Charlemagne had built the new church, and that they did so after Pippin's death.[60] Arguing that a quarter century was a long time for a Carolingian building project – most such were begun and completed in seven to ten years – Jacobsen concluded that Fulrad's basilica must have been constructed during the first seven years of Charlemagne's reign, in other words between 768 and 775.[61]

But this dating proposal depends entirely upon the directness and clarity of the passage in question, and that has been disputed from the start. Alain Stoclet has argued convincingly that this passage echoed more or less *unfaithfully* the text of a dedicatory *titulus* for Fulrad's church, which the writer of the *Descriptio* had interpolated, garbling its Latin grammar in the process, and dropping an important verb crucial for its import.[62] In the end this record does *not* so clearly trump or override the other evidence for the date of the building in question.

Recently Charles McClendon warned that Pope Stephen II's dedication of an altar in Saint-Denis's choir in 754 can hardly be taken as evidence that Fulrad and Pippin had already begun building a new church, since the pope could just as well have dedicated this altar in the former

[58] Thus L. Levillain in 'L'église carolingienne de Saint-Denis', *Bulletin monumental* 71 (1907), pp. 211–62, esp. pp. 220–1; and others, for example Crosby-Blum, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 51–83, esp. p. 52.

[59] Reichenau (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. CCXXXVIII, fols. 159v–160). For critical editions see A.J. Stoclet, 'La *Descriptio basilicae sancti Dyonisii*, Premiers commentaires', *Journal des Savants* (1980), pp. 103–17; and B. Bischoff, 'Eine Beschreibung der Basilika von Saint-Denis aus dem Jahre 799', *Kunstchronik* 34 (1981), pp. 97–103.

[60] Jacobsen, "Konsequenzen der neuentdeckten Baubeschreibung aus dem Jahre 799', p. 306.

[61] Both Wyss, *Atlas*, p. 33, and McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 86, accept Jacobsen's arguments.

[62] Wyss, *Atlas*, p. 35; for the *Descriptio 799* and in parallel columns, revealingly, the translations of Bischoff and Stoclet. Also Dierkens, 'La tombe de Pépin le Bref', pp. 46–8.

Geneviève basilica.[63] But the tradition recorded in the early ninth-century *Miracula sancti Dionysii*, that Pippin began the building and Charlemagne finished it, still stands. So even if no documentary evidence now available establishes *precisely* when Fulrad began work, I conclude that, given Pippin's vigorous sponsorship of the abbey, he must have joined with Fulrad to start the project sometime before his death in 768.[64]

When Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis built his famous two-tower façade at the west entry to Fulrad's basilica in the 1130s and early 1140s, he was constrained, he reported, to dismantle an *augmentum* that many believed Charlemagne had built there. Suger went on to tell that Charlemagne thus memorialized the tomb of his father, who had arranged to be buried *extra in introitu valvarum* (outside at the entrance with the doors) face downward, and not on his back, in order to do penance for the sins of his father, Charles Martel.[65] This notice from the early twelfth century, together with the information from Louis the Pious's letter that Pippin III was buried *ante limina basilicae*, provide the basis for thinking that Pippin was indeed buried in 768 at the main west entry to Fulrad's basilica.[66] Recent archaeological findings help clarify the matter. In 2002, Michael Wyss and Werner Jacobsen identified the foundations of a structure that had rested directly upon and next to Fulrad's basilica, that still survived beneath the existing early Gothic *massif occidental*, and that hence could correspond to the addition mentioned by Suger.[67] To be sure, Wyss's and Jacobsen's study revealed masonry from *five* distinct west ends or entry structures – one linked with the Geneviève basilica, a second associated with Fulrad's basilica finished in 775, a third and a fourth, and finally, fifth, Suger's early Gothic narthex. The third, Wyss and Jacobsen concluded, could well have dated to Carolingian times, and its walls, they thought, could have underpinned a westwork (presumably the *augmentum* attributed to Charlemagne by Suger). But Suger would actually have seen the fourth entry structure. Did this date to the eleventh century? He linked the tradition of a Carolingian *augmentum* to it.

The basic plan of Fulrad's 64-metre-long basilica (Fig. 7.3), or what survives of it beneath the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Gothic church at Saint-Denis, emerges from evidence gleaned from archaeological

[63] McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 86.
[64] Thus Dierkens, 'La tombe de Pépin le Bref'. Even Jacobsen granted the plausibility of this scenario; see 'Die Abtei Kirche von Saint-Denis', pp. 151–3 and 177–80.
[65] Suger, *De administratione*, 165, Speer and Binding (eds.), *Abt Suger ... ausgewählte Schriften*, pp. 318–21.
[66] Dierkens, 'La tombe de Pépin le Bref', pp. 38–40.
[67] W. Jacobsen and M. Wyss, 'Saint-Denis: essai sur la genèse du massif occidental', in C. Sapin (ed.), *Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IV^e^ et le XII^e^ siècle* (Paris, 2002), pp. 76–87.

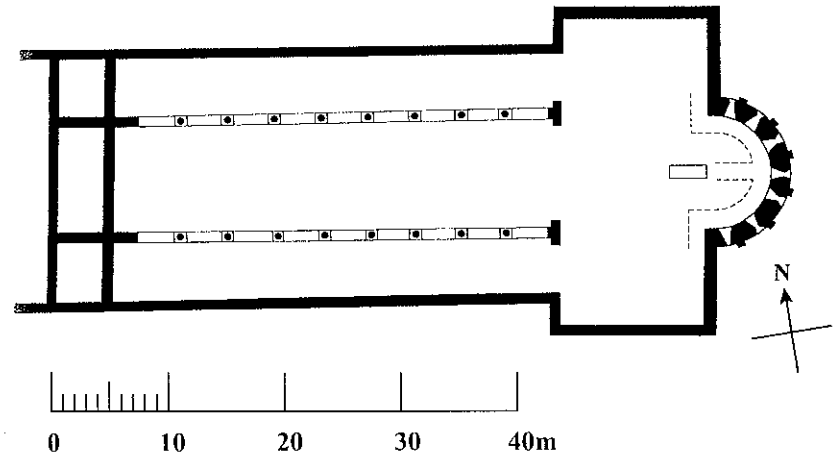


Fig. 7.3. Plan: Abbot Fulrad's basilica at Saint-Denis, dedicated in 775, reconstructed

digs at the site stretching from the mid nineteenth century down to the present.[68] The church featured an elaborate tripartite, western entry structure, a three-aisled nave with arcades (each with eight columns), a broad continuous transept, and at the east, a 9.40-metre-wide apse incorporating a semi-annular crypt in the Roman style.

Thus, summing up, Abbot Fulrad apparently began a new church at Saint-Denis to replace the old Geneviève basilica sometime before 768, and brought it nearly to completion in September of that year when its royal patron, Pippin III, died and was buried at its 'edge' (*ante limina basilicae*), that is, its west end 'before its doors' (*extra in introitu valvarum*). Pippin III's sons, Carloman and Charlemagne, then took over. After Carloman's death in 771, Charlemagne continued, dedicating the completed structure in 775. All parties worked to make the new abbey church into a Carolingian mausoleum. Pippin III instructed clearly before his death that he be buried at the abbey.[69] A diploma issued on 13 January 769 establishes that Charlemagne intended, upon his death, to be buried at Saint-Denis along with his father.[70] In the event, of course, the Frankish emperor was buried at Aachen, but the available evidence suggests that the early Carolingian kings had intended Saint-Denis to serve as a dynastic mausoleum.

[68] McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 86–90.
[69] *Chartae latinae antiquiores* XV (1986), no. 603 (September 768).
[70] *Chartae latinae antiquiores* XV (1986), no. 608 (13 January 769).

Building *more romano*

Pippin III, Charlemagne, and Fulrad built *more romano* when they replaced the main basilica at Saint-Denis. Their new church imitated Rome's most distinctive sanctuary, St Peter's, even to the semi-annular crypt in the apse. I have already mentioned how Richard Krautheimer argued that T-shaped basilicas like Constantine's St Peter's, begun in the 320s, and its Roman twin, S. Paolo fuori le mura, begun in the 390s, were rare in the Latin West – indeed so rare during the four centuries separating Fulrad's Saint-Denis from St Peter's that Fulrad's church had to count as a most startling, Early Christian, indeed Constantinian revival.[71] Ever since, this interpretive idea – this architectural iconographical analysis – has helped underpin histories of Carolingian art and culture.

But the idea depends upon an argument from origins never made explicit, namely that Constantine, the builder, fixed meaning in Old St Peter's once and for all when he used the tomb of the saint architecturally to stage his vision of himself as the leader of Peter's church to victory in battle.[72] To presume this at the start begs the very question I am trying to open: how did perceptions of Old St Peter's change over time?

Moreover, the 'Carolingian Renaissance of Early Christian architecture', or more precisely, the Carolingian *revival* of Constantine's T-shaped Old St Peter's in Rome, does not constitute a very powerful model for interpreting actual Carolingian building practice.[73] The great ecclesiastical projects Charlemagne sponsored at the abbey of Saint-Riquier, built by his trusted friend and close adviser, Angilbert, or at the palace complex in Aachen, overseen by Einhard, another important member of Charlemagne's court,[74] both ignore the 'Renaissance' in question. If anything, the main basilica at Saint-Riquier, which featured multistoried tower complexes, explored Frankish Merovingian building traditions.[75]

[71] *Supra* (introduction).

[72] As the inscription in mosaic upon St Peter's triumphal arch stated:

> quod duce te mundus surrexit in astra triumphans
> hanc Constantinus victor tibi condidit aulam
> (Since under your guidance the empire rises triumphant to the stars, Constantine the victor has built this great hall for you.)

Recorded in the famous Einsiedeln silloge (ninth century) and much discussed: see G.B. De Rossi and A. Silvagni, *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, n.s. 2 (Rome, 1935), no. 4092; S. de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale* (Vatican City, 1994), p. 462; also G.W. Bowersock, 'Peter and Constantine', in W. Tronzo (ed.), *St Peter's in the Vatican* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 5–15, esp. p. 8.

[73] *Supra*, notes 5–7.

[74] McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 153–8 (Saint-Riquier) and 105–27 (Aachen).

[75] Jacobsen, 'Die Renaissance der frühchristlichen Architektur in der Karolingerzeit', pp. 631–2.

So did the entryway or westwork at Aachen's palace chapel; and the double-storied, centrally planned church behind harked back to sixth-century Justinianic architecture, namely S. Vitale in Ravenna, dedicated in 547.[76] The T-shaped basilica *more romano* just did not play a major role in Carolingian architecture. True enough, it appeared emphatically in Abbot Baugulf's and Abbot Ratgar's shrine for Bishop Boniface at the abbey of Fulda, begun after 791 and dedicated in 819.[77] That structure, on a scale with St Peter's basilica and hence huge, looks to us today, as documents show it looked to contemporaries, exceptional in every respect, a monument to the megalomania of its abbatial sponsors, and an achievement disparaged by its main audience, the monks of Fulda. It does, of course, exhibit what rich possibilities Carolingian builders might entertain, but it did not form part of any overarching trend there. Architectural historians who firmly accept that Fulrad's Saint-Denis does indeed revive the Early Christian, Constantinian, Roman T-shaped basilica, run into problems everywhere trying to make its architectural iconography a theme in a Carolingian building programme.

But what if Fulrad and Pippin III had a different understanding of their model, Old St Peter's, from that of modern art historians? Fulrad, King Pippin III's Italian expert, and his main ambassador to the papal court, the man who had lived in Rome at the *schola Francorum* attached to the south arm of Old St Peter's transept,[78] knew Old St Peter's well. And what he knew of it in the mid eighth century arguably had much more to do with the activity there of Rome's contemporary leaders, the popes, than it did with the memory of Emperor Constantine. By Fulrad's day, the popes had transformed Constantine's old funeral basilica with its attached *martyrium* into a full-fledged *church* in which they staged themselves as leaders before the city and the world.

Fulrad would have seen that Saint Peter's had become Rome's most important papal church, the greatest of the great five so-called 'patriarchal' basilicas that focused the papal stational liturgy.[79] St Peter's was

[76] McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 123. [77] Ibid., pp. 158–61.

[78] A.J. Stoclet, 'Les établissements francs à Rome au VIIIe siècle: Hospitale intus basilicam beati Petri, domus nazarii, schola francorum et palais de Charlemagne', in M. Sot (ed.), *Haut Moyen Âge. Culture, éducation et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché* (Nanterre, 1990), pp. 231–47; also R. Schieffer, 'Karl der Grosse, die Schola Francorum und die Kirchen der Fremden in Rom', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 93 (1998), pp. 20–37.

[79] The others were S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, and S. Paolo fuori le mura; see the chapter by Sible de Blaauw in this volume. For the stational 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), pp. 105–204; and 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*

the principal sanctuary where the popes presided at the mass on more than a dozen great feast days during the liturgical year, in all pomp, surrounded by high officials from the Lateran palace, and chanters, readers, and acolytes of every stripe.[80] By the middle of the eighth century, it had become liturgically Rome's real cathedral. In addition, among these five great churches, Fulrad would have noted that St Peter's stood out as Rome's primary centre for the worship of the saints. This point cannot be overstressed. At St Peter's the papal liturgy accompanied, and was enhanced by, the prayers and masses performed there by the basilican clergy expressly to celebrate the lives and martyrdoms of the saints.

The Old St Peter's that had emerged by the middle of the eighth century owed everything to the developing cult of relics. By this time people had become used to the division of saint's bodies, and the translation of their relics from their graves in cemeteries to 'ersatz graves' or memorials in extra-funerary contexts, that is, mainly into churches designed originally and solely for eucharistic celebration. When Fulrad arrived in Rome in the 750s, St Peter's was the principal church to feature such translations. Each relic was set out in an ersatz tomb or *memoria* located here and there throughout the complex much as satellites of the real tomb of Peter in the apse (Fig. 7.4).[81] Fulrad would have seen such shrines for John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, Andrew, Pope Leo I, and more than a half-dozen other, lesser saints. He would have visited a shrine for Christ featuring the wood of the cross, and one for Mary featuring a holy image (the icon substituting in this instance for physical remains). He would have found a shrine for Christ, Mary, and All-the-Saints featuring icons and relics. And he may even have participated himself in the setting up of one such *memoria* in St Peter's during the last years of Stephen II's pontificate, namely the shrine for Petronilla, Peter's

du XI^e congres international d'archéologie chrétienne, 3 vols. (Vatican City, 1989), vol. II, pp. 917–1032.

[80] Popes celebrated eleven feasts at St Peter's from the temporal calendar, and two from the sanctoral (29 June for Peter and 30 November for Andrew) each year. During the early Middle Ages popes also led in prayer on 25 April during the penitential processions known as the *litaniae maiores* that culminated at St Peter's. They also led prayers in the great basilica proper on 14 September at the Exaltation of the Cross. See de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, pp. 585–91 and 600–2. Compare the Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore, each with seven great feasts in the stational liturgy every year, S. Lorenzo with five, and S. Paolo with four. See de Blaauw, pp. 805–7 (Table 1) for a list of papal stations during the Middle Ages (in my tally I do not include the stations for Ember Days (fasts) or any station introduced after the mid eleventh century).

[81] That is, in the great five-aisled hall, in the transept, and in the two additional 'rooms' at the south, or in other words in the 'basilicas' or churches dedicated to Sts Andrew and Petronilla.

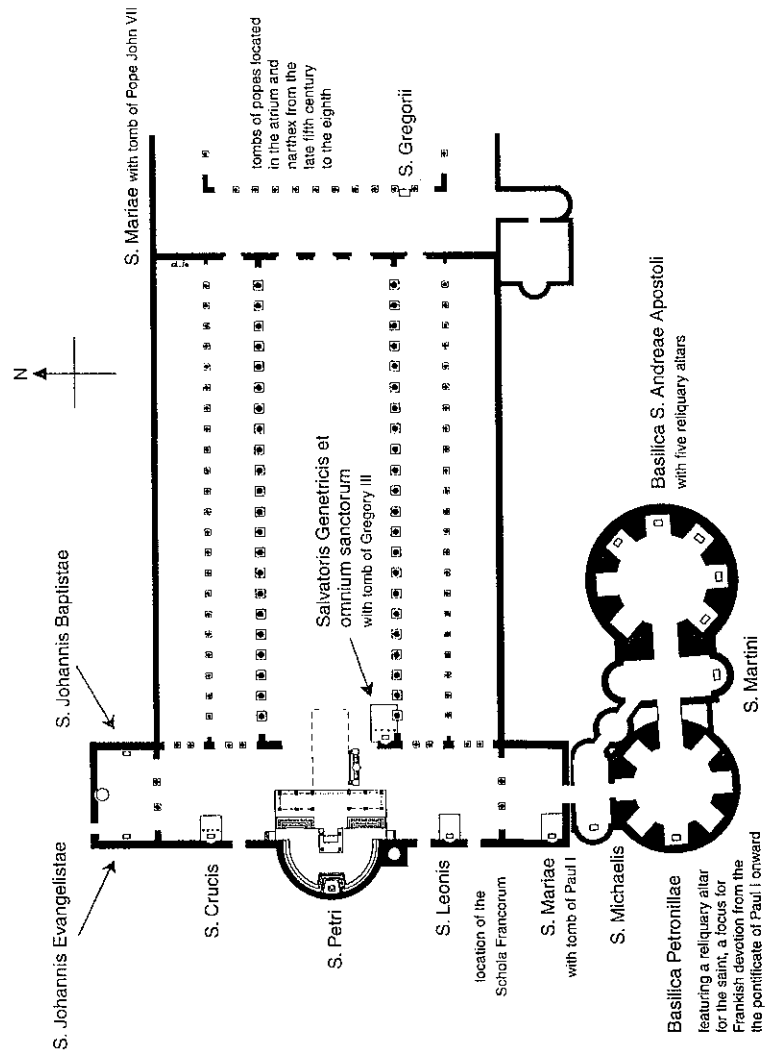


Fig. 7.4. Reliquary altars at St Peter's during the pontificates of Pope Stephen II (752–757) and Pope Paul I (757–772)

legendary daughter.[82] Moreover, by the time Fulrad visited St Peter's, each of these *memoriae* had been monumentalized.[83] Each 'tomb' sat in its own precinct marked off by actual walls or semi-permeable barriers – we would call them side chapels – and each *memoria* doubled as an altar, in the sense of having an actual masonry block that incorporated a *mensa*. The relic might be hidden inside the altar block, or beneath it, or displayed outright (as was the case for the shrines for Mary where icons were featured). The pattern was clear. Each of the *memoriae* echoed the shrine for Peter, the original altar-grave at the Vatican, the one that Popes Pelagius II and Gregory the Great had built towards 600 re-deploying the parts, especially the Corinthian columns, of the old Constantinian shrine.[84] And just as at the altar-grave of Peter, so with the other satellite shrines: each focused a worshipper's attention upon the priest who officiated there. The celebrant stood elevated above the worshippers at an altar on a podium; he was framed by a scenic colonnade made of precious marble clad with silver and gold; a canopy or ciborium rose over his head, likewise fashioned from precious materials; and hanging chandeliers glowing with many oil lamps lit the *mensa* brightly. The *high altar* of St Peter's in the apse, destined specifically for the papal liturgy, and the multiple *side altars* of the saints all around it, served primarily by the basilican clergy, presented visitors – including Abbot Fulrad – with an immensely stirring sacred stage machinery. Each chapel functioned as a full-fledged church in itself, making St Peter's in its turn a family of churches. Masses multiplied impressively on the many altars, each of which focused upon and made a spectacle of the priest at his office.

Reliquary altars were not invented at St Peter's, rare as they might have been in the city in the middle of the eighth century. In fact they had played an important role in Christian architecture from the start.[85] The church family, too, the kind that medievalists call a *Memorialkirchenfamilie*, likewise appeared early on,[86] and the arguments of the great liturgist, Albert

[82] De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, pp. 485–91 and 566–81 for the various *memoriae* set out at St Peter's between the papacies of Symmachus (498–514) and Paul I (757–67). For the shrine to Petronilla, McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 145–8.

[83] De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, pp. 451–602 and 619–20; and de Blaauw, 'L'altare nelle chiese di Roma come centro di culto e della commitenza papale' in *Roma dell'alto Medioevo, 27 April–1 May 2000*, Settimane 48 (Spoleto, 2001), pp. 969–89.

[84] For Peter's shrine at the Vatican, see now S. de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, pp. 530–66 and figs. 21–4.

[85] H. Brandenburg, 'Altar und Grab. Zu einem Problem des Martyrerkultes im 4. und 5. Jh.', in M. Lamberigts and P. van Deun (eds.), *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective. Memorial Louis Reekmans* (Leuven, 1995), pp. 71–98.

[86] Arguably, for example, at the cathedral complex of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem with its separate 'churches' for the empty tomb and Golgotha. Also at Constantine's Holy Apostles in Constantinople and Ambrose's copy of it in Milan, discussed above.

Häussling, showing that the link between the eucharist and the worship of the saints in the West developed mainly during the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, can seem to miss these points.[87] But when Häussling described the St Peter's of Abbot Fulrad's experience as the model (*Musterstuck*) of the *Memorialkirchenfamilie* in the West,[88] he was thinking primarily how priests (and popes) had come to stage themselves at mass there effectively as *mediators* of human salvation, and this does seem to be an early medieval development.

The St Peter's Fulrad knew was the product of an early medieval, eighth-century, liturgical revolution, predicated on the rise from about 700 onward of the *private mass*.[89] During the early Middle Ages in the West, the church, represented by the priest, came to insist on its power to recreate the body and blood of Christ on the altar, and came to present that eucharistic act as its *offering* to the Father. Here an archaic rite of exchanging gifts to create bonds between a superior and a follower came into play.[90] Thus during the mass the early medieval church saw the priest as bringing God to the altar, as offering Him (as sacrifice) His own Son, a gift from which He could not turn away, and one that compelled Him to grant a gift of like value in return. The way thus opened for the votive mass, the private mass par excellence. Such a *missa specialis*, celebrated ad hoc at the request of an individual or special group (a family, say, or pilgrims at a shrine, or perhaps even an entire city) who were seeking to intensify their prayers for some hoped for future outcome (to obtain blessings, protection, deliverance from some specific trouble, and so forth), differed markedly from the traditional *missa publica* that the faithful celebrated on a predetermined schedule in a fixed community (typically a parish or its equivalent) to give ritual form to the idea that God dwells among His people. Indeed the main purpose of the *missa*

[87] A.A. Häussling, *Monchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier. Eine Studie über die Messe in der abendländischen Klosterliturgie des frühen Mittelalters und zur Geschichte der Meßhäufigkeit* (Münster, 1973), pp. 174–297, esp. pp. 201–13. Häussling credited the art historian Edgar Lehmann for first alerting medievalists to the link between the Early Christian church family and the early medieval sanctuary with multiple altars.

[88] Häussling, *Monchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier*, p. 213.

[89] O. Nussbaum, *Kloster, Priestermonch, und Privatmesse*, Theophaneia 14 (Bonn, 1961); Häussling, *Monchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier*, pp. 226–51; C. Vogel, 'Une mutation cultuelle inexpliquée: le passage de l'Eucharistie communitaire à la messe privée', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 54 (1980), pp. 231–50; A. Angenendt, '*Missa specialis*. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmessen', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983), pp. 153–221; and now C. Vogel, 'The development of the private mass', trans. and rev. W.G. Storey and N.K. Rasmussen in T.J. Fisch (ed.), *Primary Readings on the Eucharist* (Collegeville, MN, 2004), pp. 27–35 (with further bibliography). 'Private mass' = a term of art among liturgists; it does not appear in medieval parlance.

[90] M. Mauss, *The Gift. The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W.D. Hall (London, 1990).

specialis was to ward off evil. Votive masses intended to obtain God's special intercession in all possible emergencies both in this world and the next began to appear in the West in the mid sixth century, but multiplied substantially in the sacramentaries of the eighth and ninth.[91] And this development affected the meaning and nature of the *missa publica* as well. Early medieval worshippers did not see the mass as a mystery, as the ritual creation of God's community suffused by grace, but chiefly as an act of penance, as the principal means by which *the individual* might obtain the gift of eternal life, of salvation from sin. The performance of the mass, and that alone, became a kind of *askesis*, a spiritual exercise or 'good work' (*opus bonum*), and thus an effective mechanism for the expiation of sin. Here again the archaic rite of *do ut des* (I give so that you give) came into play. In early medieval Western Europe a believer accumulated sins as debits against his or her ultimate salvation, and thus also accumulated the days of fasting, a certain number for each and every sin committed, that figured as the corresponding penance that God required. But sinners might perform the penance in various ways – by self mortification to be sure, but also by making another kind of sacrifice, a material gift to God for his spiritual counter-gift of grace. They might pay money, for example, the amount depending on the severity of the offence. Liturgists call this 'tariffed penance'. And in this regime the mass – the penitential mass – had great value, a material value, for sinners might well purchase them too.[92] Just one such mass was worth a week or more of fasting, and ten masses worth some four months; thirty masses might substitute for an entire year of privation![93] Great men and women, and kings and queens, might go even further and offer such material gifts as tracts of land for the spiritual counter-gift of eternal life. Thus when King Pippin III and Charlemagne gave material gifts to Saint-Denis to produce the 'royal monastery' described above, they also purchased the masses that

[91] Vogel, 'Le passage à la messe privée', pp. 241–2. Benedict of Aniane (d. 821) added many votive masses to the *Hadrianum*, the sacramentary Charlemagne received from Pope Hadrian (772–95), copying most of them from eighth-century mass books; C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy. An Introduction to the Sources*, revised and translated by W. G. Storey and N. K. Rasmussen (Washington, DC, 1986), pp. 61–134, at pp. 80–92.

[92] Vogel, 'Le passage à la messe privée', pp. 242–6; Angenendt, '*Missa specialis*'. Penitential books for use by priests in confession with long lists of sins and their relevant penances played a big role in eighth-century Merovingian Gaul and Carolingian Francia; see Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, AD 481–751* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 180–6.

[93] The Bobbio Missal, compiled around the year 700, has the earliest such penitential masses for the remission of sin; see Angenendt, '*Missa specialis*', pp. 181–3; and R. Meens, 'Reforming the clergy. A context for the use of the Bobbio pentitential', in Y. Hen and R. Meens (eds.), *The Bobbio Missal. Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 154–67.

would guarantee God's spiritual counter-gift *pro animae suae*, for the salvation of their souls.[94]

If in Early Christian times the eucharist gave ritual form to God's mystic union with his people, and if the priest approached the altar as one among the celebrants, then during the early Middle Ages in the West, as mass took on a more intercessory accent, the priest came to the fore as the principal performer, as *the* celebrant whom believers now followed at a certain distance and no longer quite as equals or as co-celebrants. To obtain favours and intercessions from God, to appease and conciliate Him, believers now *required* the help of priests. The reliquary altars that Abbot Fulrad saw in Old St Peter's in the 750s, both the high altar for Peter and the side altars to the saints in the satellite chapels all around, staged this role of the priest at mass, and by extension the popes, as indispensable for human salvation. Priests had become the mediators of worshippers' access to the relics of the saints, to their holy images, and to the eucharist itself, the church's greatest gift to God. The St Peter's of the 750s then formed a new and impressive architectural expression of the early medieval idea of the church's pastoral role.

Fulrad could witness, finally, how St Peter's had also become a mausoleum for the church's highest priests, namely the popes. By 750, the papal curia had already been burying popes in St Peter's atrium and various vestibules for some 250 years.[95] In Fulrad's day, popes might be buried right inside the basilica, *ad sanctos*. In 687, Pope Sergius I moved the body of Pope Leo I (440–61) from the sacristy narthex (at the south-east corner of the atrium) to a place of honour in the transept, just south of the main altar. In 707, Pope John VII (705–7) had himself interred at the back of the north outer flanking aisle in the chapel he had built for Mary, already mentioned. Then in 741, Pope Gregory III (731–41) had himself buried in the chapel at the top of the nave that he had founded for Christ, Mary, and All-the-Saints.[96] The programme seems clear: as successors of Rome's first bishop, the popes came to be honoured in death in the same place where they had most often, and with greatest pomp, led the faithful in worship.

So when Fulrad and Pippin III imitated this St Peter's at Saint-Denis, they were thinking of St Peter's as the very model of a *pastoral* church

[94] A. Angenendt, '*Donationes pro anima*: gift and counter-gift in the early medieval liturgy', in J. R. Davis and M. McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe, New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2008), pp. 131–54.

[95] Beginning with Pope Leo I (440–61); see M. Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitatio. Die Grablegen der Päpste, ihre Genese und Traditionsbildung* (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 49–93.

[96] Borgolte, *Die Grablegen der Päpste*, pp. 94–111.

where the role of priests in human salvation was made most amply and most impressively clear to worshippers. Memories of Emperor Constantine may not have figured greatly in Fulrad's and Pippin's thinking in this instance. Saint-Denis provided the setting for their roles as leaders of the Frankish church and people to salvation.

Upon Pippin's death in 768, Fulrad, Carloman, and Charlemagne apparently assigned him the humblest of positions in the entryway to the church, possibly Pippin's own new church. This was the first royal Frankish burial of its kind, and all the more poignant as Pippin's father, Charles Martel, was laid to rest *ad sanctos* in the sanctuary proper. Pippin's is the position of the penitent that calls the regular worshippers' attention to the fact that all stand in need of the means of salvation that only masses celebrated at the altars inside the church can provide.[97] I see Saint-Denis as a sacred machine for staging this idea – as Fulrad's, Pippin's, Carloman's and Charlemagne's bid to make the king's *bishop-like* leadership of the Frankish church as clear as possible. Again the Roman Petrine model provides a precedent, as popes were buried in the atrium and vestibule of St Peter's between the sixth and the eighth centuries. That the Franks saw Pippin taking such a bishop's role is clear. Carolingian chroniclers presented him as having been anointed *rex francorum* twice in ceremonies similar to the ordination of a bishop, that is, in 751 by the bishops of Francia and then again in 754 by Pope Stephen II.[98] Pippin's leadership of synods of Frankish bishops, first as mayor of the palace at Soissons in 744, then as king of the Franks in 755 at Verneuil, and in 757 at Compiègne was a major feature of his reign.[99] That he and his archchaplain Fulrad would copy the contemporary St Peter's in Rome, the *pastoral* church par excellence in the West, to convey these ideas thus makes sense. Like St Peter's, Saint-Denis stood at the centre of its Christian world. As a full-fledged church, not just a holy place for monastic retreat, the early medieval Saint-Denis served both a local parish and a 'parish' as big as the Frankish kingdom.

[97] Dierkens, 'La tombe de Pépin le Bref', pp. 41–2 citing A. Angenendt, '*In porticu ecclesias sepultus*. Ein Beispiel von himmlisch-irdischer Spiegelung', in H. Keller and N. Staubach (eds.), *Iconologia sacra. Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift für Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1994), pp. 66–80.

[98] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 133–55.

[99] Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, pp. 164 and 170–2.