

Paolo Liverani (University of Florence)

St. Peter's and the City of Rome between the Late Antique and the Early Middle Ages

The paper is centred on the role of the Basilica as social and urban focus. In Late Antiquity, St. Peter's is one of the clearest examples of a reassessment of urban functions: while the city centre gradually lost a part of its importance with the shift of the capital and of the emperor to Constantinople (and to other cities), the Basilica acquired new functions not necessarily connected with worship.

The presence of poor people near St. Peter's is attested quite early (since *praetor* Lampadius, ca. 335-340); more information about this issue is scattered in various later sources, but usually it was not recorded in a very systematic way. It is interesting, for instance, to note that the distribution of bread was subsidized even by Theodoric: a sign of a change in the concept of citizenship that should not be underestimated.

In the years of Theodoric and Pope Symmachus, there is probably a similar evolution in the other two main suburban basilicas of S. Paolo f.l.m. and S. Lorenzo, but in these cases we have less information in the sources. It seems as though the three centres constitute a sort of triangle around Rome, to welcome the pilgrims (and not only pilgrims) from and to the city. Peter is expressly named *ianitor* (doorkeeper) by Pope Symmachus, and a similar position was attributed to Paul, with reference to the people coming from Ostia.

Starting in the fifth century St. Peter's acquired more and more importance as a goal of imperial procession down to the reign of Theodoric, who even changed the order of the procession and visited the Basilica *before* entering the city, foreshadowing thereby the behavior of Charlemagne.

Pietro Zander (Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano)

La costruzione della Basilica Costantiniana nelle testimonianze superstiti della Necropoli di San Pietro

La visita all'area archeologica ubicata sotto la basilica di San Pietro, in corrispondenza della navata centrale delle Grotte Vaticane, consente di ripercorrere, attraverso alcune significative testimonianze, i momenti iniziali della costruzione della basilica costantiniana.

Dopo l'ultima sepoltura della necropoli, datata attraverso una moneta di bronzo rinvenuta all'interno dell'urna cineraria di "*Trebellena Flaccilla*", si analizzano le modalità seguite nell'interrare il sepolcro che si estendeva sul doppio scosciamento del colle vaticano. Per la realizzazione del terrazzamento su cui sarebbe sorta la prima grande basilica dedicata all'Apostolo Pietro, furono infatti affrontate e superate notevoli difficoltà tecniche e giuridiche. Resti del terrapieno costantiniano si conservano ancora all'interno del Sepolcro A o "*di Popilius Heracla*", mentre opere di fondazione e muri di contenimento delle terre si possono osservare in più luoghi della necropoli di San Pietro.

Lo studio delle murature superstiti del IV secolo e della documentazione grafica e fotografica delle strutture di fondazione demolite nel corso degli scavi del secolo passato, permette di formulare alcune considerazioni sulla vita del sepolcro vaticano

durante i lavori per la costruzione della basilica costantiniana. Inoltre, nel demolire le volte e nel colmare di terra l'interno degli edifici sepolcrali, è significativo il rispetto avuto per le sepolture da parte degli operai di Costantino in ossequio alle leggi del diritto romano.

Sono infine importanti le testimonianze del IV secolo rinvenute nel corso degli scavi e, tra queste, le iscrizioni e le due teste tracciate a carboncino all'interno del Sepolcro H o "dei Valeri": opere, verosimilmente databili agli ultimi momenti di vita della necropoli, che sono state oggetto di recenti e interessanti indagini multispettrali da parte della Fabbrica di San Pietro.

Richard Gem (UK)

Constantine, Constans and St Peter's: A New Solution to the Building History of the 4th-century Basilica

There has been a scholarly consensus prevailing on the general outlines of the building history of St Peter's basilica in the 4th century, as represented more recently by the studies of Krauthheimer, De Blaauw, Arbeiter, Liverani and other scholars. In the absence of significant new data, therefore, there might seem little justification for going back over old ground. However, the consensus has been challenged by the revisionist publications of Carpiceci (1995-6) and Bowersock (2002). The former made certain radical suggestions as to the building history of the basilica, while the latter proposed that the building was erected not under Constantine but only under his son Constans. Whereas there has been a tendency to dismiss these revisionist ideas, at least Bowersock's re-dating seems to have carried a certain weight among some English-speaking colleagues, and for that reason should receive a considered reply. On the other hand, Carpiceci's views on the sequence of construction have received little credence, though they may perhaps be taken as a challenge to think about the building history of the basilica outside the accepted parameters.

During the course of my research for a book on the architectural and cultural history of St Peter's (from late antiquity and on through the early middle ages) I have necessarily gone back over the existing corpus of scholarly research. Initially I did so with the idea that all that was needed was a summary of the agreed consensus on the building history of the 4th-century basilica. However, during the course of my research it became apparent to me that there were new things to be said. Accordingly, in the current paper I wish to put forward for discussion my views on the building history of the 4th-century basilica. This will necessarily be a summary that cannot go into every detail, but will aim to present the main outlines. I will be addressing (once again, despite Krauthheimer's strictures on the potential tediousness of such an exercise!) the interpretation of the inscriptions from the basilica and the contemporary literary sources. I will then be attempting to resolve what, at first sight, may appear the conflicting evidence from these: first, by reconsidering the archaeological evidence from the basilica; and secondly, by comparing St Peter's with other major building projects of Constantine at Jerusalem and Trier. The result will be a suggested sequence of construction for the building that challenges certain architectural preconceptions, while placing the commencement of the works under Constantine in 324/5 and their completion under Constans c.340.

Lex Bosman (University of Amsterdam)

***Spolia* in the Fourth-Century Basilica**

The undeniable economic decline of the Roman Empire in the third and fourth centuries has often led to the interpretation of the use of *spolia* in the fourth century as a sign of poverty: new material was not available anymore because of the high cost. Another interpretation explains the use of *spolia* in early-Christian buildings as important elements to show and display a new, Christian esthetics, in which *varietas* would have been crucial. In my paper I will discuss these positions and analyse possible differences between the use of *spolia* in S. Giovanni in Laterano and St. Peter's. A main point of interest should also be the question whether or not a distinction between new material and *spolia* would have been made and experienced in this period.

Joan Barclay Lloyd (LaTrobe University, Melbourne)

Revisiting Old St. Peter's with Richard Krautheimer

Before the new technologies made virtual displays of buildings possible, Richard Krautheimer asked me to make a reconstruction drawing of the transept of Old St. Peter's in Rome, which he published in the fifth volume of his *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae* (Vatican City 1977). Making this drawing gave me some insights into how Krautheimer visualized the innovative architecture of Old St. Peter's. Using drawings, prints and frescoes, as well as extensive written documentation and the few surviving archaeological remains, Krautheimer was able to reconstruct the early Christian basilica and compare it with other Constantinian buildings, like those in the Holy Land and Constantinople. He was also fascinated by the annular crypt, inserted in the apse in the sixth century to channel the crowds of pilgrims, who came to visit the tomb of the Apostle. He found both the transept and the crypt copied, with some variations, in some other Roman churches, possibly to fulfil similar liturgical functions. Old St. Peter's was the most important church in Rome, the location of papal liturgies and political ceremonies, often preceded by spectacular processions through the city, yet legally it was not the cathedral of Rome (which was at the Lateran), and indeed it was outside the city limits until the sixteenth century. When the popes returned to Rome in the fifteenth century, they recognized the pre-eminent position of St. Peter's by going to live at the Vatican, but ironically, that was when they began to transform, and ultimately to demolish, the venerable basilica. This paper will reconsider Krautheimer's valuable contribution to our knowledge of Old St. Peter's: the architecture of the building itself, with its surrounding structures, its atrium and cortina; its influence on some other churches in Rome; and the significance of the Constantinian basilica within the changing profile of the city.

Olof Brandt (Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana)

The Early Christian Baptistry of St. Peter's

The position of the baptistry of Old St Peter's is well known from the late 16th century plan by Alfarano, where it can be found in the right part of the transept. The plan describes it as a "baptismal font decorated with verses by Damasus". A circular font is shown in the space created by separating the right (north) end of the transept by three arches. The back wall of this room is occupied by three altars described as

the oratories of the Holy Cross and of the Saints John Baptist and John Evangelist, all three made “by Symmachus”. This seems to correspond to indications in written sources from the sixth century onwards, like the *Gesta Liberii*, which say that the baptistery was found “to the right when you enter the basilica” and attributes it to Damasus. There seems to be little space for doubt. And yet this position and arrangement are surprising in an early Christian baptistery, which usually did not open directly in the basilica. In such an important basilica, one would also expect a more monumental baptistery, perhaps in an independent building. Further, the late fifth century imitation of three chapels around the Lateran baptistery is no more than three altars along the wall in a typically medieval arrangement. This paper examines what is certain and what is not in our knowledge of the Vatican baptistery, and explores the possibility that the arrangement shown on Alfarano’s plan is not late antique, and that the early Christian baptistery of St. Peter’s was somewhere else.

Meaghan McEvoy (Dumbarton Oaks/University of Oxford)

The Mausoleum of Honorius: Late Roman Imperial Christianity and the City of Rome in the Fifth Century

The building of the mausoleum of Honorius adjacent to the Constantinian basilica of St Peter’s in the first decade of the fifth century was an immensely important demonstration of the late Roman imperial house’s commitment to the old capital. Yet this highly significant monument has been hitherto largely overlooked in modern studies on late antique Rome. In this paper, I will seek to place the building of the mausoleum in its political context as a pointed statement of imperial piety and desire for specific imperial association with the apostles, a theme stemming from the earlier efforts of Constantine in the east. This theme was growing all the stronger in western imperial presentation also, in this age of repeated child-emperor regimes, and the choice of Rome, and particularly St Peter’s Basilica, as the location for this imperial mausoleum (in an era when Rome was no longer the principal seat of the western court) is especially significant. In addition, the relationship between the emperor and the bishops of Rome in the early-mid fifth century will be considered, as will the complex nature of the role of a Christian prince within the church, and the ways in which the changing nature of the imperial office itself could interact with this relationship. Finally, the significance of the mausoleum in terms of its indications of western imperial relations with the eastern court during this period, as well as the western court’s relations with the Christian senatorial elite of the city of Rome itself, will be investigated.

Judson J. Emerick (Pomona College)

Did the Early Christian Sant’ Anastasia cCopy Old St. Peter's?

Because the titulus Anastasiae (S. Anastasia), the Roman parish church rising on the southwestern slope of the Palatine, has been so thoroughly rebuilt in Modern times, it is not easy to reconstruct its Early Christian and Early Medieval phases. In his *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, I, 1937, pp. 42-61, Richard Krautheimer attempted to do so. But others almost immediately demurred (notably Friedrich W. Deichmann in “Zu S. Anastasia in Rom,” *Römische Mitteilungen* 58 [1943], pp. 151-152). In his 1987 postscript to his famous 1942 essay on “The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture,” Richard Krautheimer revised his earlier assessments of

S. Anastasia: the Early Christian church built during or just before the reign of Pope Damasus (366-384) must have had three aisles and a broad, continuous transept. Should that have been the case, he went on, credit for first picking up on, and attempting to conjure with the transept of Constantine's St. Peter's would have to go to the builders of the titulus Anastasiae. The five-aisled basilica of S. Paolo f. l. m. with its transept, designed in the 380s and 390s (CBCR, V, 1977, 284-285), could have had a predecessor at the titulus Anastasiae. But since transepts in fourth-century Roman Christian architecture were used to enshrine martyrs's memoriae outside the city's walls (at St. Peter's most notably), a transept in a regular parish church inside the walls, Krautheimer said, presented "new and arduous problems."

The problems might diminish considerably if one saw the mid/late fourth-century titulus Anastasiae as an early attempt, however inchoate, on the part of the rapidly developing Roman church to do what it did at S. Maria Maggiore so emphatically in the 430s, that is, draw the great extramural church of St. Peter's into a network of "regular" intramural churches in Rome liturgically. S. Maria Maggiore helped its papal builder, Sixtus III, intervene in the ecclesiastical plan of Rome through the temporal liturgy (S. Maria Maggiore became Rome's "second cathedral," the site for high mass at Easter). The titulus Anastasiae, by contrast, helped its builders, that is, the "Roman church" (actually a private party in the city built the basilica, then gave it to the civic church administrators, who agreed to accept it) intervene in the ecclesiastical plan of the city through manipulation of the sanctoral liturgy. Already under Damasus, the great cultor sanctorum, the distinction between martyrism and parish church was blurring, or better, was being put to use programmatically: the titulus Damasi seems to have focused on the Roman martyr Lawrence (to become S. Lorenzo in Damaso). More and more, now, art historians see that, crucial as the papal stational liturgy, or the temporale, was for the development of Medieval architecture in the city, the sanctorale may well have played the major role.

Already from the mid fourth century onward, popes were celebrating a special mass at St. Peter's on Christmas day. Christmas had equal weight in both the temporal and sanctoral liturgical calendars (Christ is the church's foremost martyr; the birth of Christ tops the list of martyr's natalicia or "birthdays" in Rome's mid fourth-century *Depositio martyrum*.) And Christmas has anciently helped focus worship at S. Anastasia. We know, for example, that Pope Gregory I (590-604) celebrated three masses at Christmas, the first early in the morning at S. Maria Maggiore, the second a bit later in the day at S. Anastasia, and the third at St. Peter's in the early afternoon. S. Anastasia's natalicium is Christmas. In this paper I suggest that we understand the construction of a three-aisled basilica with a transept at the *titulus Anastasiae* as an attempt to imitate St. Peter's and make the titulus in question function as a "Christmas shrine."

Sant'Anastasia's great prominence as a parish church in Rome's center, and its architectural and liturgical links with St. Peter's doubtless attracted the attention of Pope Hadrian I and Leo III during the early 790s. The *Liber Pontificalis* records that Leo III restored the church, and archaeological study reveals that the Carolingian building was "T-shaped" - with three aisles and a continuous transept with a semi-circular apse. Leo's project thus amplifies the architectural iconography of the Early Christian *titulus*, and helps confirm the hypothesis that the Early Christian shrine emulated St. Peter's.

Annie Labatt (Yale University)

The Life of the Roman “Anastasis” in Old St. Peter’s from John VII to Formosus

Many scholars have turned to the “Byzantine situation” as a means of questioning and understanding seemingly unusual elements, from the technical to the iconographical, in the mosaics and frescoes that once decorated the walls of Old St. Peter’s. The Anastasis takes a prominent role at Old St. Peter’s, not least because it appears twice, according to the well-known seventeenth century drawings: one in the Oratory of Pope John VII (705-707) and the other along the wall of the left nave, traditionally dated to the reign of Pope Formosus (891-896). The presence of the Anastasis scene has been discussed in terms of Eastern political, cultural, and liturgical practices generating and influencing artistic production in the West. I will discuss the image as Roman rather than as an Eastern import. Using sources such as the drawings by Giacomo Grimaldi and the reconstructions in Maria Andaloro’s recent publication, I will create a dialogue between the two Anastasis images that would have been visible during the time of Pope Formosus. My paper will study evolutions in the iconography and the placement of the Anastasis scene in relation to the Passion cycle, and suggest the ways in which the second may have been specifically designed to relate to the first. Ultimately, through a discussion of these two images, I will argue that the viewing experience in Old St. Peter’s was not simply about the prominence of St. Peter and Rome, but also about the global Christian Church. These seemingly Eastern images in Old St. Peter’s actually reveal elements of an ideologically and iconographically unified Eastern and Western church.

Antonella Ballardini (l’Università degli studi Roma Tre)

Per una ricostruzione dell’oratorio di Giovanni VII nell’antica basilica Vaticana: la decorazione architettonica e scultorea.

Edificato all’interno dell’antica basilica di San Pietro, l’oratorio di papa Giovanni VII dedicato a Maria, con la sua ricca decorazione a mosaico, di marmi pregiati ed elementi architettonici scolpiti è noto attraverso i disegni e la descrizione che nei primi decenni del Seicento ha lasciato Giacomo Grimaldi, chierico, archivista e notaio al servizio della basilica Vaticana.

Quando Grimaldi e il disegnatore Domenico Tasselli documentarono la decorazione del sacello funebre di Giovanni VII esso risultava già da tempo smantellato, ne rimanevano i lati corrispondenti all’angolo compreso tra la parete nord e la controfacciata della basilica. Qui si potevano vedere ancora in opera i celebri mosaici, alcune iscrizioni, due colonne vitinee e la decorazione a incrostazione marmorea del pavimento e di un alto zoccolo scandito da lesene e pilastri con racemi vegetali a rivestimento delle pareti.

In collaborazione e in stretto dialogo con il contributo di Paola Pogliani dedicato alla decorazione musiva dell’oratorio, l’obiettivo è di riesaminare, attraverso i documenti e i frammenti delle decorazione architettonica pervenuti dall’oratorio di Giovanni VII, il monumento nella sua integrità. Una lettura complessiva del testo artistico permette infatti una migliore valutazione del singolare programma di autorappresentazione perseguito da papa Giovanni VII nel proprio sacello funebre: un programma orientato all’eccellenza, all’originalità, al recupero dell’antico e alla messa in campo di tecniche costose come il mosaico e, nel caso della scultura, di lavorazioni sofisticate che in Occidente da tempo non erano più in corso.

Paola Pogliani (l'Università degli studi Roma Tre)

Per una ricostruzione dell'oratorio di Giovanni VII (705-707) nell'antica basilica Vaticana: i mosaici

L'oratorio che Giovanni VII (705-707) edificò nella basilica di San Pietro, dedicandolo alla Vergine il 21 marzo del 706, è noto attraverso le fonti e i frammenti superstiti della sua decorazione scultorea e musiva.

Punti di riferimento per risalire all'assetto originario e alla decorazione dell'oratorio giovanneo sono la planimetria della basilica redatta da Tiberio Alfarano intorno al 1590, il protocollo notarile stilato da Giacomo Grimaldi a partire dal 1605, e i disegni di Domenico Tasselli dei primi decenni del Seicento.

L'immagine che ci viene restituita dell'oratorio giovanneo è, dunque, databile all'inizio del XVII secolo ed è riferita al momento che precede la sua distruzione avvenuta nel 1609 nel corso dei lavori del cantiere di Carlo Maderno per la costruzione della facciata della basilica di San Pietro.

Dal momento della sua edificazione sino a questa data la struttura dell'oratorio aveva subito cambiamenti nell'organizzazione dello spazio, con l'inserimento del ciborio della Veronica edificato da Celestino III e l'apertura della Porta Santa in occasione del giubileo del 1450, e nella funzione liturgica quando nel 1208 venne inserito da Innocenzo III nella liturgia stazionale in occasione della processione con la reliquia della Veronica.

In stretto rapporto con il contributo di Antonella Ballardini, dedicato alla decorazione scultorea dell'oratorio, si vuole rileggere lo spazio dell'oratorio di Giovanni VII riesaminando con particolare attenzione l'assetto originario della decorazione musiva per proporre una ricostruzione. Tradizionalmente, infatti, la sistemazione dei mosaici documentata da Grimaldi e Tasselli è stata ritenuta congrua con la decorazione giovannea. Tuttavia le incongruenze con le fonti e con la disposizione della decorazione sulle pareti messe in evidenza da William Tronzo hanno portato a posticipare la datazione dei mosaici con le storie di san Pietro disposti sulla parete settentrionale.

La lettura complessiva del monumento e dei pezzi scultorei e musivi superstiti potrà fornire un ulteriore strumento di comprensione dell'importante oratorio scelto dal pontefice come luogo di sepoltura all'interno della basilica petrina.

Per Jonas Nordhagen (Universitetet i Bergen)

Palladium of the Urbs: The Orant Maria Regina of A.D. 705-707. Byzantine Image-Making before Iconoclasm

In the opinion of many, the large orant Maria Regina in a side aisle in the Old St. Peter's, which was the focus in the mosaic decoration set up in the Oratory of John VII, has its place within a Western iconographical tradition for which Rome was the fountainhead. The present communication will argue for the other solution, that this orant Virgin is an early example of the new image type which emerged as a corollary of the military crises of the 7th century, namely the Virgin Orans, Protectress of the Byzantine capital. In this light it was but one of the many new iconic forms of the

Virgin that found their way to Rome in the receptive cultural climate there in the century before Iconoclasm.

The new orans type seen in the oratory is known from other early works, among these an Anglo-Saxon ivory and an apse mosaic in Cyprus. In those, however, the Virgin is shown in conventional dress including the maphorion. In scholarship this type has been linked with that of the Virgin Blachernitissa, dear to the Byzantine emperors. Middle-Byzantine examples of the Blachernitissa display as their salient feature the Virgin's orant gesture. Reasons for its use in the Old St. Peter's around A.D. 700 would be the ever-present threat from the Longobards, whose encroaching upon Rome and the other areas defended by the Byzantines in Italy called for particular measures. Among these, assumedly, was the use of the new apotropaic, religio-military imagery of the Empire.

The hypothesis formulated here is linked to another, of broader scope, that of there having been, in Byzantium, a large-scale process of image-creation in the 100-year period preceding Iconoclasm. This process, triggered by the historical circumstances, has been mostly overlooked in the literature. Although richly reflected in the Early Medieval material from Rome, no traces of it have yet been found in the former Eastern capital. Hence, this theory cannot be verified and must remain on the border of the acceptable.

Alan Thacker (IHR University of London)

Clergy and *Custodes* at Old St Peter's, 4th- 8th Centuries

I am proposing to look again at how the papal basilicas, in particular St Peter's, were serviced in the early period immediately after their foundation in the early fourth century through to the eighth. I want to reconsider the question of who was responsible for liturgical celebration, and for the administration of the basilicas and the guardianship of the cults which they housed. Here the role of the mid 4th-century custos at St Peter's and his relations with Pope Liberius and the emperor is especially interesting. To whom was he responsible and how did he relate to the urban clergy and the imperial bureaucracy? That leads on to consideration of the effect on St Peter's of the changing fortunes and eventual disappearance of that bureaucracy. The impact of Pope Symmachus's residence at the Vatican in the early sixth century is of especial importance here. I would like then to take the story through at least to the sixth century and thence to the emergence of an archcantor at St Peter's and the liturgical developments of the late seventh and early eighth century.

Eamonn O'Carragain (University of Cork)

Interactions between liturgy and politics in Old St Peter's, 670-740: John the Archcantor, Sergius, Gregory II and III

This paper examines three liturgical developments centred on Old St Peter's between 670 and 740. Each of them illustrates how the liturgy of the period was developing fast under the pressure of urgent political events. Each of them illustrates how open Old St Peter's in particular, perhaps more than any other Roman basilica, was to ideas and events north of the Alps, as well as to those of Constantinople.

1. The first development involves the cult of St Martin, the figure of John the Archcantor, and the unique St Peter's Mass (found only in a single manuscript, Paduense) for 25 March. Only Wearmouth preserved the memory of his visit north, his presence at the synod of Hatfield in September 679, his death in Francia on his way back to Rome, and his burial at Tours. John was abbot of the monastery of St Martin, just to the south of the apse of Old St Peter's. It was natural that the liturgy of Tours should have influenced the liturgy of Old St Peter's in the 670s. We briefly examine the Mass for 25 March, 'Adnuntiatio Domini et Passio Eiusdem'. It shows liturgists in St Peter's (perhaps John himself? He, after all, was the abbot and the archcantor) rethinking the implications of the Tours commemoration of the Resurrection on 27 March and thus of the Crucifixion on 25 March.

2. The second development involves the cult of the Cross in St Peter's. The commemoration of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September) in St Peter's probably goes back to the 640s. Pope Sergius (686-701) made this recent Byzantine feast universal in the West by publicizing his finding of a relic of the True Cross in the reception hall of Old St Peter's, and by incorporating the feast of the Exaltation into the Papal liturgy at the Lateran. The *Liber Pontificalis* story Sergius' finding of the relic was designed to recall the Acta Cyriaci account of Helena's finding of the True Cross. But the Acta Cyriaci had recently been a major influence on the non-Papal 'Gelasian' feast of the Finding of the Cross on 3 May, another Byzantine feast in origin. The Latin Gelasian Mass for the Finding had probably been composed, not at Rome, but at Naples. By the 680s this Mass was probably known in some Roman basilicas, but it was not part of the papal liturgy at the Lateran. The *Liber Pontificalis* story shows Sergius presenting, for Rome and the West, a non-papal 'Gelasian' rationale for the Western papal feast of the Exaltation (14 September). This ensured that in the West the Exaltation would be celebrated in a devotional context (Sergius' finding of a relic of the True Cross in Old St Peter's, as Helena had once found the True Cross at Mount Calvary in Jerusalem) which differed decisively from the unacceptably imperialist celebration of the Exaltation in the city of Constantinople.

3. A third incorporation of non-Roman liturgical ideas for urgent political reasons lies behind the cult of All Saints (1 November), developed by Gregory III as part of his campaign against Iconoclasm: a campaign which continued and developed that of his predecessor Gregory II. The commemoration took place in Gregory's new chapel of All Saints in Old St Peter's, in which the prayers of the Mass were publicly available, set in stone for visiting cleric-pilgrims to learn by heart. From the beginning, the feast was partly justified by its appeal to (Northern) pilgrims; and the placing of the feast in November would also have appealed to pilgrims from the North, familiar with ancient pre-Christian winter celebrations such as Samhain. It was presumably because of its importance for Northern pilgrims, above all, that Old St Peter's shows such a receptivity to 'liturgical exchanges' between that basilica and the North, as well as between that basilica and Constantinople itself.

Peter Jeffery (Princeton University / University of Notre Dame)

The Roman Liturgical Year and the Early Liturgy of St. Peter's

Only since the 13th century has there been a uniform "Roman rite" structured around a standard "Roman calendar," based on the worship of the Roman Curia based in the Lateran complex. Before that, each of the major basilicas had its own calendar and

usages, maintained by the personnel of the monasteries attached to each basilica. St. Peter's was considered the most important basilica up to the mid-8th century, when the papal-Carolingian alliance, abetted by the infamous Donation of Constantine, began shifting liturgical leadership toward the Lateran. Thus in the 8th-century lectionary for the night office at St. Peter's, preserved in *Ordo Romanus* 14, the individual books of the Bible were assigned to be read according to the four seasons of the year. Related sources, some newly identified, show how this developed into the more detailed arrangement of *Ordo Romanus* 13, organized by the 12 months and now ascribed to "the Roman church" without specifying a particular basilica. All this parallels the history of the four ember weeks, which culminated with ordinations at St. Peter's. In the time of Pope Leo (5th century) these were connected with the four seasons, but in Carolingian times they were fixed to specific months.

MSS from continental Irish monasteries tend to preserve archaisms pointing to St. Peter's, while the main line of 9th-century development was shaped by increasing Frankish influences coming through the Lateran. The organization of the passionary (readings of saints' lives) took place largely at St. Peter's, while the homiliary (gospel commentaries) was organized in the north. 12th-century sources like the antiphonary Archivio S. Pietro MS B 79 show that many developments still had not been integrated into the usage of St. Peter's, which by then was a holdout, not the center of liturgical leadership it had once been.

Charles McClendon (Brandeis University)

Old St. Peter's and the Iconoclastic Controversy

Since its construction in the fourth century, Old St. Peter's served as a setting for the celebration and promotion of papal authority. This was certainly true during the Iconoclastic Controversy from the early 8th to the mid 9th centuries. Indeed, iconoclasm was first declared a heresy at a synod assembled by Pope Gregory III in the Vatican basilica in 731 and the pronouncement was soon given visual expression. The same pope, for example, placed six marble spiral columns, sent by the Byzantine exarch in Ravenna, in front of the original six spiral columns given by Constantine and rearranged by Pope Gregory the Great around 600. An architrave was placed atop the newly arrived six columns carved in silver with images of Christ, Mary, and the Apostles in an assemblage that evoked the similarly decorated columnar screen sponsored by the emperor Justinian for Hagia Sophia in Constantinople two centuries earlier. Moreover, in 732 Gregory III set up a new oratory in St Peter's dedicated to the Saviour and the Virgin Mary, with relics of the apostles and various saints, and decorated with an image of Christ's mother and inscribed plaques bearing instructions for perpetual liturgical celebrations at the site.

According to the *Liber Ponticalis*, Pope Paul I (757-767) was a fervent opponent of iconoclasm. At the same time, he decorated the gatehouse of the atrium of St Peter's in mosaic along with the mausoleum rotunda, adjoining the basilica's south transept arm, to which he translated the relics of St Petronilla, the purported daughter of Peter, from the catacombs. During the repeal of iconoclasm in the Byzantine east during the late 8th and early 9th centuries, popes Hadrian I and Leo III richly decorated the confessio of the Petrine church. With the revival of iconoclasm in Byzantium in 815, Old St Peter's served as a model for papal condemnation of the heresy's reemergence as seen in the design and decoration of S. Prassede built by Paschal I for Greek monks

around 817. Indeed, several aspects of the so-called revival of early Christian art and architecture in Rome in the first half of the ninth century, such as the proliferation of annular crypts, can be understood, at least in part, as a papal response to iconoclasm, as still seen in the apse, crypt, and mosaic of the church of S. Marco, sponsored by Pope Gregory IV around 830.

Ann van Dijk (Northern Illinois University)

Old St. Peter's and the Cult of Icons in Rome

By the thirteenth century, Old St. Peter's attracted pilgrims from across Europe not only because journeying there allowed them to worship at the site of the apostle's tomb but increasingly because it also provided an opportunity to view the Veronica, an acheiropoieta believed to have been produced miraculously when Christ wiped the sweat and blood from his face on the way to the Crucifixion. Inside the Constantinian basilica, the Veronica was kept in a richly decorated chapel originally dedicated to the Virgin Mary and constructed by the early eighth-century pope John VII as his burial oratory. As scholars have documented, the tremendous growth in the Veronica's popularity in the high Middle Ages is tied to the promotional activities of Popes Celestine III (1191-98) and Innocent III (1198-1216). Influential in scholarship of recent decades has been the idea that the turn of the twelfth century also marks the period when the Veronica in fact became an image; that the object documented at St. Peter's in John VII's oratory from about the year 1000 had earlier been a sudarium only, an aniconic relic. However, the inclusion of the Veronica in a list of acheiropoietai found in a late ninth- or early tenth-century Greek manuscript (Venice, Marciana gr. 573) puts this idea to rest. First published in 1996, this text shifts by several centuries the context in which scholars must consider the motivations behind the appearance of the Veronica in Rome and the decisions underlying the placement of a holy image in St. Peter's within the oratory of John VII. Icons had played an important role in Rome's religious life since the early Middle Ages, a tradition that involved the Lateran basilica, the churches of S. Maria Maggiore, S. Maria Antiqua and S. Maria in Trastevere, but notably excluded St. Peter's. My paper will examine the introduction of the Veronica into St. Peter's in light of the evolving theory of and practices surrounding the display and veneration of holy images in Rome from the ninth through the thirteenth centuries.

Rosamond McKitterick (University of Cambridge)

The Representation of Old St Peter's Basilica in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

The *Liber Pontificalis* is the fundamental source for lengthy descriptions of the elaborate gifts of gold and silver vessels and furnishings, silk and gold worked veils, embellishments in the form of frescoes, marble columns and panels, inscriptions and mosaics, repair work (especially to the roof), and the construction of oratories and tombs by many of the popes. Concentration on these has tended to obscure the role of St Peter's basilica itself in the narrative as a whole. This paper, therefore, seeks to examine the narrative function of St Peter's in the text of *Liber Pontificalis*. A constant theme is the role of St Peter's as described in the text in relation to reality. The *Liber Pontificalis* records both the invention and manipulation of traditions such as the use of the basilica as the burial place for the popes and eventually as the customary place of consecration for the pope. The development of the basilica's role

as shrine and as symbol of orthodoxy in the text will also be explored. Above all, the dynamic relationship between the Popes and the 'basilica of the prince of the apostles', as recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis*, will be charted over the centuries covered by the text.

Joanna Story (University of Leicester)

The Carolingians and Old St Peter's

The ancient basilica of St Peter's at the Vatican was the dramatic setting for several important political events that helped to determine the relationship between the Carolingian dynasty and the papacy in the eighth and ninth centuries. Most famously, it was the location for Charlemagne's imperial coronation on Christmas Day 800, although the contemporary sources, particularly the papal biographies in the *Liber Pontificalis*, describe other set-piece political dramas at the basilica involving the pope and the Frankish king. Contemporary sources claim that the imperial coronation took the Frankish king by surprise, but a wide variety of other sources demonstrate that the Carolingian dynasty had taken great care in earlier decades to cultivate their stock at the shrine of the Apostle, especially through the patronage of oratories, altars and papal tombs. This pattern of patronage within the basilica meant that Charlemagne's family was able to maintain a permanent presence at the St Peter's tomb, even when physically absent. The evidence is dense and wide-ranging, comprising extant inscriptions, contemporary accounts, and early manuscripts copies of verses that once adorned Carolingian gifts to St Peter and the popes. It shows that the Carolingians understood how the basilica functioned as a place of worship and as a theatre of power. Their gifts were located along processional routes or at important oratories, and included liturgical objects which ensured that the dynasty 'participated' daily in liturgical celebrations and was remembered thus by celebrants and worshippers. This paper will focus on the Carolingian gifts and their placement within the basilica, especially donations to oratories in the area of the south transept and for the oratory of St Peter "the Shepherd". Known previously through the pages of a sylloge, these latter gifts can now be reinterpreted in their proper liturgical context, in relationship to the furniture of the oratory and the wider architecture of the Constantinian basilica. They show how the Carolingians harnessed the architectural and liturgical space of Old St Peter's to display explicit spiritual support for the dynasty.

Caroline Goodson (Birkbeck College, University of London)

Old St Peter's and the Political Topography of Carolingian Rome

St Peter's clearly held an important place in the sacred topography of early medieval Rome, and its holiness in turn lent it political significance. The discussions and descriptions of St Peter's in a number of early medieval texts suggest the diverging roles played by the Petrine church and the rest of the city in the political transformation of early medieval Rome from bishopric to Republic. Activities related to ecclesiastical administration happened at the Lateran, including synods, episcopal meetings, and many major feasts. The place where the pope presented himself as a political leader, however, and the place for coronations of emperors, rulers' oaths and other political events was St Peter's basilica. This distinction between the Lateran and the Vatican was observed also by distinguished visitors to Rome in the eighth and

ninth century, most notably by the Franks. Upon Charlemagne's arrival in Rome in 799, he was greeted by crowds of Romans and the pope outside the city to the north, and then processed to the Vatican and St. Peter's. Pope Leo III's self-absolution of guilt in alleged crimes, the trial of the pope's persecutors and, of course, the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor, all took place at St Peter's basilica. I intend to investigate the role of St Peter's in the political topography of Rome, with special attention to the nature of the sources which record this role. It is my contention that in the eighth century St Peter's was crafted as a stage for the papal court's political representation. This locus was created in two ways: first by drawing upon liturgy, the cult of Peter's relics and the history of the church as the legacy of the popes; and second by separating papal diplomatic and political roles from ecclesiastical governance and separating the places where these different spheres of power worked.

Carmela Virilio Franklin (American Academy in Rome)

The Legendary of St Peter's Basilica: Hagiographic Traditions and Innovations in the Late 11th century

My paper will focus on four manuscripts, which are part of the large hagiographic library of Old St Peter, now housed in the Biblioteca apostolica vaticana.

Archivio di S. Pietro A.2, A.4, and A.5, are the oldest surviving manuscripts of the Basilica's collection, from the late 11th century. These, together with a lost fourth volume, constituted what I call the *Legendary of St Peter*, that is, a large compendium, arranged according to the liturgical year, of complete hagiographic texts, only some of which were marked in the margins for liturgical reading by several hands after the initial copying of the books. Archivio di S. Pietro A.3, from the last decades of the 12th century, is instead a hagiographic lectionary for the entire year, a book containing only extracts from hagiographic texts, compiled specifically for liturgical reading. A.3 can be used for a partial reconstruction of the missing volume of the *Legendary of St Peter*, for it can be shown quite simply that A.3 was copied directly from the earlier volumes. More importantly, the additions to A.3 of readings not included in the *Legendary* provide significant evidence for the development of the practice of liturgical cult of the saints, and its codification.

My discussion, based on evidence collected from an examination and a comparison of the texts contained in all four volumes, will illustrate how, in its preference for early martyrs, and in particular for figures who had lived and died in Rome, the *St Peter's Legendary* reflects the hagiologic interests that have been attributed to the Reform Papacy. Also highlighted in the collection are the lives and activities of the popes, especially in the invention of relics of early martyrial figures. Finally, the inclusion of rare and ancient versions of texts in the *Legendary* (texts which survive nowhere else, or if they do, it is in reworked version) can be seen as an effort at preserving the entire and most ancient hagiographic traditions of the Basilica.

Furthermore, the use of the collection, as reflected in its marginal notes and complex marks for liturgical performance, can be seen as adhering to the broader concern for the proper performance of the night office, as prescribed most directly and in detail in Gregory VII's decree *In die resurrectionis* (1074/78), but also in other contemporary sources, such as, for example, the *Micrologus* of Bertold of Constance.

John Osborne (Carleton University)

Plus Caesare Petrus: The Medieval Understanding of the Vatican Obelisk

Medieval identifications and understandings of ancient monuments in Rome were varied, fluid, and often historically inaccurate. This paper will look at a group of such monuments that lay on the route of every pilgrim and visitor to St Peter's, between the Ponte Sant'Angelo and the basilica, with a focus on the Vatican obelisk, identified in the *Mirabilia* and other texts as the tomb of Julius Caesar. The paper will suggest that the medieval identifications of these monuments, all thought to be the tombs of famous Romans, were deliberately constructed to prepare the visitor for arrival at the tomb of Peter, through a physical journey that functioned as a form of mimesis of Rome's sacred history. In the words of Hildebert of Lavardin, 'Plus Caesare Petrus'.

Katharina Christa Schüppel (Institut für Kunstgeschichte - Universität Leipzig)

The Stucco Crucifix of St. Peter's Reconsidered: Textual Sources and Visual Evidence on the Renaissance Copy of a Medieval Silver Crucifix

In 1908 Giuseppe Cascioli discovered a long-forgotten crucifix under the New Sacristy of Saint Peter's church in Rome. This fascinating piece in stucco and paper has been largely neglected by scholarship — probably due in part to its "poor" materials — and is held in the Fabbrica di San Pietro. The cross bears a large corpus: 165 cm high. At the upper end of the cross appears a young bearded man with staff and globe, who has been variously identified as God the Father, Christ, and the archangel Michael. The lower end carries a double effigy of the apostles Peter and Paul; while on the lateral ends the mourning Virgin and Saint John turn towards the crucified. The piece was identified early on as the copy of a medieval silver crucifix melted down in the year 1550, and it has long been interpreted as the sole surviving object evidence of Carolingian monumental crucifixes — possibly donated, according to different scholars, by Pope Leo III, Pope Leo IV, or Charlemagne himself. My paper argues, based on a detailed examination of the written sources, that the original silver crucifix more probably dates to the twelfth-century pontificate of Innocent II (1130-1143). I argue further that the sources allow us to establish its original location at the south edge of the high altar podium in Old Saint Peter's. Visual evidence plays a major role in my re-dating, as the crucifix shares its aesthetic characteristics — closely related to the religious symbolism of Easter — with a small group of high-medieval silver monumental crosses surviving in Italy. The double image of Peter and Paul at the foot of the cross — a very special element — is also analyzed in relation to the context of late antique and medieval icons in Rome. The paper as a whole aims to recognize the worth of the modest stucco crucifix as an invaluable historical document and precious witness to an important lost medieval object.

Carol M. Richardson (The Open University)

Papal tombs in Old St. Peter's after Avignon

The basilica underwent fundamental change from the fifteenth century on: it changed from being a covered cemetery to a representation of papal majesty and supremacy. How that happened and which periods are the defining ones is less straightforward. A recent volume in English edited by William Tronzo is fairly representative of the standard narrative. It jumps from the middle of the thirteenth century to the middle of

the fifteenth with nothing in between. Thereafter it describes “a slow (though logical) process of growth from west to east, from the choir of Nicholas V and Bramante’s crossing, to Maderno’s nave and Bernini’s colonnade.” This is the accepted story of St Peter’s according to its architectural history.

In this paper I will focus on the addition and rearrangement of fourteenth and fifteenth century papal tombs *inside* the basilica. I will argue that performance of the liturgy incorporating these tombs informed the sense of place and explains the step change apparently represented by Nicholas V’s alterations. I will also question Nicholas V’s role and put his intentions into a longer narrative which goes back to the end of the fourteenth century to explain what he, as well as his predecessors and successors, was trying to achieve.

Robert Glass (Princeton University)

Filarete's Renovation of the Porta Argentea at Old St. Peter's

When Old St. Peter's was torn down and rebuilt in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, one of the few monuments to be preserved intact and reinstalled in its original location in the new building was the set of great bronze doors standing in the central portal. Their reuse was no doubt due to not only their material worth but their symbolic value. Commissioned by Pope Eugenius IV in 1433 and carried out by the Florentine sculptor, Antonio Averlino, called Filarete, during the following twelve years, the doors restored in bronze the famous Porta Argentea. Doors of silver had marked the primary entrance to Old St. Peter's since the time of Honorius I (625-38), but had been repeatedly despoiled of their precious covering. Under Eugenius, the central portal once again received the majestic ornamentation it required as a frontispiece for the basilica and a backdrop for the rituals staged there.

In taking on such an important commission, Filarete was surely aware of the history of the Porta Argentea and its role in the ceremonial life of the basilica. Remarkably, however, little attention has been directed toward examining Filarete’s doors in this context. Scholars have instead posited the political agenda of Eugenius or the interests of contemporary humanists as the artist’s primary concern. This paper argues that consideration of the site and ritual function of the doors is in fact essential for understanding Filarete's intentions. In designing the doors, Filarete drew from the great artistic patrimony of the basilica as well as the language of material display characteristic of curial ceremony at the time to produce a work that was both iconographically and stylistically tailored to its location and use. Considered from this perspective, aspects of the doors often considered peculiar or deficient can be understood as highly imaginative responses to the challenges of creating a work for such a venerable and symbolically charged site.

Catherine Fletcher (British School at Rome)

The Altar of St Maurice and the Invention of Tradition in St Peter's

This paper will consider the intersection of diplomacy and liturgy in the context of Old St Peter's, and aims to shed light on a significant use of the basilica. Among the most interesting features of St Peter's in this regard is the altar of St Maurice in the south transept, where the Holy Roman Emperor would be anointed prior to his coronation. The manoeuvrings around this altar highlight the basilica's role as a

theatre of power and as a space where ‘antique’ traditions might be invented to suit the political climate of the day. Established, perhaps, in the early twelfth century, a century after St Maurice’s adoption as patron saint of the Holy Roman Empire, the altar functioned as an imperial symbol within the basilica. Yet, as Mary Stoll has argued, it was also a site for the exercise of papal power. Its symbolism proved sufficiently strong that even in the seventeenth century; the construction of an altar of St Maurice in the new basilica would be described as ‘necessary’ by the papal masters of ceremonies. Drawing on Eric Hobsbawm’s discussion of the ‘invention of tradition’, this paper will investigate the uses of this altar, employing a range of ceremonial texts and descriptions written over four centuries and focusing in particular on the two fifteenth-century coronations in St Peter’s: those of the Emperors Sigismund (1433) and Frederick III (1452). Finally, it will consider the suggestion in Panvinio’s sixteenth-century description of the basilica that the image of St Maurice was moved to the altar *de ossibus*, and assess the symbolic implications of such a move.

Bram Kempers (University of Amsterdam)

A hybrid history: Adding a dome to the basilica, Saint Peter’s 1450-1605

In my paper I will address the following issues.

1. The renovation of Nicholas V and the code of *figura composita*
2. Bramante’s centralizing ideal
3. Reactions by artists and authors
4. Rejections by papal patrons since Julius II
5. Revisions and the principle of flexible design
6. Intended continuity of the ancient structures
7. Four histories: design, building, usage and historical reflection