#### THE MAKING OF MEDIEVAL ROME



Integrating the written sources with Rome's surviving remains and, most importantly, with the results of the past half-century's worth of medieval archaeology in the city, *The Making of Medieval Rome* is the first in-depth profile of Rome's transformation during the medieval millennium to appear in any language in over forty years. Though the main focus rests on Rome's urban trajectory in topographical, architectural, and archaeological terms, Hendrik Dey folds aspects of ecclesiastical, political, social, military, economic, and intellectual history into the narrative in order to illustrate how and why the cityscape evolved as it did during the thousand years between the end of the Roman Empire and the start of the Renaissance. A wide-ranging synthesis of decades' worth of specialized research and remarkable archaeological discoveries, this book is essential reading for anyone interested in how the ancient imperial capital transformed into the spiritual heart of Western Christendom.

Hendrik Dey spent years living and teaching in Rome, where he also held a twoyear Rome Prize at the American Academy. His books include *The Aurelian Wall and the Refashioning of Imperial Rome, AD* 271–855 (2011), and *The Afterlife of the Roman City: Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (2015).

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# THE MAKING OF MEDIEVAL ROME

A New Profile of the City, 400–1420

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#### PREFACE

HIS BOOK PURPORTS TO be the fullest treatment in any language of Rome's urban evolution across the full medieval millennium to appear in over forty years, since the publication, in 1980, of Richard Krautheimer's justly renowned *Rome, Profile of a City 312–1308*. As such, it has a staggering amount of ground to cover and needs to inform and (ideally) please a dauntingly wide range of prospective readers. It is a robust testament to the reach and quality of Krautheimer's book that it remains, even today, a standard resource for practicing scholars, for students, and – one assumes – for that legendary and much sought-after beast in academic publishing circles, the "educated general reader." Throughout the writing process, it has been my intent that all of the above likewise be able to use and profit from the present volume. I am aware of the risks inherent in trying to satisfy everybody and will make no apologies here for having made the attempt. I will, however, very briefly explain some of the editorial choices I have made.

Desiring to keep the text uncluttered by critical apparatus, I have remanded the notes to the end and reduced their number by placing them only at the end of paragraphs. Each paragraph or sequence of related paragraphs thus receives a more or less discursive endnote. Given that a mere list of all the bibliography relevant to the topics covered in the following pages, or even of the studies that have appeared since 1980 alone, would itself fill a book longer than this one, the sources that made the final cut are necessarily the survivors of a pitiless process of winnowing. My intention has been to permit students or less specialized

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researchers to find one or more, usually recent, starting points from which to begin exploring a topic in greater depth, and to provide experts with enough information to gauge who or what has done most to shape my thinking on a given subject. I include the syntheses that I find most valuable, of course, but tend to favor the primary sources, by which I mean both medieval texts and the reports produced by those responsible for the scientific excavation and/or analysis of medieval Roman sites in recent decades. More detailed or technical discussion than can comfortably fit in the main text may also appear in the notes.

I have not gone so far in catering to students and nonspecialists as to privilege English-language publications, though when something in English will do as well as anything else, I may opt for it. I have, however, fleshed out the primary sources in the bibliography by citing English translations of most of the editions listed. As I like to remind my students, and anyone else who will listen, it is almost always better to begin with the original sources - with what people (or, indeed, things) from the period in question have to tell us, rather than with what modern commentators say they said. As for the main text, I have tried to be clear enough to engage the novice, yet sufficiently precise to inform the expert, and withal to bore everyone as little as possible. Should tedium supervene nonetheless, the fault is probably mine, for it surely cannot lie with the city whose material riches and centrality on the world-historical stage combine to make it a uniquely fascinating place.

Nor, certainly, can the fault lie with those whose wisdom and generosity helped me bring this book to light. Special thanks are due to Paolo Squatriti, who toughened up a draft of the whole manuscript with his typically relentless critical acumen. Lucrezia Spera, Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, and Nicoletta Giannini dissected smaller but still lengthy chunks and helped me in countless other ways besides. The two anonymous readers engaged by Cambridge Press likewise devoted a humbling quotient of care and critical acumen to the manuscript, suggesting improvements and corrections that far exceeded the common run of readers' reports in both quantity and quality. These kind, perspicacious counselors and I naturally do not agree on everything, and I have occasionally persisted in my own views despite suggestions to the contrary, undoubtedly at my own peril, which leaves them all the more blameless for whatever travesties of fact and good judgment remain. Their formidable erudition, unstintingly shared, has saved me from numberless errors of commission and omission, and sensibly enhanced whatever virtues this book has.

A host of others helped to sustain this project and its author across years of research, writing, and production. For sharing their knowledge (and written work, published and otherwise) of medieval Rome with me; facilitating access to sites and monuments, and memorable site visits in their company; invitations to speak on the book or topics integral to its conception; help with acquiring images and/or the rights to reproduce them; and a host of other acts of personal and professional kindness, large and small, I thank Marco Aimone, Franco Astolfi, Lia Barelli, Douglas Boin, Giulia Bordi, Nicola Camerlenghi, Robert Coates-Stephens, Lavinia Cozza, Alessandro Delfino, Valeria di Cola, Phil Ditchfield, Judson Emerick, Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, Giorgio Fusconi, Federico Guidobaldi, Dario Internullo, Paolo Manfred Luchterhandt, Liverani, Daniele Manacorda, Maura Medri, Roberto Meneghini, Ian Mladjov, Alessandra Molinari, Fabrizio Oppedisano, Carlo Pavolini, Giorgio Rascaglia, Alessia Rovelli, Amy Russell, Michele Salzman, Rita Santolini, Mirella Serlorenzi, Sister Josepha and the nuns of the Fraternità di Gerusalemme at S. Sebastiano al Palatino; the Augustinian nuns of SS. Quattro Coronati; the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali - Museo Nazionale Romano; the Sovraintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali; the librarians and archivists at the American Academy in Rome, the Fototeca Unione at the American

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