people—*peculiaris populus*; and the holdings of the Church were by equation his or the Church's *res publica*, or temporal commonwealth.

Indeed, from the time of Gregory the Great, the Church's estates in Central Italy, from Latium to Southern Tuscany, were fictitiously the property of Saint Peter—the *patrimonium Petri*. Its strongholds were the Castles of Peter, *castra Petri*; it was ruled by Saint Peter's See, the papal administration; its possessions made the papacy in fact, if not in law, a temporal power; and Rome was the capital of this de facto sovereign state. Territorial and municipal administrations were developed; whether based on those long customary within the Church, or newly created, or derived from Byzantine traditions, they were in any event sovereign. Militias were formed in Rome and through the territory of the Church, the one in Rome divided as early as the seventh century into twelve military districts. Headed by the pope and composed of clerics and laymen, the administration handled both foreign relations and the possessions of the Church in Rome and in the Patrimony of Peter. Local notables in the capital and the territory filled the civilian and military high offices: judgeships, municipal posts, and commands in the militia. Leadership in ecclesiastical, civilian, and military affairs obviously interlocked. The same families furnished high-ranking clerics, civil servants, and military commanders. Papal elections, too, were ultimately determined by these families. They were, after all, "the leaders among the civil servants, among the armed Roman militia, and among the clergy." Popes were elected by the "priests and high clergy and officers of the militia," supported by "the entire army and the respectable citizens and the whole assembly of the Roman people"—the latter presumably vociferous and, if need be, violent supporters of opposing families and their candidates, chosen most often from among members of the clan. Naturally, factions favoring Byzantine, Longobard, or Frankish interests clashed. Elections, peaceful after a restless time in the late seventh century when there was strife "as usual," were again violently fought over from 757 by the families ruling Rome and the small towns of the countryside. Attempts to codify the procedure by granting the vote to the clergy alone and the right of confirmation by acclamation and written consent to lay leaders and the militia failed to end hostilities. Notwithstanding such infighting, the great families in the eighth century gave Rome a permanent sound government based on the self-perpetuating administration of the Church, permeated as it was by their clergy and lay members. In theory, this government represented the Roman people; in practice, it was made up of members of the ruling families and their followers, whatever title was given them—*optimates*, leaders, Senate.

If the stress was primarily on independence for the Church, Rome, and the Patrimony of Peter, the three being synonymous, other overtones were noticeable. A loose federation in Central Italy was focused on Rome and the Patrimony. Sometimes allied with, at other times directed against, the Longobards, it always aimed at breaking Byzantium's remaining hold on Italy. The movement was decidedly anti-foreign, if not proto-pan-Italian. Rome was its capital; the Rome of the papacy and of the great families; a Rome, moreover, where memories of ancient Rome resurfaced. Roman titles, long obsolete, were revived, intermingling with and replacing Byzantine ones. *Consul* became customary, along with the Byzantine titles *dux* and *comes*. *Senatus* was occasionally used to denote the great families—though the term became frequent only in the early ninth century. The Frankish king had the title *patricius Romanorum* bestowed on himself; and the commonwealth, heretofore simply *res publica*, became *Sanctae Dei ecclesiae res publica Romanorum*—both designations freely coined. Anti-Byzantine feeling was sustained by remembrance of Rome's ancient glory. The city of Saint Peter and the papacy, Christian Rome, was embraced by the memory of old Rome. She presented a new image to the world: her Christian past and present and the Rome of antiquity were the woof and warp of this image. The West and its legacy had gained the upper hand; the East had been eliminated from the new image Rome presented to the world.

CHAPTER FIVE

Renewal and Renascence: The Carolingian Age

The hundred years from 760 and 860 have strongly molded both the map of Rome and her image in contemporary thought. Buildings all over the city reflect her new vitality and her new place in the political picture of Europe; and, though her political power was soon lost, the memory of that power became the basis for an image of Rome that was to last for many centuries. The beginnings of this, the Carolingian Age, fall into the first half of Charlemagne's long reign (768-814) and into the pontificate of Hadrian I (772-795). This age climaxed in the first half of the ninth century under popes Leo III (795-816) and Paschal I (817-824), in the late years of Charlemagne and under the rule of his son, Louis the Pious. The end, roughly 840-860, coincided with the early reigns of Charlemagne's grandsons and with the pontificates of Gregory IV (827-844), Sergius II (844-847), and Leo IV (847-855). The decades from then till around 890 are marked by the figures of two great popes, Nicholas I and John VIII. Their political and religious concepts focused on the idea of a universal hierocracy; but the resulting actions, in the hard light of reality, came to nought. Nonetheless, revived centuries later, their concepts shaped the image of the papacy and her see, Rome, through the Middle Ages, but they no longer breathed the Carolingian spirit. Nor were they reflected, as were those of the popes over the preceding century, in buildings, mosaics, or wall paintings. To the modern visitor, no monuments in Rome recall that final third of the ninth century and its great pontiffs.

Pope Hadrian I, then, opens the Carolingian Age. He came from one of the Roman clans that for decades had served the Church, formulated and implemented her policies, given her popes, clergy, and lay servants, and dominated the city. The family mansion stood near S. Marco, on or near the site of Palazzo Venezia. His uncle and guardian Theodotus had been the high lay official who had established in 755 the diaconia of S. Angelo in Pescheria and had donated the paintings in the chapel named after him at S. Maria Antiqua. Hadrian was trained from his early years in the papal service and had served as *notarius regionum*, city-manager we might say. His family ties, training, and experience bound him to the traditions of both Christian and an older Rome, to the alliance between her ruling families and the papacy, and the need to defend her newly won independence and secular power. His biographer stresses his *romanità*, his being Roman to the core, "sprung from powerful Roman parents . . . defender of the faith, of his *patria* [the term connotes simultaneously birthplace, hometown, and fatherland] and the people entrusted to him . . . opponent of the foes of the Church of God and the commonwealth." Consequently he viewed the Franks' protection of the Church, of her territories, and of Rome as a necessity, but considered it equally essential to keep the protecting power at a distance. Charlemagne like his father, though *patricius Romanus* and protector of Rome and the papacy, still had to obtain the pope's permission to cross from St. Peter's—outside the walls—into the city proper, as a guest.

When Hadrian was elected, Rome was in poor shape. An improvement of economic conditions prior to the middle of the eighth century had been dealt a setback when in 752-755 Rome was twice besieged by the Longobards and the countryside was ravaged. The situation worsened after a breathing space of nearly twenty years, when new Longobard raids occurred in the first years of Hadrian's pontificate. Once again, estates outside the walls, private and Church property, were looted and burned; country folk and monastic congregations were driven into

the city; supply and distribution of provisions had broken down. The aqueducts, neglected and partly destroyed in the Longobard sieges, functioned badly or not at all. The city was poorly defended against enemies and the elements; time and again the Tiber flooded the town and the fields across the river, the Prati. Buildings were in poor repair: of houses nothing is known, but the churches inside and beyond the walls, from the great sanctuaries of Saints Peter, Paul, and Lawrence to the chapels on and over the cemeteries, needed major repairs. The catacombs were decaying; Longobard raiders had carried off the bones of martyrs, genuine or putative; herdsmen in the campagna were using the underground cemeteries as shelters for cattle and sheep. Except for John VII in his two-year pontificate early in the eighth century and Gregory III shortly after, the popes had been more concerned with the needs of Rome's day-to-day political survival than with church building or decoration. Hadrian, in fact, was faced with the same problem that had plagued nearly all his predecessors since the later sixth century. But the context of the problems had changed. With the final defeat of the Longobards and the elimination of the Byzantines from Central Italy, Rome, under the protection of the Franks, was safe from attack. The lands held or reconquered by the Church provided a new sound economic basis. They also provided forced labor for what Hadrian seems to have considered his foremost task: to revive his city, Rome.

The remedies he applied to that end were rarely new, but he applied them with energy. Residents and pilgrims had to be fed: importing provisions from afar was next to impossible; the Church holdings in South Italy had been confiscated by the Byzantines, and long-distance hauling overland from Central or North Italy was difficult. So Hadrian strove to reactivate agriculture near Rome, building up large estates, Church-owned, Church-run, and under obligation to deliver set quotas for the maintenance of churches, clergy, the papacy, and welfare institutions. Such *domus cultae* as they were called had already appeared in the 740s, when Pope Zacharias set up four in the Campagna. Rather than scattered farms that were often days away like Church land under his predecessors, Zacharias' comus cultae were large holdings bequeathed to the Church, built up into huge estates by additional purchases and within easy reach of the city. They were decreed "forever and absolutely inalienable." Charters were issued for this "apostolic farmland"—*constituta apostolicae exarationis*. Oratories linked to the farm buildings were built or redecorated. A corporation of clergy was installed on each Church farm, one supposes to supervise operations. And at least one of these estates under Zacharias was set aside to provision the papal court. Zacharias, of course, may only have codified standing or half-forgotten Church practice going back to Gregory the Great or beyond, and Hadrian only revived existing custom when he established his domus cultae. One called Capracorum near Veii, north of Rome, took the place of an ancient Roman villa. Others still unidentified may have done likewise. In any event, Hadrian vastly increased the number of these Church farms, founding no less than seven in the twenty-three years of his pontificate. It appears he made them even larger than his predecessors had done and linked them to the city by locating them along the great cross-country roads; and he set apart the produce of Capracorum, one of the largest, "with its farms, lands, buildings, vineyards, olive groves and watermills," to supply the welfare system of Rome. Wheat and oats, wine and vegetables were to be shipped to the "Granaries of the Church" and stored separately; one hundred hogs were to be killed annually and the pork stored on its own, not mixed with the foodstuffs belonging generally to the Church. Out of these provisions, one hundred poor were to be fed daily at the Lateran "in the portico next to the stairs where these same poor are depicted"; one would love to know what the mural looked like and whether it dated from Hadrian's time or earlier. To each person were doled out a pound of bread, two cups of wine, and a bowl of meat. In short, Hadrian revived the systems of agricultural production and welfare distribution instituted by Gregory the Great that had fallen into disuse over the past two centuries. Naturally, too, these domus cultae would serve—like those under Gregory the Great—as

political and economic power bases for the Church amid those big landowners, the great families or powerful abbeys. During the first quarter of the ninth century, Hadrian's successors increased the number and extent of these domus cultae by means fair and foul: purchases, bequests, confiscation from political opponents among the Roman nobility, illegal occupation of lands owned by abbeys, such as Farfa. Amid the inevitable friction, arson, and bloodshed by opponents, the Patrimony of Peter under Hadrian, Leo III (795-816), and Paschal I (817-824), grew into a powerful economic and political arm of the papacy.

Likewise, the increased number of diaconiae in Rome under Hadrian I and Leo III should be seen within the framework of recreating a "Gregorian" efficient welfare system and at the same time strengthening the papacy's hold on the urban masses and needy pilgrims. Three diaconiae were revived under Hadrian near St. Peter's to provide the local and foreign poor with alms—stipulating that they should take a weekly bath as well, an extraordinary measure for the time. Three more welfare centers, S. Adriano, SS. Sergio e Bacco, and SS. Cosma e Damiano, were installed or rebuilt on the Forum at the edge of the inhabited area, all richly endowed with land, vineyards, and serfs to provide food and "frequent baths," and all occupying ancient Roman buildings, long since converted into churches, but offering additional storage space; two more, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and S. Martino ai Monti, were added under Leo III by substituting them for ancient tituli. Repairs on the aqueducts—one recalls Gregory's measures—formed part of Hadrian's program to provide for the city. The Sabbatina aqueduct feeding the mills on the Gianicolo, the fountain in the atrium of St. Peter's, and the bath nearby "serving the pilgrims and those in charge"—again the preoccupation with sanitary provisions—had been cut in the Longobard siege of 778, and the lead pipes leading to St. Peter's had been looted and damaged by sheer neglect. Early in his pontificate, Hadrian rebuilt a hundred arches that were miles out of town, and repaired the pipeline "so that the water flowed as of old, feeding the fountain . . . [and] the bath and driving the mills inside the city." The Aqua Claudia likewise was repaired. Crossing the Celian Hill from Porta Maggiore, in Roman times it fed the huge reservoir near SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the Claudianum, and continued to the Palatine, the Aventine, and Trastevere; at the time of Pope Hadrian, it appears to have served mainly the Lateran, its bath, the baptistery, and the churches on the Celian. The Aqua Jobia, too, was restored at the same time as the Sabbatina; a branch of the Marcia, it ran mostly underground along the Celian and ended at the river, near S. Maria in Cosmedin. Finally, the Aqua Vergine, like the Jobia almost all underground, was recommissioned so as to supply "nearly the whole city." Along with provisioning and restoring the water supply went measures to defend Rome against attacks, human and elemental. The Aurelian Walls, though far too extensive to be either defended or besieged along their full length by eighth century armies, had for some time been objects of concern. But whereas earlier attempts at restoration had been limited to preparations or hasty repairs, Hadrian rebuilt walls and towers where needed all along the circumference and "from the ground"—whatever that means. To safeguard the crowds of faithful rushing through the fifth-century portico along the Tiber from the bridge at Castel S. Angelo to St. Peter's, he built a protecting embankment.

All these enterprises were city planning on a large scale. They required vision, rational foresight, a clear aim and, for the construction work, a strong labor force. The latter was provided by levies drawn from the countryside, a device not mentioned, and perhaps not used, in Rome since late antiquity. Hadrian's levies worked in shifts and were recruited apparently from the neighborhood of the building site—those from Southern Latium, then called Campania, on the Claudian Aqueduct outside the walls. Wages, food for the laborers, and materials were provided by the administration at considerable cost—one hundred pounds in gold for the repair of the city walls. Technical difficulties were a challenge to be overcome and hence they were proudly listed by the papal biographer: spanning the naves of the huge basilicas,

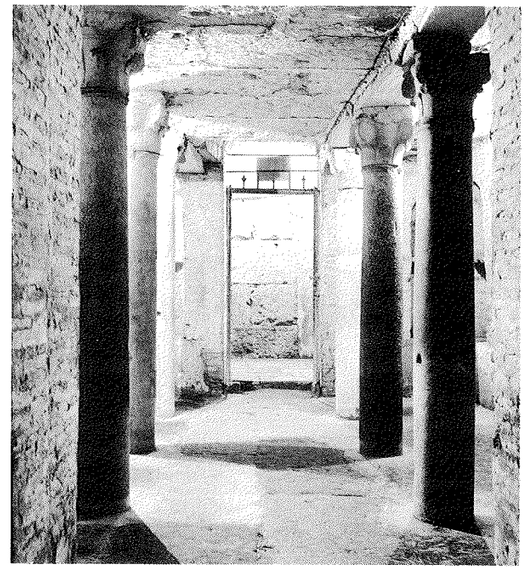
new beams were put in place—eighty feet long at St. Peter's; more than twelve thousand tufa blocks were used in the Tiber embankment near Castel S. Angelo; for rebuilding S. Maria in Cosmedin, a large temple behind the church was demolished by burning it, the whole operation taking a year. The aim of the whole of Hadrian's campaign was clear. Reorganizing agricultural production, restoring the welfare system, feeding residents and pilgrims, repairing the aqueducts, rebuilding the city defenses—all were part of an integrated, far-sighted, and practical program aimed at the physical renewal of Rome.

To make the city safe and livable was one of Hadrian's objects. Another was to restore the grandeur of her sanctuaries and to revive the veneration of her martyrs. Churches had been kept in reasonably good shape from the beginning of the eighth century onward, and new frescoes or icons were not rare: at S. Maria Antiqua, the mural cycles of John VII and of Theodotus had been complemented by the redecoration of the apse and triumphal arch under Paul I, Hadrian's predecessor; Hadrian later added wall paintings in the atrium. But Hadrian's vision was wider. If he did not, as his biographer claimed, "restore and embellish all the churches within and without the Walls of Rome," he at least set out on a consistent campaign to repair and refurbish as many as possible, especially where the need was greatest. Foremost were the great sanctuaries whose relics and memories attracted the flood of pilgrims: St. Peter's, where the atrium, pavement, and damage to the apse mosaic were taken care of; St. Paul's, S. Lorenzo, S. Pancrazio, SS. Marcellino e Pietro on the Labicana—all outside the walls; S. Maria Maggiore, which sheltered the manger of Christ; and the Lateran Basilica. S. Clemente was refurbished; so were SS. Apostoli, its apse repaired with metal clamps, and S. Marco, Hadrian's own church close to his family palace. Roof repairs were a primary task. The huge beams, requested from Charlemagne to span the naves of the major churches, came from the forests near Spoleto: thirty-five for St. Paul's, fifteen for the Lateran Basilica, fourteen for St. Peter's, twenty for S. Maria Maggiore. One thousand pounds of lead were to be provided by Charles for the roof of St. Peter's. The Frank Walcharius, archbishop of Sens and apparently an engineer long in the confidence of both the papal and Frankish courts, was to come to Rome as a consultant. In the end, the actual supervision was provided by a high-ranking member of the papal court, the *vestiarius Januarius*, with occasional assistance from Hadrian himself. Precious gifts were showered on major and minor churches: silver-covered icons to be placed on silver-covered beams at the chancel entrance, and masses of luxurious textiles—altar covers and sets of curtains for the doors, the triumphal arch, the chancel enclosure, and the intercolumniations of the nave—purple, silk, embroidered gold, and otherwise. Never before had such splendor been given so lavishly nor so proudly listed by the papal biographers; the new, secure landed wealth of the Church made itself felt. St. Peter's again received the lion's share: silver paving from the chancel doors to the foot of the high altar; a cross-shaped chandelier with one thousand three hundred and sixty-five lights to be lit at Easter, Christmas, the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, and on the pope's anniversary; a set of sixty-five curtains to hang between the nave columns; a large curtain for the main portal. St. Paul's with seventy curtains, the Lateran with fifty-seven, and S. Maria Maggiore with forty-two were not forgotten; S. Pancrazio received a twin set of thirty-eight, SS. Apostoli and Sto. Stefano Rotondo matching sets of twenty curtains each, all of linen and purple; the twenty-two titular churches then functioning were given sets of twenty, the sixteen diaconiae six curtains each; and altar covers were provided for all titular or other churches, diaconiae, and monasteries.

The catacombs and their chapels above or inside presented a problem. No burials had taken place there for some time. And ever since the Gothic Wars cemeteries above and below ground had fallen into a decay, only slightly delayed by repairs effected up until the time of Gregory the Great. The faithful in Rome, and the pilgrims from the North even more so, clamored to see and touch the martyrs' remains, and popular piety viewed as relics any bones

found in the catacombs or sanctuaries outside the city. A last campaign in the 730s aimed at repairing chapels and cemeteries and thus reviving the martyrs' cult *in situ* came to nought. Looting, devastation, and general neglect forced a new policy upon the Church: the transfer of relics, individually and in cartloads, to within the safety of the city walls, a measure formerly frowned upon in Rome and practiced only by popes of Eastern background. The mid-eighth century made this foreign custom Roman. When Paul I in 761 completed the church and monastery of S. Silvestro in Capite, founded by his brother and predecessor, Stephen II, on the grounds of the family mansion, he brought "from the devastated cemeteries innumerable bodies of saints." The remodeled church still stands east of the Corso; the monastery has given way to the General Post Office. Hadrian, too, provided for a mass transfer of relics: when rebuilding S. Maria in Cosmedin, he placed a "hall crypt" below the chancel; a small underground basilica supported by columns and architraves, its walls were set with niches, halved by shelves (fig. 87), where the relics were to be sheltered and made accessible to pious crowds. Too accessible—ninth-century church planners at S. Prassede, SS. Quattro Coronati, Sto. Stefano degli Abissini, and elsewhere reverted to the maximum security of the annular crypt as first laid out at St. Peter's around 590. Unique in Rome, the Cosmedin crypt drew on models of a faraway past, both pagan and Christian: *columbaria*, their sides honeycombed with niches to hold ash urns; and luxurious mausolea of basilical plan. Among the latter, the best known in Rome till the fifteenth century was attached to the apse of St. Peter's. Designed in rich classical forms, it was built shortly after 390 for Anicius Probus, a Christian grandseigneur, an ancestor of Gregory the Great, and a member of one of the great families that had ruled Rome in the fourth century, as had Hadrian's and Paul's in the eighth.

Another aim, then, is revealed in the building program of the papacy in the later part of the eighth century. Rome was to be restored for the safety, welfare, and benefit of residents and pilgrims; but she was to be restored also to the ancient glory of Christian antiquity. Hadrian and Paul's activity and that of their successors through the better part of the ninth century explicitly and by implication proclaimed the aim of bringing Rome back to the position she had held four and five hundred years before. The glittering splendor showered on her churches—it continued through the pontificates of Leo III and Paschal I in the first quarter of the new century—emulated, consciously it seems, Constantine's gifts as recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis*. The transfer of relics into the city, individually and by the cartload from the time of Paul I to that of Paschal, placed before the faithful visual testimony to the glorious past of Roman Christianity. The presence among them, at S. Silvestro in Capite, of relics of three early popes, including Sylvester, Constantine's contemporary, stressed the traditions of the early papacy and its links to the Christian Empire. Its venerable age and its descent from Saint Peter were similarly emphasized when, under Stephen II and Paul I, the sarcophagus of a Roman lady, Aurea Petronilla, was brought from St. Peter's to the rotunda, attached around 400 as an imperial mausoleum to its south transept; popular belief turned her into the daughter of the Apos-



87. S. Maria in Cosmedin, hall crypt

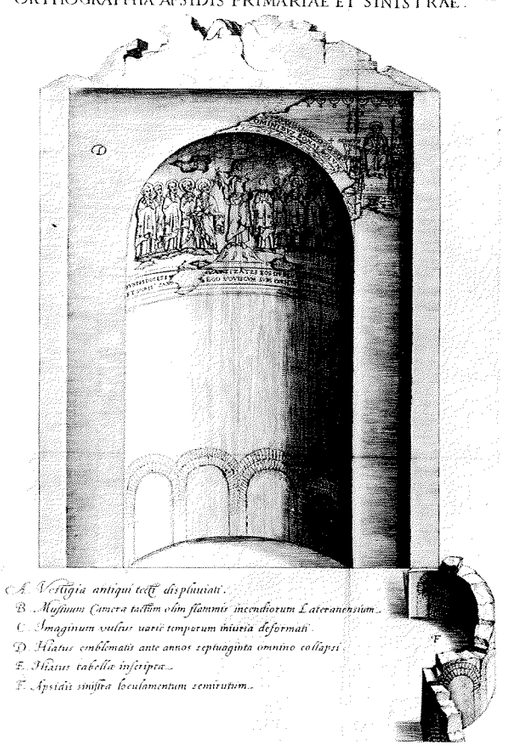
tle; and the dedication in 760 of the mausoleum to the new putative saint as the chapel of the Frankish kings established a tangible bond between them, the Apostle, and his successors to the see. Early Christian and specifically Constantinian usage was revived even in the architectural terminology of the papal biographers. Early in the pontificate of Pope Hadrian, St. Peter's is termed an *aula* rather than plainly a church (*basilica*, *ecclesia*). Aula had been used before only in the solemn language of dedicatory inscriptions, the most obvious being those of Constantine at St. Peter's—on the arch of the apse, on the triumphal arch, on the gold cross, the latter reported in the biography of Sylvester in the *Liber Pontificalis*. The arch between nave and transept, before simply the "major arch," in the 820s and 830s was called the "triumphal arch" as it is even today. The term was heretofore rarely employed, even for Roman triumphal arches. In all likelihood it was freely coined in analogy to the dedicatory lines both on the Arch of Constantine and on the triumphal arch at St. Peter's, triumphs being referred to in either case. Title churches in the second quarter of the ninth century were occasionally given not the customary names linked to their patron saints—S. Prisca, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, SS. Quattro Coronati—but designations obsolete since the sixth century: "*titulus Aquilae et Priscae*," "*titulus Pammachii*," "*titulus Aemilianae*." Finally, a late-eighth-century guide, the Codex Einsidlensis, was written no longer for the pious pilgrim: its introductory anthology records inscriptions impartially, whether pagan or Christian, secular or ecclesiastical, while the itineraries through the city, whether worked out from firsthand knowledge or from a map, list indiscriminately Christian and ancient monuments as they present themselves to the visitor. The guide, then, is meant to appeal to a visitor who is Christian, but has antiquarian interests and knowledge. Ancient Rome reclaims her place in the image of the city, long turned Christian.

All such elements spring from concepts current in Rome from before the mid-eighth century onward and, perhaps slightly later, at the Frankish court. They are reflected first in that famous spurious document, the Donation of Constantine. They came to fruition in A.D. 800, in the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor, an event not envisaged at the start. The Donation, either composed entirely in 754 during Pope Stephen II's stay in France, or gradually developed until the end of the century, pretended to be a decree addressed by Constantine to Pope Sylvester. In it, so runs the thesis, the emperor granted to the pope and to all his successors as the heirs of Saint Peter a status higher than his own "secular throne," imperial honors and income, *insignia* and *regalia*; he ceded him the Lateran Palace, the city of Rome, and "all provinces, places and towns of Italy and the Western regions"; and, because of this cession, he moved his capital to the East. Other concessions were thrown in, foremost among them papal supremacy over the Eastern patriarchates. The political theory thus outlined relegates the Byzantine emperor's de facto rule to the East without denying in so many words his legal sovereignty in the West; and it claims for the pope imperial status, spiritual supremacy over all of Christendom, and temporal rule over Rome, Italy, and the West. The latter claim, vague as it is, had best be understood as defining the positions of the pope and the Frankish king, as viewed from Rome. A king, and a "barbarian" king at that, was implicitly subject to the imperial authority as invested, according to the Donation, in the pope; he would be, as was Charlemagne, a powerful but obedient defender of the See of Saint Peter and his city; he would be styled "patrician of the Romans," the title created for and conferred on him by the papal chancery from 754 on without any legal basis. The claim of the papacy to Italy rested on firmer ground; it meant the holdings of the Church, the Lands of Saint Peter, including the ex-Byzantine territories in Central Italy. The claim to Rome was the least ambiguous and for that reason central. Finally, all three claims were hallowed by the imprint of Constantine's name.

Hadrian, intent as he was on preserving papal independence, carefully maintained to the end of his pontificate a balance of power—Byzantine emperor, King of the Franks, pope. The equilibrium was thrown off the beam when Leo III, ex-

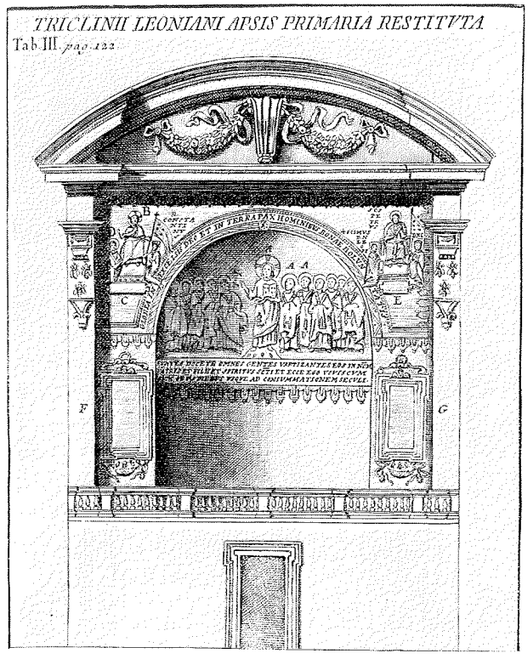
pelled by a putsch, returned to Rome in 799 under Charlemagne's protection. Cleansed from accusations and reconfirmed in his see, he crowned Charles emperor at St. Peter's on Christmas Day, A.D. 800. The step had apparently been prepared in meetings between Frankish and papal representatives and, Charles' biographer Einhard notwithstanding, the king must have been aware of its imminence: on approaching Rome, he was received with the ceremony accorded a Roman or Byzantine emperor rather than a *patricius*, as he had been on his previous visit; and the choirs of the Romans—clergy, civil servants, militia, nobles, and people—greeting him after the coronation as *Augustus* ("Majesty" is the best translation) were well rehearsed. But the character and extent of the new imperial sovereignty were left unspecified. The wish to spare Byzantine feelings may have been coupled with a lack of agreement on the significance of the step. The Frankish camp may have thought vaguely and idealistically of a "Christian Empire" of the West, based on the spread of Charles' power over nearly all of Christian Europe. The papal diplomats may have envisaged more concretely an *imperium Romanorum*, an empire of and for the Romans. Pledged to the defense of Rome and the Church, it would not have been too different from the "patriciate of the Romans" held previously by the Frankish kings and like it in the gift of the pope, as implied in the Donation.

The papal diplomats' view of Charlemagne as Constantine's heir and the protector of the Church, and their view of the pope as Saint Peter's successor and the fountainhead of both Frankish and papal rule, are reflected in a mosaic once in the Triclinium of Leo III and dating presumably from 798 or before April 799. The triclinium, a triconch hall in the Lateran Palace, was demolished in 1589, except for its main apse, and it is known only from descriptions and drawings. The main apse and its mosaic, thoroughly restored in 1625, survived until 1743, when the mosaic was transferred to a newly built niche behind the Scala Santa. In the transfer, what little was left of the original was so badly damaged and patched up as to leave only a copy, and not an entirely trustworthy one at that



88. Lateran, Triclinium of Leo III, before 1625

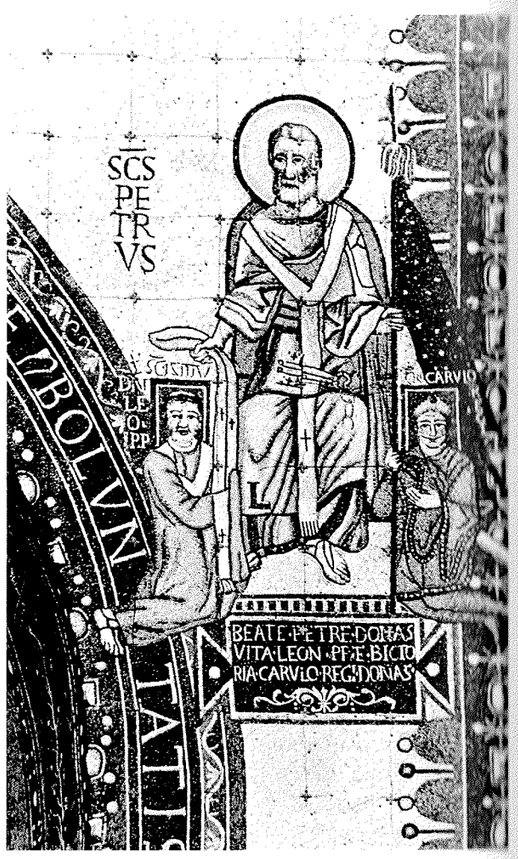
(figs. 88, 89). Of the original, only the fragment of one head survives in the Vatican Library, yet the main elements remain. On the front arch, on the sides of the apse opening, two groups were depicted, each of three figures. To the right Saint Peter enthroned handed the pallium to Pope Leo and a banner to Charles—still king, not emperor (fig. 90). On the left, at present Christ hands the labarum to Constantine, the pallium to Saint Peter; in 1625 this group was restored or possibly re-created, we don't know on what precise basis. Sylvester may have been represented instead of Saint Peter and even an entirely different group has been suggested. I myself believe, as do most scholars, that the group was conceived from the outset as the antetype of the one to the right, in the spirit of the Constantinian Donation. Correspondingly, in the half-dome of the apse, the Mission of the Apostles was shown in the original, as it is in the copy, Christ flanked by the eleven disciples going to



89. Lateran, Triclinium of Leo III, as restored in 1625

convert all the world. Clearly, the scene alludes to the policy of spreading the faith and strengthening the position of the Roman Church in Europe. In this policy the Church counted on the support of Charlemagne. This support she had received from Constantine in her mission to "resurrect the world under Christ's leadership," as phrased in the inscription on the triumphal arch at St. Peter's and as implied from the mid-eighth century on in the Constantinian Donation. Constantine was to be Charlemagne's model in supporting and protecting the Church. Details remain a matter of argument. But whatever the answer, the mosaic in Leo's triclinium seems to me the first visible witness in Rome of the Carolingian Renascence.

The coronation on Christmas Day 800, though not intended to do so, changed the political picture from that reflected by the mosaic. Leo III and his advisers may well have viewed the imperial crown as the mere seal on the old alliance between the pope and the *patricius Romanorum*. But the creation of the empire had political and ideological consequences not readily foreseen by contemporaries. By implication it denied any Byzantine claim to the West, previously unsubstantial but unchallenged. Beyond, the Western emperor claimed implicitly and explicitly to succeed the Roman emperors of antiquity: to succeed the Christian emperors explicitly, but implicitly their pagan predecessors as well. Charlemagne ruled large parts of what had been their domain, including their capitals "in Italy, Gaul, Germany"; he held Rome, the "Mother of the Empire, where Caesars and Emperors were wont to reside"; he and his successors adopted the titles *Caesar* and *Augustus*, as first used on Christmas Day, 800; documents were dated in consular years and *post consulatum*, in the Roman style; seals bear the legend

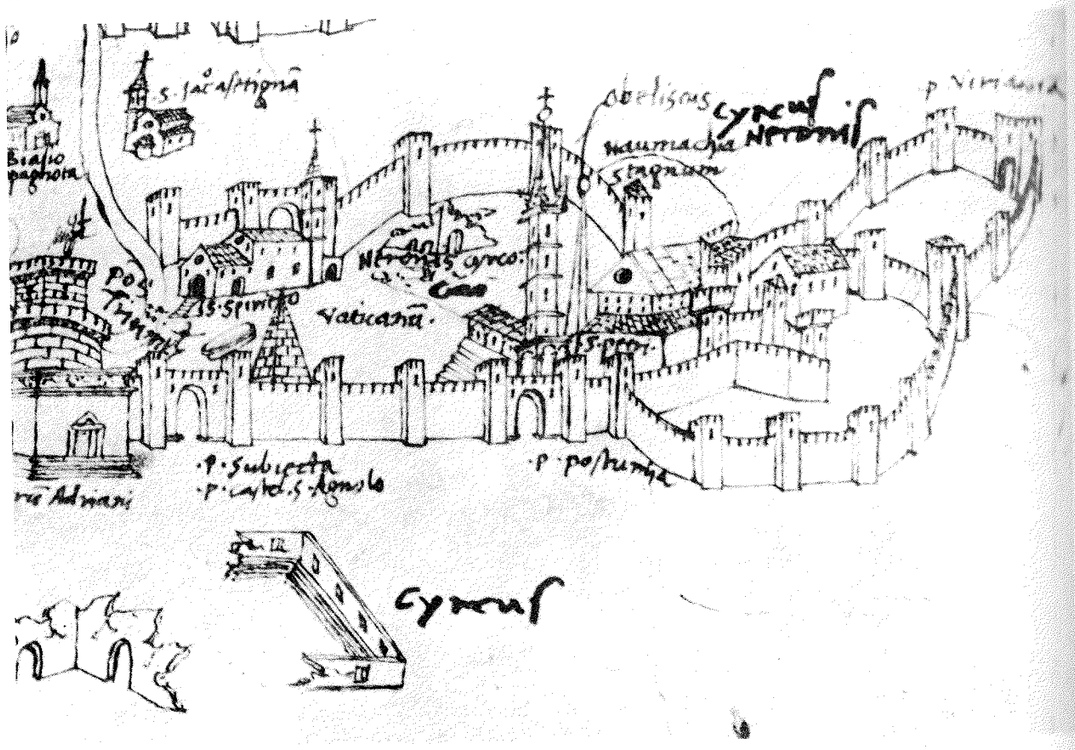


90. Lateran, Triclinium of Leo III, mosaic, eighteenth-century copy, detail of Saint Peter with Charlemagne and Leo III

Renovatio Romani Imperii, framing a symbolic image of Rome. Charles' court-poet, Alcuin, addressed him as *Flavius Anicius Carlus*, Flavius being the official name borne by Christian emperors from Constantine on. It is self-evident that within this framework the first Christian emperor was a key figure. As conceived by the Donation, papal diplomacy foresaw the revival of a new Christian Empire as focused on the figures of Constantine and Sylvester: at their time, so it was thought, Christianity and the empire were supposedly one, and the first Christian Emperor and Protector of the Church ruled in unison with his papal counterpart. The parallel between Charlemagne and Constantine, alluded to, I believe, in the mosaics of the triclinium in 798-799, became an integral part of the political theory. Time and again the papal chancery referred to Constantine as a model for Charlemagne, the "new Constantine." A crown believed to have been Constantine's was supposedly used for the coronation of Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son, in 816. Possibly a piece of poetic fiction, the report nonetheless reveals contemporary concepts of the new empire. Ideally, if not in fact, Rome was both the capital of that empire and the see of the papal successors to Sylvester and to Saint Peter.

The situation was fraught with perils: for the papacy, that of surrender to an all-too powerful ally; for the empire, permanent involvement in the affairs of Rome, the papacy, and the family factions, who controlled both the city and the See of Saint Peter. As Charles' successors grew ever more conscious of the claims and obligations inherent in their imperial role, the Frankish and the papal sides became aware of the dangers. In 824 Lothar, Charlemagne's grandson, felt compelled to assert his authority over Rome; a constitution was issued both to break the revolt of a local Roman faction against Pope Gregory IV and to check the all-too strong papal reaction. The decree in effect established imperial overlordship over the city and the papacy: papal elections, to be voted on by the clergy and consented to by the lay leaders, were to become valid only after imperial confirmation; the Roman nobility was granted protection against arbitrary papal action; and an imperial resident, a *missus*, was to act jointly with a representative of the pope as supervisor for Rome and the papal see. A separate agreement demanded an oath of allegiance to the emperor from the newly elected pope, the clergy, and the leaders among the citizens. Reacting against such imperial claims, the Roman clergy and lay leaders elected, over the following decades, a series of popes chosen from among the great Roman clans, all set on defending the independence of Rome and the Church and the hold of the local power elite on the papal see. Things came to a head when, in 843, the empire claimed the city of Rome and the Lands of Saint Peter as a fief subject to its subkingdom of Italy, which had been meanwhile established. Pope Sergius II, a Roman grandee, resisted the demand, notwithstanding a punitive expedition by the Italian king, Lothar's son; a rigged Church council set in motion against the pope failed. The breach was patched up: imperial confirmation of papal elections continued; the oath of allegiance to the emperor was sworn as before; and coronation by the pope remained a prerequisite of imperial legitimacy. But resentment against the Northern barbarians was strong among Romans, united in passive resistance, and it was deepened by the lessening of central authority within the Carolingian Empire. Raids by Saracen pirates in 846 and the looting of the churches of Saints Peter and Paul showed up the helplessness of the city and the lack of adequate imperial protection. Self-defense and independence became the goal of the Romans. The threat of a new raid was averted by the victory won in 849 by a naval coalition, which was headed by Pope Leo IV but drawn from Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi.

Simultaneously, a program of fortification was carried out along the coast and inland. To secure St. Peter's and its treasures, the surrounding minor churches, monasteries, hostels, and foreigners' compounds, a wall was built enclosing the entire settlement that had formed around the basilica (fig. 91). Starting at Castel S. Angelo, this Leonine Wall ran due west to Porta S. Pellegrino, next to the passage that now leads from the north to Bernini's Piazza; from there it continued, it seems, to the foot of the hill behind the apse of St. Peter's so as to secure, together



91. Map of Rome, 1474 (original 1450), A. Strozzi, detail of Borgo Civitas Leonina, with Leonine Wall, later enlarged

with the basilica, Sto. Stefano degli Abissini and the other churches and convents nearby. Then, the wall turned back east and by way of the Saxon Gate, near today's Porta Sto. Spirito, it reached the river bank. Of the north stretch, large parts survive; the major part carries the fifteenth-century *passetto*, the corridor linking Castel S. Angelo to the Vatican Palace; smaller fragments have been identified in the papal gardens north of New St. Peter's. The south wall of Leo IV seems to have disappeared in medieval times and its exact course is uncertain. It was rebuilt later, perhaps between 1277 and 1280 by Pope Nicholas III, a great builder, either on the original lines or slightly further south. One may reasonably assume that Leo's wall would have enclosed both the hill with the Frisians' compound, replaced in the twelfth century by S. Michele Magno, and the site of the hospital of Sto. Spirito, then the Saxon compound. Northward and westward, the land enclosed by Leo's wall was later enlarged and secured by new walls, as seen on the Strozzi map of Rome, copied in 1474 from an original dating back to 1447. Nicholas III built the northward loop to enclose the medieval Vatican Palace he had enlarged. A huge westward loop ascends the hill behind the basilica and carries on its crest Porta Pertusa; it is commonly attributed to Nicholas V, who from 1451 to 1455 began to strengthen the fortifications all around. The battened base of a huge tower of his, the Torrione, remains at the east corner of the northern loop. The Strozzi map does not show that tower, but it renders the big west loop of the wall behind St. Peter's, and therefore this loop may well antedate the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century, all these defenses dating from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries were replaced by a modern system of fortifications with bastions—a system that to this day encloses Vatican City.

The wall of Leo IV had already been planned

92. Leonine Wall, north stretch, detail as before 1938

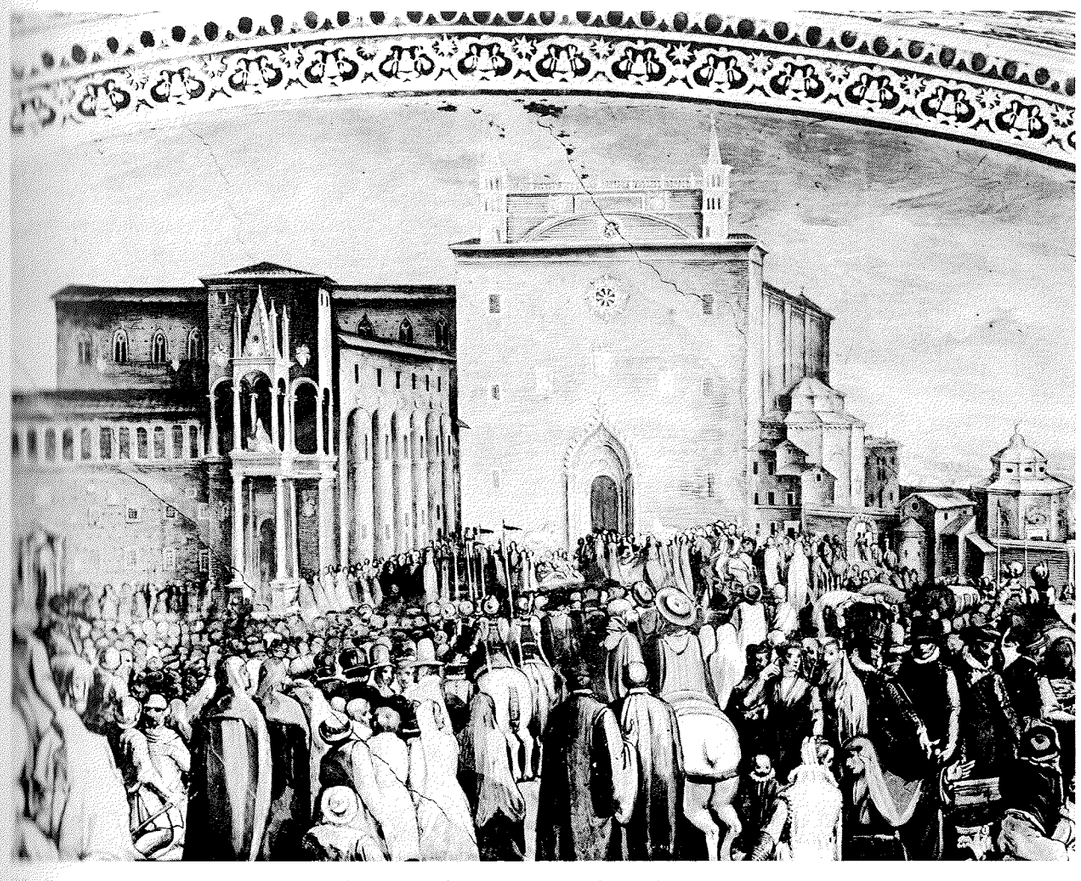
half a century before his pontificate. Leo III had laid its foundations and assembled materials; they were subsequently stolen. The events of 846 shook Leo IV into action. The emperor's agreement was obtained. A meeting was called to organize the work. Levies, militarily organized militias, were drafted from the *domus cultae*, or Church farms, from independent churches, and from monasteries in the Campagna. Each militia was assigned a stretch of wall, identified by an inscription. Construction followed a new defense technique different from that of the Aurelian Walls. The remains of the Leonine Wall are hidden under later rebuildings, but its features remain clear. It was equipped with forty-six fortified towers, *turres castellatae*, each having a machicolated parapet, rather than the uniform type of merlon with traverse that was characteristic of the older wall (fig. 92). Begun in 847, work was completed by 853. On June 27 of that year, Pope Leo's new city, the Civitas Leonina, was solemnly consecrated, the pope accompanied by his clergy, all barefoot, with ashes on their heads, making the rounds of the wall, sprinkling holy water on the new construction. At each of the gates the Pope offered a prayer that the new city might be secure from the enemies against whom it had been built: the *new city*, for the Civitas Leonina was and for many centuries remained a separate town outside and different from Rome. Dedicatory inscriptions were placed over its four gates, that of S. Pellegrino, the Saxon Gate, the one near Castel S. Angelo, and a fourth of unknown location. The wording breathes a new spirit of pride and self-confidence: Rome is again "the head of the world, its splendor, its hope, Golden Rome"; and "Romans, Franks and Longobards" are called upon to admire the work of Leo. Similarly, when a fortification was built in the 880s to protect St. Paul's, called *Johannipolis* after its founder, Pope John VIII, against renewed Sara-

cen threats, the inscription over the gate addressed itself to the "nobles, old and young, wearing the toga." With the building of the Leonine City and the victory over the Saracens, a new image of Rome began to take shape in the circles that determined papal policies. It lasted only a short while and, except for the wall and town of Leo IV, it has left no major visual record. Rather than this last phase, churches and their decoration in Rome splendidly reflect the apex of the Carolingian Renascence from the pontificate of Leo III to just after the middle of the ninth century.

The image of Rome that coincides with this Carolingian Renascence had many layers for contemporaries. As of old, she was the city of the martyrs, the resting place of Saint Peter, the goal of pilgrims. She was the See of Saint Peter and his successors and, in a very real sense, the capital and administrative center of his vast patrimony. However, she also connoted an imperial capital in a dual and, indeed, conflicting sense. Granted to Sylvester by Constantine, as the Donation had it, the possession of the city reflected the pontiff's imperial standing. At the same time, the new Western emperor, being heir to Constantine and to all Roman emperors, retained his title to Rome as his capital. She was the "Mother of the Empire" and her location within his domains was a strong argument supporting Charlemagne's claim to the new imperial crown. The handing over to him by Leo III of the city's banners symbolically demonstrated the handing over to the emperor of his capital. The emperor's coronation took place in Rome at St. Peter's, and only thus gained legitimacy. Time and again contemporaries insist on deriving the title to the empire from the possession of Rome and from election by the "Roman people." Old Rome reclaimed her place and the concepts of *Rome* and *Empire* became interchangeable and indivisible. But both concepts oscillate: Constantine's Rome and the Rome of the Caesars; the Rome of the papacy and the Rome of the Carolingian emperors; Old Rome and New Rome on the Bosphorus, the Eastern emperor's capital, which mirrored the old one.

All these images, jointly or singly, are reflected in the donations and the building activity of the papacy, from Leo III to his namesake, Leo IV (847-855), and perhaps beyond. To revive Rome in her old Christian splendor had already been a major aim of Hadrian I. It became the foremost goal of his successors, though with stronger political overtones, to give a visible sign of her grandeur. New churches were laid out to replace the last surviving community centers: ordinary houses remodeled or simple halls of early date, they no longer reflected the new image of Rome. Church furnishings and the decoration of papal palaces grew ever richer. Leo III's biographer endlessly lists churches repaired or newly built: new audience and banqueting halls in the Lateran Palace and near St. Peter's; mosaics and paintings, silver furnishings, textiles for altars and church naves, lighting fixtures—all papal gifts. One hundred and twenty silver chandeliers, from the largest to the smallest and graded according to the recipients' importance, were distributed in 806 or 807 to all churches, diaconiae, monasteries, and oratories then functioning in Rome. None of the previous *vitae* in the *Liber Pontificalis*, not even Hadrian's, had given in equal detail inventories of the riches showered on the city's churches—not since Constantine's days, and the parallel is not without meaning. Similarly, in the biographies of Paschal I (817-824) and Gregory IV (827-844) the stress is on their gifts and their buildings rather than on political events. Only afterwards and through the third quarter of the ninth century does papal largesse take second place in their biographies and, one suspects, in reality as well.

The Rome of the emperors mirrored in the living tradition of ninth-century Byzantium exerts a powerful impact, primarily on papal palace building. No major elements, except the mosaic of Leo III's triclinium, survive of the palace of the popes at the Lateran; and the extant records—descriptions, plans, and views prior to its demolition in 1589—give only an approximate idea. But it seems evident that its nucleus, parts antedating the cession of the building to the bishop of Rome, rose near and underneath the present Scala Santa, and that this nucleus grew westward as time passed. Likewise, it is clear that as early as the eighth century, if not be-

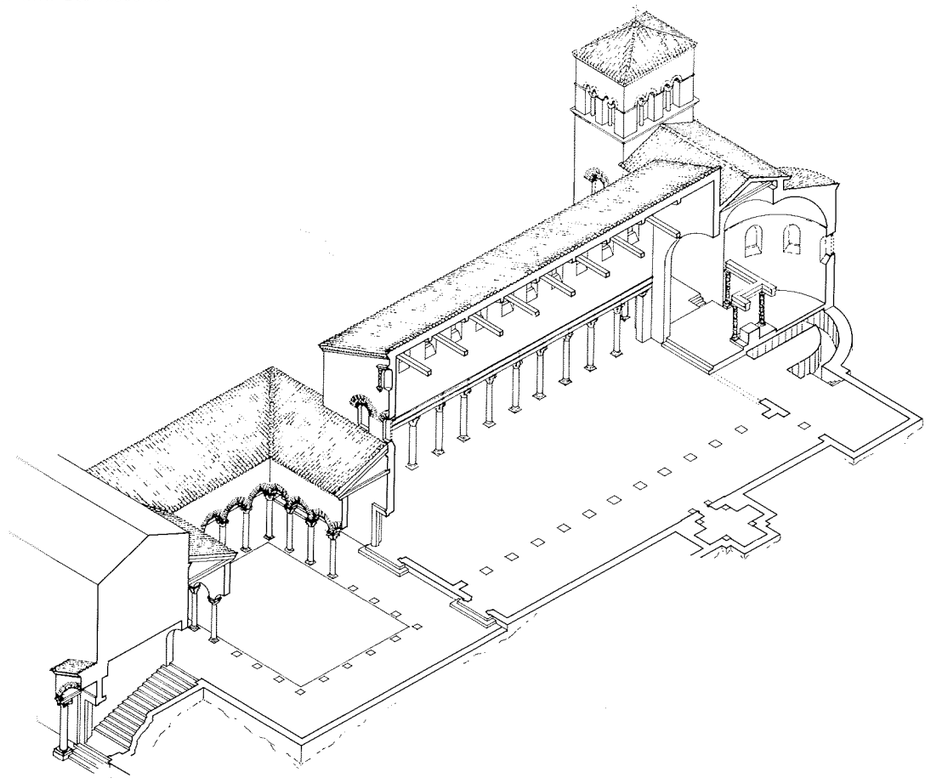


93. Lateran Palace and Church as before 1588, fresco, Vatican, detail showing banqueting hall and thirteenth-century transept of basilica

fore, the papal patrons were set on competing with the Palace of the Byzantine Emperors in the New Rome on the Bosphorus. When, shortly before the middle of the century, Pope Zacharias erected an entrance "tower" with a bronze gate surmounted by a portrait of Christ, it was unmistakably derived from the bronze gate, the Chalkē—the two-storied towerlike entrance to the Imperial Palace in Constantinople. Likewise, the triclinium that he built, decorated with marble revetment, mosaics, and murals, and provided with a portico, competed with similar elements in the Imperial Palace. Sixty years later, the intention of rivaling the palace of the Byzantine *basileus* is equally obvious in the structures added to the Lateran Palace by Leo III. The triconch triclinium, its apse carrying in mosaic the Mission of the Apostles and the two groups of pope and emperor, was "larger than all other triclinia"—it measured nearly 26 meters by 12.50 meters. Its walls were sheathed in marble; the entrance was supported by porphyry columns, white columns, and pilasters and preceded by a narthex, as it appears in a sketch done before 1588. The structure in plan, colorful decoration, and precious materials continued a tradition of triconch ceremonial reception rooms going back to antiquity. In Constantinople, the type lived on, as witness a triconch in the Imperial Palace of slightly later date, which had just the features of Leo's triclinium. A second triclinium, built by Leo III shortly after 800 in the Lateran Palace and restored fifty years later, likewise found its counterpart in the

Great Palace in Constantinople. Pictorial and written records antedating the demolition of the old Lateran Palace in 1588 give a fair impression of Leo's structure (fig. 93). A full 68 meters long and located on the upper, main floor of the palace, perpendicular to the northern flank of the Lateran church, the triclinium served as a state banqueting hall. A terminating apse and five conchs on either flank of the hall held tables and dining divans, *accubita*—apparently at such solemn occasions one lay rather than sat at table. The interior, like the triconch hall, was fitted with marble revetment and paving, a porphyry fountain and mosaics. From an anteroom, a canopied balcony projected north overlooking the area facing the palace; much restored or rebuilt, it still served even to 1300 as a focal point from which to impart the papal blessing *urbi et orbi*. A long corridor—it bore the Greek name *macrona* and was merely repaired by Leo III—linked the hall and balcony to the parts of the palace near the façade of the church. Dining halls with flanking conchs had been familiar, to be sure, since antiquity: in Constantinople; in Ravenna; in Rome, where Leo III himself had built another one adjoining the steps ascending the atrium of St. Peter's. However, the Lateran banqueting hall, in plan, decoration, furnishing, and function, was clearly meant to compete with the Hall of the Nineteen Divans in the Great Palace of the Emperors in Constantinople: size, location in and links with the rest of the palace, and function all correspond. It remains unclear whether the Great Palace of the Emperors in Constantinople was also mirrored in any of the other halls or oratories added to the Lateran Palace or refurbished in the ninth century: one more triconch hall and a comfortable living room—or was it an open loggia?—both built by Gregory IV; or the basilica of Nicholas I, with its three fountains, completed around 870. Links are more than possible; rivaling the Imperial Palace of Byzantium had been an aim of papal building in the Lateran Palace from before the middle of the eighth century. But the tendency gains new meaning in the context of Rome's revival as the imperial capital of both pope and emperor in the West.

The many-layered meaning of Rome to contemporaries is best seen in the ecclesiastical building program, not so much of Leo III as of his successors, from 817 till the middle of the ninth century. As it took twenty-five years for the concept of the revived Empire to consolidate fully, so it took time for the idea of the renascence to be reflected fully in church planning and decoration. Those laid out by Hadrian and the majority of Leo III's church buildings revert to Byzantine models or derive from Near Eastern church plans long rooted in the West; still under Paschal I, around 819 or 820, S. Maria in Dominica was laid out with three apses as S. Angelo in Pescheria had been sixty-five years before. But already in the first years of Leo III's pontificate, church plans and mosaic decoration start reverting to Early Christian, and specifically Constantinian, models. Beginning with Paschal I, the plans of churches, their decoration, and their number—nearly a dozen survive—speak not only of the vigor of a papacy intent on renewing Rome, but clearly of a program to renew the city and her monuments in the spirit of a rebirth of Constantinian building and decoration, genuine or putative. Nearly all the new churches of the first half of the ninth century replace community centers or churches no longer up-to-date and out of keeping with the dignity of a papal and imperial capital. The new structures were reasonably large, no longer hidden away, and clearly had the appearance of churches to the eye of any contemporary. They were meant to create a new image of Rome in planning, design, and masonry technique. Eastern church plans or purely local features, prevailing still in the pontificate of Leo III, disappear. The new churches and their mosaics unmistakably reflect the determination to revive the Christian past of Rome in its manifold aspects: the Rome of Constantine and Sylvester; the Rome of the martyrs; the Rome of Saint Peter, fountainhead of papal and Frankish power; the Rome of the church where he rested. Expressing a political creed, they patently go back to past prototypes. Inevitably, elements of classical pagan antiquity, whether decorative and thus neutral or prone to Christian reinterpretation, were fused into the compound. That the Carolingian Renascence, of which this Roman revival forms a part, was rooted and fo-



94. S. Prassede, isometric reconstruction Spencer Corbett

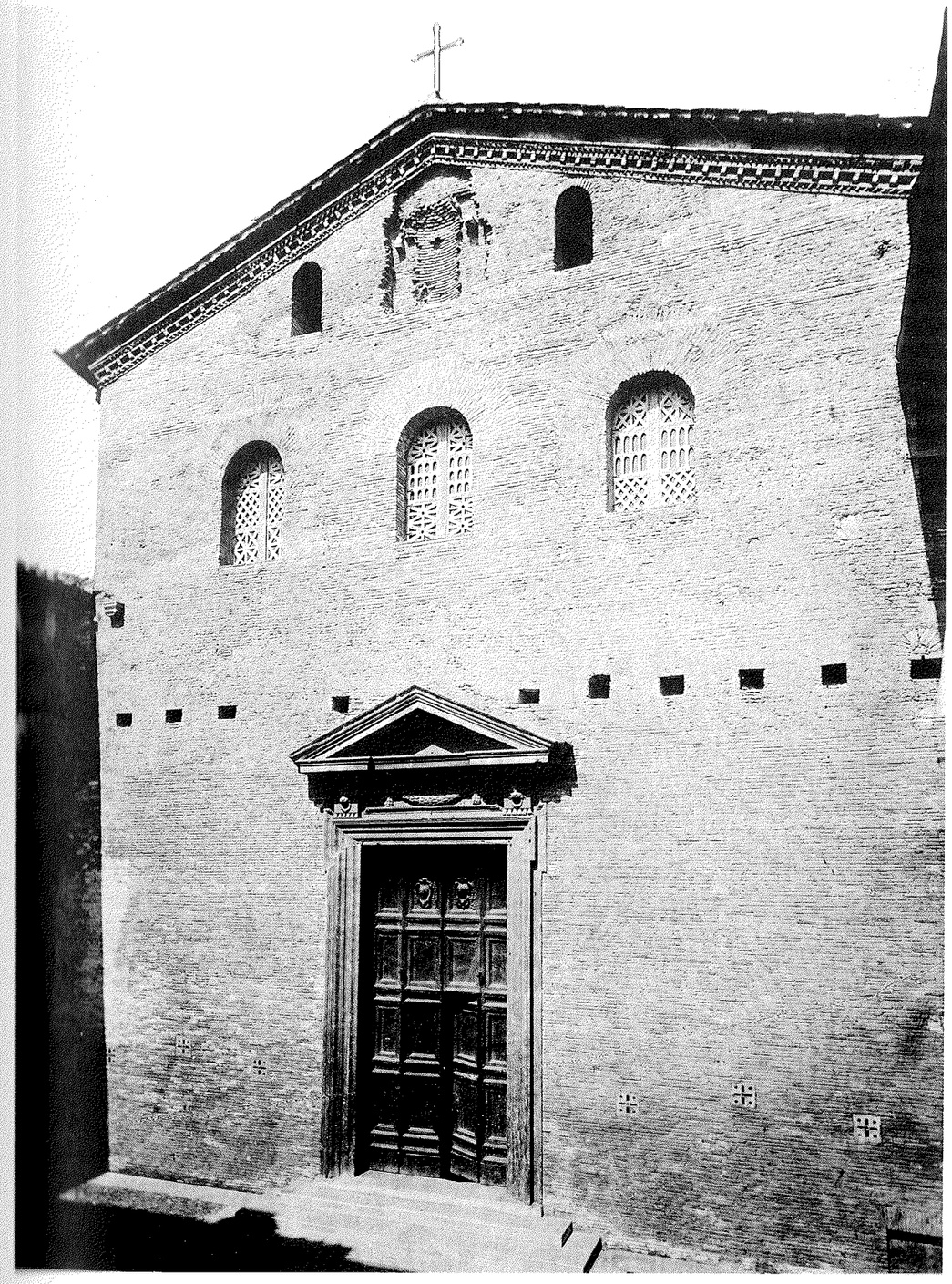
rmed north of the Alps, places Rome in a new context: for the first time in all her history, she wants to be seen in a European, and no longer in a Mediterranean, perspective; even so, within the overall picture of the Carolingian Renascence, Rome carries a note of her own.

The Roman church type of Carolingian times is best represented by S. Prassede, as laid out and decorated by Paschal I (fig. 94). Replacing an old community center, it was built to shelter "many remains of saints lying in ruined cemeteries," collected by Paschal "so as to save them from neglect," and solemnly transferred into the city church. A long list survives in the church, giving their names, and the inscription below the apse mosaic, too, stresses the martyrs' theme. The plan of the structure clearly harks back, though on a vastly reduced scale and somewhat simplified, to Constantine's St. Peter's: a flight of steps ascending the atrium, once enveloped by four arcaded porticoes; a plain façade; the nave carried by trabeated colonnades (it was redecorated in the sixteenth century, when its ten small windows were blocked and replaced by four large ones, whereas the diaphragm arches across the nave and their supporting piers were inserted in the High Middle Ages); a narrow transept communicating with the nave through a triumphal arch; a single apse; underneath, an annular crypt like that which around 590 had been inserted into St. Peter's; the aisles, single rather than double, are linked to the transept by colonnaded and trabeated twin openings, recalling the corresponding triple openings in the Vatican Basilica (figs. 95, 96). The reduction in scale is as obvious as the resemblances: two instead of four aisles; eleven instead of twenty-two columns on either side of the nave; one instead of two columns screening the transept off the aisles. At the same time, the transept equals the

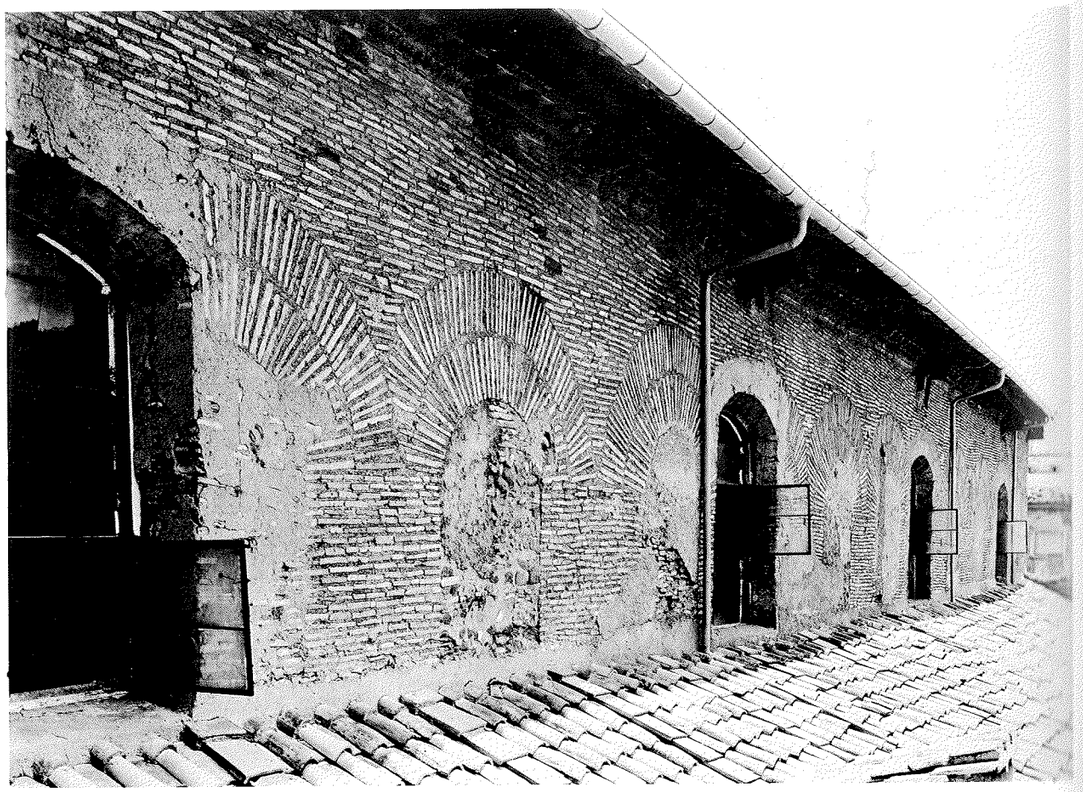
95. S. Prassede, interior

nave in height, unlike the original low transept of St. Peter's; moreover, it lacks the projecting exedrae. Other putatively Constantinian models, such as S. Paolo fuori le mura, were presumably on the mind of Paschal's architect. The technique of construction, too, revives fourth- and fifth-century custom: bricks are laid in more or less regular courses, though sloping, rather than with the poor workmanship seen in eighth-century Rome; the small original windows, now blocked, are surmounted by double relieving arches, recalling the doubled arches customary for far wider spans in ancient and in fourth-century structures, such as the triumphal arch of S. Paolo fuori le mura (fig. 97). Foundations are solidly laid—built, to be sure, not of heavy-faced concrete as four and five hundred years before, but of large tufa blocks quarried from the "Servian" city walls: at S. Silvestro in Capite, S. Prassede, the Quattro Coronati, along the flank of S. Martino ai Monti. Columns and architraves, although spoils, are selected and displayed with regard to size and material almost as carefully as in Early Christian times.

The decoration as clearly as the plan of S. Prassede reflects the character of early ninth century Rome. The wall of the apse is sheathed in marble—restored some fifty years ago—and the vault still carries the original mosaic, the whole reminiscent of Leo's Triclinia in the Lateran Palace. The reappearance of mosaic in Rome shortly before 800 was presumably stimulated by the wish to compete with imperial secular and church building in Byzantium. More decisively, though, it links up with Carolingian Rome's revival of Roman late antique Christian monumental art: Old St. Peter's, the Lateran Basilica, S. Paolo fuori le mura are the models that church planners, architects, and mosaic workers kept foremost in mind. The material employed by the Carolingian mosaicists, almost exclusively glass tesserae rather than the cut



96. S. Prassede, façade



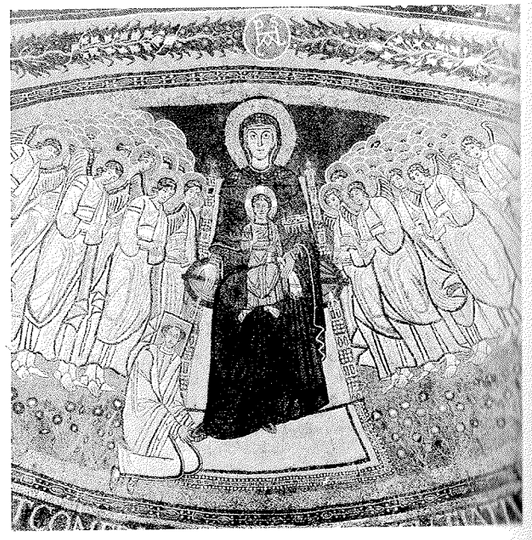
97. S. Prassede, clerestory wall

tomary marble and glass of Byzantium, was that used by their ancestors three and four centuries before; the glass cubes themselves, in fact, seem to have been taken from decayed ancient mosaics. Likewise, the iconographic schemes are drawn from the distant Christian past. At S. Prassede, Christ at his Second Coming floats in a deep blue heaven, enlivened by red, pink, white, and bluish gray clouds; placed on the green carpet of this earth, set with long-stemmed red flowers in twos and threes, Peter and Paul introduce the titular saint, Praxedis, her legendary sister Pudentiana, her brother and the founder-pope, the latter marked by the blue square halo assigned to the living; at the outer ends of the composition are palm trees, a phoenix nestling in one. The same scheme appears at S. Cecilia (fig. 98); it goes back to the Early Christian apse scheme reflected in the sixth-century mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano on the Forum—Christ, saints, founder, palm trees, phoenix, and all. The frieze of lambs underneath on gold ground goes back to the same model; so do the dedicatory verses below the lamb frieze, both in wording and lettering. Written in a beautiful antique script, gold on deep blue ground, they recall along with that at SS. Cosma e Damiano the fifth-century inscriptions both on the triumphal arch at S. Maria Maggiore and on the entrance wall of S. Sabina. No earlier dedicatory verses in mosaic survive in Rome; but those of the fourth century cannot have been very different. On the wall framing the apse arch at S. Prassede, the Lamb of Revelation is depicted, flanked by four angels and the symbols of the Evangelists, and adored by the Four-and-twenty Elders on gold ground. It is the composition that decorated the triumphal arch at S. Paolo fuori le mura, but in the same location in which it survives at SS. Cosma e

98. S. Cecilia, apse mosaic

Damiano. Throughout, then, the artists of Paschal I tended to substitute schemes drawn from Early Christian models in Rome or their sixth-century derivatives for those adhering to Eastern tradition so frequent in the preceding hundred and fifty years. Already the apse mosaic in the Triclinium of Leo III may well have gone back to an Early Christian Roman composition rather than to a Byzantine model as has also been suggested; and in any event that mosaic already reverts to the customary Roman technique of using predominantly glass tesserae. That technique, indeed, remains the hallmark of ninth-century mosaics in Rome: like that at SS. Nereo ed Achilleo from the last year of Leo III, 815/6; at S. Prassede and in the Chapel of S. Zeno, at S. Cecilia, and at S. Maria in Domnica under Paschal I, presumably in that sequence between 817 and 820 (fig. 99); at S. Marco under Gregory IV, roughly 829-830. Likewise, Early Christian compositions are taken up time and again: the Four-and-twenty Elders adoring the Lamb; the Apostles approaching Christ in a mandorla above the apse arch of S. Maria in Domnica—the scene appearing in the fifth century on the apse vaults of S. Agata dei Goti and S. Andrea in Catabarbara; finally in ninth-century apse vaults, as at S. Prassede, Christ floating or standing against the deep blue ground of Heaven, marked by colorful clouds and on either side of Him the Princes of the Apostles, the titular saints of the church, and, without fail, the papal donor. The scheme of composition, in fact, is among the first to be revived in Carolingian Rome. At the very end of the eighth century it appeared in the apse mosaic of S. Susanna—with two donors depicted, Leo III and Charlemagne; lost since the late sixteenth century, the donor figures are known from old descriptions and drawings.

99. S. Maria in Domnica, apse mosaic, detail, portrait of Paschal I



100. S. Maria in Domnica, apse mosaic, detail

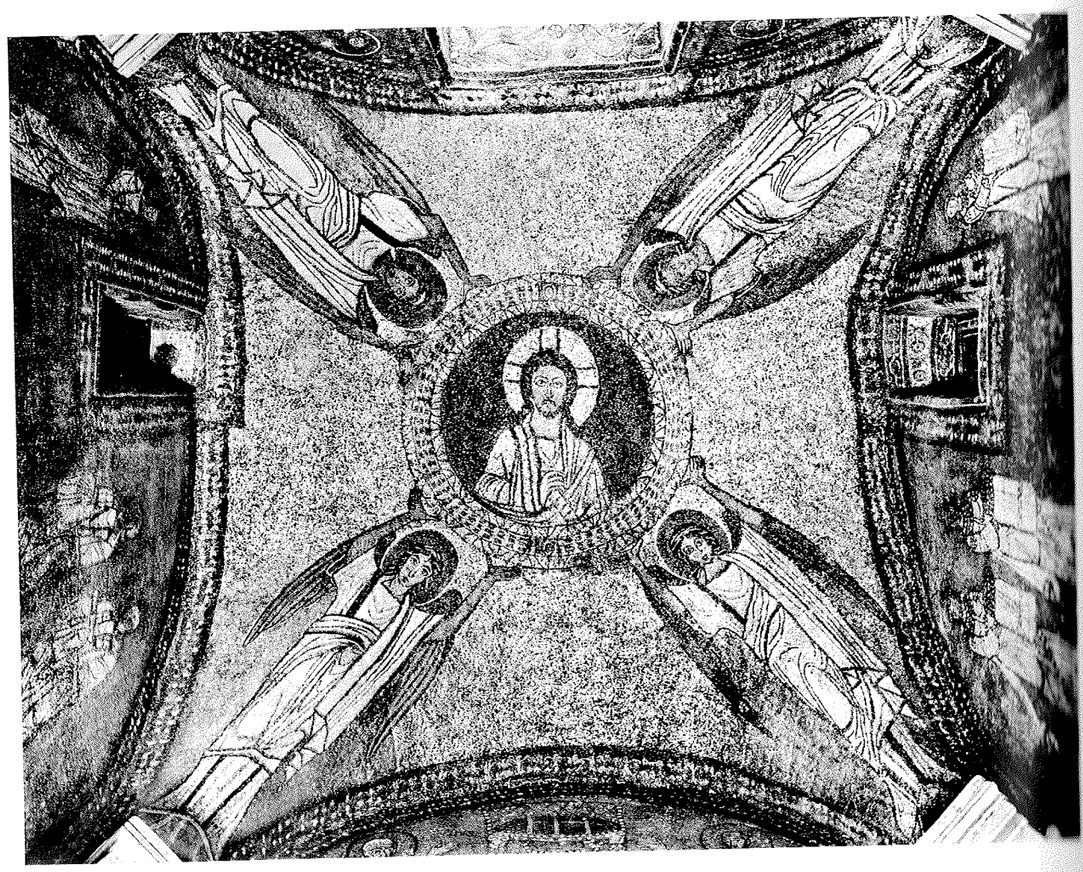
Early Christian models, then, are revived in the very first stages of the Carolingian Renascence of Christian antiquity, focused at its most glorious on Constantine. To be sure, they are by no means the only elements in the repertory of ninth-century Roman mosaic masters. The Virgin enthroned amidst dense throngs of angels in the apse of S. Maria in Domnica has its roots in Byzantine tradition (fig. 100). The jeweled cross flanked by lambs, which until 1597 occupied the apse of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, likewise is an Eastern motif. Such compositions may have reached Rome through Byzantine masters, when from 784 to 815 iconoclast persecution was interrupted in the East; or through refugees from such persecution before those thirty years of peace. A Greek model, too, seems to be reflected in the *Harrowing of Hell* in the left niche of the Zeno Chapel at S. Prassede. It may have been transmitted through one of the Greek monasteries in North Italy, where Greek-inspired manuscripts were produced. In Rome itself, S. Saba has been suspected as the seat of a Byzantine scriptorium. Such Byzantine influence made itself felt in Rome through the entire ninth century and as late as the second half of the tenth century: in the cycle of murals painted between 872 and 882 on the walls of the Temple of Fortuna Virilis, reconsecrated to S. Maria Egiziaca; in a mural, again of the *Harrowing of Hell*, in the lower church of S. Clemente; and, dating from about 965, in the *Ascension of Christ* painted in the Tempio della Tosse in Tivoli, an ancient mausoleum turned into a church. The most outstanding example of Byzantine influence on Rome within the Carolingian Renascence, though, remains the program of the mosaic decoration in the Zeno Chapel, built between 817 and 824 by Pope Paschal I. The hierarchy of the overall scheme corresponds to that of Byzantine theology as reflected in Eastern churches; Christ supported by angels in the vault; in subordinate places, the Virgin and the Princes of the Apostles, saints and martyrs.

All this, though, needs to be seen within the framework of a rebirth of the Roman Christian heritage, as it had developed from the fifth and sixth through the eighth centuries. Indeed, it has been pointed out that the figures and faces, the draperies, gestures, and movements depicted by the ninth-century mosaic workers are firmly rooted in the traditions of the workshops that fifty years before had transposed a Byzantine heritage in the murals of the apse, aisles, and atrium of S. Maria Antiqua into the artisans' local dialect. Figures lack bodily volume; they stand

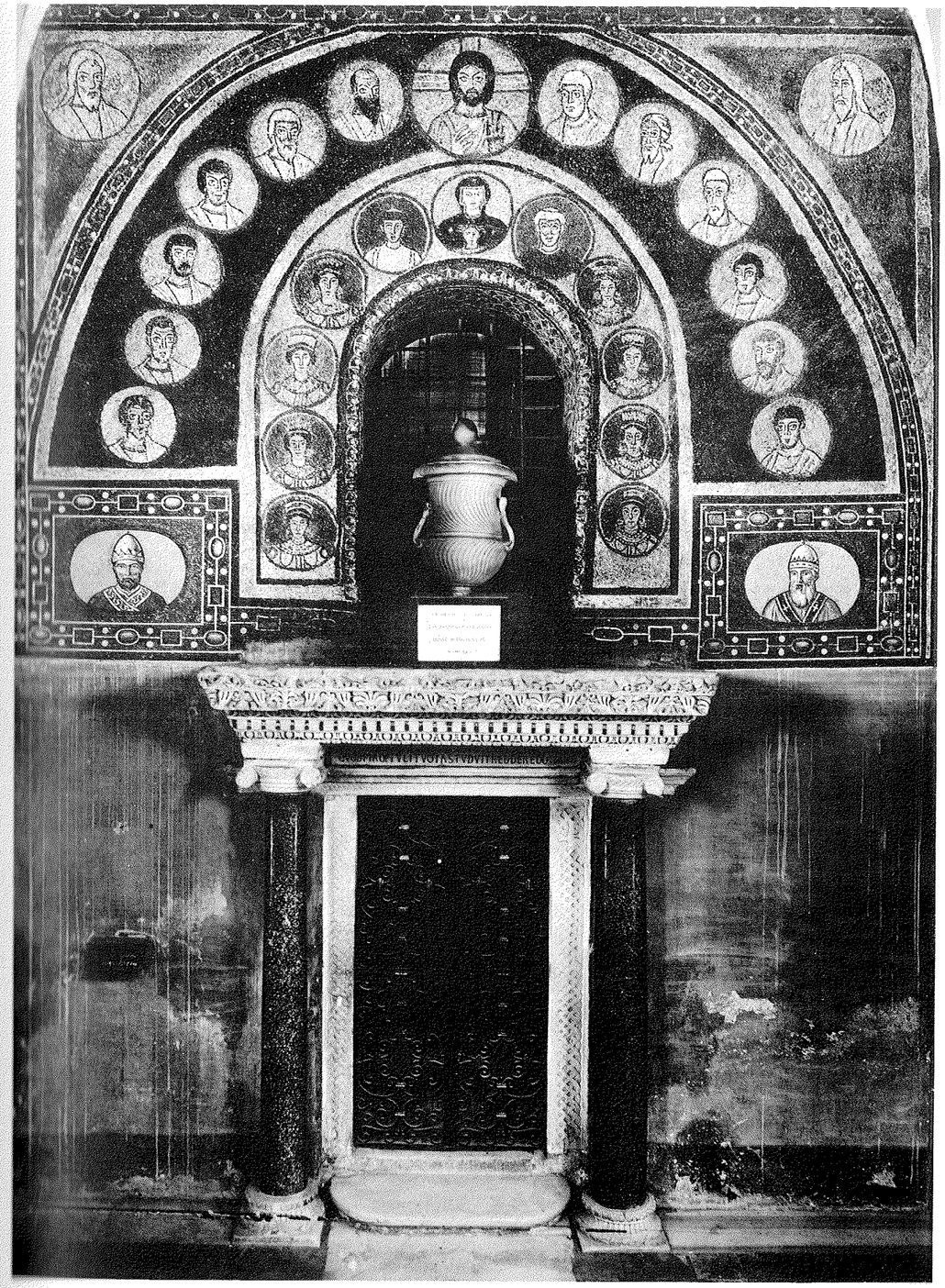
101. S. Prassede, Zeno Chapel, interior, watercolor, anonymous, private collection

stiffly, repeating the same pose over and over in a nonspace. Crowds are suggested, as witness the apse of S. Maria in Domnica, by heaping three or four rows of head tops or just halos atop the front row of figures. Draperies are marked by a framework of lines, faintly suggesting the articulation of limbs. Faces are oval or triangular, outlined by darker contours. All this has its prototypes in late eighth century work in Rome.

However, if the wording is similar, the pronunciation is utterly different. Nothing proves this better than the mosaics in the Chapel of S. Zeno. Attached to the right aisle of S. Prassede, and richly encrusted with marble revetment and mosaics, the chapel is associated with the memory of the pope's mother, Theodora Episcopa, and provided with relics of martyrs. In plan it is modeled after early mausolea, pagan and Christian, which still dotted the fields outside the city; cross-shaped, the groinvault supported on corner columns (fig. 101). One such mausoleum comes to mind; reputedly that of the martyr Tiburtius, it rises close to the basilical covered cemetery of SS. Marcellino e Pietro that was built by Constantine and linked to his and Helena's memory. Likewise, the decoration of the Zeno Chapel time and again draws on early models. The mosaic of the groinvault, four angels supporting the bust of Christ in a roundel (fig. 102) has its earliest known prototype in the mosaic placed by Pope Hilarus in the 460s on the vault of the now lost chapel of S. Croce near the Lateran Baptistery, where four caryatids—not angels!—carried the cross in a laurel wreath, evidently a fifth-century insertion into a pagan mosaic. The same scheme, albeit with variations



102. S. Prassede, Zeno Chapel, vault mosaic



103. S. Prassede, Zeno Chapel, outer façade

104. S. Prassede, Zeno Chapel, Saints Peter and Paul

in the central roundel, survives in the sixth century in Ravenna, both in S. Vitale and in the chapel of the archbishop's palace. But models earlier than the one at S. Croce in Rome may have disappeared without trace. The mosaics on the walls of the Zeno Chapel, too, draw on Early Christian motifs. On the outer façade above the portal, two concentric half circles of clipei with the busts of Christ, the Apostles, and martyrs frame a window (fig. 103) and recall those running along the fifth-century apse arch of S. Sabina and preserved until the eighteenth century. On the inner façade wall of the Zeno Chapel, Saints Peter and Paul point to a jeweled, empty throne surmounted by a cross (fig. 104): the same representation—the *etimasia*—on the fifth-century triumphal arch at S. Maria Maggiore (and possibly in the Lateran apse) come to mind. The soffit of the arch above the altar is decorated with an acanthus scroll *all'antica* with animals and birds, a "peopled scroll," recalling the fifth-century mosaics in the narthex of the Lateran Baptistery. All the figures—in the vault, on the side walls, and in the niches of the chapel, angels (fig. 105), saints, martyrs, and Theodora Episcopa, with her square halo—are cast in traditional poses and are marked by the linear framework of faces and draperies customary in Rome by then. But the coloring sets apart from that tradition these and indeed all the mosaics produced by the workshops of Leo III and Paschal. Rather than black, the lines marking the draperies are light and dark blue, green, and red. The beard and hair of Saint Peter are white and blue. Garments of female martyrs are done in the richest colors, with dark and light blue, yel-

105. S. Prassede, Zeno Chapel, head of angel

106. S. Prassede, Zeno Chapel, façade, head of female saint

low, green, white, red, and gold tesserae set closely; broad, jeweled gold collars mark the neckline (fig. 106). Bits of brick-red sketch a mouth or the height of a cheek. The outline of a face, a nose, a chin, is given in rusty brown or deep red. Halos of angels at S. Maria in Domnica alternate between gold and blue; Christ's golden halo carries a cross, its arms blue or green and outlined like the halo itself in red. And all is done in the shining glass tesserae that reflect the light of the candles and make the entire chapel resplendent with an amazing radiance. The color, the light, their impressionistic rendering, and the exclusive use of glass tesserae more than anything else link the mosaics of the Zeno Chapel and of all the related work to those of Christian antiquity in Rome; the handling of faces in the chapel, on the triumphal arch of S. Prassede, in the apse mosaics of S. Cecilia and S. Maria in Domnica, and already on the apse arch of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, recalls nothing so much as the faces on the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore. It is, indeed, a revival of Christian antiquity.

Under Paschal I, however, the renascence movement in Rome can no longer be understood along general lines alone. It takes on very personal features. His interest in the construction and decoration of the churches erected under his pontificate must have been extraordinary. In only seven years four large churches were built and provided with sumptuous mosaics: S. Prassede, S. Maria in Domnica, S. Cecilia, the Quattro Coronati. Wherever possible, his portrait appears, an elegant longish face; only once, in the apse mosaic of S. Prassede, does he appear to have grown a bit stout. Hazardous though it is, one cannot resist the temptation to read these features as those of a somewhat vain but highly sophisticated gentleman. It is hardly by chance that the artists he employed achieved a peak in shaping an equally sophisticated illusionistic style. Nor is it by chance that the figures in the mosaics done at Paschal's time are so superbly elegant and refined—overrefined, one is tempted to say. The female saints in particular, swaying and slender, with pert little faces, sumptuously decked out, seem teen-

agers of seductive charm—"Paschal's Lolitas," as the best connoisseur of these mosaics calls them off the record (fig. 107).

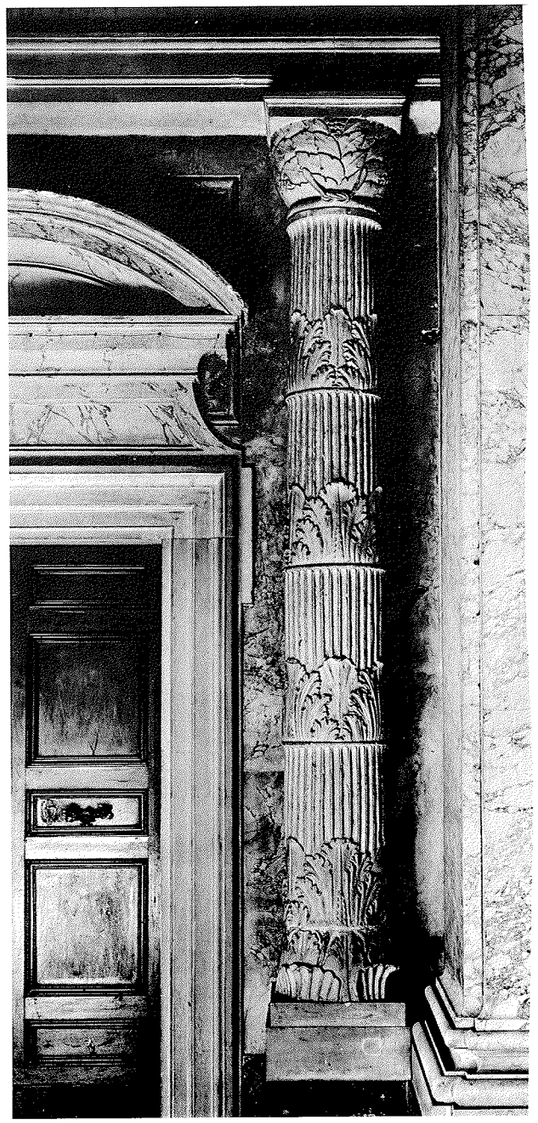
Inevitably, interwoven with the rebirth of Rome's Christian past were reminiscences of classical antiquity, genuine or putative. The plan of the Zeno Chapel obviously is that of a late-antique mausoleum, and cross-shaped chapels derived from such models time and again were attached to their churches in Rome by Carolingian architects. Two were joined to the ninth-century basilica of the Quattro Coronati and one survives in fairly good condition; even the impost blocks remain in place, splendidly worked Roman spoils (fig. 108). Antique elements naturally prevail in the neutral sphere of sculptural decoration. In S. Prassede six columns of extraordinary beauty and unusual design remain in the chancel; their fluted shafts are girded by four rings of acanthus and surmounted by densely bunched laurel leaves, held together by a knotted string (fig. 109). Roman spoils, they may well have been reused to form a colonnaded screen above and near the high altar, a *fastigium* much like that at St. Peter's. In the Zeno Chapel, too, capitals, column shafts, and the surmounting brackets are spoils; of the column socles, three of ninth-century date imitate clumsily but unmistakably the vine tendrils of a fourth, a late-antique, fifth-century spoil (figs. 110, 111). The portal, framed by a pair of porphyry columns and a surmounting first-century architrave, draws on a Roman prototype—one thinks of the colonnaded portal of the fourth-century rotunda serving as a vestibule to SS. Cosma e Damiano; on the sides, where the architrave was cut, a ninth-century sculptor copied the original design; and the ninth-century capitals surmounting the columns, though decorated with interlace, are Ionic, a type last used in Rome in the fifth century (fig. 112).

Full-scale "copies" after St. Peter's such as S. Prassede, reduced in size and, like all medieval copies, selective in the number and placing of their constituent elements, remain rare in ninth-century Rome. The only other one surviving, though badly mauled, is Sto. Stefano degli Abissini behind the apse of St. Peter's, built some thirty years after S. Prassede. But Con-

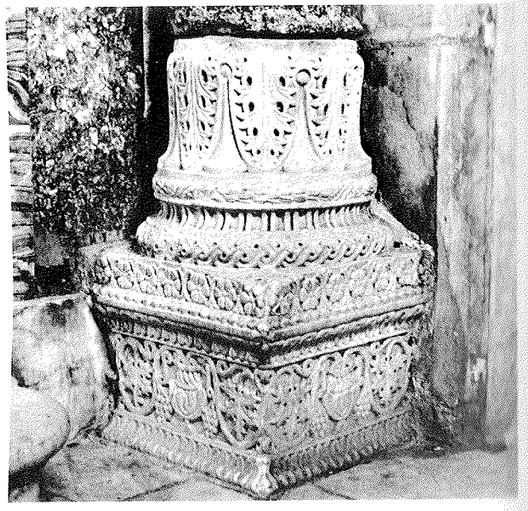
107. S. Prassede, apse mosaic, head of female saint

stantinian, or in general Early Christian, basilicas with two aisles flanking the nave, remain the constant model for ninth-century church building in Rome. Their construction constitutes part of a vast program promoted by a succession of popes through the better part of the century. It is linked to the continued transfer of relics from the catacombs to the safety of the city walls; to replacing community centers or old-fashioned sanctuaries; and aimed at restoring the past glories of Roman Christianity and, implicitly, her imperial defenders. At the Quattro Coronati an atrium opens, protected by a huge tower; the nave, over fifty meters long, rested on trabeated colonnades—scant remnants of the architrave, Roman spoils, are incorporated in the walls of the forecourt of the present, much smaller twelfth-century church; an annular crypt and confessio are sheltered in the apse, as is a list

108. SS. Quattro Coronati, ninth-century chapel



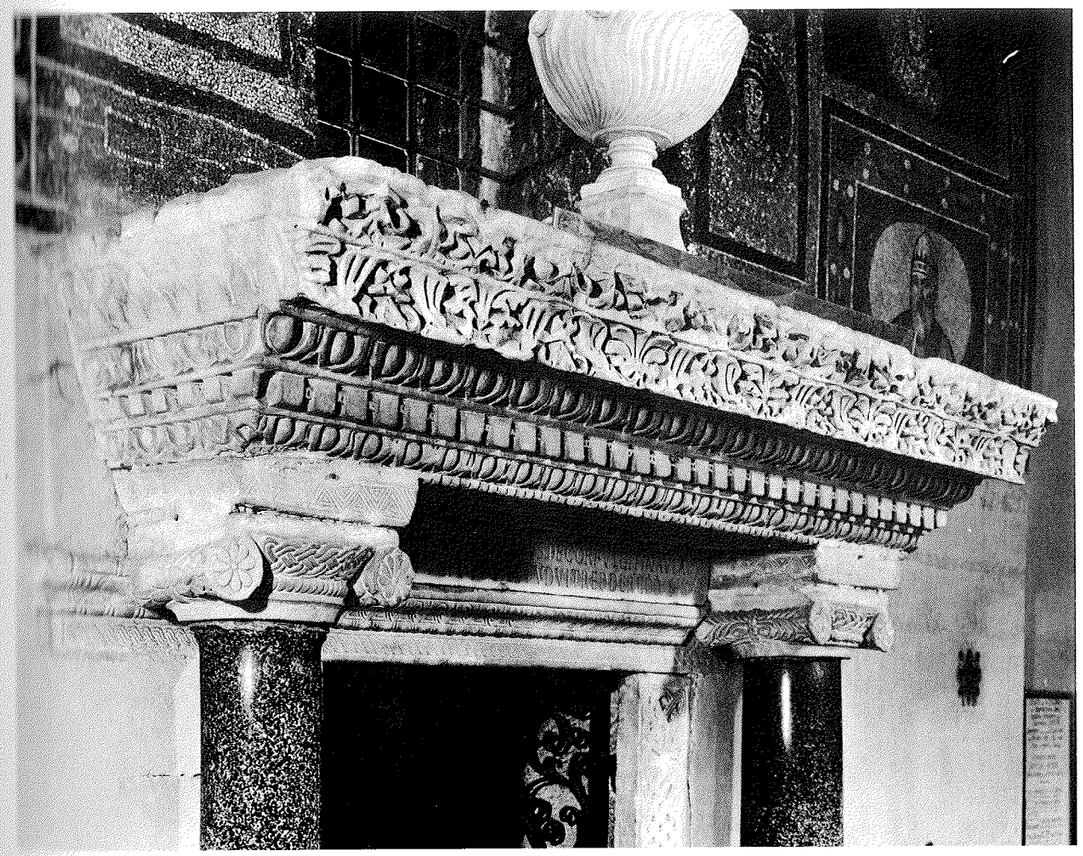
109. S. Prassede, antique column, presumably from fastigium



110. S. Prassede, Zeno Chapel, antique socle and reversed capital

111. S. Prassede, Zeno Chapel, ninth-century imitation

of relics that were gathered from the catacombs by Leo IV (847-855); martyrs' chapels are attached to either aisle, one cross-shaped like the Zeno Chapel at S. Prassede, the other a domed quatrefoil. At nearly the same time, S. Martino ai Monti and S. Maria Nova were built: the former, originally with an atrium, annular crypt, and trabeated nave colonnades, survives, splendidly decorated around 1650, but fundamentally unchanged (fig. 113); the latter, now S. Francesca Romana, harder to trace below its baroque remodeling, was built at the eastern summit of the Forum to replace nearby S. Maria Antiqua, buried under a landslide in 847, and to



113. S. Prassede, Zeno Chapel, portal, showing Roman fragment with ninth-century reworking at side and ninth-century capitals

shelter its icon. The entire group of churches, characterized by trabeated colonnades, harks back either to S. Maria Maggiore or more likely to the Lateran Basilica, the latter reduced to a two-aisle scheme and deprived of "aisle transepts," devoid of function by then anyhow. But just as frequently the colonnades are arcaded rather than trabeated: examples are at S. Cecilia, S. Maria in Domnica, S. Giorgio in Velabro or S. Marco—this last a superb example of a ninth-century basilica, remodeled in the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries and at that time clad in a profusion of the richest materials and colors. In resorting to arcades the ninth-century builders may have thought of late-fourth- and early-fifth-century basilicas, such as S. Paolo fuori le mura and S. Sabina; or they may have used arcades simply because spoils of architraves were not easily available in the right sizes. Whether trabeated or arcaded and with or without a transept, all ninth-century churches in Rome adopt one post-Constantinian element with the Constantinian: the annular crypt and confessio, inserted in St. Peter's by the end of the sixth century. Naturally so: to provide both shelter for and easy access to the martyrs' relics was at any rate a major raison d'être of church building and planning in the Rome of Carolingian times; and ninth-century church planners in Rome and elsewhere evidently considered the annular crypt at St. Peter's an integral part of Constantine's basilica at the Vatican.

113. S. Martino ai Monti, interior, as remodeled ca. 1650

None of the churches newly built in the ninth century or indeed in the last third of the eighth century were located in what by then must have been the core of town—the Ripa from the Theatre of Marcellus to the foot of the Capitoline Hill and west to the Theatre of Pompey, the neighborhood of the Pantheon and the core of Trastevere. Rather, they are situated on the edge of the abitato, the built-up area, like S. Cecilia, S. Marco, or S. Silvestro in Capite. Or else they are located in the disabitato, like S. Prassede, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, S. Susanna, S. Maria in Domnica, the Quattro Coronati. Replacing as they did old community centers or diaconiae, the congregations formerly served by these centers had long disappeared. But apparently that did not discourage papal founders. Continuing the tradition attached to the site was in itself important. In place of a parish congregation and its clergy, a monastic community would take care of the new church and its property, as at S. Prassede, S. Cecilia, S. Silvestro in Capite. At the same time, the new monasteries guaranteed ecclesiastical rather than secular control of large tracts of the disabitato. Consequently the new churches built between 760

and 860, though economically dominating the wasteland, were unconnected with and had no impact on the physical map of the town proper.

As we have seen, the revival of Early Christian church plans and decorations may well have begun in Rome prior to Leo III and indeed to Hadrian. S. Silvestro in Capite, founded shortly after the middle of the eighth century, could be an early example. Details remain doubtful. But the church was a basilica, large, colonnaded, and probably trabeated, in striking contrast to Roman church building from the sixth century onwards; there may have been an annular crypt; and the foundation walls, of huge blocks as in all churches of the Carolingian group, are among the first testimonies to the new solid technique of construction made possible by the quarrying of the "Servian" Wall. More than thirty years later at S. Anastasia, early in the reign of Leo III, aisles and nave—was it trabeated?—were added to a fourth-century transept left over from an older structure; by accretion, the new basilica thus took up the plan of Constantine's St. Peter's. The Roman house buried underneath—perhaps a community center—precluded the construction of an annular crypt; but the clerestory shows the brickwork and the small double-arched windows that mark the later buildings of the group. More important, these local beginnings are interwoven with parallel currents in church planning north of the Alps. In the very first years of the ninth century, the abbey church at Fulda in Hesse was replanned *romano more*, following Roman custom: the main apse in the west was preceded by a long, continuous transept, its ends partitioned off, perhaps by colonnades; to the east an atrium; the nave flanked by columns, whether carrying arcades or an architrave; the whole 120 meters long from atrium façade to west apse. Patently, the intention was to imitate and rival St. Peter's. It is equally obvious that no church in Rome follows the model of Constantine's basilica that early and that closely. Fulda, then, at first glance might seem to have sparked the movement that in Rome reached its peak from 817 to 855. Rome's links across the Alps had existed for some time: as early as 752-757 a wooden tower, a Frankish feature gilded and silver-

114. SS. Quattro Coronati, gateway tower

plated, rose from the roof of St. Peter's; a northern consultant, Walcharius, was to be employed to supervise the changing of roof beams at St. Peter's; at the Quattro Coronati, as late as ca. 850, the massive tower rising protectively over the entrance gate of the atrium is unique in Rome, but a feature familiar north of the Alps (fig. 114). Its window piers indeed have a purely northern, possibly English, flavor. However, such northern elements in Rome are rare and they are ephemeral. Vice versa, the plan of St. Peter's, pure as it appears at Fulda, takes no real root north of the Alps, except once at Seligenstadt; as a rule, it is fused with elements that never appear in Rome—west towers or westworks, for instance. In brief, the Constantinian church plan is not germane to the northern version of the Carolingian Renascence; whereas in Rome it is its salient feature.

115. Tomb plaque of Hadrian I, detail

On the other hand, taken in a broad sense, the Carolingian Renascence has its roots decidedly north of the Alps, where it sprang from movements in Britain and Spain. In the last twenty years of the eighth century, scholars and poets from all over gathered at the court of Charlemagne—Alcuin from York, the Spaniard Theodulf, the Frank Einhard. They set about creating a new style in prose and poetry: schooled on Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Suetonius and, though strictly Christian in thought, permeated by allusions to Roman and Greek mythology. Scribes and painters in the northern and eastern convents of the Frankish realm at Trier, Rheims, Tours and at the Carolingian court produced illuminated manuscripts, filled with motifs purloined from classical and Christian antiquity; ivory carvers at Aix-la-Chapelle, Metz, and elsewhere, as well as goldsmiths followed the same lines; bronze casters in Aix by the end of the eighth century worked the railings and doors of the palatine chapel in the purest classical style. All this was long before anyone in Rome thought along similar lines: the tomb plaque of Pope Hadrian I, its hexameters composed by Alcuin, its lettering shaped after a second century *capitalis quadrata* and framed by an elegant classical tendril, was carved near Aix-la-Chapelle and shipped to St. Peter's in Rome (fig. 115). Indeed, while the movement around the Frankish court flourished through nearly the entire ninth century, much of it reached Rome relatively late, if ever. The Carolingian classicizing literary style came to the fore in Rome only in the later part of the ninth century and for a short time; the contemporary papal biographies composed or inspired by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, the correspondence of Nicholas I,

the Life of Gregory the Great written by John the Deacon Immonides are the outstanding documents. The art of the northern scribes, illuminators, and ivory carvers, in fact, never reached Rome, save in the form of gifts brought by Carolingian rulers—such as the *cathedra Petri* and the Bible of St. Paul's, both donated by Charles the Bald at the time of his coronation in 875. The one exception would seem to be a mural at S. Clemente dating from the pontificate of Leo IV, the *Assumption of the Virgin*. The agitated figures of the Apostles and their terrified expressions recall illuminations in manuscripts of the Rheims school; but, then, a northern artist may well have painted the fresco at S. Clemente. No scriptorium, Latin or Greek, active in Rome during the ninth century and no "Roman" style of lettering or illuminating manuscripts have so far been identified with any degree of certainty.

The churches laid out in Rome and their decoration, dating from the pontificate of Leo III to that of Leo IV, or about 800 to after 850, reflect, then, a special aspect of the Carolingian Renascence. North of the Alps, certainly in its beginnings, the movement seems essentially an antiquarian, cultural phenomenon characterized by a revival—in poetry, prose, and the figural arts—of classical formulae purloined from the entire gamut of Roman art, pagan and Christian, from Augustan times to the fifth and sixth centuries. The architect of Fulda obviously could find a model only in Christian antiquity; the basilica of Saint Peter, goal of all pilgrimages from time immemorial and focus of piety for the peoples north of the Alps ever since their conversion, would offer itself as the natural prototype. No allusion to Constantine need have been involved. Political overtones in a broad sense—the concept of a Christian commonwealth, right government and the like, all derived from Gregory the Great—had pervaded northern thought as well at least from the time of Bede in the early eighth century. In a specific and narrower sense, it seems to me, the renascence movement in the north acquired its political resonance only with the establishment of a Western Christian Empire in 800 and the consequent search for a legitimate ancestry. But the cultural, antiquarian note survives undiminished. The movement never goes into depth; the image of antiquity, both pagan and Christian, remains diffuse; and, if political overtones are injected into it, they generally echo concepts long alive at the papal court.

In Rome, on the contrary, the renewal of the city and the rebirth of a new art are deeply rooted in her own late-antique imperial and emphatically Christian traditions. Their roots are sunk in the political ideology of the return to an imaginary Constantinian past cultivated for eminently practical reasons at the papal court from the mid-eighth century on. Eastern elements, inherited from a more recent past or newly penetrating, were quickly absorbed by the reborn Roman Christian tradition; a tradition powerful, if not on other grounds, by the very presence of its great monuments—St. Peter's, the Lateran Basilica, S. Paolo fuori le mura, S. Maria Maggiore. The art sprung shortly before 800 from this Christian antique renascence is reflected in dozens of major Roman buildings and mosaics through and beyond the middle of the ninth century, sixty years and more. As times of flowering in Rome go during the Middle Ages, this is a long span for sustained activity in building sizable churches in great numbers and decorating them extensively with mosaics, mural paintings, and marble revetments, with chancel screens and at the chancel entrance with colonnaded pergolas of marble or covered with hammered silver, most of them now lost but recorded by the papal biographers.

The length of this sustained effort in the ninth century and of similar periods through Christian antiquity and the Middle Ages needs explanation. It rests, I think, both with the general character of the papacy and its specific hallmarks at a given time. The papacy by definition from Constantine on has been an elective monarchy. Given the advanced or mature age at which, as a rule, the sovereign is elected, his reign normally is short—*non habebis annos Petri*. An effort, political or other, demands specific conditions to be sustained through a number of successive pontificates. One such condition in the Middle Ages was apparently that successive popes be chosen from a cohesive group: the administrative

hierarchy of the Church and the great Roman families—the two being nearly synonymous in Rome from Christian antiquity through the thirteenth century. Only a pope backed by his clan and its allies and by their combined political and financial power linked to that of the Church could hope in the Middle Ages to carry through a large-scale building program; and only a succession of such popes, through both the cohesion and the competition of various clans within the group considered *papabili*, could effect an effort sustained over an extended time. The situation may well have obtained in Christian antiquity in the one hundred years from the pontificate of Damasus I (366-384) to that of Simplicius (468-483); but too little is known of the social background of the successive popes in that time. It certainly did obtain between 750 and 860, when a concerted program of church building and decoration was sustained by a succession of ten popes from Stephen II to Nicholas I, all chosen from great, wealthy, and, not least, Roman families.

CHAPTER SIX

Realities, Ideologies, and Rhetoric

Rome, as reflected in her monuments, underwent a process of renewal from the late eleventh century through the thirteenth. New churches sprang up, a new art was born twice, the map of the city was redrawn. Even as she remained faithful to her old traditions, Rome broke out of her isolation. To understand this rebirth one must have an idea of her history from the end of the Carolingian era through the High Middle Ages and of the economic and political realities, the ideological conceits, and the rhetorical claims at the basis of the successive medieval renascences.

After the Gothic Wars, Rome had become a rural town dependent on agricultural produce close at hand, within the Aurelian Walls or just outside. Traces of this rural character persisted up to modern times: no more than fifty years ago the cattle market was held twice a week at the Theatre of Marcellus and farm labor was hired at the Pantheon. In earlier centuries, whenever the Tiber flooded the Prati north of the Borgo and prevented sowing or harvesting, famine broke out. Communications overland or by river were poorly developed and did not make up for any serious deficiency in the city's supplies; the Church farms established by the popes of the eighth and ninth centuries to combat the situation soon fell into private hands. Through the early and the High Middle Ages the Church and the great families allied with it drew their resources and their political strength from estates in the Campagna and the hills north of Rome toward Viterbo and south toward Terracina. There was very little trade. Pilgrims, as they had done from early times, continued to bring business and occasionally extra pious donations. They needed lodgings, food, and other services, as did the papal bureaucracy and the nobles with their retainers, when residing in town. The craftsmen—blacksmiths, cobblers, butchers—provided for their needs, but remained linked to agricultural production and requirements. The papacy and its administration, interwoven with the great families, formed a superstructure. But it did not affect the hard reality of the city and its appearance, which was merely that of a respectable county seat.

The ambiguities of the situation—a bare subsistence level coupled with the worldwide claims of the papacy and ruling families—need to be seen against the overall political background. The weakening and eventual breakup of the Carolingian house and of the alliance between the papacy and the empire ever since the 840s left the popes and Rome in the hands of the great local clans. Feuds within and between these families and their partisans gave rise to blood-curdling violence within the city. At the same time Rome was threatened from outside; Muslim pirates raiding the coasts of Italy ventured far inland, sacking Roman churches beyond the walls, St. Peter's, and S. Paolo fuori le mura. They were defeated in 849 and 916 by the naval and land forces of Gaeta and Naples rather than by the Romans and their papal leaders; and though these victories gave new courage to the citizens and the papacy, they had practically no effect on deteriorating conditions. The papacy sank to ever lower depths, morally, politically, and financially. The *patrimonium Petri*, the Lands of Saint Peter, in Latium and Central Italy was lost to big landowners, private lords, or great monasteries like Farfa in Sabina. Papal power in the city shrank. Alberic, scion of a great family, as *princeps* and *senator omnium Romanorum* set up an efficient government in Rome and her territory in the second third of the tenth century. Upon his invitation, the congregation of Cluny, newly formed within the Benedictine Order, reorganized the monasteries in Rome and her territory; it is noteworthy that this monastic re-