

The city of Rome and its rulers, 476-769

Rosamond McKitterick

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. 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. There is 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, accessible to all those taking the paper.

This Special Subject will include a short (3-day) field trip to Rome, with residence primarily at the British School at Rome (a few may need to be accommodated nearby), for 2 nights. This trip 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. This has been provisionally booked for 8th-10th January 2013. For assistance with the accommodation and travel costs ASNC students are asked to apply to their Colleges. If unsuccessful, they should contact the Department before the end of Michaelmas term.

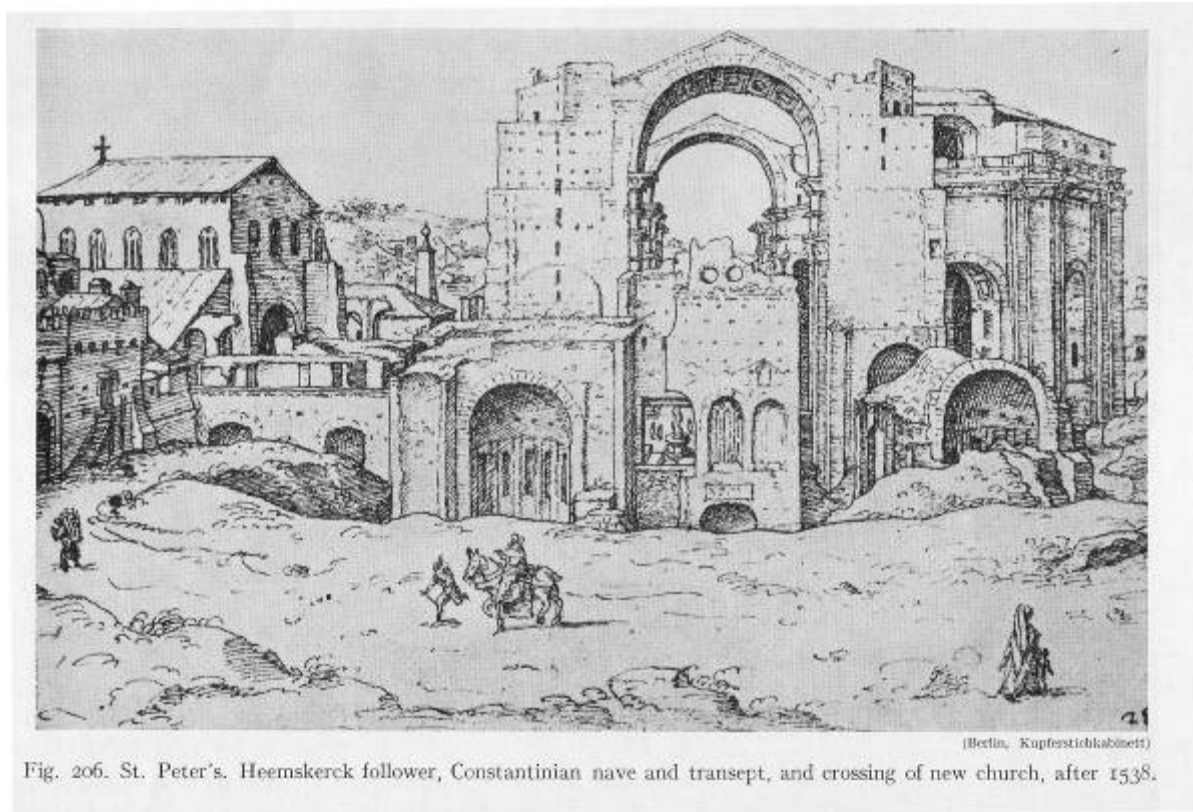


Fig. 206. St. Peter's. Heemskerck follower, Constantinian nave and transept, and crossing of new church, after 1538.

Introductory reading:

R. Krautheimer, *Rome Profile of a city, 312-1308* (Princeton, 1980)

Amanda Claridge, *Rome* (Oxford, 2010)

C. La Rocca, ed. *Italy in the early middle ages* (Short Oxford History of Italy) (Oxford, 2002)

Primary Source texts (approx. 1372 pp)

Liber Pontificalis, trans R. Davis, *The book of the pontiffs ('Liber Pontificalis') : the ancient biographies of the first ninety Roman bishops to AD 715* (Liverpool, 2000 rev. ed.) and *The Lives of the eighth century popes*, 2nd ed. (Liverpool, 1992), pp. 1- 106; Latin text ed. L. Duchesne (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vols (Paris, 1886-1892)

Letters from the Ostrogothic kings to the senate and people of Rome and to the Eastern emperors, in *Cassiodorus, Variae*, trans S.J.B.Barnish, *Liverpool Translated Texts for Historians* (Liverpool, 1996), pp.8-12, 28-30, 32-3, 35-6, 49-51, 60-63, 67-71, 77-82, 84-5, 89-90, 105, 112-116, 120-124, 127-132, 135-154.

Letters between Popes Hormisdas and John II and the eastern Emperors between 514 and 533, in P.R. Coleman-Norton, *Roman State and Christian church. A collection of legal documents to AD 535* (London, 1966), pp. 955-80; 983-93; 1149-54.

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);

Vol. I, Bk. 1: letters 3, 6, 17, 22, 27, 32, 34, 41, 42, 45; Bk. 2, Letters 2, 4, 20, 27-8, 38, 42-3, 45, 47, 50; Book 3, letters 29-31, 37, 43, 54, 55, 61-65; Book 4, letters 1-4, 6, 15, 21, 30, , 33, 37, 44; pp. 121, 124-6, 131-2, 134, 149, 152, 155, 160-2, 162-171, 194-5, 205, 209-10, 215-17, 221-3, 226-7, 229-34, 254-6, 260, 263, 272-7, 280-6, 287-90, 291, 299, 303, 310-12, 313-14, 317-18, 322.

Vol. 2: Book 5, Letters 13, 36-9, 44-6, 52-4, 57a-60. Book 6, Letters 5, 6, 10, 16, 17, 33, 34, 44, 45, 51, 53-55, 60-64. Book 7 Letters 6, 19, 21, 22, 25-27, 30. Book 8, Letters 4, 22-23, 28-9, 37. Book 9, Letters 24, 26, 66, 68, 73, 75, 86, 97, 105, 107, 111, 126, 128, 142, 155, 196, 213-30; pp. 331, 348-58, 365-74, 378-6, 388-97, 404-6, 408-9, 314-5, 427-8, 433-4, 438-444, 478-9, 459, 471, 472-4, 479-83, 486-7, 501-4, 517-19, 522-4, 532-45, 559-63, 583-4, 585, 588-9, 595-6, 601-2, 605-6, 607, 609-10, 617-18, 627-8, 639, 662-3, 675-705.

Vol. 3 Book 10, Letter 8; Book 11, Letters 34-39, 46-52. Book 13, Letters 1, 5-7, 32, 33, 39, 40. Book 14, Letter 12; pp. 718-19, 777-86, 791-6, 822-3, 825-8, 848-9, 853-5, 877-79. Appendices 2, 4, 8,9; pp. 884-7.

Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* , ed. A. de Vogue, *Dialogues de Grégoire le Grand*, 3 vols (Paris, 1978-80) (selected) , trans. O.J. Zimmerman, *Dialogues of Saint Gregory the Great* (New York, 1959), Book II, 14; III, 24, 25, 30, 31-33; IV, 53-57; pp. 79-81, 156-9, 164-6, 228-30, 263-70.

Papal letters of the eighth century (Gregory II, Gregory III, Zacharius I) [preserved in the Boniface letter collection, trans E. Emerson (2nd ed. New York 2000 nos 8-13, 16-18, 20, 24, 31-35, 40-46, 48, 49, 50, 54, 61, 64, 66-74, 88, 89; pp. 19-25, 28-37, 40-1, 46-52, 56-76, 85-92, 100-101, 112-113,120-127, 128-145, 159-61.

Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed.and trans. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical history of the English people* (Oxford, 1969) Books I, 23-4, 27-32; II, 1, 8, 10-11, 17-19; III, 29; IV, 1; V, 11, 19 (pp. 69-73, 79-115, 123-35, 159,167-175,195-203, 319-23, 330-333, 485-87, 517-29.

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).

Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards* , trans W. D. Foulke (Philadelphia, 1907) (select sections) II, 14-24, 32; III, 11-12, 20-26; IV, 5, 6, 8-10, 29, 34-6, 37 (part 2); V, 6-11 ; VI, 4-5, 11-16, 29-31, 36-7, 40, 43, 48-9, 58; pp. 71-9, 86-93, 106-11, 121-33, 153-9,172-3, 176-9, 184-7, 217-25,252-7, 258-63, 272-4, 279-81, 282-3, 285, 289-93, 303-8.

Ordo romanus 1 (papal procession c. 700, ed. M. Andrieu, *Les ordines Romani du haut moyen âge* 2 (Louvain, 1948) pp. 69-74 Extract trans., J. Hillgarth, *Christianity and paganism, 350-750. The conversion of western Europe* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 192-3; full translation available on the camtools site.

Paulinus of Aquileia (?) '*Felix per omnes*' Feast of Sts Peter and Paul 29th June . *Liber hymnarius* (Solesmes, 1983) pp. 390-393 and A. Lentini (ed.) *Te decet hymnus: L'innario della Liturgia Horarum* (Vatican, 1984), nos 173 and 175, pp. 178 and 180.

Prefaces to Dionysius Exiguus, ed. F. Glorie, CCSL 85 (Turnhout, 1972), pp. 29-51, trans. R. Somerville and B.C. Brasington, *Prefaces to canon law books in Latin Christianity. Selected translations, 500-1245* (New Haven 1998), p. 46-54.

Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae, in Valentini, R. and Zucchetti, G. (eds.), *Codice topografico della città di Roma 2* (Rome, 1942), pp. 72-99.

De locis sanctis martyrum quae sunt foris civitatis Romae, *ibid.*, pp. 106-31.

G. De Rossi, (ed.), *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* 2 vols (Rome 1857-88) pp. 95-118 and 167-207; also in P. Geyer and O. Cuntz (eds), *Itineraria et alia geographica*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 175 (Turnhout, 1965) pp. 304-11, 314-22, 329-43.

Itinerarium Einsiedlense, ed. G. Walser, *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung und der Pilger Führer durch Rome (Codex Einsidlensis 326)* (Stuttgart, 1987).

[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.]

Procopius, *Gothic Wars*, trans. H.B. Dewing, vols 3, 4 and 5 (Greek text with English on facing pages) (Cambridge, Mass. 1919, 1924, 1928), vol. 3, Book V, xi-xii, xiv, xvi, xviii, xxix. Book VI, i-iii, v-xii; pp. 107-25, 141-6, 163-317; 327-95. vol. 4, Bk VII, xii-xxiv, xxxv; pp. 255-369, 459-66. Vol. 5, Book VII, xxxvi-xxxvii; Book VIII, xii, xxi, xxii, xxxiii, xxxiv; pp. 3-21, 171-83, 271-82, 393-407.

Clausula de unctione Pippini, trans. P.E. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilisation: a reader* (2nd ed. Peterborough Ont. 2004) pp. 13-14.

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

Annales regni francorum, ed. F. Kurze (Hanover, 1895), pp. 1-31; trans. B Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles* (Ann Arbor, 1970), pp. 37-46.

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 Merowingici et Karolini aevi (Berlin, 1957). An English summary will be made available.

Agnellus of Ravenna, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SRL* (Hanover, 1878), pp. 265-391; trans. D. Maukopf Deliyannis, *Agnellus of Ravenna. The book of pontiffs of the church of Ravenna* (Washington DC 2004), pp. 134-285.

Primary material evidence: Buildings, frescoes and mosaics

Comprehensive guides:

Krautheimer, R., S. Corbett, W. Franakl, A.K. Frazer (eds), *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae. The early Christian basilicas of Rome (IV-IX cent.)* 5 voll. (Cité Vaticane, Rome, New York, 1937-1977).

Webb, Matilda, *The churches and catacombs of early Christian Rome. A comprehensive guide* (Brighton, 2001)

Osborne, J. and A. Claridge, A., *Early Christian & Medieval Antiquities*, 2 vols [1, *Mosaics & Wall-paintings in Roman Churches*; 2, *Other Mosaics, Paintings*,

Sarcophagi, & Small Objects] (London, 1996-1998) (The Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo, ser. A, part II. 1-2)

Sta Maria Maggiore

Blaauw, S. de, *Cultus et Decor: Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale: Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri* (transl. by M. B. Annis), 2 vols (Vatican City, 1994)

Tronzo W., 'Art Decoration, the Liturgy and the Perception of Art in medieval Rome: S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Maria Maggiore', in Tronzo, W. (ed.), *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. Functions, Forms and Regional Traditions: Ten Contributions to a Colloquium held at the Villa Spelman, Florence* (Bologna, 1989) (Villa Spelman Colloquia, vol. 1), pp. 167-193

Warland, R., 'The Concept of Rome in Late Antiquity reflected in the Mosaics of the Triumphal Arch of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia (Rome AD 300-800: Power and Symbol – Image and Reality)* 17 (2003), pp. 127-41

Geertman, H., 'The builders of the basilica maior in Rome', dans *Festoen. Opgedragen aan A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta bij haar zeventigste verjaardag*, Scripta Archaeologica Groningana 6 (Groningen/Bussum, 1976), pp. 277-95, repr. in H. Geertman, *Hic fecit basilicam. Studi sul Liber pontificalis e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma da Silvestro a Silverio* (Leuven, 2004), pp. 1-16

S. Clemente

Barclay Lloyd, J. E., 'The Building History of the Medieval Church of S. Clemente in Rome', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45 (1986), pp. 197-223

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

S. Costanza

Mackie, G., 'A new look at the Patronage of S. Costanza, Rome', *Byzantion* 67 (1997), pp. 383-406

Mackie, G., *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function, Patronage*, (Toronto, 2003) pp. 145-53

Lateran Basilica

de Blaauw, S., *Cultus et Decor: Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale: Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri* (transl. by M. B. Annis), 2 vols (Vatican City, 1994)

S. Maria Antiqua

Knipp, D., 'The Chapel of the Physicians at santa Maria Antiqua', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002), pp. 2-23.

Nordhagen, P. J., 'S. Maria Antiqua: The Frescoes of the Seventh Century', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 8 (1978), pp. 89-142 60 [repr. in Nordhagen, P. J., *Studies in Byzantine and Early Medieval Painting* (London, 1990), pp. 177-230]

Nordhagen, P.J., 'Constantinople on the Tiber: The Byzantines in Rome and the Iconography of their Images', in Smith, J. M. H. (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 113-34

Osborne, J., 'The atrium of S. Maria Antiqua, Rome: A History in Art', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 55 (1987), pp. 186-223

Osborne, J. and Brandt, J. R., and Morganti, G. (eds), *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano: Cento anni dopo*, Atti del Colloquio Internazionale, Rome 5-6 May 2000 (Rome, 2004)

Rushforth, G. M., 'The Church of S. Maria Antiqua', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 1 (1902), pp. 1-119

S. Paolo fuori le mura

Gardner, J., 'S. Paolo fuori le mura, Nicholas III and Pietro Cavallini', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 34 (1971), pp. 240-48 [repr. id., *Patrons, Painters and Saints: Studies in Medieval Italian Painting* (Aldershot, 1993)]

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

Blaauw, S. de, *Cultus et Decor: Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale: Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri* (transl. by M. B. Annis), 2 volsm (Vatican City, 1994)

Kessler, H. L., 'Caput et Speculum Omnium Ecclesiarum: Old St. Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Latium', in W. Tronzo (ed.), *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. Functions, Forms and Regional Traditions: Ten Contributions to a Colloquium held at the Villa Spelman, Florence* (Bologna, 1989 (Villa Spelman Colloquia, vol. 1), pp. 121-45

Tronzo, W., 'The Prestige of Saint Peter's: Observations on the Function of Monumental Narrative Cycles in Italy', in H.L. Kessler, H.L. and M.S. Simpson (eds), *Pictorial narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Studies in the History of Art, 16 (Washington, 1985), pp. 93-112

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

St Peter's, Oratory of John VII

Nordhagen, P.J., 'The mosaics of John VII (705-707 a.d.): The Mosaic Fragments and their Technique', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 2 (1965), pp. 121-66 60 [repr. in Nordhagen, P. J., *Studies in Byzantine and Early Medieval Painting* (London, 1990), pp. 58-104]

Tronzo, W., 'Setting and Structure in Two Roman Wall Decorations of the Early Middle Ages', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), pp. 477-92

Van Dijk, A., 'Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Constantinople: The Peter Cycle in the Oratory of Pope John VII (705-707)', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001), pp. 305-28

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

Emerick, J., 'Altars personified: The cult of the saints and the chapel system in Pope Paschal I's S. Prassede (817-819)', in J. Emerick, and D.M. Deliyannis (eds), *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker* (Mainz, 2005), pp. 43-63

Mackie, G. V., 'The Zeno Chapel: A Prayer for Salvation', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 57 (1989), pp. 172-199

Mackie, G. V., 'Abstract and Vegetal Design in the San Zeno Chapel, Rome: The Ornamental Setting of an Early Medieval Funerary Programme', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 63 (1995), pp. 159-182

Mauck, M. B., 'The Mosaic of the Triumphal Arch of S. Prassede: A Liturgical Interpretation', *Speculum* 62 (1987), 813-28

Goodson, C.J., *The Rome of Paschal I. Papal power, urban renovation, church rebuilding and relic translation, 817-824* (Cambridge, 2010)

S. Pudenziana

Steen, O., 'The Proclamation of the Word: A Study of the Apse Mosaic in S. Pudenziana, Rome', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, series altera* 11 (1999), pp. 85-113

S. Stefano Rotondo

Davis-Weyer, C., 'S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome and the Oratory of Theodore I', in Tronzo, W. (ed.), *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. Functions, Forms and Regional Traditions: Ten Contributions to a Colloquium held at the Villa Spelman, Florence* (Bologna, 1989) (Villa Spelman Colloquia, vol. 1), pp. 61-80

Basic secondary reading

1. General reference

Andaloro, M. and Romano, S., *Arte e Iconografia a Roma: Dal Tardoantico alla fine del Medioevo* (Milan, 2002)

Cameron, A., B. Ward-Perkins and M. Whitby (eds), *The Cambridge Ancient History* 14 (Cambridge, 2000)

Claridge, A., *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford, 1998)

Cross, F. and Livingstone, E., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd. ed. (Oxford, 1997)

Farmer, D. H., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1978)

Fouracre, P. (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History 1 c. 500-c.700* (Cambridge, 2007)

Grove Dictionary of Art Online (www.groveart.com)

Kelly, J. N. D., *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986)

Krautheimer, R., *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, 1980; 2nd ed. Princeton 2000 with intro. by M. Trachtenberg)

Krautheimer, R. and others, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae. The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV-IXth centuries)*, 5 vols (Vatican City, 1937-77)

McKitterick, R. (ed.) *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, 2 c. 700 – c. 900 (Cambridge, 1995)

Webb, Matilda, *The churches and catacombs of early Christian Rome* (Brighton, 2001)

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

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 stationary liturgy, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 228 (Rome, 1987)

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

Bonamente, G., 'Minor Latin historians of the fourth century AD', in G. Marasco (ed.), *Greek and Roman historiography in late antiquity, fourth to sixth century AD* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 85-125

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. and J. Hillner (eds), *Religion, dynasty, and patronage in early Christian Rome, 300-900* (Cambridge, 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)

Curran, J., *Pagan city and Christian capital* (Oxford, 2000)

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

Domaszewski, A. von 'Die Topographie Roms bei den Scriptoribus Historiae Augustae', *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil. – hist. Klasse* 7 (1916) 1-15

Dufraigne, P., *Adventus Augusti, Adventus Christi : recherche sur l'exploitation idéologique et littéraire d'un cérémonial dans l'antiquité tardive*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 141 (Paris, 1994)

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., 'Nota sul Liber Pontificalis come fonte archeologica', dans *Quaeritur inventus colitur. Miscellanea in onore al Padre Umberto Maria Fasola*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 40 (Vatican, 1989), pp. 347-61, repr. in Geertman, *Hic fecit basilicam*, pp. 75-86

Geertman, H., 'Forze centrifughe e centripete nella Roma cristiana : il Laterano, la basilica Iulia e la Basilica Liberiana', in *Rendiconti. Atti della Pontificia Accademia*

- Romana di Archeologia* 59 (1986-87), pp. 63-91, repr. H. Geertman, *Hic fecit basilicam. Studi sul Liber Pontificalis e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma da Silvestro a Silverio* (Leuven, 2004), pp. 17-44
- 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)
- Heather, P., 'The historical culture of Ostrogothic Italy', in *Teodorico il Grande e I goti d'Italia*, *Atti dei Congressi* 13 (Spoleto, 1993), pp. 317-54
- Hen, Y., *Roman barbarians. The royal court and culture in the early medieval west* (Basingstoke, 2007)
- Huskinson, J. M., *Concordia Apostolorum: Christian Propaganda at Rome in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries: A Study in Early Christian Iconography and Iconology*, Oxford 1982 (BAR International Series, 148)
- 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)
- Kery, L., *Canonical collections of the early middle ages (ca. 400-1140). A bibliographical guide to the manuscripts and literature*, *History of medieval canon Law* (Washington D.C. 1999)
- Krautheimer, R., *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics. Rome, Constantinople, Milan*, (Berkeley and London 1983)
- 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
- MacCormack, S. *Art and ceremony in late antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles et London, 1981)
- McCulloh, J. M., 'From Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change in Papal Relic Policy from the 6th to the 8th Century', in E. Dassmann and K.S.Frank (eds.), *Pietas: Festschrift für Bernhard Kötting*, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband*, 8 (Münster, 1980), pp. 313-324
- Marasco, G.(ed.), *Greek and Roman historiography in late antiquity, fourth to sixth century AD* (Leiden, 2003)
- Marazzi, F., 'Rome in transition: economic and political change', in J.M.H. Smith (ed.), *Early medieval Rome and the Christian west. Essays in honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 21-42
- Markus, R. *Gregory the Great and his world* (Cambridge, 1997)
- McKitterick, R., *History and memory in the Carolingian world* (Cambridge, 2004)
- McKitterick, R., *Perceptions of the past in the early middle ages* (Notre Dame, 2006), pp. 14-19.
- Moorhead, J. 'The Laurentian schism : east and west in the Roman church', *Church History* 47 (1978) pp. 125-36
- Moorhead, J., *Theodoric in Italy* (Oxford, 1992)
- Moreau, D., 'Les patrimoines de l'église romaine jusqu'à la mort de Grégoire le Grand. Dépouillement et réflexions préliminaires à une étude sur le rôle temporel des

- évêques de Rome durant l'antiquité la plus tardive', *Antiquité Tardive* 14 (2006), pp. 79-93
- Neil, B., *Seventh-century popes and martyrs. The political hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 2 (Turnhout, 2006)
- Noble, T.F.X. 'Theodoric and the papacy', in *Teodorico il Grande e I goti d'Italia*, *Atti dei Congressi* 13 (Spoleto, 1993), pp. 395-425
- Noble, Th. F. X., 'Topography, Celebration, and Power: The Making of a Papal Rome in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', in M. de Jong, M. and F. Theuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 45-91
- Noble, T.F.X., *Images, iconoclasm and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009)
- Ò Carragáin, E. and C. Neuman de Vegvar (eds.), *Roma Felix – formation and reflections of medieval Rome* (Aldershot, 2007)
- Osborne, J., 'The Roman Catacombs in the Middle Ages', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 53 (1985), pp. 278-328
- Osborne, J., 'Papal Court Culture during the Pontificate of Zacharias (AD 741-52)', in C. Cubitt (ed.), *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages. The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, Thurnout 2003 (*Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, 3), pp. 223-34
- Pani-Ermani, L. *Cristiana loca ; lo spazio cristiano nella Roma del primo millennio* (Rome, 2000)
- Parker Jackson, R.P., *Compositiones Varias des manuscrits 490, Biblioteca capitolare, Lucca, Italie. An introductory study*, *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 23, no 3 (Urbana, 1939)
- Pietri, C. *Roma Christiana. Recherches sur l'église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311-440)* (Rome, 1976)
- Richards, J., *Consul of God. The life and times of Gregory the Great* (London, 1980)
- Roma nell'alto medioevo*, *Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 48 (Spoleto, 2001) (papers in English, French, German and Italian)
- Salzman, M.R., *On Roman time : the codex calendar of 354 and the rhythms of urban life in late antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990)
- Saxer, V., 'L'utilisation par la liturgie de l'espace urbain et suburbain : l'exemple de Rome dans l'antiquité et le haut moyen âge', *Actes du XIe Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne (21-28 sept. 1986)* (Rome, 1989), pp. 917-1033.
- Schiaparelli, L., *Il codice 490. Biblioteca capitolare di Lucca e la scuola scrittoria Lucchese (sec. VIII-IX). Contributi allo studio della minuscola precarolina in Italia*, *Studi e Testi* 36 (Rome, 1924)
- Sessa, K., *The formation of papal authority in late antique Italy: Roman boihshops and the domestic sphere* (Cambridge, 2012)
- Smith, J.M.H. (ed.), *Early medieval Rome in the Christian West. Essays in honour of Donald A. Bullough, The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, economies and cultures. 400-1453* 28 (Leiden, 2000)
- Sotinel, C., 'Autorité pontificale et pouvoir imperial sous le règne de Justinien: le pape Vigile', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité* 104 (1992), pp., 439-63
- Sotinel, C., 'Emperors and popes in the sixth century', in M. Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 267-90
- Sotinel, C. and B. Beaujard (eds), *L'usage du passé entre antiquité tardive et haut moyen âge* (Rennes, 2008)
- 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

Townshend, W.T. 'The so-called Symmachan forgeries', *Journal of Religion* 13 (1933), pp. 165-74

Willis, G., *A history of early Roman liturgy to the death of Gregory the Great* (London, 1994)

Wirbelauer, *Zwei Päpste in Rom: der Konflikt zwischen Laurentius und Symmachus (498-514)* (Munich, 1993)

Art and architecture

Bauer, F. A., 'The Liturgical Arrangement of Early Medieval Roman Church Buildings', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome. Historical Studies* 59 (2000), pp. 101-28

Brenk, B., 'Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), pp. 103-09

Coates-Stephens, R., 'Dark Age Architecture in Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 65 (1997), pp. 177-232

Coates-Stephens, R., 'Epigraphy as Spolia - the Reuse of Inscriptions in Early Medieval Buildings', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 70 (2002), pp. 275-306

Coates-Stephens, R., 'Housing in Early Medieval Rome, AD 500 – 1000', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 64 (1996), pp. 239-59

Curran, J., 'Moving Statues in Late Antique Rome: Problems of Perspective', *Art History* 17 (1994), pp. 46-58

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

Hansen, M. F., *The Eloquence of Appropriation. Prolegomena to an Understanding of Spolia in Early Christian Rome*, Rome 2003 (Analecta Romana Instituti Danici Supplementum, 33)

Kinney, D., 'Spolia from the Baths of Caracalla in S. Maria in Trastevere', *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986), pp. 379-97

Kitzinger, E., 'On some Icons of the Seventh Century', in K. Weitzmann et al. (eds.), *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), pp. 132-50 [repr. E. Kitzinger, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West: Selected Studies* (Bloomington, 1976), pp. 233-55]

Kitzinger, E., *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West: Selected Studies*, Bloomington 1976, pp. 90-156

Krautheimer, R., *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Harmondsworth and Baltimore, sev. edns [pb 1992]

Krautheimer, R., 'The Architecture of Sixtus III: A Fifth-Century Renaissance?', in *De Artibus Opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York 1961, pp. 291-302 [repr. R. Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, New York and London 1969, pp. 181-96]

Krautheimer, R., 'The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture', *Art Bulletin* 34 (1942), pp. 1-38 [repr. with post-script in R. Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York and London, 1969), pp. 203-56]

Lavin, I., 'The House of the Lord: Aspects of the Role of Palace *Triclinia* in the Architecture of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages', *Art Bulletin* 44 (1962), pp. 1-27

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

McClendon, Ch. B., 'The Revival of *Opus Sectile* Pavements in Rome and the Vicinity in the Carolingian Period', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 48 (1980), pp. 157-65

McClendon, Ch. B., *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, AD 600-900* (New Haven and London, 2005)

Nordhagen, P. J., 'Icons designed for the Display of Sumptuous Votive Gifts', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987) [*Festschrift E. Kitzinger*], pp. 453-60 [repr. in Nordhagen, P. J., *Studies in Byzantine and Early Medieval Painting* (London, 1990), pp. 356-65]

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

Osborne, J., 'Images of the Mother of God in Early Medieval Rome', in A. Eastmond, A. and L. James (eds.), *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies presented to Robin Cormack* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 135-56

Osborne, J., 'The Portrait of Pope Leo IV in S. Clemente, Rome: A Re-examination of the So-called 'Square' Nimbus in Medieval Art', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 47 (1979), pp. 58-65

Parker, E. C., 'Architecture as liturgical setting', in T.J. Heffernan and E.A. Matter, (eds), *The liturgy of the medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, 2001), pp. 273-326

Thunø, E., 'The Cult of the Virgin, Icons and Relics in Early Christian and Medieval Rome. A Semiotic Approach and a Sixth Century Proposal', in *Rome AD 300-800: Power and Symbol – Image and Reality, Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 17 (2003), pp. 79-98

Thunø, E., *Image and Relic: Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome*, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici Supplementum*, 32 (Rome, 2002)

Ward-Perkins, B., *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, AD 300-850* (Oxford, 1984)

Wolf, G., 'Icons and sites. Cult images of the Virgin in mediaeval Rome', in M. Vassilaki (ed.), *Images of the Mother of God. Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 23-49

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

