The city of Rome and its rulers, 476-769
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This Special Subject will study the transformation of the eternal city, Rome, from an imperial city to a Christian capital. It aims to combine study of the secular and the sacred in the period from the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, the last Roman emperor in the west, to the council of Rome in 769. Rome was the holy city of Christian martyrs, the residence of the pope, and a major focus of secular and religious politics in relation to the Ostrogoths, Byzantine Greeks, Lombards, and Franks in the early medieval west. It was an international city, the goal of pilgrims, artists and craftsman. The living presence of Rome’s antique past, both in physical terms and as an idea, was a constant factor for them all. The paper will be multidisciplinary in the range of sources studied. First of all there are narrative histories, especially the Liber pontificalis or book of the popes, first compiled in the sixth century. It charts the transformation of the urban topography of Rome and records how the pope gradually took over the imperial stage. There are also letters of popes, kings, and emperors; legal compilations of both secular and ecclesiastical law; liturgical texts; itineraries in which visitors from Francia and England described their walking routes past classical and Christian monuments and recorded many of the inscriptions they saw; inscriptions still in place; descriptions of rituals and processions, and the coinage of the various rulers. The buildings and monuments of Rome as well as the frescoes and mosaics of the period will be studied for what they reveal of both the international culture of the city and the patronage of its citizens. Yet as well as reconstructing the political, social, and cultural development of the city and of the papacy in the early middle ages, the paper will also consider representations of Rome and the role of particular texts in shaping the perceptions and memory of Rome and its many-layered history in the early middle ages.

A number of themes will be followed in this study of Rome and its rulers in the early middle ages. First of all there is the study of the sources themselves, such as the Liber pontificalis and other narratives that can be associated with it or which offer independent commentary on the same events, not least Procopius’ narrative of the Gothic wars. A further strand of the course will be devoted to the development of the popes’ power and control within the city and how they succeeded in becoming the new rulers of Rome. The way in which successive popes defined their political, spiritual, and pastoral roles, the channels of their ecclesiastical authority (such as liturgical innovation, the production of canon law, and the promotion of missionary work in England and Germany) will also be explored. Relations between the popes and the external polities – Ostrogoths, Lombards, Byzantine Greeks, and Franks – who challenged the pope’s position in Rome will be analysed and compared. The abundance of architecture, art and inscriptions surviving from this period means that a study can also be made of the various manifestations of papal patronage and how this was orchestrated. Lastly, we shall analyse the phenomenon of Rome as a holy city, a city of martyrs and saints and their relics which pilgrims visited from all over Christendom in the light of the surviving accounts by pilgrims and visitors’ itineraries.

The paper will be taught in sixteen one-hour lectures and sixteen two-hour classes, with an extra gobbet class in the Easter term, and a three-day filed trip to Rome at the beginning of the Lent Term. The classes throughout the year will offer the opportunity for close study of the primary sources and will also act as a forum for student presentations. Although particular topics within the period have been the
object of close study, notably the papacy of Gregory the Great, this paper has a broader approach and will venture into little explored issues. First of all the focus is not only on the city of Rome itself and its many rulers, including the popes, but also on how the many strands of its history in this extraordinary period were intertwined. There is also considerable scope for comparative analysis, not least in the study of many different categories of historical evidence, such as the texts of many different genres, and the material and pictorial evidence. Many aspects of this period, furthermore, have tended to be studied in a compartmentalised fashion, so another aim of this paper is to integrate all these and make connections between the disparate topics. There is an abundance of excellent scholarship in English on this period, much of it very recent, as the secondary Bibliography makes clear. There is also good work in languages other than English so that those able to do so may wish to deploy their skills in relation to a particular topic for the long essay.

The main narrative and documentary sources are available in English translation; the longer sources such as the Liber Pontificalis are readily available in book form in inexpensive paperbacks and in an on-line edition for which the History Faculty has a subscription. There is other relevant material accessible on the web in the Internet Medieval Sourcebook (www.fordham.edu/halsall) and the website New Advent Fathers of the Church (including the Council of Constantinople of 553 and 680). Short sources and extracts (with new unpublished translations provided where necessary), have been assembled into a source book for use in class. A file of the principal images and building plans as well as the principal source texts, a selection of secondary reading, and links to relevant websites and ‘virtual tours’ will be available on the Rome and its rulers camtools website.

This Special Subject’s short field trip to Rome includes residence at the British School at Rome. The field trip (3 days, 2 nights) will concentrate on the buildings, mosaics and frescoes and include a visit to the remaining parts of Old St Peter’s under the present Renaissance basilica. The field trip has been provisionally booked for Wednesday 7th- Friday 9th January 2015 and I am happy to say a benefactor has come forward to assist with the accommodation and travel costs. ASN&C takers will be assisted with costs from the Hector Munro Chadwick Fund.
Introductory reading:
C. La Rocca, ed. *Italy in the early middle ages* (Short Oxford History of Italy) (Oxford, 2002)
R. McKitterick (ed.), *The early middle ages* (Short Oxford History of Europe) (Oxford, 2001)

Primary Source texts (approx. 1372 pp)


Gregory the Great, Letters (selected), ed. D. Norberg, Corpus Christianorum series Latina 140, 140A, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1982); trans. J.R.C. Martyn, The letters of Gregory the Great, 3 vols (Toronto, 2004);


Conciliar records (Councils of Constantinople of 553 and 680 - on web site noted above; Synod of Rome 745, in E. Emerton, Letters of Saint Boniface (New York 2nd d. 2000), pp. 76-85; Synod of Rome 769 (in LP noted above).


Paulinus of Aquileia (?) ‘Felix per omnes’ Feast of Sts Peter and Paul 29th June.


[for comparison: Constantinople in the eighth century: the Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai, with commentary A. Cameron and J. Herrin (Leiden, 1984), Greek text with English translation on facing pages, pp. 56-165.]


Donation of Constantine, ibid., pp. 14-22.


For reference but not as set texts, the letters in the Codex carolinus addressed to the Frankish mayors of the palace, ed. W. Gundlach, Codex carolinus, MGH Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi (Berlin, 1957). An English summary will be made available.


Primary material evidence: Buildings, frescoes and mosaics

Comprehensive guides:

**Sta Maria Maggiore**

**S. Clemente**
Barclay Lloyd, J.E., *The Medieval Church and Canonry of S. Clemente in Rome* (Rome, 1989) (San Clemente Miscellany, 3)

**S. Costanza**

**Lateran Basilica**

**S. Maria Antiqua**


*S. Paolo fuori le mura*


White, J., ‘Cavallini and the lost frescoes in S. Paolo’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19 (1956), pp. 84-95

*St Peter’s*


Tronzo, W. (ed.), *St Peter’s in the Vatican* (Cambridge, 2005)

*St Peter’s, Oratory of John VII*


*[for comparison, although s.IXin: S. Prassede]*


*S. Pudenziana*


*S. Stefano Rotondo*


**Basic secondary reading**

1. **General reference**


2. Specific topics

Amory, P. People and identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489-554 (Cambridge, 1997)

Baldovin, J.F., The urban character of Christian worship. The origins, development and meaning of stational liturgy, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 228 (Rome, 1987)

Blaauw, S. de, Cultus et decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale : basilica Salvatoris, Sante Mariae, Sancti Petri, Studi e Testi 355-356 (Vatican City, 1994)

Bolgia, C., R. McKitterick and J. Osborne (eds), Rome across time and space., Cultural transmission and the exchange of ideas, c. 500-1400 (Cambridge, 2011)

Bolgia, C. ed (with R. McKitterick and J. Osborne), Rome across time and space, 500-1400) (Cambridge 2011)


Chazelle, C. and C. Cubitt (eds.), The crisis of the Oikumene. The Three Chapters and the failed quest for unity in the sixth-century Mediterranean (Turnhout, 2007)


Cooper , K., (ed.), The Roman martyrs and the politics of memory, Early Medieval Europe 9.3 (2000)

Croke, B. and A.M. Emmett (eds), History and historians in late antiquity (Sydney and Oxford, 1983)


Davis,J. and M. McCormick (eds), The long morning of medieval Europe: new directions in early medieval studies (Aldershot, 2008)


Ekonomou, A., Byzantine Rome and the Greek popes. Eastern influences on Rome and the papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, AD 590-752 (Lanham MD, 2007)

Fried, J., Donation of Constantine and Constitutum Constantini (Berlin, 2007)
Geertman, H., More veterum: Il Liber pontificalis e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma nella tarda antichità e nell’alto medioevo, Archaeologia Traiectina 10 (Groningen, 1975)
Grig, L., Making martyrs in late antiquity (London, 2004)
Hen, Y., Roman barbarians. The royal court and culture in the early medieval west (Basingstoke, 2007)
Jasper, D. and H. Fuhrmann, Papal letters in the early middle ages (Washington, 2001)
Jong, M. de and F. Theuws (eds), Topographies of power in the early middle ages (Leiden, 2001)
Llewellyn, P., Rome in the Dark Ages (London, 1971)
Llewellyn, P. ‘The Roman church during the Laurentian schism: priests and senators’, Church History 45 (1976), pp. 417-27
MacCormack, S. ‘Change and continuity in late antiquity: the ceremony of adventus’, Historia 21 (1972), pp. 721-32
Marasco , G.(ed.), Greek and Roman historiography in late antiquity, fourth to sixth century AD (Leiden, 2003)
Markus, R. Gregory the Great and his world (Cambridge, 1997)
McKitterick, R., History and memory in the Carolingian world (Cambridge, 2004)
Moorhead, J., Theodoric in Italy (Oxford, 1992)
Noble, T.F.X., Images, iconoclasm and the Carolingians (Philadelphia, 2009)
Pani-Ermani, L., Cristiana loca; lo spazio cristiano nella Roma del primo millennio (Rome, 2000)
Richards, J., Consul of God. The life and times of Gregory the Great (London, 1980)
Thacker, A., 'Martyr cult within the walls: saints and relics in the Roman *tituli* of the fourth to seventh centuries’, in A. Minnis and J. Roberts (eds.), *Text, image, interpretation* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 31-70
Wirbelauer, *Zwei Päpste in Rom: der Konflikt zwischen Laurentius und Symmachus (498-514)* (Munich, 1993)

**Art and architecture**
Ferrari, G., *Early Roman monasteries: Notes for the history of the monasteries and convents at Rome from the Vth to the Xth century*, Vatican City 1957


Mackie, G., Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function, Patronage, (Toronto, 2003), pp. 195-211


Oakeshott, W., The Mosaics of Rome from the Third to the Fourteenth Centuries, (London, 1967)


Below is the church of Sta Prassede, built in the ninth century, but housing an extraordinary collection of saints' relics and early inscriptions