

**Italy and Medieval Europe/L'Italia e l'Europa medievale:
Fest in honour of/Festa in onore di Chris Wickham**

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ABSTRACTS/RIASSUNTI (A-Z)

Stuart Airlie (Glasgow, UK)

Percy Ernst Schramm goes to the Movies: Aspects of Medieval Modernity

The relations between Modernity and the Middle Ages are complex. All too often, disenchanted/liberated modernity (defined as secular, urban, atomised individuality) needs the magical/ignorant middle ages (defined as religious, rural, community) as a necessary foil. We now, of course, tend to question modernity itself as a partial (in every sense) account that distorts complexity of human experience outside the west (and inside it for that matter), etc. Percy Ernst Schramm (1894-1970) turns out to be an exemplarily problematic figure through whom we can fruitfully rethink modernity-medieval relationships as a dialectic rather than a simple contrast, and thus deepen our understanding of, among other things, what it means to study the Middle Ages now. Schramm worked on the symbols and objects associated with the elite rulers of the medieval world, but he also wrote substantial amount on the history of Germany in his own troubled times. A political conservative and German patriot, Schramm did not, however, embrace medievalism out of hostility to modernity. Here he differs from the circle of Stefan George (e.g., Ernst Kantorowicz). He attended lectures by Max Weber, had Weber's brother as a colleague at Heidelberg and had a close association with Aby Warburg. In some ways, we could juxtapose him with Marc Bloch, e.g., in their common interest in *The Golden Bough*. Jinty Nelson is on record as testifying to the still fruitful legacy of Schramm's work. But Schramm's work was very distinctive and his tracing the medieval world's legacy in the modern age looks rather different from Warburg's radical uncovering of the classical heritage. And his service as diary keeper of the Wehrmacht in the Second World War and his subsequent work on Hitler casts a shadow over his medieval work which ought not to be separated from it, according to recent critiques. And yet, that grappling with twentieth-century history could also show Schramm trying to fulfil a civic duty as historian. His concern with images from the past, and modern images of them (he was interested in documentary film), may echo some concerns in film scholarship about cinematic representations of the medieval past. If I cannot identify specific movies that Schramm saw, I believe that looking had at him lets us see medieval projections onto modernity more clearly.

Frances Andrews (St Andrews, UK)

Como and Padua in comparison

This paper takes as its starting point Chris Wickham's emphasis on the importance and difficulties of comparative history (if on a small scale). It compares the engagement of *virii religiosi* in communal offices in two cities and their *contadi* in northern Italy: Padua and Como, which in the first half of the thirteenth century adopted contrasting approaches to this practice. In Como, already by 1216, otherwise unidentified *fratres qui supersunt ad cartas* were responsible for dealing with the commune's creditors, and within a few decades the city's treasurers (*canevarii*) were usually *fratres regulares*. Some rural communes in the hinterland also took to using *fratres* in similar ways. Como's adoption of this 'religious' solution to staffing key offices is precocious, but a similar pattern can be identified in the following decades in numerous northern and central Italian cities and *contadi*. This has, surely correctly, been linked to the rise of pro-papal Guelfism in the middle of the century. By contrast, Padua seems to be a rare exception, with no evidence for the employment of

fratres in urban office either before, during, or after the period of domination by the Ezzelini (1237-1256). Yet in the early 1200s the Ezzelini were already regionally significant leaders, and were aligned against the imperial cause. The comparison is not intended to explain a silence in the records, but as an exploration of reasons for these differences, a case-study of communal practices and political factionalism.

Giovanna Bianchi (Siena, Italy)

Lords, communities and mines: some considerations setting out from the Tuscan context

In 1994, an article appeared in the Italian journal *Archeologia Medievale*, written by Chris Wickham and Riccardo Francovich, entitled *Uno scavo archeologico ed il problema dello sviluppo della signoria territoriale: Rocca San Silvestro e i rapporti di produzione minerari*. It marked a breakthrough in the study of the exploitation of mineral resources (especially silver) in relation to forms of power, and the associated economic structure, and control of production between the 12th and 13th centuries. On the basis of the data available to archeological research at the time, the article ended with a series of open questions, especially relating to the early medieval period. The new campaign of field research, focused on the mining landscape of the Colline Metallifere in southern Tuscany, has made it possible to gather more information. While the data that has now been gathered are not yet sufficient to give definite and complete answers to those questions, they nevertheless allow us to now formulate some hypotheses which may serve as the foundations for broader considerations as regards the relationship between the exploitation of a fundamental resource for the economy of the time, and the main players and agents in that system of exploitation, within a landscape that was undergoing transformation in the period between the early medieval period and the middle centuries of the Middle Ages.

Chris Callow (Birmingham, UK)

Problems and possibilities of comparing medieval Iceland with other regions

One of the hallmarks of the honorand's research has been its breadth, its active attempts to compare how different medieval societies worked, and its awareness of how different academic communities think about their subjects. In different places Iceland has figured as a frame of reference. This paper aims to consider briefly how Iceland serves as a comparator now, some thirty years after a growth in Anglophone scholarship helped develop interest in it. In that period Icelandic archaeology has developed significantly and international scholarly trends have influenced the literary and historical scholarship related to Iceland.

Sandro Carocci (Rome, Italy)

Reframing Norman Italy?

In my paper I rely on the results of a recently published book, in which I carried out the first systematic analysis of lordship in the Kingdom of Sicily during the Norman, Swabian and early Angevin periods. Peasant worlds of hitherto unsuspected dynamism are at the heart of my paper, as well as kings determined to curb the aristocratic authority and nobles forced to adapt their seigneurial power to both the forces at work in rural societies, and royal policy.

Edward Coleman (Dublin, Ireland)

Land dispute and legal process on the Po Plain in the thirteenth century. The case of Guastalla and Luzzara

On March 3, 1193, in the episcopal palace of Piacenza, in the presence of the bishop of Piacenza and a papal legate (Cardinal Peter of S Cecilia), Gandolfo, abbot of the Piacentine monastery of S.Sisto, presented a copy of an imperial diploma of the emperor Louis II, dated November 4, 862. The document recorded the donation of the *curtes* of

Guastalla and Luzzara to Louis' wife, the empress Angilberga, who subsequently left the same lands to the monastery in her will. Abbot Gandolfo stated that the lost original of the imperial diploma had been furnished with a golden seal and three monks of S Sisto testified on oath that they had read the document and seen and touched the seal. This event marked the beginning of a bitter dispute lasting three decades between the monastery of S Sisto and the commune of Cremona over possession of Guastalla and Luzzara. Before it was finally resolved in 1227 it attracted the attention of three popes (Innocent III, Honorius III, Gregory IX), two emperors (Otto IV and Frederick II), three papal legates (including Ugolino da Segni, the future Pope Gregory IX) as well as a large cast of Lombard bishops and abbots employed as papal judges-delegate. It arose principally as a result of Cremona's attempt to gain control of an area on the south-eastern periphery of its territory or *contado*. This was not unusual in northern Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: powerful city communes were everywhere trying to push the boundaries of their political, fiscal and judicial authority up to, and sometimes beyond, traditionally recognized limits. The Guastalla /Luzzara case is an extremely well-documented instance of this trend: two hundred and fifty documents relating to it are transcribed together, more or less in sequence, in a early thirteenth century register of the commune of Cremona known as *Codice A*. This documentary record reveals in detail the various strategies adopted by the commune of Cremona to achieve its goals, and allows the historian to view the dispute against the complicated background of political alliances, power relationships and war in the Po plain during this period. Moreover, such is the richness of documentation, that the case also throws up numerous vivid details of human interest.

Maria Elena Cortese (Uninettuno, Italy)

Between cities and countryside: the aristocracy in the March of *Tuscia* (11th- early 12th centuries)

The subject of this paper is the relationship between the Tuscan cities and the families belonging to the middle ranks of the lay aristocracy, from the late 10th until the early 12th century. Taking the case-study of Florence as a starting point, a comparison with other cities of the Tuscan March in the same period will be sketched, to see that during the 11th century we can find a similar situation in different contexts. In fact almost everywhere the 'mid-level' aristocracy held extensive and dispersed landholdings, many castles and private churches in the countryside, but important urban and suburban holdings as well. They established political, social and economic connections with the primary wielders of regional power (the marquis, the counts, the bishops and other important ecclesiastical institutions) and gravitated on the cities, taking part to urban politics and probably living there some periods during the year. The situation in Florence, however, rapidly changed during the protracted crisis of the Tuscan March at the end of the 11th and in the early 12th century, when the rural aristocracy confronted a major crisis: many lineages rapidly fragmented, the splintered branches concentrated on building compact rural lordships, and they turned their backs on Florence, without playing a role in the emerging *comune*. But, in the same context of the decline of the March, in other Tuscan cities the separation between rural and urban aristocracies did not take place, or at least seems to have been not so stark and dramatic. Paying attention to the strength of several factors (power of the bishops, economic attraction, connections with powerful counts families etc.), different situations will be compared to reflect about the political behaviour of rural aristocracies and their degree of integration in the urban *élites* during the so-called 'consular period'.

Peter Coss (Cardiff, UK)

Feudalism, Bastard Feudalism and the Framing of 13th Century England

In the introduction to his great work of 2005, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, Chris Wickham urged not only the necessity of carefully framing our studies at the outset but also the importance of closely defining the words and concepts that we employ, the avoidance

'cultural solipsism' wherever possible and the need to pay particular attention to continuities and discontinuities. Chris has, of course, followed these precepts on a vast scale. My aim in this essay is a modest one. I aim to review the framing of thirteenth-century England in terms of two only of Chris's themes: the aristocracy and the state - and even then primarily in terms of the relationship between the two. By the thirteenth century I mean a long thirteenth century stretching from the period of the Angevin reforms of the later twelfth century on the one hand to the early to mid-fourteenth on the other; the reasons for taking this span will, I hope, become clearer during the course of the essay but few would doubt that it has a validity.

Marios Costambeys (Liverpool, UK)

Dispute records, archives and social change in northern and central Italy, c.800-1100,

Chris Wickham's article on 'Land disputes and their social framework in Lombard and Carolingian Italy' set the tone for a generation of scholarship, revealing, like other articles in the same book, the utility of dispute records for writing the social history of early medieval Europe. Societal changes are nowhere more obvious than in the disputes to which they give rise. It is no accident, therefore, that documents generated by law courts have been central to historiography concerned with the nature and sharpness of social change in the post-Carolingian West, to which Chris has also contributed significantly. Increasingly after c.800, however, Italian lawcourt records look to become less useful as social documents because they come to follow a very limited number of formulaic templates, which erased any points in dispute and cast claims in court as undefended. This paper argues that social changes can still be detected in such documents, though less through their texts than through their patterns of preservation. It shows how in two cases – the abbey of Monte Amiata and the ecclesiastical institutions in Piacenza – the shape of archives of lawcourt documents mirrors and is related to the crystallization of local power into the hands of restricted elite groups focused on single families. In doing so it addresses the current debate, arising largely out of French examples, about the appearance and reality of a 'transformation' in western society around the year 1000.

Wendy Davies (London, UK)

***Boni homines* in the courts of Northern Iberia**

Use of the term *boni homines* was widely used in early medieval Europe to refer to trusted people who gave oaths or were called to give evidence or from whom judges were chosen. Despite the common heritage, in Iberian texts the term is very rare before the late tenth century, when it was used both very generally to signify the presence of acceptable people but also much more specifically to refer to individuals (often named) who had a practical and distinctive role in judicial process or in concluding and validating transactions. In court they are particularly associated with intercession to get penalties reduced and in other kinds of meeting with fixing prices and distributing property. There is much to suggest that the people referred to as *boni homines* in court cases were aristocrats, rather than the local worthies one might expect. This paper will explore whether or not the functions of the *boni homines* of northern Iberia were differentiated by social status and how far they were different from their Italian and other western European counterparts.

Mayke de Jong (Utrecht, Netherlands)

The two republics: the *ecclesia* and the public domain in the West-Frankish kingdom

According to Chris Wickham, a culture of the public was the strongest inheritance of Rome, and it existed until c. 1000. Even in the early medieval West with its relatively weak states, the notion of a domain that was *publicus* remained a pervasive one; it was primarily associated with royal property, law courts, royal officials and assemblies, both great and small (Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome*, p. 562). I could not agree more, but I would also include bishops and abbots, episcopal synods and royal monasteries. My contribution

argues that in any conceptualization of public authority in the early medieval West, the church cannot be left out. With a focus on narrative and administrative sources from the West-Frankish kingdom (c. 840-880) I will investigate the semantic field of *publicus* and its derivatives, especially in the increasingly acrimonious debates about church property that emerged during the reign of Charles the Bald. It is in this context that new notions of a public domain and its ensuing obligations were most clearly and actively articulated.

Paolo Delogu (Rome, Italy)

Langobardic Customs

The paper will deal with some problematic aspects of the Lombard civilization in Italy.

Golden crosses: What was the actual meaning of the golden crosses that the Lombards made use of in the funerary attire of their dead? A sign of Christianization, of course; but what kind of Christianization? Viri devoti: Who were the men who exhibit this title in their deeds? Does the title refer to members of a juridically distinguished class, or simply to a social status without any legal definition?

Monetary system: Why legislation and charters always refer to “solidi” as the normal means of payment, whilst solidi were not minted by the Lombard mints? Devotion: In the eighth century the Lombards expressed their religious devotion by founding churches and monasteries, and by giving them substantial land donations. What was the ultimate religious and social purpose of this custom?

Laurent Feller (Paris, France)

Décrire le changement social dans l'Occident du haut Moyen Âge

L'œuvre de Chris Wickham se place au cœur de débats dont il a contribué à définir les termes et dont cette communication voudrait présenter quelques-uns des termes.

Depuis trente ans, l'historiographie occidentale a, avec la notion de changement social, des difficultés que la polémique née autour de la « mutation féodale » a illustrée. En France, l'historiographie a, soit cessé de s'intéresser au problème, soit l'a déplacé vers des questions liées à la nature même des sources écrites à la disposition des historiens, remplaçant les études sociales par des études sur la scripturalité, celles-ci étant comprise comme un préalable nécessaire aux études sur l'économie ou la société. La description et la compréhension des grandes ruptures chronologiques est ainsi devenue seconde par rapport à l'étude des conditions de production des écrits qui permettent d'en parler. Ce tournant épistémologique, formalisé et baptisé voici déjà un quart de siècle sous le nom de tournant critique, fait sens parce qu'il contraint à un retour réflexif sur les notions en cause (principalement le concept de mutation) et définit une nouvelle positivité (on peut tout de même le décrire). Celle-ci rend nécessaire la construction de nouveaux modèles structurant le récit historique ainsi qu'une profonde remise en cause du lexique de la description des sociétés médiévales. Il ne s'agit pas de déplacer des bornes chronologiques (y a-t-il eu une mutation au XII^e siècle plutôt qu'au XI^e siècle ?) mais d'intégrer de façon définitive l'idée d'une pluralité des temporalités et de diversité des rythmes comme des objets du changement dans l'ensemble des compartiments qui font l'objet des études historiques.

Elizabeth Fentress (Rome, Italy)

Topographic memory

Among the various forms of social memory discussed by Chris Wickham and James Fentress in *Social Memory*, topographic memory got rather short shrift: by this I mean the memory formed by and attached to places. To illustrate this theme I chose three Italian sites with a Roman past: Cosa (Ansedonia), the monastery of S. Sebastiano at Alatri, and Villa Magna near Anagni. These illustrate three different ways in which local memory of Roman sites was transmitted into the Middle Ages, and the reciprocal effects of this memory on the sites themselves, and on those who lived there.

Paul Fouracre (Manchester, UK)**“Framing” and lighting. Another angle on transition**

Chris Wickham’s majestic account of the transition from Ancient to Medieval worlds cannot be matched, but it can be complicated. It is, as he makes clear, a framework which others can fill out with more explicitly cultural, social, religious and regional histories. In this paper I shall attempt such a filling, one which may clarify, but also complicate, Chris’s narrative of the transition from a fiscal to a moral economy. I shall be dealing with the material consequences of belief, namely, the belief that all churches should be provided with lights. This belief became widespread at just the time that olive oil production plummeted. Oil for lights became scarce and in relative terms increasingly expensive as cash supplies also dwindled. Wax, the alternative fuel, was more readily available but almost as expensive in the quantities required. It was thus only the major churches/monasteries and the magnate class who could afford to buy into this belief or cultural practice. The prestige that came from doing so served to consolidate the social hierarchy at a time of fiscal downturn. A complication is that this common need was met in different ways in different parts of Europe. Nevertheless, the fact that it had a broadly similar outcome is an important reaffirmation of the Wickham model.

Patrick Geary (Princeton, US)**Longobardi in the sixth century without Paulus Diaconus**

The paper will attempt to construct a model of the relationships between Pannonia and Italy in the sixth century from archeological, textual, and genetic sources without recourse to the master narrative imposed by Paulus centuries later. Although frequently criticized, the seductiveness of his account and his putative reliance on the *Origo gentis Langobardorum* and a lost history of Secundus of Trent have inevitably led scholars to attempt to reconcile his account of Longobard early history with fragmentary material evidence and the testimony of authors contemporary to the events Paulus recorded over two hundred years later. However since the *Origo* is itself a seventh-century text and Secundus, too, was writing in the seventh century, it is perhaps worthwhile to consider, as a thought experiment, what the history of the Longobards would look like if one attempted to reconstruct it from sixth century sources without recourse to Paulus or to the *Origo*. The purpose of this essay is not ultimately to reject Paulus or the *Origo* in their entirety, but rather, as a thought experiment, to ask what image might emerge of Pannonia and Italy in this crucial period without them.

Caroline Goodson (London, UK)**Urban gardening in early medieval Italy**

It is a commonplace assumption that the medieval cities were 'ruralised' by the presence of vegetable patches, fields, and livestock. Historians and archaeologists have often taken evidence for agricultural cultivation in urban spaces as indicators of the breakdown of medieval urban fabric and economies, but urban gardens were not simply byproducts of decline or devolution. They were created because people living in the city wanted fresh fruits and vegetables and made space to grow them. The evidence from Italy makes clear that residential properties with access to cultivated spaces were controlled by urban elites, both private and ecclesiastical. The study of these urban vineyards, veg patches and fields, through their textual and archaeological records, provides us a small window onto shifting social structures within medieval cities, the rises and falls in small-scale markets, and emerging ideals of charity. These issues have previously been very difficult to understand given the paucity of documentation about residential properties and social structures in the early middle ages; they are to some degree revealed by looking at gardens. The combination of property documents with letters, narrative chronicles, and a considerable amount of recent urban archaeology make it now possible to observe urban food

provisioning in early medieval Italy and to relate the phenomenon of urban gardening with shifting power structures in the city.

John Haldon (Princeton, US)

Eastern Roman (Byzantine) views on Islam and on jihād, ca 900 CE: a papal connection?

The later ninth-century interest in court circles at Constantinople in re-affirming the Roman credentials of the eastern Roman state – most obvious in imperially-sponsored codifications of law - is now generally understood at least in part to have been a response to challenges set up by the papacy, and in particular followed on from the exchange of letters between popes and emperors or their advisors in the second half of the ninth century. But there were other consequences of this process, many of which can be summed up in the phrase ‘Macedonian renaissance’. More radically, however, it can be argued that medieval eastern Roman attitudes to Islam were also bound up with these changes, entailing not only an attempt to understand aspects of Islamic belief and praxis, but for the first time perceiving Islam as an existential threat to the moral as well as the political universe of Christianity.

Cristina La Rocca (Padova, Italy)

Public Buildings and Private Abuses in Cassiodorus’ *Variae*

When Cassiodorus published his *Variae* (537-540) the war between Justinian and the Gothic rulers was dramatically challenging both the prestige and the political stability of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy. Therefore it is very interesting to analyze the construction of a 'golden past' in the Italian experience through the letters written by Cassiodorus on Theoderic's name concerning the king's involvement in public buildings. In fact they show very clearly the practical involvement of Theoderic in reshaping both his capital of Ravenna and the city of Rome. While for Ravenna the letters concern is directed towards the embellishment of the palace, in Rome the king's attention is especially related to the private abuses of public structures made by Roman *clarissimi*. This paper is therefore directed to discuss the subject of private structures inserted in public monuments in the archaeological interpretation as 'squatters' occupations and to underline the value of negotiation between Theoderic and the élite of Rome.

Régine Le Jan (Paris, France)

Gift, Politics and Memory: Matilda of Tuscany and her Donations to St Peter

Duchess Matilda of Tuscany is known as an Italian actress in the conflict between the Emperors and Popes during the Gregorian Reform. Since she was a cousin of the Emperor, she was also ‘daughter of Saint Peter’, friend of the Pope, as her mother and other great women were. During more than 30 years, she has acted as a political leader, conducting her armies and serving the interests of Rome. This paper focuses on the politics and the language of Gift used by Matilda in her relationships with both Cluny and the Pope, in other terms with Saint Peter. As Matilda has given her monastery of Polirone to Saint Peter of Cluny in 1080, creating bonds of friendship and Protection with the Abbots of Cluny, as she continued to make important donations to the monastery, she could make Polirone a place of memory, where she decided to be buried in a splendid monument she had made built. She also gave her treasure to the Pope and made important donations to the Church in Rome, which will be analyzed in terms of politics and memory.

Eduardo Manzano Morena (Madrid, Spain)

On Coins and Chris Wickham

This paper addresses a very simple question: is it possible to frame coinage in the Early Middle Ages? The answer will be certainly yes, but will also acknowledge that we lack considerable amounts of relevant data potentially available through state-of-the-art

methodologies. One problem is, though, that many times we do not really know what are the relevant questions we can pose on coins; another is that we still have not figured out the social role of coinage in the aftermath of the Roman Empire. This presentation will show a number of things that could be known thanks to the analysis of coins. And as its title suggests it will also include some reflections on greed and generosity.

Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, UK)

**The historical compendium in the early ninth-century codex, Lucca
Biblioteca capitolare MS 490**

Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare feliniana MS 490 is particularly well known because it contains the so-called Lombard recension of the *Liber pontificalis*, the early medieval history of the popes in the form of serial biography. Yet this text occupies only fols 137r-210 in the codex. The remainder, once possibly two separate volumes, comprises a remarkable selection of historical and legal texts, including the Chronicle of Eusebius-Jerome, the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius-Rufinus, and the collection of canon law generally called the *Collectio Sanblasiana*. In earlier work I have analysed the creation in the late eighth century of a particular transformation of both the *Chronicon* in Jerome's translation and the *Liber pontificalis* in this codex, for Lucca 490 confirms that these texts were not passively received. Active engagement with them resulted in transformations of the presentation of the Roman past and of the way in which Rome and Roman identity might be both perceived and incorporated into a wider sense of the Christian past and Christian identity in the early middle ages. In this paper, therefore, I wish both to explore the implications of the inclusion of Eusebius-Rufinus, the *Collectio Sanblasiana*, and smaller works by Isidore of Seville and Gennadius in this same codex with Jerome-Eusebius and the *Liber pontificalis*, and the particular presentations of the Christian past in the versions of Eusebius-Rufinus and the Sanblasiana incorporated into the book. I aim to demonstrate how the successive engagements of the translators, historians and scribes of the many historical and legal texts in this codex are telling instances of the ways in which cultural memory might be shaped by a very selective use of the cultural resources of the past.

Alessandra Molinari (Rome, Italy)

Medieval Sicily in the Mediterranean context: interpreting peasant communities (7th and 12th centuries)

In recent years archaeological research, along with a renewed historiography of the Byzantine and Islamic period, have made of early medieval Sicily an articulated case study, rich in suggestions for understanding the dynamics of transformation of the central area of the Mediterranean. In particular, it seems interesting to try to combine the "keys to understanding" central in *Framing* (persistence of the tributary state, the wealth of elites, the social organization of rural communities, the patterns of trade) with themes such as migration and transformation of culture and religion. Comparing early medieval Sicily with Italy (especially southern), North Africa or Spain will allow a better evaluation of whether the pathways of change visible were specific to the Island.

To recent systematic research in Palermo and in the rural sites of Piazza Armerina, Sofiana, Rocchicella, Cda Colmitella, one can now add the new research project that I co-direct with Martin Carver, in collaboration with the University of York and other institutions. Our research involves the evaluation and the excavation of a large public fortress of the 7th-8th century (the Kassar of Castronovo, with a wall about 2 km long and a protected area of about 90 hectares) and at least two distinct rural sites with continuity of settlement between the Byzantine and Norman period. In the case of Kassar the aim is especially to understand the nature and duration of the settlement inside the walls and if the new Islamic state made somehow use of it. In the case of peasant settlements with long-term occupation the opportunity is to understand how and if social structures (including family ones), religious, funerary and especially agricultural practices, systems of storage of the

surplus and culinary habits changed. In addition to the excavation of structures and artefacts we have planned the collaboration of experts from the Universities of York, Lecce and Sheffield for paleoenvironmental, bioarchaeological and archaeozoological analysis, the examination of stable isotopes in human and animal bones and of organic residues in transport and kitchen vessels, etc. The challenge then is to try to understand, within specific regional contexts, how and if the use of resources changed in relation to the transformation of social structures and culture, as well as to the possible impact of newcomers.

Rosemary Morris (York, UK)

The 'life aquatic' on Athos (10th-12th century)

Many of the surviving documents from the monastic archives of Mt. Athos deal with water. This paper will deal not only with fresh water in the form of rainfall, streams, but also with the seas surrounding the Holy Mountain. The effect of permanent and non-permanent water courses on the development of the monastic communities will be discussed as will matters such as 'ownership' of water sources, disputes over water rights and the exploitation of water-based resources such as mills. Water supply to monastic houses and features such as cisterns and fountains will be investigated. The second part of the paper will deal with the sea: issues of access to it, landing stages, boats, boat-houses and exploitation of fishing rights. Given the professed 'love of solitude' expressed by Athonite founders, how and why did some monasteries gain privileges and exemptions for their ships and how did they wish to exploit them? How could such economic activity be reconciled with the 'self-sufficiency' promoted by such figures as St Athanasios. Much has been written recently about water in Constantinople, where the water supply, the provision of fish and organisation of fisheries and, more recently, fountains have all been the subjects of study. This paper will aim to examine aquatic matters in a provincial and far more rural setting.

Paul Oldfield (Manchester, UK)

"To Destroy such a Great and Beautiful City": Lamentation, Panegyric and the Idea of the Medieval City

Medieval works of urban panegyric, some of which adhered to the so-called *laus civitatis* paradigm, ostensibly represented initiatives formed to praise and promote the profile of a given city. This literary genre flourished particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and can be connected to fundamental transformations that were occurring in medieval urban life. Indeed, while in many cases these works served unexpressed agendas, they were not simple pieces of fiction and rhetoric. Their power lay in their re-application of Classical and Christian traditions, in their reflection of some of the deep realities of urban living, and in their association with the heated conceptual debates surrounding the very idea of the medieval city. In this context, the inclusion of material which could lament or dishonour the name of a city, or which could imply a threat to its integrity may seem both incongruent and significant. Focusing primarily on Bonvesin della Riva's celebrated *De Magnalibus Mediolani* (1288), as well as a work by an anonymous author based in Sicily in the 1190s, this paper thus explores the dissonant presence of lamentation and critique presented in works of urban panegyric in order to produce a more nuanced and holistic understanding of this literary genre as well as a new appreciation of the evidence it can offer for understanding medieval urban mentalities at a crucial point in the process of European urbanisation.

Walter Pohl (Vienna, Austria)

Losing Antiquity? Breaks and Transformations in Italy, 535-600

When the Gothic War began in Italy in 535, the country was of course not the same as under the early empire, but it still conserved many features of classical culture and late antique administration. Much of that was lost in the political upheavals of the following

decades. Building on Chris Wickham's work, this contribution attempts to sketch an integrated perspective of these changes. It will attempt to relate the contingency of events to the logic of long-term change, discuss political options in relation to military and economic means, and ask in what ways the erosion of consensus may be understood in a cultural and religious context. What was the role of military entrepreneurs of more or less barbarian or Roman extraction in the distribution or destruction of resources? How did Christianity contribute to the transformation of ancient society? The old model of barbarian invasions can contribute little to understanding this complex process. It is remarkable that for two generations, all political strategies in Italy ultimately failed. This contribution will look for answers why.

Susan Reynolds (London, UK)

Still Fussing...

Most medieval historians interested in whatever it is that they think of as feudalism do not pay much, if any, attention to the early twelfth-century work known as *Consuetudines* (or *Libri Feudorum*), which is generally considered to be more or less irrelevant to the history of property and society, except possibly in Italy. That is, in a way, quite right. But though the *Libri* is indeed a poor reflection of norms and practice at the time it was written, it has since the sixteenth century been extremely important in the historiography of medieval Europe. The argument of this paper is that modern ideas about the origin of fiefs and their gradual acquisition of rights derive, not from records of medieval law in practice, but from sixteenth-century interpretations of the *Libri Feudorum* and the commentaries written on it by later medieval academic lawyers.

Antonio Sennis (London, UK)

Fame and its vagaries in medieval Italy

One of the many new avenues of research that Chris has opened up for us in the past decades is the study of *fama* in medieval contexts. In his important work on 12th-century Tuscany, Chris considered *fama* as a form of superior hearsay, derived from gossip and talk, which could involve every member of the social group and to which some credibility could be given in court. My contribution will attempt to develop this line of enquiry in a cultural perspective. I will seek to show how the way in which the members of a social group bestow fame and celebrity (or their opposites) on some individuals, can reveal a lot of the cultural context in which they operate. In other words, how the fame of certain individuals can, within their lifetime and after their death, alternate dramatically according to the way in which some members of future generations view the world in which they had lived. In this perspective, particularly revealing is the case of Theodoric, an individual who, in his lifetime, was famous almost in a modern sense, carving for himself a major role in the geopolitics of Late Antiquity. But Theodoric did also become a paradigm, and the vagaries of his fame reveal a lot of the battle of memories and texts that took place in Italy, and more broadly in Europe, between the 6th and the 9th centuries.

Julia Smith (Glasgow, UK)

Cursing and Curing in 8th-century Rome

Early medieval Rome is commonly presented as a city of in which 'power' flowed through bureaucracy or political factionalism or, in more purely religious terms, through Christian ideology promulgated by the papacy. This paper will explore very different forms of religious power that are usually absent from the ways scholars construct their understanding of the city: those of miracle-working and of cursing. First, it will present an analysis of a detailed eighth-century account describes how a jilted lover sought revenge by throwing a ligature (a curse of the typical, ancient Mediterranean variety) at the feet of his beloved on the streets of Rome, how, as a result, she was possessed by the devil, and how, finally, she was released from the curse by exorcism at an extramural relic shrine. It

will then seek to contextualise these two forms of holy power in a wider understanding of thaumaturgy in early medieval Rome.

Pauline Stafford (Liverpool, UK)

Gender of the Gift: the Marriage of Daughters in Early England

This paper will respond to Chris's interest in gifts and giving - and to his recent half-turn linguistically! It aims to fill – or to begin to fill - one of the acknowledged gaps in a recent volume with which he was associated *The Languages of Gift*, by looking at marriage, and the giving and receiving of women. It will underline some of the things which that volume stressed - viz that gifts are multivocal – and can and do change in meaning contextually. But also that the contextual and changing meaning of this gift is rooted in and constrained by structures – which set that general framework of meaning. This paper is also concerned with those structures – and thus, I hope, responds to Chris's lifelong concern with the bigger models and heuristic devices which are necessary to our understanding of the past. It will be especially concerned with England – in particular Late Anglo-Saxon England. But it will draw on wider material in an attempt to understand that – inspired, once again, by Chris's constant interest in comparative history.

Joanna Story (Leicester, UK)

Lands and Lights in early medieval Rome

This paper analyses the text and epigraphy of two monumental inscriptions in Rome; both are important sources of information on landholding in early medieval Italy, and both shed light on the development of the Patrimony of St Peter and the evolving power of the popes as *de facto* rulers of Rome and its environs in the seventh and eighth centuries. Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604) commissioned the earlier of the two inscriptions for the basilica of St Paul, where it still survives (MEC I, XII.1). The inscription preserves the full text of a letter from Gregory to Felix, *rector* of the Appian patrimony (Ep. XIV.14). It ordered Felix to transfer the large estate (*massa*) of Aquae Salviae, with all its farms (*fundi*) as well as other nearby properties, from the patrimony into the direct control of the basilica of St Paul in order to fund the provision of its lights; it was one of the last letters that Gregory wrote. The decretal was inscribed on a large marble slab, in square capitals that are self-consciously reminiscent of classical inscriptions; its epigraphy is comparable in style and quality to the fragments of Gregory's own epitaph that survive at St Peter's where he was buried eight weeks after this donation was made. The inscription recording Gregory's gift of lights was fixed to the exterior wall of St Paul's basilica as a public proclamation of the donation and its donor, *servus servorum dei*. It finishes with an instruction to Felix that he must 'return the letter to the archive (*scrinium*) of our church'. The patron of the second inscription was Gregory's eighth-century namesake and successor, Pope Gregory II (715–31), *indignus servus* (MEC I, XIV.1). This one is fixed in the portico of the basilica of St. Peter, where it stands alongside another eighth-century inscription, namely, the epitaph of Pope Hadrian I that was commissioned by Charlemagne after Hadrian's death in 795. Gregory II's inscription also records a donation *in Patrimonio Appiae* this time to provide oil for the lights of St Peter's. Gregory II's gift was huge – comprising olive groves in 33 farms spread across 7 *massae* in the Appian patrimonium as well as 23 other olive groves others located in 10 *massae* in two other patrimonia further to the east of the city. This inscription was cut into three large slabs of marble, of which two survive. The text of the third slab, which is now lost, is known from a twelfth-century transcription that noted the concluding dating clause. This showed that the donation had been made on 'the ides of November during the reign of the most pious emperor Leo', that is, Leo III the Isaurian (717–41); the donation and inscription must therefore date to the period 717–31. The layout and epigraphy of this inscription – as well as its contents – directly reflects the inscribed form of the earlier Gregorian decretal. These parallels of text, script, and layout were clearly intentional and show that Gregory II had not just the scale and scope of Gregory the Great's gift in mind

when he arranged his own donation, but also the inscribed version of that decretal. Indeed, prior to his election Gregory II had been *bibliotecarius* of the papal library, and may well have known the text of the decretal for the lights for St Paul's as preserved in the register of Gregory the Great's letters. The pastiche was a convincing one, and from the mid ninth century, despite the dating clause on the third slab, the inscription and donation was commonly attributed to Gregory the Great rather than his eighth-century successor. This paper will investigate the form, content and historical context of the production and display of these two inscriptions, analysing parallels and differences between them. It will consider what they reveal about estate organisation and the development of the territorial power of the papacy in this formative period, as well as the role of Gregory the Great as an exemplar for the early eighth-century popes. The published version of the paper will include large-scale photographs of both inscriptions and epigraphic details, as well as a transcription and translation of both texts.