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978-0-521-76819-1 - The Rome of Pope Paschal I: Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church
Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817-824

Caroline J. Goodson

Frontmatter

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THE ROME OF POPE PASCHAL I

In the early ninth century, a critical time in Rome's transformation from ancient capital to powerful bishopric to new state capital, Pope Paschal I undertook a building campaign to communicate his authority and Rome's importance as an ancient and contemporary seat of power. Combining analysis of contemporary chronicles and documents, architecture, mosaics and new archaeology of medieval Rome, Caroline J. Goodson examines Paschal's urban project, revealing new patterns of popular saint veneration in resplendent new churches built using traditional architectural vocabularies. These transformations connect the city and the pope to the past and the present, in the same league as the Byzantine and Carolingian capitals and their emperors. By examining the relationships between the material world and political power in early medieval Rome, this innovative study reveals the importance of Rome's sacred and urban landscape in constructing papal rule and influence both in the city and beyond.

CAROLINE J. GOODSON is Lecturer in Medieval Archaeology at the School of History, Classics and Archaeology, Birkbeck College, University of London. She is currently field-directing the Roman and medieval excavations of Villamagna (Anagni). She has authored a number of articles on Rome and Italy with particular attention to ecclesiastical buildings and the cult of saints. She was co-editor of *Walls and Memory: The Abbey of San Sebastiano, Alatri (Lazio) from late Roman monastery to Renaissance villa and beyond* (2005) and *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400–1500: Experiences and perceptions of medieval urban space* (2010).

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and relic translation, 817–824

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A NOTE ON TERMS AND
MEASUREMENTS USED

NAMES

I have used modern place names, or medieval names if the places no longer exist.

When referring to the person – legendary or otherwise – of a saint, I have used the word ‘saint’ and a Latin or English version of the name, as in ‘Saint Praxedis’. Buildings dedicated to saints and known by the saint’s name are referred to with the word ‘saint’ abbreviated, as in S. Prassede or St-Denis. Churches in Rome are referred to by their current Italian name, except when there is a more commonly used English parallel, as is the case with S. Pietro, St Peter’s. The original Latin dedication of the churches and other names where relevant are specified in the Concordance, below. The majority of these Latin names come from the list of ecclesiastical institutions in the *Life* of Leo III, in the *Liber Pontificalis* (LP 98: 69–81). When an institution was not mentioned there, I have followed Christian Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo* (Florence, 1927), and listed the name used in the ninth century, or failing that the earliest mention.

ROMAN CHURCHES DISCUSSED AND CONCORDANCE
OF THEIR NAMES

<i>Modern name</i>	<i>Medieval name</i>
Lateran basilica	<i>ecclesia Salvatoris domini nostri quae appellatur Constantiniana</i>
S. Abbacyri in xenodochium a Valeris	<i>S. Abbacyri in xenodochium a Valeris</i>
S. Adriano	<i>Sancti Hadriani in tribus foris (in via sacra); Curia Senatus</i>
S. Agata in suburra, S. Agata dei Goti	<i>monasterio sanctae Agathe martyris super Subora</i>

A note on terms and measurements used

S. Agnese fuori le mura	<i>monasterium sanctae Agnetis qui ponitur foris porta Numentana</i>
S. Anastasia	<i>titulus beatae Anastasiae</i>
S. Anastasio (Tre Fontane); Aqua Salvia	<i>Sancti Anastasi ad aquam salvia</i>
S. Angelo in Pescheria	<i>diaconia sancti Adriani martyris</i>
S. Arcangelo (<i>ad Elephantum?</i>)	<i>Sancti Abbacyri et archangeli ad alefantum</i>
S. Basilio	<i>Sancti Basilii</i>
S. Bibiana	<i>monasterium sanctae Vivianae</i>
S. Cecilia	<i>titulus beatae Ceciliae</i>
S. Ciriaco	<i>titulus sancti Cyriaci</i>
S. Clemente	<i>titulus beati Clementi martyris atque pontificis</i>
S. Cosimato	<i>Sancti Cosmae et Damiani in mica aurea</i>
S. Crisogono	<i>titulus beati Grisogoni martyris; monasterium sancti Grysogoni</i>
S. Erasmo	<i>monasterium sancti Erasmi qui ponitur in Caelio montem</i>
S. Eusebio	<i>titulus Sancti Eusebii</i>
S. Giorgio in Velabro	<i>diaconia sancti Georgi</i>
S. Giovanni a Porta Latina	<i>Sancti Iohannis (Evangelistae) ante portam latinam</i>
S. Isidoro	<i>monasterium sancti Isidori</i>
S. Lorenzo	<i>Oratorium sancti Laurentii supra Clementem</i>
S. Lorenzo fuori le mura	<i>ecclesia beati Laurentii martyris quae ponitur foris murum</i>
S. Lorenzo in Lucina	<i>titulus beati Laurentii martyris qui appellatur Lucina</i>
S. Lorenzo <i>in Pallacinis</i>	<i>monasterium beati Laurentii martyris qui appellatur Pallacini</i>
S. Lucia in Selcis	<i>diaconia sanctae Luciae quae appellatur Orphea</i>
S. Marco	<i>titulus beati Marci martyris atque pontificis, qui appellatur in Via Lata</i>
S. Maria <i>ad Martyres</i>	<i>ecclesia beatae Dei genetricis quae appellatur ad Martyres, Pantheon</i>
S. Maria Antiqua	<i>diaconia Dei genetricis quae appellatur Antiqua</i>
S. Maria in Aquiro	<i>diaconia sanctae Mariae in Ciro</i>

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S. Maria in Capella	<i>Sanctae Maria in Capella</i>
S. Maria in Cosmedin	<i>diaconia Dei genetricis quae appellatur Cosmidin</i>
S. Maria in Domnica	<i>diaconia sanctae Dei genetricis quae appellatur Dominica</i>
S. Maria in Grottaferrata	<i>monasterium Cryptae Ferratae</i>
S. Maria Nova, S. Francesca Romana	<i>Sanctae Mariae novae</i>
S. Maria in Trastevere	<i>ecclesia genetricis Dei in titulo Calisti; ecclesia Dei genetricis, quae more veterum nunc usque Calisti trans Tiberim dici</i>
S. Maria Maggiore	<i>basilica sanctae Dei genetricis ad Praesepe</i>
S. Martino ai Monti	<i>diaconia sanctorum Silvestri et Martini quae ponitur iuxta Orphea</i>
S. Michele (at the Lateran)	<i>oratorium sancti angeli</i>
S. Paolo fuori le mura, St Paul's	<i>ecclesia beati Pauli apostoli</i>
S. Pellegrino a Naumachia	<i>oratorium sancti Peregrini qui ponitur in hospitale dominico ad Naumachia</i>
S. Pietro, St Peter's	<i>ecclesia beati Petri apostoli</i>
S. Prassede	<i>ecclesia beatae Praxedis</i>
S. Prisca	<i>titulus beatissimorum Aquile et Prisce</i>
S. Saba	<i>monasterium sancti Sabe</i>
S. Sabina	<i>titulus beatae Savinae martyri</i>
S. Silvestro	<i>monasterium sancti Silvestri</i>
S. Sisto Vecchio	<i>ecclesia beati Xisti martyris atque pontificis</i>
S. Stefano degli Abissini, S. Stefano maggiore	<i>monasterium primi martyris Stephani qui ponitur ad beatum Petrum apostolum</i>
S. Stefano del Cacco	<i>Sancti Stephani de pinea</i>
S. Stefano Rotondo	<i>ecclesia beatissimi Stephani primi martyris quae ponitur in Caelio monte</i>
S. Stefano sulla Via Latina	<i>Sancti Stefani</i>
S. Stefano Vagauda	<i>Sancti Stefani vagauda</i>
S. Susanna	<i>titulus beatae Susannae</i>
S. Tommaso in Formis	<i>sancti Thomae de formis</i>
SS. Apostoli	<i>basilica Apostolorum quae ponitur in Via Lata</i>
SS. Cosma e Damiano	<i>diaconia sanctorum Cosme et Damiani</i>
SS. Giovanni e Paolo	<i>titulus Pamachi</i>

A note on terms and measurements used

SS. Marcellino e Pietro (via Merulana)	<i>Sanctorum petrus marcellinus</i>
SS. Nereo ed Achilleo	<i>diaconia sanctorum Nerei et Achillei</i>
SS. Processus e Martinianus	<i>Oratorium beatissimorum martyrum Processi et Martiniani</i>
SS. Quattro Coronati	<i>Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum</i>
SS. Quirico e Giulitta	<i>ecclesia sancti Quirici et Giulittae</i>
SS. Sergio and Bacco (near the Lateran)	<i>diaconia sanctorum Sergii et Bacchi</i>
SS. Sergio e Bacco	<i>Sanctorum Sergii et Bacchi post formam aquaeductus</i>
SS. Xistus et Fabianus	<i>oratorium beatissimorum martyrum Xisti et Fabiani</i>

DATES

Dates are all AD, unless otherwise noted. When referring to popes, abbots, kings or emperors, the dates following the name will be regnal years, as opposed to birth and death dates, unless otherwise specified.

‘PLUTEI’

The vocabulary of liturgical furniture is fraught with inconsistencies. In the following work, I shall use ‘chancel barriers’ and *plutei* (sing: *pluteus*) to refer to the panels of marble that form low walls around part of the nave, elements often erroneously referred to as the *schola cantorum*, a term peculiar to the Lateran, where the actual school of singers performed.¹

MEASUREMENTS

Linear measurements have been converted to metric using the following formula: 1 *palmo* = 12 *once* = 22.3422 cm.² Weights have been converted from early medieval *libbre* by the following conversion: 1 *libbra* = 12 *once* = 327.45 grams.³

¹ Elaine De Benedictis, ‘The senatorium and matroneum in the early Roman Church’, *RAC* 57 (1981), 69–85.
² *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti* (Rome, 1938), Ap. I, 841.
³ Paolo Delogu, ‘Oro e argento in Roma tra il VII ed il IX secolo’, *Cultura e società nell’Italia medievale*, Studi Storici 184–7 (Rome, 1988), I, 273, n.1.

ABBREVIATIONS

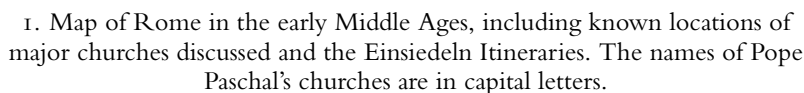
AM	<i>Archeologia Medievale.</i>
ARF	<i>Annales regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829 qui dicuntur annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi</i> , ed. F. Kurze, <i>MGH SRG SRL VI</i> (Hanover, 1895).
ASR	Archivio dello Stato, Roma.
ASRSP	<i>Archivio della R. Società romana della Storia Patria.</i>
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano.
BAV	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports.
BHL	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis</i> , ed. Society of Bollandists, Henri Fros (Brussels, 1898–1901).
BHLns	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis, novum supplementum</i> , ed. Society of Bollandists, Henri Fros (Brussels, 1986).
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1863), 16 vols.
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> (Paris, 1907–53), 15 vols.
DE	<i>Depositio Episcoporum</i> , in <i>Codice topografico della città di Roma</i> , ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, <i>Fonti per la storia d'Italia</i> 81A, 88, 90 and 91 (Rome, 1942), II, 1–16.
DLSM	<i>De Locis Sanctis Martyrum</i> , in <i>Codice topografico della città di Roma</i> , ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, <i>Fonti per la storia d'Italia</i> 81A, 88, 90 and 91 (Rome, 1942), II, 101–31.
DM	<i>Depositio Martyrum</i> , in <i>Codice topografico della città di Roma</i> , ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, <i>Fonti per la storia d'Italia</i> 81A, 88, 90 and 91 (Rome, 1942), II, 1–11, 17–28.
ICUR	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores</i> , ed. Giovanni Battista de Rossi (Rome, 1857–61), 2 vols.

Abbreviations

ICURns	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores</i> , n.s., ed. Antonio Ferrua and Angelo Silvagni (Rome, 1922–), 6 vols.
Jaffé	<i>Regesta pontificum romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII</i> , ed Phillip Jaffé, 2nd edn corrected and supplemented by Samuel Loewenfeld, Ferdinand Kaltenbrunner and Paul Ewald (Graz, 1956; orig. pub. Leipzig, 1885–8), 2 vols.
JWCI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> .
LP	Duchesne, Louis-Marie. <i>Le Liber Pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire</i> (Paris, 1886–92). Format for citations from the LP are as follows: number of the biography: chapter number according to Duchesne and <i>The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes</i> , trans. Raymond Davis, <i>Translated Texts for Historians</i> 13 (Liverpool, 1992) and <i>The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes</i> , trans. Raymond Davis, <i>Translated Texts for Historians</i> 20 (Liverpool, 1995).
LTUR	<i>Lexicon topographicum urbis romae</i> , ed. Margareta Steinby (Rome, 1996–2002), 5 vols.
LTURS	<i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. Suburbium</i> , ed. Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, Maria Grazia Granino and Zaccaria Mari (Rome, 2001).
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy, Rome</i> .
MEC	<i>Monumenta epigraphica christiana saeculo XIII antiquiora quae in Italiae finibus adhuc exstant</i> , ed. Angelo Silvagni (Rome, 1938–43).
MEFRM	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge</i> .
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> .
AA	<i>Auctores Antiquissimi</i> (Berlin, 1877–1919), 15 vols.
Cap.	<i>Legum Sectio II. Capitularia Regum Francorum</i> , ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause (Hanover, 1883–97).
Conc.	<i>Legum Sectio III, Concilia II</i> , ed. A. Werminghoff (Hanover, 1906–8), <i>III</i> , ed. W. Hartman (Hanover, 1984).
DD O	<i>Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser (Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae). Conradi I. Heinrich I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata</i> .
Epistolae	<i>Epistolae</i> (Hanover, 1892–1939).

Abbreviations

<i>Epistolae selectae</i>	<i>Epistolae selectae</i> (Berlin, 1916–52).
<i>Formulae</i>	<i>Formulae merovingici et karolini aevi</i> , ed. K. Zeumer (Hanover, 1881).
<i>Leges</i>	<i>Leges</i> (in folio), 5 vols.
<i>Poetae</i>	<i>Poetae latini aevi carolini</i> , ed. E. Dummler, L. Traube, P. von Winterfeld and K. Strecker (Hanover, 1881–99), 4 vols.
SRM	<i>Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i> (Hann, 1884).
SRG	<i>Scriptores</i> (in folio) (Hanover, 1826–1924), 30 vols.
SRG SRL	<i>Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i> (Hanover, 1871–1987), 63 vols.
SSRL	<i>Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum Saec. VI–IX</i> , ed G. Waitz (Hanover, 1878).
MH	<i>Martyrologium Hieronymianum</i> , ed. Giovanni Battista De Rossi and Louis Marie Duchesne (Brussels, 1894).
NEUR	<i>Notitia Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae</i> , in <i>Codice topografico della città di Roma</i> , ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, <i>Fonti per la storia d'Italia</i> 81A, 88, 90 and 91 (Rome, 1942), II, 67–99.
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> .
PG	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca</i> (Paris, 1844–1903), 161 vols.
PL	Jacques Paul Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina</i> (Paris, 1857–87), 221 vols.
PLRE	A. H. M. Jones, John R. Martindale and John Morris, <i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , vol. I AD 260–395 (Cambridge, 1971); John R. Martindale, <i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , vol. II AD 395–527 (Cambridge, 1980); <i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , vol. III AD 527–641 (Cambridge, 1992).
PM	<i>Papiri di Monza</i> , in <i>Codice topografico della città di Roma</i> , ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, <i>Fonti per la storia d'Italia</i> 81A, 88, 90 and 91 (Rome, 1942), II, 30–47.
RAC	<i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i> .
RINASA	<i>Rivista dell' Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell' arte</i> .



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2. Map of sites discussed.