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Archbishop Sigeric's pilgrimage to Rome in 990

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According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury went to Rome in 990, to fetch his *pallium*.¹ Sigeric, formerly a monk of Glastonbury and then abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury, had been consecrated bishop of Ramsbury in 985, and became archbishop of Canterbury at the end of 989 or at the beginning of 990, on the death of Archbishop Æthelgar.² During the journey, or more likely, once he had returned to England, he committed to writing a diary covering his journey and his stay in Rome. This year, the 1000th anniversary of Sigeric's visit to the 'city of St Peter', as medieval travellers called Rome, seems a suitable time to undertake a new examination of the considerable devotional and artistic impact of the Roman pilgrimage on the cultural and spiritual life of the late Anglo-Saxon Church.

THE TEXT

The text known as the 'Itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric' survives in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. v, 23v–24r; its most recent edition is given in the facsimile edition of the whole manuscript.³ This text is a later copy made at the beginning of the eleventh century.⁴ It has been published several times,

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 989 (= 990): *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Revised Translation*, ed. D. Whitelock *et al.* (London, 1961; rev. 1965), p. 82.

² See J. Scott, *The Early History of Glastonbury: an Edition, Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury's 'De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie'* (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 136–7; and S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 248. Sigeric was also the dedicatee of Ælfric's two series of homilies; see *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, 2 vols., ed. B. Thorpe (London, 1844–6) II, i; and *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series. Text*, ed. M. Godden, EETS ss 5 (London, 1979).

³ *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany (British Library Cotton Tiberius B.V. part I)*, ed. P. McGurk, D.N. Dumville, M.R. Godden and A. Knock, EEMF 21 (Copenhagen, 1983), 74–5.

⁴ F.P. Magoun Jr, 'An English Pilgrim Diary of the Year 990', *MS 2* (1940), 231–52; it is not contemporary with Sigeric himself, as suggested by the editor in *Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS (London, 1874), p. 391, n. 1. The definitive discussion on the date of the text is in *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany*, ed. McGurk *et al.*, pp. 57 and 74–5.

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twice in full, by Hook⁵ and Stubbs⁶ and once in part by Miller.⁷ Hook did not identify any of the place-names, Stubbs did not identify the Roman churches, and Miller published only the text of the return journey. Magoun⁸ and Pesci⁹ reprinted in their articles only the parts of the Itinerary relevant to their respective commentaries. Although these important articles have previously examined the text, each analysed only parts of it. Magoun catalogued and dated the churches of Rome in his first article and dealt with the return journey in the second.¹⁰ His survey, however, was essentially for comparison with the diary of the twelfth-century Icelandic abbot, Nikolás of Munkathverá, who went through Rome en route to Jerusalem, and left an account of his travels.¹¹ Jung dealt only with Sigeric's journey from Rome to Lucca,¹² while Pesci examined only some aspects of the Roman part of the Itinerary. Gougoud, whose article was more generally concerned with pilgrimages to Rome, described the route used by the 'insular *peregrini*' from England and Ireland, but he did not pause to analyse the details of this route, whilst Lestocquoy gave a very brief description of Sigeric's route, mostly in the north of France.¹³

My purpose in this article is twofold. First, I shall attempt to draw together and reassess the information on the Itinerary scattered through these earlier articles. Secondly, I propose to examine a hitherto unexplored aspect of the text by revealing and underlining the significance of the churches visited in Rome by Sigeric, and that of some of the cities and abbeys which he

⁵ W. F. Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, 12 vols. (London, 1860–76) I, 434.

⁶ *Memorials*, ed. Stubbs, pp. 391–5.

⁷ K. Miller, *Mappaemundi, die ältesten Weltkarten*, 3: *Die kleinere Weltkarten* (Stuttgart, 1895), pp. 156–7.

⁸ Magoun, 'Pilgrim Diary'; Magoun, 'The Rome of Two Northern Pilgrims: Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury and Abbot Nikolás of Munkathverá', *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 33 (1940), 267–89.

⁹ B. Pesci, 'L'Itinerario romano di Sigerico arcivescovo di Canterbury e la lista dei papi da lui portata in Inghilterra (anno 990)', *Rivista archeologica cristiana* 13 (1936), 43–61.

¹⁰ Magoun, 'Pilgrim Diary' and 'Rome'.

¹¹ The Roman part of Nikolás's travels is examined by Magoun, 'Pilgrim Diary', pp. 277–87; the rest of his diary has been published by J. Hill, 'From Rome to Jerusalem: an Icelandic Itinerary of the Mid-Twelfth Century', *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 76 (1983), 175–203; and also partly by Magoun, 'The Pilgrim Diary of Nikolás of Munkathverá: the Road to Rome', *MS* 6 (1944), 314–54.

¹² J. Jung, 'Das Itinerar des Erzbischofs Sigeric und die Stasse von Rom über Siena nach Lucca', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 25 (1904), 1–90.

¹³ L. Gougoud, 'Sur les routes de Rome et du Rhin avec les "peregrini" insulaires', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 29 (1933), 253–71; J. Lestocquoy, 'D'Angleterre à Rome au Xe siècle', *Etudes historiques dédiées à la mémoire de M. Roger Rodière* (Arras, 1947), pp. 37–40. Two articles describing the author's journey in Sigeric's footsteps were published by D. Hill in *Popular Archaeology* in May 1985 and December 1985/January 1986.

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encountered on his return journey, as possible sources of inspiration for Anglo-Saxon art and devotions in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. This paper will attempt to supply an inventory of the decoration and relics which Sigeric could have seen, and most probably observed and venerated, especially in the Roman churches he listed. As a rule, it will not detail the English devotional and artistic evidence for the knowledge and popularity of Roman cults and artistic models in late Anglo-Saxon England, which is a study in its own right.

For the convenience of the reader of this article the text is reprinted in full below. All abbreviations have been silently expanded; modern punctuation, word-separation and capitalization have been inserted.

ADVENTUS ARCHIEPISCOPI NOSTRI SIGERICI AD ROMAM

Primitus ad limitem beati Petri apostoli, deinde ad sanctam Mariam scolam Anglorum, ad sanctum Laurentium in craticula, ad sanctum Valentinum in ponte Molui, ad sanctum [sic] Agnes, ad sanctum Laurentium foris murum, ad sanctum Sebastianum, ad sanctum Anastasium, ad sanctum Paulum, ad sanctum Bonifatium, ad sanctum [sic] Savinam, ad sanctam Mariam scolam grecam, ad sanctam Ceciliam, ad sanctum Crisogonum, ad sanctam Mariam transtyberi, ad sanctum Pancratium, deinde reversi sunt in domum. Mane ad sanctam Mariam rotundam, ad sanctos Apostolos, ad sanctus Iohannes [sic] in Laterane; inde refecimus cum domini [sic] apostolico Iohanne, deinde ad Ierusalem, ad sanctam Mariam maiorem, ad sanctum Petrum ad uincula, ad sanctum Laurentium ubi corpus eius assatus [sic] fuit.

Iste sunt submansiones de Roma usque ad mare: I, urbs Roma; II, Iohannis VIII; III, Bacane; IIII, Suteria; V, Furcari; VI, sancte Valentine; VII, sancte Flauiane; VIII, sancta Cristina; IX, aqua pendente; X, sancte Petir in pail; XI, Abricula; XII, sancte Quiric; XIII, Turreiner; XIII, Arbia; XV, Seocine; XVI, Burgenove; XVII, Ælse; XVIII, sancte Martin in fosse; XIX, sancte Gemiane; XX, sancte Maria glan; XXI, sancte Petre carrant; XXII, sancte Dionisii; XXIII, Arneblanca; XXIII, Aqua nigra; XXV, Forcri; XXVI, Luca; XXVII, Campmaior; XXVIII, Luna; XXIX, sancte Stephane; XXX, Aguilla; XXXI, Puntremel; XXXII, sancte Benedicte; XXXIII, sancte Modesanne; XXXIII, Philemangenur; XXXV, Mezan; XXXVI, sanctae domnine; XXXVII, Floricun; XXXVIII, Placentia; XXXIX, sancte Andrea; XL, sancte Cristine; XLI, Pamphica; XLII, Tremel; XLIII, Uercel; XLIII, sancte Agath; XLV, Eueri; XLVI, Publei; XLVII, Augusta; XLVIII, Sancte remei; XLIX, Petrescastel; L, Ursiores; LI, sancte Maurici; LII, Burbulei; LIII, Uiuaec; LIII, Losanna; LV, Urba; LVI, Antifer; LVII, Punterlin;

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LVIII, Nos; LIX, Bysiceon; LX Cuscei; LXI, Sefui; LXII, Grenant; LXIII, Oisma; LXIII, Blæcuile; LXV, Bar; LXVI, Breone; LXVII, Domaniant; LXVIII, Funtaine; LXVIII, Caðeluns; LXX, Rems; LXXI, Corbunei; LXXII, Mundloðuin; LXXIII, Martinwæð; LXXIII, Duin; LXXV, Aðerats; LXXVI, Bruwæi; LXXVII, Teranburh; LXXVIII, Gisne; LXXX, Sumeran.

THE VALUE OF THE TEXT

This Itinerary is unique because of the light it sheds on the churches of Rome at the end of the tenth century. A certain number of catalogues or guide-books of the churches of Rome have survived, prominent amongst which are the seventh-century catalogue 'Salisburgense',¹⁴ the late-eighth-century 'Itinerary of Einsiedeln'¹⁵ and the 'Catalogue of Leo III' (795–816) in the *Liber pontificalis*.¹⁶ The next set of texts to give a list of Roman churches comes from the twelfth century, including the *Ordo* of Benedict the Canon of about 1143,¹⁷ the Catalogues of John the Deacon and Peter Mallius,¹⁸ and the *Liber censuum* of Cencius Camerarius, written in 1192.¹⁹ A list of Roman churches, now presumed to date back to the seventh century, was included by William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta regum Anglorum*: it may have been compiled under Pope Honorius I (625–38), and was in any case produced probably before 682.²⁰ Also from twelfth-century England comes one of the first texts to give an account of a pilgrim's impression of Rome, both pagan and Christian, in the *De mirabilibus urbis Romae* of Master Gregorius, a scholar who compiled this personal diary on his return from Rome in the second half of that century; its only other parallel at the time was the travel diary of Abbot Nikolás of Munkathverá in Iceland, who travelled to Jerusalem in 1154.²¹

Thus Sigeric's Itinerary is the only extant list of Roman churches between the eighth and the twelfth centuries, even if a very incomplete one, and, at the same time, the only extant diary from that period. Moreover, it is also the only text of this kind to come down to us from Anglo-Saxon England, where the Roman pilgrimage was particularly popular.²²

¹⁴ Edited in C. Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo* (Florence, 1927), pp. 3–4; and in R. Valentini and G. Zuchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1942–53) II, 106–31.

¹⁵ Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 4–5; Valentini and Zuchetti, *Codice* II, 176–201; see also C. Huelsen, *La Pianta di Roma dell'Anonimo Einsiedlense* (Rome, 1907).

¹⁶ *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris, 1884–92) II, 1–34.

¹⁷ Valentini and Zuchetti, *Codice* III, 17–65.

¹⁸ Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 126–9. ¹⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 10–17.

²⁰ Valentini and Zuchetti, *Codice* II, 138–53. ²¹ *Ibid.* III, 143–67; on Nikolás, see n. 11.

²² See W. J. Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum* (Fribourg, 1937), pp. 8–89; see also below, p. 202.

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Sigeric's Itinerary is not just a catalogue or a guide-book, but a personal diary: Sigeric behaved like the present-day tourist who, after having consulted his Michelin or Baedeker guide, chooses to see what appeals to him most and then records it. His choice expressed the preferences of an Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastic and pilgrim. Since it is known how considerable was the number of such pilgrims to Rome, the importance of this list of preferences can be easily perceived.

It does not seem possible to assess whether Sigeric had any knowledge of previous itineraries and lists of Roman churches. The catalogue 'Salisburgense' had been compiled in Germany during the Carolingian period and is now extant in a ninth-century manuscript in Vienna, whereas the Itinerary of Einsiedeln survives in a ninth-century manuscript now in Einsiedeln (Switzerland). However, Leo III's catalogue is part of the *Liber pontificalis*, whose existence was certainly known in England since Bede mentions it in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, and whose subsequent additions after Bede's time may well have reached England between 806, the probable date of the compilation of the catalogue, and 990. *CS* (the catalogue 'Salisburgense') lists twenty-six churches, *IE* (the Itinerary of Einsiedeln) sixty-six, *WM* (William of Malmesbury's list) approximately forty and *LC* (Leo III's catalogue) 117, including monasteries, *diaconiae* and oratories. Sigeric's list of twenty-three churches includes sixteen of those mentioned in *CS*, eighteen from *IE*, ten from *WM*, and no less than twenty-one, possibly twenty-two, from *CL*. His choices acknowledge, not necessarily an acquaintance with these lists, but the implicit importance of some of these churches in Rome, such as the major basilicas. It can be argued, however, that he may also have made some personal choices, probably dictated by what returning pilgrims or compatriots living in Rome may have told him. Clearly, the choice of these twenty-three churches out of an existing number of at least 117 means that, apart from major pilgrimage goals such as the Vatican and the Lateran basilicas, he made deliberate decisions as to what he wished to see.

Sigeric's choice of churches will be examined from the point of view both of their spiritual significance – if they possessed relics and reminiscences of the martyrs – and of their artistic content. I shall also remark on which important churches he did not see, or record, and consider why, since I shall argue that he probably spent more than the two days of the Itinerary in Rome, and may, therefore, have seen more churches than are recorded in the text itself.

Sigeric's choice to record only the churches he visited is not unexpected from a high-ranking ecclesiastic, but he must have, at the very least, noticed some of the monuments of Imperial Rome. It would have been difficult to ignore such remains in the tenth century, when both the aristocratic factions

and their German Imperial enemies in Rome were exalting the Roman glory and past.²³

The description of the route from Rome to England, across Italy, Switzerland and France, is the third focus of interest in the text. It provides an excellent opportunity to observe the geographical contacts between the Anglo-Saxon Church and certain areas of the Continent, particularly with the monasteries which Anglo-Saxon pilgrims encountered on their way. One can find evidence about how and why relics, devotions and artistic trends were imported into England, where we find them in liturgical and devotional texts, as well as in the iconography.²⁴

THE ROMAN PILGRIMAGE IN ENGLAND

Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, the popularity of the Roman pilgrimage is evident from a large variety of sources, and has been commented on by scholars such as W. J. Moore, R. Cramp, C. H. Lawrence, R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, M. Deanesly and W. Levison. Fifty-four names of known pilgrims are included by Moore in his list, from the first pilgrims Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid to those of the late eighth century, drawn there by the desire to learn 'correct', i.e. Roman, liturgical practices and to obtain books and relics to bring back home to England.²⁵ Above all, however, the reason for the popularity of the pilgrimage must be sought in the English veneration for St Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and also that for Gregory the Great, who had

²³ R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, 1980), pp. 144-5. On the association of Rome with classical antiquity in Anglo-Saxon England, see R. Cramp, 'The Anglo-Saxons and Rome', *Trans. of the Architectural and Archaeol. Soc. of Durham and Northumberland* ns 3 (1974), 27-37.

²⁴ Needless to say, this process of influence sometimes worked the other way round, i.e. from England to the Continent, in the tenth century, as had been the case, to a much greater extent, in the eighth and the early ninth centuries.

²⁵ The best account of Benedict Biscop's journeys to Rome is in Bede's *Historia abbatum*, pt'd *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896) I, 364-87. Wilfrid's visits are described in B. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 10-13, 66-7 and 120-1. In his account of one of Biscop's journeys (*Historia abbatum*, p. 373), Bede states that Biscop brought back books, relics of the apostles and martyrs, the archcantor of St Peter's, a letter of privilege for his foundations, and pictures and holy images (of which a detailed account is given) to decorate Wearmouth. Bede further describes the pictures which Biscop brought back for Jarrow: 'imagines quoque ad ornandum monasterium aeclesiamque beati Pauli apostoli de concordia veteris et novi Testamenti summa ratione compositas exhibuit; verbi gratia, Isaac ligna, quibus inmolaretur portantem, et Dominum crucem in qua pateretur aequo portantem, proxime super invicem regione, pictura coniunxit. Item serpenti in heremo a Moyse exaltato, Filium homines in cruce exaltatum comparavit.' ('He also displayed, for the adorning of the monastery and church of the blessed apostle Paul, paintings showing the agreement of the Old and New Testaments, most cunningly ordered: for example, a picture of Isaac carrying the wood on which he was to be slain, was joined (in the next space answerable above) to one of the Lord

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instigated the conversion of England. Rome was first and foremost the city of St Peter: he was felt to be physically present in this city, which belonged to him. The pope himself was revered because he was perceived to be the physical heir of St Peter, a view shared by Sigeric, who used the common but significant word *dominus* when recounting his midday meal with John XV. This word was often used for saints, and when applied to the pope, it was done so not on account of the latter's personal sanctity, but because the pope personified the Apostle himself. St Peter was not only the most powerful lord that one could serve, but also the 'keeper of the keys of heaven', and therefore responsible for admission into it. For that reason, simple pilgrims as well as kings went to Rome to die at the 'threshold of the Apostle' (*ad limina sancti Petri*).²⁶

After Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid who, apart from their business with the pope, toured the churches and shrines, a variety of pilgrims, in Bede's words, 'nobles and commons, layfolk and clergy, men and women', spent some time in Rome.²⁷ Among them were kings: Cædwalla of Wessex who, after being baptized in Rome died there and was buried in the Vatican basilica, where his tomb became one of the highlights of the visit to Rome for later pilgrims; Ine of Wessex, who also died there in 726; and, between the ninth and the eleventh centuries, King Æthelwulf of Wessex and his son Alfred, and King Cnut.²⁸ Other frequent visitors were the archbishops who travelled there on business or more commonly to collect the *pallium*: Plegmund, who, at the beginning of the tenth century, brought back some relics of St Blaise, which were to become the basis of one of the great Canterbury cults from the eleventh century onwards; St Dunstan in 960; and, thirty years later, Sigeric.²⁹

carrying the cross on which He likewise was to suffer. He also set together the Son of Man lifted up on the cross with the serpent lifted up by Moses in the wilderness.' Transl. from J. E. King, *Baedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols. (London, 1930) II, 413–15.

²⁶ *Life of Wilfrid*, pp. 8–9 and 120–1.

²⁷ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* [hereafter HE] V. 7; *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), p. 473.

²⁸ On Cædwalla and Ine, see HE V. 7; *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 468–73, at 472–3. On the early Anglo-Saxon pilgrim-kings, see C. Stancliffe, 'Kings Who Opted Out', *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. P. Wormald, D. Bullough and R. Collins (Oxford, 1983), pp. 154–76, at 156–8. On Æthelwulf and Alfred, see *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904), chs. 8–16, pp. 7–17. On Cnut, see ASC 1027 C and 1031 DEF (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, p. 101).

²⁹ On Dunstan's journey, see, for example, the 'B' *Vita S. Dunstani in Memorials*, ed. Stubbs, pp. 38–40. Gervase of Canterbury, *Actus pontificum Cantuariensis ecclesiae*, in *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS (London, 1880) II, 350–1, alone mentions the relics of St Blaise (Blasius) in connection with Plegmund, but the Canterbury cult appears in at least one liturgical manuscript associated with Canterbury in the eleventh century (London, British Library, Harley 2892), as a Benediction for the feast of the saint; see *The*

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There were three possible routes for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims to take.³⁰ When returning to England with Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian, Benedict Biscop used the sea-route from Ostia to Marseilles, then up the Rhône valley.³¹ Wilfrid went through France to Lyons, then across the Alps into Italy.³² The sea-route was less and less favoured in the ninth and tenth centuries, because of the bad conditions for maritime traffic in the Mediterranean, controlled by Saracen pirates. A third route became increasingly popular, to the point of being the standard one by the tenth century. Having landed at the mouth of the Seine or the Canche, near Etaples, the Anglo-Saxon pilgrim went through various monasteries and hospices in France, some of which had been founded specifically for pilgrims from England, such as St Josse at Ponthieu and Moûtiers-en-Puisaie, south of Auxerre. From there, he went on to Besançon, Pontarlier, across the Jougne Pass to Lausanne, Vevey, St Maurice of Agaune in the Valais, Martigny, Bourg St Pierre, the Great St Bernard Pass, St Rémi and the Val d'Aosta, then across Lombardy, Tuscany and central Italy to Rome. Although landing further north in France, and travelling through the north of France via Arras, Péronne, Laon and Langres, Sigeric and his companions followed precisely this route between Besançon and Rome, assuming their route *towards* Rome to have been the same as their return route to England *from* Rome.

Once in Rome, the Anglo-Saxon pilgrim of the tenth century would most probably have been accommodated within the precincts of the English national institution there: the Schola Saxonum (later Schola Anglorum). The founding, development and prosperity of this institution under the aegis of successive popes provides the clearest evidence for the interest of the papacy in promoting and supporting friendly relations with the English church. Moore's masterly study of the Schola will suffice to show the nature, history and role of this institution.³³ Like its other three counterparts, the Scholae of the Lombards, the Franks and the Greeks, the Schola of the Saxons was the quarter, the village, or in Roman terms the *burg* or *borgo*, of the Anglo-Saxons in Rome. Its foundation was approximately contemporary with King Ine's stay in Rome in 726, and its function consisted in catering for English pilgrims visiting or living in Rome. It was situated at the gates of St Peter's itself, where

Canterbury Benedictinal, ed. R.M. Woolley, HBS 51 (London, 1917). As Dr Bernard Hamilton pointed out to me, no cult of St Blaise was known in Rome at that early date, which makes the association with Plegmund all the more interesting; it may be argued that Gervase was wrong in his dates, which could certainly have been the case. However, the Benediction in the eleventh-century manuscript means that the relics must have reached England by the first quarter of that century at the latest.

³⁰ Moore, *Saxon Pilgrims*, pp. 86–9.

³¹ HE IV. 1 (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 330).

³² *Life of Wilfrid*, pp. 8–9.

³³ Moore, *Saxon Pilgrims*, pp. 90–125.

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one finds nowadays the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia.³⁴ There are several references to the Schola in the *Liber pontificalis* from the end of the eighth century onwards, most of them related to fires which destroyed the *borgo*. After the first fire, which occurred some time between 817 and 824, the pope had given food to the pilgrims and money to rebuild the Schola.³⁵ After the second fire in 847,³⁶ Pope Leo IV built the church which was to become the church of the Schola.³⁷

In the *Liber pontificalis*, the term 'Schola Saxonum' was used to signify the body of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims living in or visiting Rome, and the name of the district where they lived. This, consequently, brings up the question of the nature of the institution itself. A Bull of Pope Leo IV in 854, which can be completed from a later Bull of Pope Leo IX in 1053, more or less repeating the first one, enables us to distinguish the main features of the Schola. In Moore's words:

The Schola clearly consists of a pilgrim community with considerable property, unified by a centralized organization of a quasi-monastic character. The centre of the Saxon colony is the church of S. Maria which, as a pontifical foundation, is declared to be dependent on the Chapter of St Peter's . . . The appointment of the Archpriest of S. Maria is considered important enough to be reserved to the Pope himself. The church possessed its own cemetery and all Saxons, 'divites et pauperes, nobiles et ignobiles', who die within the limits of the Schola, have the right to be buried there . . . For the first time in history, we find unmistakable evidence in this Bull of a definite Saxon hospice or hospices for pilgrims, attached to the church of S. Maria.³⁸

From the time of King Alfred, and perhaps even from that of his father, a tax was levied more or less regularly in England, known as Peter's Pence or Romscot, the profits of which were to be sent to Rome; to be shared between the pope and the service of St Peter (meaning mainly the provision of lights for St Peter's) and the upkeep of the Schola and of its residents and pilgrims. 'The regular visits of Saxon almoners to Rome bearing the Romescot', Moore explained, 'must have tended to maintain a close rapport between the Saxons in Britain and their compatriots in Rome. Similarly, the not infrequent visits of archbishops-elect of Canterbury and York throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries must have produced the same effect.'³⁹

³⁴ The name 'Sassia', ultimately deriving from the Schola Saxonum, illustrates the impact of this institution in Rome. ³⁵ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne II, 53–4.

³⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 110–11. ³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 128. ³⁸ Moore, *Saxon Pilgrims*, pp. 109–10.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 115. On the origins and the history of Peter's Pence, see F. Cancellieri, 'La visita dei sacri limini ed il denaro di San Pietro', *Giornale Arcadico* 10 (1821), 264–82; P. Fabre, 'Recherches sur le denier de St Pierre au Moyen Age', *Mélanges G.-B. de Rossi* (Paris and Rome, 1892), pp. 159–82; O. Jensen, 'The "denarius Sancti Petri" in England', *TRHS* ns 15 (1901), 171–98; and S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great: Asser's 'Life of King Alfred' and other Contemporary Sources* (Harmondsworth, 1983), pp. 237, n. 37, and 268, n. 206.

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If, at the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period, pilgrims had stayed in one of the numerous monasteries, hospices and *diaconiae* in Rome,⁴⁰ it becomes obvious that, as time went by, most were residing at the Schola. Sigeric was one of them, and it appears, as Magoun and Pesci suggested, that his 'visit' to 'sanctam mariam scolam Anglorum' must have been, in fact, the final destination on the day of his arrival, after seeing St Peter's, and that he stayed there during his sojourn in Rome.⁴¹

THE JOURNEY TO ROME

Although the journey to Rome in order to obtain the *pallium* was becoming usual for archbishops in the late Anglo-Saxon period, the importance of the pilgrimage in itself must have been considerable, since various archbishops, Sigeric amongst them, were ready to face a great many dangers for its sake.⁴² In the first place, the late tenth century was a difficult period in England, where such internal problems as the succession of King Edgar and the new wave of Scandinavian invasions occupied the mind. To these problems at home, one must add the difficulties of the journey itself. In addition to unsafe roads and the perilous crossing of the Alps,⁴³ a journey to Rome no longer meant crossing the relatively safe Carolingian Empire, as it had done in the eighth and ninth centuries, but rather traversing a multitude of small 'states' under the local authority of counts and petty lords, particularly in the north and east of France. Sigeric's trip was contemporary with the reign of Hugh, the first Capetian king. Other dangers awaited the pilgrims in the Alps, which the Imperial armies of Emperor Otto regularly traversed. At least, Sigeric would not have met any Saracen bands on the Alpine passes, since they had virtually disappeared after having been evicted in 972–5 from their stronghold of La Garde Freinet in Provence, even if they were still active in Italy itself.⁴⁴

The situation in Rome itself had been particularly complex and explosive in

⁴⁰ Moore, *Saxon Pilgrims*, pp. 104–5, esp. p. 104, nn. 2, 3 and 4.

⁴¹ Magoun, 'Rome', p. 276, and Pesci, 'L'Itinerario', p. 51.

⁴² It seems that the obligation for English archbishops to go to Rome to obtain the *pallium* became standard practice only in the later Anglo-Saxon period, whereas previously the *pallium* had been sent to them; see W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), Appendix 3, pp. 241–8.

⁴³ See E. Öhlmann, 'Die Alpenpässe im Mittelalter', *Jahrbuch für Schweizerische Geschichte* 3 (1878), 165–289; P. H. Scheffel, *Verkehrsgeschichte der Alpen*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1914) II, *passim*; and J. E. Tyler, *The Alpine Passes in the Middle Ages (962–1250)* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 21–33.

⁴⁴ Tyler, *The Alpine Passes*, p. 55.

⁴⁵ The best accounts are in Krautheimer, *Rome*, p. 144; P. Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (London, 1970), pp. 286–315; and P. D. Partner, *The Lands of St Peter* (London, 1972); also still useful are F. Gregorovius, *A History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* (London, 1894) III, 282–434, and L. Homo, *Rome médiévale 476–1420* (Paris, 1934), pp. 71–81.

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the years preceding 990.⁴⁵ After the defeat of the Saracen pirates who had reached the walls of Rome at the beginning of the tenth century, Alberic, a member of one of the great Roman aristocratic families, seized power with the title of *princeps* and *senator*, governed Rome and had his son elected pope under the name of John XII. In 962, Emperor Otto I took Rome by force, deposed John XII and had one of his friends elected as the new pope. Rebellions against the foreign rulers and their popes were unremitting under Otto I, II and III, and the repression was bloody, as in 965 and 998, when the leader of the Roman aristocratic family most involved in the rebellion, the Crescentii, was captured and executed. Although by the time Sigeric was in Rome, the Crescentii rebellion had been crushed and the city was quite peaceful under the control of the Patrician John, brother of Crescentius II, some scars may have been left from the relatively recent times when the two rival factions of the Roman people, led by the Crescentii, and the Imperial party with the pope at its service, were fighting each other.

ARCHBISHOP SIGERIC'S STAY IN ROME

Soon after his appointment to the see of Canterbury, Sigeric undertook his journey to Rome for the *pallium*, which he obtained from Pope John XV. Pesci thought that his stay in Rome lasted from February until July 990⁴⁶ and Stubbs placed it in July 990,⁴⁷ obviously assuming that the two days of the Itinerary are to be taken literally. All the other commentators simply placed the journey in 990.

The length of Sigeric's stay in Rome is one of the chief problems posed by the Itinerary. The logical progression of the text from the geographical point of view shows that the tour must have been done according to the order of the text, within two and a half days. The extra half-day is deducted by Pesci and Magoun, who suggested that Sigeric and his companions must have arrived in the afternoon, visited St Peter's and then gone to the Schola Saxonum for the night, and that they visited the churches numbered 3 to 16 (S. Lorenzo in Lucina to S. Pancrazio) on the following (i.e. the 'first') day recorded in the text.⁴⁸ It is already evident that the Itinerary is not to be taken literally. The abrupt gap in the text between the Roman part of the Itinerary and the list of stops on the return journey could therefore mean that, although the Itinerary describes the first two consecutive days, there could have been a longer stay in Rome between these two days and the homeward journey itself. Common sense suggests that no one would undertake such a long and perilous journey for a mere two days. If this assumption is right, then Sigeric may have seen, not only various Roman monuments, but also other churches, which he did not record – unless part of the text has not survived. It is the aim of this article to

⁴⁶ Pesci, 'L'Itinerario', p. 46.

⁴⁷ *Memorials*, ed. Stubbs, p. 391.

⁴⁸ See above, n. 9.

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demonstrate why the churches mentioned in the Itinerary were the most important ones for an Anglo-Saxon pilgrim to see and remember, and, in contrast, what made other churches less interesting, and therefore, perhaps, not worth mentioning.

THE CHURCHES OF ROME IN SIGERIC'S ITINERARY

My examination of the churches recorded by Sigeric relies to a great extent on the following authors. For the topographical and archaeological material, most of the information is drawn from the works of M. Armellini (revised by C. Cecchelli), C. Huelsen and R. Krautheimer, and page references to their works are supplied after my analysis of each church.⁴⁹ Archaeological and descriptive evidence also relies on O. Marucchi, E. Mâle, G. Matthiae, R. Vielliard, S. Waetzoldt and C. Piétri.⁵⁰ Additional descriptions of the artistic contents and the relics are given by F. Hermanin, J. Garber and G. Matthiae as regards painting, and by J. Wilpert/W.N. Schumacher and W. Oakeshott as regards the mosaics.⁵¹ When examining churches altered in later periods (in the twelfth century, during the Renaissance and in the Baroque age), my description of images and relics will deal only with the church as a tenth-century pilgrim could have seen it, without reference to subsequent changes. This paper is a tentative attempt to provide a reconstruction of the main items that a tenth-century pilgrim might have seen when visiting Rome. The name of the church first given is that used in the Itinerary, followed by its modern equivalent and then the name of the *Rione*⁵² to which it belonged.

⁴⁹ M. Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al secolo XIX*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1887), 2nd ed., rev. by C. Cecchelli (Rome, 1942). The references are to the second edition. Huelsen, *Le chiese*; R. Krautheimer et al., *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae: the Early Christian Basilicas of Rome IV–IXth Centuries*, 5 vols. (Vatican City, 1937–70); Krautheimer, *Rome*; Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 3rd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1979). The references are to Krautheimer's first work.

⁵⁰ O. Marucchi, *Eglises et basiliques de Rome*, vol. III of *Eléments d'archéologie chrétienne* (Paris and Rome, 1902); E. Mâle, *The Early Churches of Rome* (London, 1960); G. Matthiae, *Le chiese di Roma dal IV al X secolo* (Rome, 1962); R. Vielliard, *Recherches sur les origines de la Rome chrétienne* (Rome, 1959); S. Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (Vienna, 1964) and C. Piétri, *Roma Christiana*, 2 vols., Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 224 (Rome, 1976); also useful is G. Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries* (Rome, 1957).

⁵¹ F. Hermanin, *L'arte in Roma dal secolo VIII al XIV* (Bologna, 1945); J. Garber, *Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters und Pauls-Basiliken in Rom* (Berlin and Vienna, 1918); G. Matthiae, *La pittura romana del medioevo*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1965–6); Matthiae, *Mosaici medievali di Roma* (Rome, 1962); J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken der christlichen Bauten vom IV zum XIII Jahrhundert*, rev. W.N. Schumacher (Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 1916, rev. 1976); and W. Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome from the Third to the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1967).

⁵² Rome was divided into districts or *riioni* for military and administrative purposes. My nomenclature follows that given by P.F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia*, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* 1 (1906).

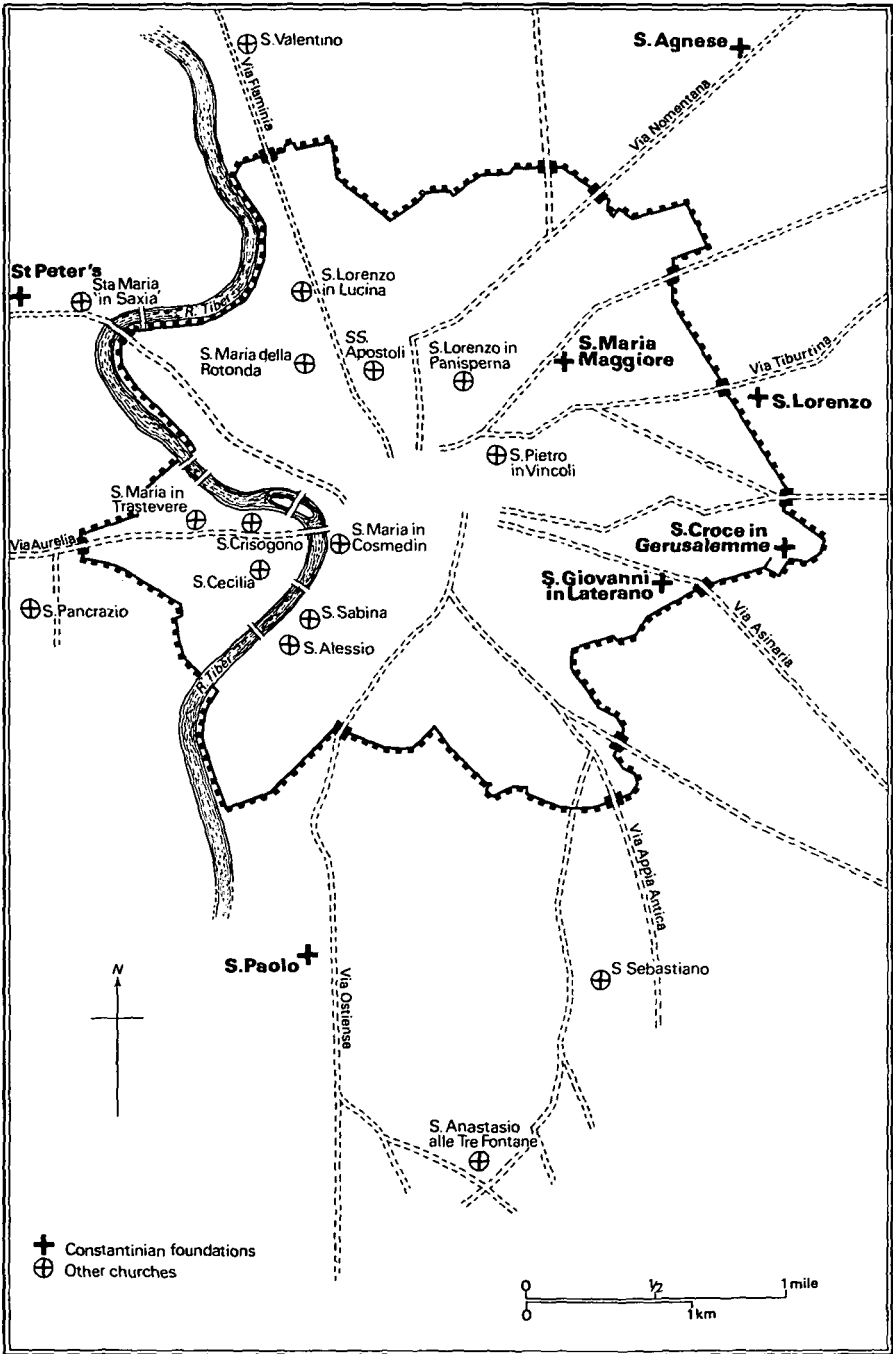


Fig. 3 Archbishop Sigeric's Roman pilgrimage

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Once Sigeric arrived in Rome, he and his companions went straight to the Vatican, following the Anglo-Saxon tradition of devotion to St Peter.

1. *ad limitem beati Petri apostoli* (San Pietro in Vaticano); Borgo

This had been originally a Constantinian basilica, built to shield the tomb of the Apostle, and it was relatively little altered between the fourth century and its demolition during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A fair amount of its decoration is known to us, mainly through drawings made before it was destroyed, especially those of Grimaldi.⁵³ The mosaic on the façade, dating from the mid-fifth century and restored under Sergius I (687–701), and known to us through the Farfa codex,⁵⁴ showed on its upper level the Agnus Dei with the symbols of the Evangelists and the Apostles, and on its lower level the Twenty-Four Elders standing between the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

Inside the basilica, there were more mosaics and frescoes. On the walls of the nave, painted at various times between the fourth and the ninth century under Pope Formosus (891–6), were depicted, on the right of the upper level, Old Testament scenes from the lives of Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Moses, among which were Abraham and the three Angels, the Sacrifice of Isaac and the Plagues of Egypt; and at the lower level, various prophets. On the left wall, the upper level had scenes from the life of Christ, of which the Baptism, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Descent into Hell and the Apparition to the Disciples are known, and the lower level had portraits of various popes. In the middle of the wall, stretching across two levels, was a gigantic Crucifixion. On the triumphal arch was a mosaic depicting Christ between St Peter and Constantine, the latter possibly shown presenting to Christ a model of the church; this mosaic dated from either the fourth or the ninth century. The apse mosaic probably represented the *Traditio Legis* and the Agnus Dei.

Several oratories and chapels in the basilica also had mosaic decoration, such as those of SS John and Paul or of Leo I, decorated under Pope Symmachus (498–514), of Hadrian or of SS Processus and Martinian, decorated under Pope Paschal I (817–24), of St Maurice, of St Petronilla, of St Andrew and the three chapels in the Baptistry, dedicated to John the Baptist, John the Evangelist and the Holy Cross, restored by Pope Leo III. The oratory of St Peregrinus had an eighth- or tenth-century fresco depicting Christ between Peter, Paul and two other saints. A chapel dedicated to the Virgin by Pope Gregory III in the eighth century had an icon of the Virgin in it, and another, dedicated by Pope Paul I, also in the eighth century, had

⁵³ G. Grimaldi, *Descrizione della basilica antica di San Pietro in Vaticano, Cod. Barberini lat. 2733*, ed. R. Niggli (Vatican City, 1972).

⁵⁴ For the eleventh-century Farfa codex, now in the library of Eton College, see Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum* V, fig. 199.

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mosaics and a silver and gold icon. Paul I (757–67) also added the decoration in the chapel of Sta Maria *in turris*, where a mosaic showed Christ enthroned with angels and four saints.

The most famous chapel in the basilica was that built and decorated by Pope John VII (705–7), renowned both for its decoration and its treasures, and well known in England because it was mentioned in Bede's *De temporum ratione*.⁵⁵ A wall contained a large mosaic representation of the Virgin as an *orans*, with John VII presenting the model of the oratory to her, and she was surrounded by scenes from the life of Christ. These fourteen scenes, divided into seven panels, depicted the Annunciation and the Visitation, the Nativity of Christ and the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple and the Baptism of Christ, two healing miracles, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Last Supper and, finally, the Crucifixion, the Three Maries at the Sepulchre and the Descent into Hell. Under an arch were shown the Virgin and Christ with Peter and Paul. On the left wall of the chapel were represented scenes from the life of St Peter: his preaching in Antioch and Rome, Peter and Paul before Nero with Simon Magus, the Flight of Simon and his Fall, the Martyrdom of Peter crucified head-downwards and that of Paul beheaded.⁵⁶ The right wall may have depicted further scenes from the lives of Peter and Paul. This chapel contained one of the greatest treasures of the basilica, the *Veronica*, a piece of cloth reputedly bearing the image of the face of Christ.

Other treasures in the basilica were the Chair of St Peter, with a huge Cross with two large iron keys suspended from it, where lights would have been lit on festive days, and the relics of SS Simon and Jude, Gregory the Great, Processus and Martinian, Petronilla, John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus. These relics were kept in various altars around the basilica. To them, and to the chapels previously mentioned, should be added the oratories dedicated to Peter and Paul, the Twelve Apostles, Bartholomew, Philip and James, Thomas, Ambrose, Apollinaris, Martin, Protus and Hyacinth, Sixtus, Habundius, Lucy, George, Sixtus and Fabian, Michael, Vincent, Thecla, Silvester and Giles. Of specific interest to Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, apart from the tomb of Gregory the Great, were the tombs of the two English kings Cædwalla and Offa, who had died in Rome and had been buried at St Peter's,

⁵⁵ Ed. by C. W. Jones in *Beda's Venerabilis Opera*, CCSL 123B (Turnhout, 1977) VI, 2, p. 530.

⁵⁶ W. Tronzo, 'Two Roman Wall Decorations', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), 489–92, suggests that this cycle may have been added in the later Middle Ages; his argument, based on his view that the figures drawn by Grimaldi have a 'Gothic sway', does not seem to me very convincing. I am grateful to Professor R. Deshman for having brought this paper to my attention.

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and that of St Pega, St Guthlac's sister, also said to have died in Rome.⁵⁷ For all pilgrims, the ultimate goal of the pilgrimage remained the *confessio* under the main altar, which enshrined the tomb of St Peter. It was reached through an arcaded portico, with ninth-century mosaics and statues of Christ, the Apostles and Angels. It was preserved under a *ciborium*, surrounded by ornaments and lights, and a ninth-century mosaic over the tomb depicted Christ holding a gospelbook. One of the functions of Peter's Pence was precisely to share in the cost of providing some of these lights for the tomb of the Apostle.⁵⁸

After St Peter's, Sigeric and his companions went to take up residence at the Schola Anglorum, and visited its church.

2. *ad Sanctum [sic] Mariam Scolam Anglorum* (Santo Spirito in Sassia); Borgo

The church of the Schola, founded either at the same time as the Schola itself, according to Armellini, or by Pope Leo IV about 850, according to more recent views, was clearly mentioned for the first time in the *Liber pontificalis* in connection with the rebuilding of the Schola after the fire of 847. Although not recorded in *IE*, an entry of a 'diaconia beatae Dei genetricis foris porta[m] beati Petri apostoli' in *CL*,⁵⁹ if it refers to the church of the Schola, could put back the foundation date of the church to the late eighth or early ninth century at least, coming closer to Armellini's estimate. The church contained a reputedly miraculous image of the Virgin, thought to have been offered to it by King Ine.⁶⁰ Its priest was appointed in theory by the monastery of San Martino in the Vatican, to which it had been attributed by Pope Leo's Bull of 854.⁶¹ King Burgred, who went to Rome in 874 and died there, was buried in the church.⁶²

3. *ad Sanctum Laurentium in craticula* (San Lorenzo in Lucina); Colonna

We encounter here the main problem of the Roman Itinerary, namely the identification of this church. Huelsen, relying on a passage from Gregory of Tours, which, according to Pesci, he misinterpreted, identified this church

⁵⁷ On Pega's tomb, see Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 921. His statement, however, is based on a spurious Crowland text of the later Middle Ages, the Pseudo-Ingulf; see B. Colgrave, *Felix's Life of St Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 192–3.

⁵⁸ Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 858–951; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 417–18; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* V, 165–279; H. L. Kessler, "'Caput et Speculum Omnium Ecclesiarum': Old St Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Latium", *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, ed. W. Tronzo (Florence, 1989).

⁵⁹ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne II, 19.

⁶⁰ F. Gasquet, *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome* (London, 1920), pp. 9–10.

⁶¹ This was one of the four monasteries within the Vatican itself.

⁶² *ASC 874 (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle)*, ed. Whitelock *et al.*, p. 48; Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 951–3; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 363–4.

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with San Lorenzo in Panisperna. Armellini in his work identified this church with an unknown church bearing that name in the Itinerary, relying on a misinterpretation of a passage from the *Ordo* of Benedict the Canon.⁶³ In the second edition of Armellini's *Le chiese di Roma*, published in 1942, Cecchelli identified this church with San Lorenzo in Lucina. Gasquet⁶⁴ and Magoun⁶⁵ were also in favour of the latter church, and Pesci has proved, conclusively in my opinion, that this is the only possible identification.⁶⁶ The other two suggestions, he argued, were based on incorrect readings of Gregory of Tours and Benedict the Canon; San Lorenzo in Panisperna was definitely identified as 'Sanctus Laurentius ubi corpus eius assatum fuit' at the end of *IE*; and an inscription on the papal chair at San Lorenzo in Lucina, dating from 1112, mentioned the possession of the relic of the *craticula* amongst the relics of the main altar.⁶⁷

The origin of San Lorenzo in Lucina is unknown, but it probably goes back to the third or fourth centuries. It was a presbyteral *titulus*⁶⁸ by 365 and the church dates from the time of Sixtus III (432–40). It was restored about 685 by Pope Benedict II, then about 780 by Pope Hadrian I, and it was recorded in *CS*, *IE* and *CL*. Its main interest for pilgrims was the relic of the *craticula*, the gridiron upon which St Laurence had been martyred. The apse decoration, redone in the twelfth century but possibly preserving the previous iconography, represented Christ in the middle, between SS Peter, Laurence and Lucina on the right and St Paul and two saints on the left.⁶⁹ The devotion to St Laurence was pervasive in Rome, where the saint was venerated second only to SS Peter and Paul, and where four great basilicas and numerous chapels and smaller churches were dedicated to him. Sigeric visited three of them.⁷⁰

After leaving the walled city itself, the pilgrims proceeded on their tour, which from then on covered, on the first day, the churches 'outside the walls', those on the Aventine and those in Trastevere. Outside the walls, they saw:

4. *ad Sanctum Valentinum in Ponte Molui* (San Valentino); Via Flaminia

This basilica, built in the fourth century by Pope Julius I at the first milestone on the Via Flaminia, on the tomb of the martyr Valentine, was

⁶³ Pesci, 'L'Itinerario', p. 52.

⁶⁴ Gasquet, *Venerable College*, p. 18.

⁶⁵ Magoun, 'Rome', p. 272.

⁶⁶ Pesci, 'L'Itinerario', pp. 51–5.

⁶⁷ Armellini, *Le chiese* I, 490: 'Hee sunt reliquie que sunt recondite in altari maiori . . . craticula super qua assatus fuit'.

⁶⁸ This was the name used to describe the earliest places of worship in Rome since the third century. Originally founded and supported by a wealthy Christian convert, often in his or her own house, it later came to signify the pastoral 'living' of a priest.

⁶⁹ It was reconstructed by C. R. Morey, *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome in the Medieval Period* (Princeton, 1915), pp. 6–15.

⁷⁰ Armellini, *Le chiese* I, 355–8; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, p. 288; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* II, 159–84.

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restored by Popes Theodore (642–9) and Leo III (795–816) and was decorated with frescoes by either Theodore, Pope Benedict II (683–5), or in the early eighth century. It was recorded in *CS*, *IE*, *WM* and *CL*, and the cemetery was one of the few still being visited by pilgrims in the tenth century.⁷¹ On the walls, there were also frescoes depicting the Visitation, the Nativity of Christ, with the Bathing of the Child and the midwife Salome, and the Crucifixion. In the basilica, there was a chapel dedicated to St Zeno, brother of St Valentine, and to their companions in martyrdom Mary, Martha, Audifax and Abbacuc, whose relics were preserved there. In the tenth century, San Valentino became a cell of the possibly, but by no means certainly, still Greek monastery of San Silvestro in Capite, one of the richest and most influential monastic houses in Rome.⁷² The abbot of San Silvestro, Theobald, restored San Valentino about 1060. This basilica was a major station during the *Laetania Maior* procession in Rome.⁷³

5. *ad Sanctum [sic] Agnes* (Sant'Agnese fuori le Mura); Via Nomentana

The original basilica had been built in the fourth century by Constantina, the emperor's daughter, who was particularly devoted to St Agnes. After this first reference, others follow in the *Liber pontificalis* from the fourth century onwards and in all Itineraries. The old basilica was restored by Pope Symmachus, but Pope Honorius I rebuilt it entirely nearby about 625–38 and had the apse mosaic laid, which shows St Agnes as a Byzantine princess, richly vested and crowned, with a pope on her right (Symmachus) and another on her left (Honorius), one of whom offers her a model of the restored church. Under the altar is St Agnes's tomb. In the ninth century, the relics of St Agnes's foster-sister, St Emerentiana, were removed from the cemetery on the Via Nomentana, and placed next to those of St Agnes in the church, but the cemetery was still visited in the tenth century.⁷⁴ Another image of St Agnes in the basilica is a fourth-century low relief showing her as an *orans*.

Next door to the basilica is the Mausoleum of Constantina (Costanza), which the pilgrims must also have visited. This fourth-century building was erected around the princess's tomb and it contained contemporary mosaics in the cupola, showing scenes from the Old Testament. Some of these have been

⁷¹ G. B. de Rossi, *Roma sotterranea cristiana descritta ed illustrata*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1864–97) I, 222.

⁷² B. Hamilton, 'The City of Rome and the Eastern Churches in the Tenth Century', pp. 8–9, and 'The Monastic Revival in Tenth-Century Rome', pp. 39–40, in his *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades (900–1300)* (London, 1979); Ferrati, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 336–40.

⁷³ *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*, ed. J. Deshusses, Spicilegium Friburgense 16 (Fribourg, 1971), 211; see also Pesci, 'L'Itinerario', p. 55. Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 1044–9; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 496–7; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* IV, 289–312; J. Osborne, 'Early Medieval Wall-Paintings in the Catacomb of San Valentino, Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 49 (1981), 82–90. ⁷⁴ de Rossi, *Roma sotterranea* I, 221–2.

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tentatively identified as Abraham and the Three Angels, the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Building of the Arc, Lot and the Angels, Moses's childhood, Elijah and the priest of Baal, Tobias and Susannah and the Elders. To the New Testament belong one of Christ's healing miracles and two mosaics in the niches on the right and the left, the *Traditio legis* and the *Traditio clavis*. St Agnes was the most popular female saint in Rome, closely followed by St Cecilia and the two Sicilian saints Agatha and Lucy, whose cults had been introduced in Rome at the time of Gregory the Great,⁷⁵ and she was also the most popular saint after SS Peter, Paul and Laurence. She was celebrated with two feasts in the Roman calendar and had three basilicas dedicated to her in Rome by the tenth century.⁷⁶

6. *ad Sanctum Laurentium foris murum* (San Lorenzo fuori le Mura); Via Tiburtina

The original Constantinian basilica was built on the tomb of St Laurence, to whose relics were later added those of St Stephen. It later developed into a monastery, encircled by a whole ecclesiastical complex of churches and houses, a *borgo*, later walled. *CS* described San Lorenzo as two churches next to each other: the old *basilica maior*, originally the Constantinian church restored by Sixtus III, and the *basilica nova*, built by Pope Pelagius II (579–90) and incorporating the tomb and shrine of the saint. The mosaic on the triumphal arch represented Christ in glory with SS Peter and Laurence and Pope Pelagius on his right, and SS Paul, Stephen and Hippolytus on his left.⁷⁷ Pope Sixtus gave the church a silver statue of its patron saint, and a chapel near the apse, dating from the mid-eighth century, had frescoes depicting the Virgin with Angels and SS Andrew, Laurence, John the Evangelist and Catherine. The *basilica nova* was dedicated in the eighth century to the Virgin and later the two churches were joined by Hadrian I (772–95). Roman liturgical books recognized two stations and two masses on the feast-day of the saint, the morning mass and the high mass, one in each church. This was the centre and the major focus of the cult of St Laurence in Rome, mentioned in *IE*, *WM* and *CL*, and the cemetery attached to the basilica was still known in the tenth century. Within the *borgo* were oratories dedicated to St Agapitus, SS Cassian and Stephen (served by Greek monks), SS Leo and Januarius and SS Ireneus and

⁷⁵ *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne I, 312. On the beginnings of the cults of Agatha and Lucy in Rome under the aegis of Gregory the Great, and the founding of the two monasteries of Sant'Agata dei Goti and Sant'Andrea e Lucia, see V.L. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass* (Rome, 1938), pp. 171–3, and Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 19–22 and 276–9.

⁷⁶ Apart from the basilica on the Via Nomentana, the other two were Sant'Agnese *ad due furna* and Sant'Agnese in Agone, on the alleged place of her martyrdom. Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 1063–71; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 170 and 238–9; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* I, 14–39.

⁷⁷ The apse mosaic may have been of the same type as that at Sant'Agnese, representing the titular saint between two popes: Waetzoldt, *Kopien*, p. 47.

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Abundius, with the relics of the latter. The monastery of St Laurence itself was reformed by Odo of Cluny (d. 942).⁷⁸

7. *ad Sanctum Sebastianum* (San Sebastiano); Via Appia

Until the ninth century, this church was commonly known as ‘Sanctus Sebastianus ad Catacumbas’. The *Liber pontificalis* recalls the fact that the basilica was built on the spot where the bodies of St Peter and St Paul had provisionally rested in the third century at the time of Valerian’s persecution. Its first name was *titulus Petri et Pauli*.⁷⁹ In the fifth century, it became the monastery in *Catatymbas*, dedicated to St Sebastian, whose relics were venerated in the cemetery, together with those of St Quirinus, and it was restored by Pope Hadrian I (772–95) and Pope Nicholas I (858–67). After the ninth century, the catacombs of St Sebastian were among the few to remain a centre of pilgrimage, chiefly because of their associations with SS Peter and Paul.⁸⁰ The church was mentioned in *CS*, *IE* and *WM*.⁸¹

8. *ad Sanctum Anastasium* (SS Vincenzo ed Anastasio alle Tre Fontane); Via Ostiense

This church was that of the monastery of Tre Fontane, also called *ad Aquas Salvias*, at the spot where St Paul is supposed to have been martyred. It was built by Pope Honorius (625–38), to honour its two titular martyrs, and was a Greek monastic church of great repute in Rome, especially in the ninth, but also in the tenth century, visited for that reason by St Nilus himself in 998, a few years after Sigeric’s pilgrimage.⁸² St Anastasius (d. 628) had been a Persian monk and martyr of the seventh century, whose relics were brought to Rome by Eastern refugees fleeing from the Arabs. In the church, pilgrims would have seen a greatly venerated image of this saint. The church itself had been restored by Pope Hadrian I, then rebuilt by Pope Leo III in the late eighth century, and it was mentioned in *CS*, *WM*, *CL*, but not in *IE*.⁸³

9. *ad Sanctum Paulum* (San Paolo fuori le Mura); Via Ostiense

The original Constantinian basilica had been built to replace a small memorial on the tomb of the Apostle Paul. It was rebuilt by the three emperors

⁷⁸ Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 1075–86; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 285–6; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* II, 1–144.

⁷⁹ *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne I, 312. This tradition is recorded in various early sources such as Philocalus, the Acts of St Sebastian, of the fifth century, and Gregory the Great’s letters.

⁸⁰ de Rossi, *Roma sotterranea* I, 225–9. This cemetery was by then already known as ‘St Callixtus’s’. The church itself was further associated with Gregory the Great, who reputedly preached his famous 37th Homily on the Gospel there.

⁸¹ Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 1112–28; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, p. 460; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* IV, 99–147.

⁸² Hamilton, ‘City of Rome’, p. 7, and Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 33–48.

⁸³ Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 1168–8; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, p. 173.

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Theodosius, Gratian and Valentinian II and Theodosius's sister Galla Placidia in 385–6, then completed by the emperors Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius, and subsequently restored by Pope Leo III. Here, too, there was a monastery with a *borgo*, walled since 880 against Saracen attacks, containing houses and oratories as well. It was mentioned in *CS*, *IE* and *CL*. When in 937, under the government of Alberic, Odo of Cluny was invited to reform various Roman monasteries, this was one of the abbeys concerned.⁸⁴

In the basilica, on the triumphal arch, was a mosaic given by Galla Placidia, heavily restored in subsequent centuries and one of the few items to have escaped the fire which destroyed San Paolo almost completely in 1823. It represents Christ, the symbols of the Evangelists, the Twenty-Four Elders and SS Peter and Paul. The apse mosaic was divided into two levels: the upper level showed Christ with SS Peter and Andrew on his left and SS Paul and Luke on his right, and the lower level depicted the Agnus Dei enthroned with the Four Rivers of Paradise. On the left of the throne were represented SS James, Bartholomew, Thomas, Simon, Matthew and Mark, and on the right, SS John, Philip, Mathias, James, Jude and Barnabas, altogether a rather unusual iconographical pattern.⁸⁵ Along the walls of the nave were depicted cycles of scenes from the Old and New Testaments, in fresco, dating from either the early fifth or early eighth century. The two registers on the right wall had forty-two episodes from the Old Testament, of which those extending from the Separation of Light from Darkness to the Death of the First-Born of the Egyptians are known. The left wall depicted scenes from the Acts of the Apostles, with special reference to the life of St Paul, from the Meeting of the Seven Deacons to the Meeting of SS Peter and Paul in Rome. Over the arches of the transept were fifth-century medallions with the portraits of the popes from St Peter onwards, the first series possibly dating from the age of Leo the Great.⁸⁶

The pilgrims then re-entered Rome itself and visited the churches on the Aventine:

10. *ad Sanctum Bonifatium* (SS Alessio e Bonifazio); Ripa

A church of that name was first cited in the *Liber pontificalis* in the sixth century, together with the monastery, and was at first dedicated to the martyr

⁸⁴ Partner, *The Lands*, p. 84.

⁸⁵ The importance of St Andrew and St Luke needs underlining; the popularity of St Peter's brother in England (he was venerated second only to his brother) was originally based on the devotion to him in Rome, especially from the age of Gregory the Great onwards, who dedicated to the Apostle the monastery he had founded in his own home on Mount Caelius. St Augustine and his monks of the mission to England in 597 belonged to that community, of whom Augustine had been the prior.

⁸⁶ Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 1151–62; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 415–16; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* V, 93–164.

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Boniface alone. The name of Alexis was added in the tenth century, when the cult of this saint developed. From the tenth century onwards, especially from the time of the second Greek abbot of the community, Leo, the two names were always used and Sigeric was one of the last persons to use the old name in writing, as the compilers of *CS*, *WM* and *CL* had done, but not that of *IE*, in which the church was not recorded. The first abbot, Sergius, probably brought the relics of St Alexis to Rome in 977, and Abbot Leo promoted the cult of this saint, which subsequently became very popular there.⁸⁷ In 977, Pope Benedict VII gave the church and the monastery to the Greek Metropolitan Sergius and the monastery became half Benedictine and half Basilian, under the name of Blacherne. This was derived from the name of an area of Constantinople, where a miraculous image of the Virgin was to be seen. An icon of the Virgin of Blacherne is still venerated in this church, but there is no evidence to show whether this eighth-century icon was at Sant' Alessio at that date. The reputation of Greek monasticism and learning was once again very high in Rome in the late tenth century, and the mixed monastery of Sant' Alessio in particular was 'the most distinguished in Rome in the last quarter of the tenth century', and held privileges from emperors and popes.⁸⁸ 990 was a significant year in the history of this house: advised by St Nilus, whom he had met at Valleluce, St Adalbert of Prague entered the community and spent several years there before undertaking his mission of conversion of the Slav peoples. The monastery became famous on this account, as it already was on account of the learning and asceticism of the community under its Greek abbots.⁸⁹

11. *ad Sanctum [sic] Savinam* (Santa Sabina); Ripa

The basilica was founded in the fifth century, under Pope Celestine I (422–32), by a priest called Peter of Illyria, as recorded in an inscription above the main door. Restored by Pope Sixtus III in 432, then by Leo III and Eugenius III (824–7), it is recorded in *CL*, but not in *CS*, *WM* and *IE*. On the inside wall

⁸⁷ Hamilton, 'The Monastery of S. Alessio and the Religious and Intellectual Renaissance of Tenth-Century Rome', in his *Monastic Reform*, pp. 269–72; also more generally on the monastery, see Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 76–87. Dr Hamilton has suggested to me that Sigeric's interest in the martyr of Tarsus, Boniface, may have been prompted by the veneration for this saint in England, possibly known through Archbishop Theodore. The saint was entered in several late-tenth-century calendars.

⁸⁸ Hamilton, 'City of Rome', pp. 15–20, and 'Orientale lumen and magistra latinitas: Greek Influences on Western Monasticism (900–1100)', in his *Monastic Reform*, pp. 188–9 and 209–11.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 213–15; 'City of Rome', pp. 15–24, and 'Monastery of S. Alessio', pp. 265–310, at 282–91. Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 715–19; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 171–2; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* I, 41–2.

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above the entrance door are mosaics representing personifications of the Church of the Gentiles and the Church of the Jews, as well as symbols of the Evangelists. On the apse arch, there were mosaics showing the busts of Christ and the Apostles, in the apse was a bust of Christ teaching, and the walls probably also carried mosaics or frescoes. The other notable feature of the church was its cypress-wood main door, with fifth-century carvings of Old and New Testament scenes. Recognizable among these are the Crucifixion, the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, the Adoration of the Magi, the Disciples at Emmaus, the Healing of the Blind Man, the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, the Wedding at Cana, Christ's Miracles in the Desert, Pentecost (?), the Ascension, the Denial of Peter, Jesus before Caiaphas, before Pilate and carrying his Cross, and scenes from the lives of Moses, Zachariah, Habbakuk and Elijah.⁹⁰

At the foot of the Aventine, they visited:

12. *ad Sanctam Mariam Scolam Graecam [sic]* (Santa Maria in Cosmedin); Ripa

This *diaconia*, founded in the sixth century on the ruins of part of the *Statio Annonae*, became in the seventh century the church of the Greek colony, the 'Schola Graeca', which stretched over this whole area called 'Ripa Graeca'. It was rebuilt and enlarged by Pope Hadrian I and it took the name in *in Cosmedin*, a common name for Greek churches in Italy (Naples, Ravenna); Pope Nicholas I later restored it again and it was mentioned in *CL* but not in the other three early catalogues. In the church, there was a greatly venerated icon of the Virgin and Child.⁹¹

The pilgrims then crossed the Tiber and arrived in Trastevere, where they visited:

13. *ad Sanctam Ceciliam* (Santa Cecilia in Trastevere); Trastevere

The *Hieronymian Martyrology* mentioned the *titulus Ceciliae*, which, therefore, must have already existed in the fifth century. Pope Paschal I (817–24) translated the relics of St Cecilia from the cemetery on the Via Appia, and built the church, whilst also founding the monastery of St Cecilia and St Agnes. The relics of SS Valerian and Tiburtius were also venerated in the church, and the two saints were represented in a mosaic in the porch. The apse mosaic in the basilica depicted Christ, on his right, St Paul, a crowned St Cecilia and Pope Paschal with the square halo of the living, and on his left, SS Peter, Valerian and Agatha. On the apse wall were shown the Virgin enthroned with five

⁹⁰ Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 709–15; *Le chiese*, pp. 430–1; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* IV, 72–98.

⁹¹ Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 735–43; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 327–8; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* II, 277–307; and G. B. Giovenale, *La basilica di Sta Maria in Cosmedin* (Rome, 1927).

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crowned virgins with palms, and the Twenty-Four Elders. The basilica was mentioned in *IE*, *WM* and *CL*, but not in *CS*.⁹²

14. *ad Sanctum Crisogonum* (San Crisogono); Trastevere

Already mentioned in the list of the Roman council of 499, this *titulus*, then basilica, was restored in 731 by Pope Gregory III, who added frescoes on the walls of the aisles and in the apse, representing the titular saint, SS Felicissimus and Agapitus and others. During the course of the tenth century, a new set of frescoes was added in the right aisle, relating the story of St Benedict. Still visible in the old (at present the lower) church, are three scenes: Benedict saving Placidus, and healing a leper, and a monk being assaulted by a wild beast. The basilica was recorded in *CS*, *IE* and *CL* and a monastery dedicated to SS Stephen, Laurence and Chrysogonus was attached to it.⁹³

15. *ad Sanctam Mariam Transtiberi* (Santa Maria in Trastevere); Trastevere

Tradition ascribes the foundation of a Christian basilica on this spot to Pope Callixtus (217–22). The first reference to the subsequent basilica is in the *Liber pontificalis*, which ascribed its building to Pope Julius I in 340. In the eighth century, Pope John VII restored it and gave it its frescoes, and additional work was done by Gregory II and Hadrian I. In 828, Pope Gregory IV built a small monastery dedicated to St Cornelius, and in 848 the basilica was again restored by Leo IV. In the *confessio* were preserved the relics of SS Callixtus and Calepodius. In the church, there was, from the early eighth century onwards, an icon of the Virgin of Mercy, with the Child and Angels.⁹⁴

For the last church on their itinerary for that day, the pilgrims left Rome again, to visit another church outside the walls:

16. *ad Sanctum Pancratium* (San Pancrazio); Via Aurelia

An original building had been erected on the tomb of St Pancras, a fourth-century martyr, by Pope Symmachus. It was rebuilt entirely by Pope Honorius I, who had the apse mosaic made. Pope Hadrian I restored it in the eighth century, and we then hear of a monastery dedicated to St Victor. The basilica is mentioned in all four early catalogues and the catacombs were among those still visited in the tenth century.⁹⁵

⁹² Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 825–8; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, p. 229; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* I, 95–112.

⁹³ The list of the council of 499 is edited in Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 124–5. Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 847–9; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, p. 238; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* I, 144–64.

⁹⁴ Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 783–96; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, p. 371; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* III, 65–71.

⁹⁵ St Pancras was popular in England because some of his relics had been sent to King Oswiu of Northumbria by Pope Vitalian in the seventh century; see *HE* III. 29 (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 320–1). Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 1181–7; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, p. 409; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* III, 153–74.

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After this exhausting day, even though the pilgrims probably made their tour outside the walls on horseback, Sigeric and his companions returned 'in domum' (i.e. at the Schola Anglorum). On the next, or another, day they visited the churches in the centre of Rome:

17. *ad Sanctam Mariam Retunda* [*sic*] (Santa Maria della Rotonda or Pantheon); S. Eustachii

This is Hadrian's Pantheon, transformed by Pope Boniface IV into a church in 608–15, and normally called 'Sancta Maria ad Martyres' until the end of the tenth century, when the name 'Sancta Maria Rotonda' became the more usual one. Here, too, there was an icon of the Virgin and Child of the Eastern type.⁹⁶

18. *ad Sanctos Apostolos* (SS Apostoli); Trevi

This old *titulus* was founded by Pope Pelagius I (555–60) to enshrine the relics of the Apostles Philip and James, brought to Rome. It was completed by Pope John III (560–7) then restored by Pope Paul I and by Pope Hadrian I, especially the apse mosaic.⁹⁷ The basilica was again restored in 831 by Pope Stephen V, and its name became increasingly understood as a dedication to all the Apostles, until this became its common name by the end of the Middle Ages. Thus, *CS* entered the original name, whilst Sigeric's Itinerary, like *IE* and *CL*, uses the new name. The most precious relics in the church were those of the Apostles Philip and James in the *confessio* and, from the ninth century onwards, those of the martyrs Chrysantus, Daria and their companions.⁹⁸

19. *ad Sanctus Johannes* [*sic*] in *Laterane* (San Giovanni in Laterano); Monti

This Constantinian basilica was the first church and the cathedral of Rome, 'mater caput ecclesiae', as well as the church of the Lateran Palace, the official residence of the pope. All descriptions of Rome, understandably, mentioned it. It had been originally dedicated to the Saviour, but, after the fourth century, the names of SS John the Evangelist and John the Baptist were added, from the name of a neighbouring monastery. Little by little, this latter name was substituted for the original dedication, and the evolution was completed in the tenth century. The first great restoration was credited to Pope Sergius III in 904–11, who gave the nave mosaics, figuring scenes from the Old and the New Testaments, in the usual allegorical arrangement. Some of the scenes represented were: Adam driven out of the Garden of Eden and Christ in Heaven, the River of Sin and the Baptism of Christ, the Sacrifice of Isaac and Christ bearing his Cross, Joseph and his brothers and Christ and Judas, Israel

⁹⁶ Armellini, *Le chiese* I, 589–92; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, p. 363.

⁹⁷ The mosaic was subsequently destroyed and is known to us from a letter of Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne; see Matthiae, *Pittura*, p. 104.

⁹⁸ Armellini, *Le chiese* I, 309–12; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 201–2; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* I, 78–83.

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crossing the Red Sea and the Descent into Hell, and Jonah in the belly of the whale and the Ascension of Christ. The columns in the nave carried mosaics depicting the Prophets, the Apostles and the Evangelists' symbols, whilst the apse mosaic, subsequently restored in the thirteenth century, represented a bust of Christ surrounded by the Dove of the Holy Spirit and angels. This upper part of the mosaic has survived, having been incorporated within the restored apse. The façade mosaic depicted Christ between SS Michael and Gabriel.

Near the basilica was the Baptistery, built and decorated under Pope Hilarius (461–8), comprising the oratories of SS John the Evangelist, John the Baptist and the Holy Cross. The latter had three apses. The mosaic on the ceiling depicted angels carrying the Cross, and those between the windows showed SS Peter and Paul on the wall across the entrance, SS John the Baptist and John the Evangelist on the right wall, SS Philip and James on the left wall, and SS Stephen and Laurence on the wall above the entrance, all adoring the Cross on the ceiling. The walls were frescoed with scenes from the life of St Flavianus. The chapel of the Evangelist had the Agnus Dei on the ceiling, and representations of the Evangelists and their symbols in the corners. Also part of the Baptistery were the chapels of SS Rufina and Secunda, with fifth-century mosaics, and that of St Venantius, decorated under Pope John IV (640–2) and Pope Theodore, and dedicated to the Istrian and Dalmatian martyrs whose relics had been in the chapel since that time. These martyrs, Venantius, Anastasius, Maurus, the four soldiers Paulinianus, Telius, Antiochianus and Gaianus, the priest Asterius and the deacon Septimius are all represented in the mosaic of the apse wall, below Christ and the angels, and on either side of the Virgin Mary, SS Peter and Paul and the two St Johns. Also represented on the apse walls were the symbols of the Evangelists and the two cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The walls of the nave had frescoes, now lost.

Sigeric spent some time in the Lateran Palace itself, when he shared the midday meal with the Pope, who may have given him the *pallium* then.⁹⁹ The palace had two *triclinia* in which this meal could have taken place, and both were extensively decorated with mosaics and frescoes since the time of Leo III. In the first there was a mosaic of Christ with the Four Rivers of Paradise at his feet and five Apostles on either side. Two of the side apses had frescoes, whilst a spandrel displayed a mosaic depicting St Peter enthroned giving Charlemagne a standard and Leo III the *pallium*, both pope and emperor kneeling at his feet. The second *triclinium* had one main apse and ten smaller ones off the 'nave', all possibly decorated with mosaics and frescoes. The main apse

⁹⁹ See the descriptions of the Lateran Palace in P. Lauer, *Le palais du Latran: étude archéologique et historique* (Paris, 1911) and Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 115–22.

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showed Christ, the Virgin Mary, Peter, Paul and other saints; on its walls were depicted the Twenty-Four Elders and the 144,000 Elect of the Revelation, as well as a bust of Christ and the symbols of the Evangelists. Two other pictures represented St Peter saved from the waves and St Paul saved from shipwreck.

Within the palace, two chapels held objects of veneration: the chapel of St Silvester, which had an icon of Christ, decorated with pictures of saints, and the oratory of the Holy Cross, of the fifth century, with a relic of the Cross in a golden crucifix. The main sanctuary of the palace was the chapel of St Laurence, of the fourth century, known as the Sancta Sanctorum on account of the great number of relics it possessed, some walled in and some enclosed in a casket made under Leo III.¹⁰⁰ This chapel, whose mosaic decoration was entirely refurbished in the thirteenth century, also contained a sacred image of Christ, dating from the eighth century, known as Acheropoita. The main relics, first listed by John the Deacon, were the heads of SS Peter, Paul, Laurence and Agnes, the patron saints of Rome, and parts of the bodies of SS John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, Euphemia, Eulalia, Praxedis, Aldegund and Zachariah. The crosses and reliquaries in the chapel were also prized treasures. Most noticeable was the enamelled processional cross used for the Good Friday procession to Santa Croce and for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.¹⁰¹ It dated back to the sixth or seventh century, possibly from the pontificate of Sergius, and depicted scenes from the life of Christ: the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple and Baptism on the long arm, and the Flight into Egypt and the Adoration of the Magi on the short arm. From the eighth century onwards, it was venerated in its own right. Other crosses depicted the Crucifixion, and on the silver mount of a ninth-century one were represented the Wedding at Cana, the Incredulity of Thomas and Christ appearing to the Holy Women. The most ornate reliquaries were of the seventh century, showing Christ between Peter and Paul, and another, of the ninth century, made of silver, possibly an Anglo-Saxon work, which had representations of the Virgin Mary, St Peter, and the Resurrection with the Holy Women at the Sepulchre.

Other oratories and chapels within the Lateran were those dedicated to the Virgin Mary, of the ninth century; of St Thomas, built about 956; of St Sebastian, built by Pope Theodore; of St Pancras, of the sixth century; of St Caesarius, of the seventh century; and of St Apollinaris, built under Hadrian I.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ On the Sancta Sanctorum, see P. Lauer, 'Le trésor du Sancta Sanctorum', *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 15 (1906), 7–140, and H. Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta Sanctorum und ihr Schatz* (Freiburg, 1908).

¹⁰¹ The Good Friday procession is described in the Appendix to the Itinerary of Einsiedeln.

¹⁰² Armellini, *Le chiese* I, 121–49; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, p. 272; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* V, 1–92.

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20. *ad Jerusalem* (Santa Croce in Gerusalemme); Monti

This basilica was founded under Constantine by his mother the Empress Helena, in her Sessorian Palace. It was first called 'Sancta Hierusalem', and became Santa Croce after Helena brought back from Jerusalem the greatly venerated relic of the Cross. It was entered in *IE* and *CL*, but not, apparently, in *CS* and *WM*; under its original name in *CL*, as in Sigeric's diary. It became a presbyteral *titulus* under Gregory the Great and was restored in 720; a monastery was built about 975 by Pope Benedict VII. The possession of the relic of the Cross made this basilica one of the major Roman churches for devotional purposes. It was equally important from a liturgical point of view, since a major papal procession went from the Lateran to Santa Croce on Good Friday, and it was also a major stational church for various feast-days throughout the year. A chapel of the fourth century, dedicated to St Helena, had a mosaic, and on the upper level of the nave walls were depicted the ancestors of Christ in mosaic.¹⁰³

21. *ad Sanctam Mariam Maiorem* (Santa Maria Maggiore); Monti

A basilica was founded by Pope Liberius (352–6), and known as the Basilica Liberiana. Pope Sixtus III built a basilica dedicated to the Virgin, which an erroneous entry in the *Liber pontificalis* identified with Liberius's basilica. The name 'Sancta Maria *ad Praesepe*', as recorded in *IE*, began to be used in the sixth or the seventh centuries. The other catalogues of churches also mention the basilica. Its name derived from its possession of one of the most popular relics in Rome: the cradle of Christ. It appears for the first time as 'Sancta Maria Maior' in the *Liber pontificalis* in the ninth century. Sixtus III gave it a series of mosaics covering the walls of the nave and representing scenes from the Old and the New Testaments, many emphasizing St Mary's status as the Mother of God; these were subsequently restored in part by Hadrian I.

On the upper level of the nave walls, the mosaics represent scenes from the Old Testament, running in chronological order from the left wall with its twenty-eight scenes from the lives of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob to the right wall with its remaining twenty-four scenes from the lives of Moses and Joshua, and ending with the triumphal arch, depicting scenes from the Infancy of Christ, based on the New Testament and the Apocrypha. These are the Annunciation and the Dispelling of Joseph's doubts, the Presentation in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, the House of Joseph, the Magi before Herod, the Adoration of the Magi, Aphrodisius and his household receiving Jesus and his parents, and the Massacre of the Innocents. In the centre was depicted the bejewelled throne with the royal insignia and the Seven Seals, placed between SS Peter and Paul, the Four Beasts and the cities of Bethlehem and

¹⁰³ Armellini, *Le chiese* II, 981–9; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, p. 243; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* I, 165–94.

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Jerusalem as symbols either of the Churches of the Gentiles and the Jews or of the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant.¹⁰⁴

22. *ad Sanctum Petrum ad vincula* (San Pietro in Vincoli); Monti

There had been an earlier Christian building on this spot, a rich *domus*. The church was built under Pope Sixtus III with the help of the Empress Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III. It was then known as the *titulus Eudoxiae*, as *IE* and *CL* still call it (though not *CS*); it became a presbyteral *titulus* under Gregory the Great, and was rebuilt by Pope Hadrian I in the eighth century. Its present name appeared for the first time in the *Liber pontificalis* in the biography of Pope Symmachus and became the common one from the sixth century onwards. Three objects were greatly venerated there: the chains of St Peter, a mosaic of about 680 showing St Sebastian as a protector against the plague and, by tradition, the relics of the seven Maccabee brothers.¹⁰⁵

23. *ad Sanctum Laurentium ubi corpus eius assatus fuit* (San Lorenzo in Panisperna); Monti

Magoun, Armellini and Pesci all proved that this church is to be identified with San Lorenzo in Panisperna, described in these same words by Gregory of Tours and in *IE*.¹⁰⁶ The basilica goes back to Constantinian times, and tradition described it as being built on the spot where St Laurence had been martyred. *CS* does not mention this church, whilst *IE* and *CL* record a S. Laurentium in Formoso, which appears to have been its name before 1000.¹⁰⁷

ROMAN INFLUENCE IN ENGLAND

Sigeric's Itinerary is 'the only complete itinerary of an Anglo-Saxon pilgrim to Rome which we possess'.¹⁰⁸ It is expressive, therefore, both of a tradition of pilgrimages to Rome, with its own well-established points of interest and devotions, and of Sigeric's personal choices.

The churches contained in the text evidently express the preferences of the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims in Rome at the Schola, who would have told Sigeric what they considered to be the major pilgrimage churches he ought to see, and those of Sigeric himself, who may have had to make a choice from the list recommended to him. He visited the churches associated with St Peter and St Paul, not only their two main basilicas, but also San Pietro in Vincoli, San Sebastiano and Sant'Anastasio, which all held either relics or memories of the

¹⁰⁴ Armellini, *Le chiese* I, 281–94; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, p. 342; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* III, 1–60.

¹⁰⁵ Armellini, *Le chiese* I, 260–3; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 418–19; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* III, 178–231.

¹⁰⁶ Magoun, 'Rome', pp. 275–6; Armellini, *Le chiese* I, 249–50; Pesci, 'L'Itinerario', p. 55.

¹⁰⁷ Huelsen, *Le chiese*, p. 293; Armellini, *Le chiese* I, 249–51; Huelsen, *Le chiese*, pp. 292–3; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* II, 185. ¹⁰⁸ Moore, *Saxon Pilgrims*, p. 86.

two Apostles. He went to see several churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in addition to her main basilica of Sta Maria Maggiore, and he doubtless worshipped the relics of the Cross at the Lateran and at Sta Croce. Finally, he visited three churches associated with St Laurence, the third great patron saint of Rome. All these devotions were traditional for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims to Rome, and had been introduced into England from Rome in the first place after the Conversion. This article is not the place for a detailed study of the influence of Roman cults of the saints and Roman decoration on late Anglo-Saxon culture, spirituality and art. Such a study will soon be presented in a forthcoming book. Nevertheless, attention should be drawn, however briefly, to some of the most notable effects of the pilgrimage on the liturgy and iconography of late-tenth-century England.

The veneration of St Peter, the Virgin Mary and the Holy Cross were the most important English devotions, after that of Christ himself, in dedications, liturgical texts and, in the case of the Holy Cross, in the specifically English 'Easter Drama', with its ceremonies of Adoration of the Cross, as they are described in the *Regularis concordia*.¹⁰⁹ The liturgical texts for the feast of St Peter use themes popular in Rome, not only in the official masses copied from those of the Romano-Carolingian books, but also in private prayers, such as that in the 'Winchcombe Psalter',¹¹⁰ which mentions the saint's power over the sea on account of his having been saved by Jesus from the waves, a theme which pilgrims would have seen, for example, in the Lateran Palace.

The two most important Roman martyrs, St Laurence and St Agnes, were the object of a considerable cult in England. St Agnes, praised by Ælhelm as she was to be in the eleventh century by Ælfric, retained her two feasts in England,¹¹¹ whilst St Laurence, used as a paragon with which to compare English saints in the eleventh-century *vitae* of St Æthelwold and St Edmund,¹¹² was already highly honoured in the celebrations of his Vigil, two masses on the Roman model and Octave. Purely devotional texts, such as offices, hymns and prayers, provide additional examples of his popularity, which led him to be represented in his martyrdom in the eleventh century.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ See T. Symons, *Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque: the Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of England* (London, 1953), pp. 36–52.

¹¹⁰ Cambridge, University Library, Ff.1.23 (?Winchcombe or Ramsey, s. xi^{med}), 280r.

¹¹¹ Ælhelm's *De Virginitate*, ed. R. Ewald, MGH, Auct. Antiq. 15, 298–9 and 432–4; Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 2 vols., EETS 76, 82, 94 and 114 (London, 1881–1900) I, 170–95.

¹¹² Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* and Abbo's *Passio S. Eadmundi*, in *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. M. Winterbottom (Toronto, 1972), pp. 50 and 85–6.

¹¹³ The martyrdom of St Laurence was depicted, for example, in two manuscripts from Christ Church, Canterbury, though the first was a copy of the 'Utrecht Psalter': these are London, British Library, Harley 603, a psalter (s. xi¹), 19r, and Cotton Caligula A. xiv, a troper (s. xi^{med}), 25r.

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Other Roman saints of lesser importance, especially Cecilia, Sebastian, Chrysogonus and Pancras, were among the most highly celebrated of the traditional martyrs and virgins, with the text of the gradual, benedictions and even an office for Cecilia, entered in English books. Saints whose relics could be seen in Rome also saw their cults increase, whether it was those of minor Apostles, such as St Bartholomew and SS Philip and James, or those of minor Roman martyrs, such as SS Tiburtius and Valerian and St Silvester. Other saints whose relics were venerated in Rome, but who were not entered in the books of the Roman liturgy, often because they were relative newcomers on the Roman devotional scene, could have been known in England only through the pilgrimage itself. Such were, for example, SS Emerentiana and Eulalia, whose relics were at Sant'Agnese fuori le Mura and in the Sancta Sanctorum.¹¹⁴

The impact of artistic forms encountered by the early Anglo-Saxon pilgrims to Rome has already been mentioned briefly. Examples of it are the building of the crypt of Christ Church at Canterbury on the model of the *confessio* at St Peter's and the display of images brought back from Rome by Benedict Biscop for Monkwearmouth–Jarrow on the model of the parallel typological cycles of mosaics and frescoes of the Old and New Testaments in the naves of early Christian basilicas.¹¹⁵ The influence of the decoration of Roman churches remained a feature of late-tenth-century English art, for example, through the continuing popularity of some iconographical themes current in Roman, early Christian and Greek art, such as the Adoration of the Magi and the Holy Women at the Sepulchre on the model of Sta Sabina, the frequent *Traditio legis* and *Traditio clavis* scenes like those at Sta Constanza, and even the Christ between SS Peter and Paul representation. The latter was common at the top of canon tables in English gospelbooks and lectionaries, such as the 'Florence Lectionary',¹¹⁶ and the other three are frequently depicted in manuscripts and on ivories. Other themes, which may have been inspired directly by Roman art or alternatively by Carolingian motifs borrowed from Rome or taken there by the Carolingian kings, and may have reached England from France, are a much debated issue and will be discussed in detail elsewhere.

Although Sigeric followed his predecessors and the traditions of his people in his choice of churches to visit, he clearly also had some preferences of his own. He went to see at least four churches dedicated to the Virgin and

¹¹⁴ Numerous other examples can be given for saints who appear in eleventh-century sources, such as St Praxedis or St Petronilla.

¹¹⁵ For the crypt at Canterbury, see N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 41–2; for the images brought back by Biscop, see above p. 202, no. 25. and the description of the Lateran nave cycle.

¹¹⁶ Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. XVIII. 20 (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xi¹); see E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066* (London, 1976), no. 69 and ill. 232.

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possessing sacred icons of her, which may reflect his own personal devotion to Mary. He visited some churches whose main interest seems to have been their cemeteries, such as San Crisogono and San Valentino, although the relics of these saints had been placed inside the churches themselves; and he seems to have expressed an interest in getting in touch with the flourishing Greek community in Rome, since he saw Sant'Alessio, Sant'Anastasio and Santa Maria in Cosmedin.¹¹⁷

Such interests may also explain why other churches which Sigeric may have seen have not been recorded. There were at least another eighty churches in Rome (basilicas, *diaconiae*, chapels and monasteries), some of them famous old basilicas such as San Stefano Rotondo, SS Cosma e Damiano, SS Giovanni e Paolo and San Clemente, and some equally well known although more recently built or rebuilt, such as Sta Prassede and SS Quattro Coronati.¹¹⁸ We also know that Sigeric must have been aware of the existence of other churches not mentioned in the Itinerary, such as Sta Suzanna, Sta Maria in Domnica and San Teodoro, because in the list of popes which, according to Pesci,¹¹⁹ he brought back from Rome, these are mentioned among the *tituli* to which various popes had been attached. All these churches presumably lacked either the strong links with a major martyr, or important relics, or associations with miraculous images, unlike the basilicas visited by Sigeric. If Rome was no longer the great repository for books and relics which she had been in the early Anglo-Saxon period, she remained a font of spiritual benefits as well as a major attraction on account of her artistic treasures.

THE HOMEWARD JOURNEY

The second part of the Itinerary covers the return journey to England. My commentary will concentrate essentially on the elements of interest from the devotional point of view, which pilgrims would have come across in the various places they visited. The numbers are those of the manuscript.

1. *Urbs Roma*.

2. *Johannis VIII*: San Giovanni in Nono, *burgus* on the Via Cassia, corresponding more or less to present-day La Storta.¹²⁰ This settlement, possibly of

¹¹⁷ Sant'Anastasio had a Greek community, but I emphasize its link with St Paul, which would have recommended the church to the pilgrims on that account as well.

¹¹⁸ Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 109–42. There is also no reference to the monastery of San Gregorio Magno, founded by Gregory the Great on his house on Mount Caelius in honour of St Andrew, which one would expect English pilgrims to have wished to visit.

¹¹⁹ Pesci, 'L'Itinerario', pp. 58–60.

¹²⁰ C. J. Wickham, 'Historical and Topographical Notes on Early Medieval South Etruria', *Papers of the Brit. School at Rome* 46 (1978), 132–79, at 138 and 151–3, and 47 (1979), 66–95, at 78.

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Roman origin, was centred on the *pieve*¹²¹ of the same name, to which belonged several small *tituli*, dedicated to St Martianus, St Andrew, St Marina, St Nicholas and the Virgin, recorded for the first time in 1026.

From then onwards, the pilgrims' road followed the Via Cassia across the *Patrimonium* to Lake Bolsena.

3. *Bacane*: Baccano.¹²² This *burgus*, dating back to the Roman period was also called 'Burgus Sancti Alexandri', from the name of the bishop and martyr venerated here from the third century onwards.

4. *Suteria*: Sutri. This was one of the stopping points in the *Patrimonium*, and the last station where pilgrims prepared themselves spiritually for Rome on their way towards it.

5. *Furcari*: Forum Cassii, now in ruins. There was a hospice there, Santa Maria de Forcassi.

6. *Sce Ualentine*: a suburb of Viterbo, signifying probably Viterbo itself. The 'Burgus Sancti Valentini' was thus called because of the church of St Valentine, built on the tomb of this martyr, and it also had a church dedicated to St Hilary. Another church of St Valentine, together with the *pieve* of St Peter, belonged to another suburb of Viterbo, the Borgo San Pietro. Viterbo was closely associated with the monastery of Farfa, which had a cell there, Santa Maria in Fagiano.¹²³

7. *Sce Flauiane*: a suburb of Montefiascone, signifying probably Montefiascone itself. The 'Burgus Sancti Flaviani' was built around a basilica of St Flavianus, destroyed in the twelfth century and later rebuilt.

8. *Sca Christina*: Bolsena. St Christina was already venerated here in the fourth century. She was the first example of a popular saint in England, whose cult had presumably been brought back by pilgrims from Rome who had stopped at Bolsena. Another virgin saint whose cult was a flourishing one in England from the tenth century onwards, St Margaret of Antioch, was also venerated in the area of Bolsena, to where some of her relics had been translated.

The road left the lake of Bolsena to follow the valley of the Paglia:

9. *Aqua pendente*: Aquapendente, at the confluence of the Quintaluna and the Paglia.

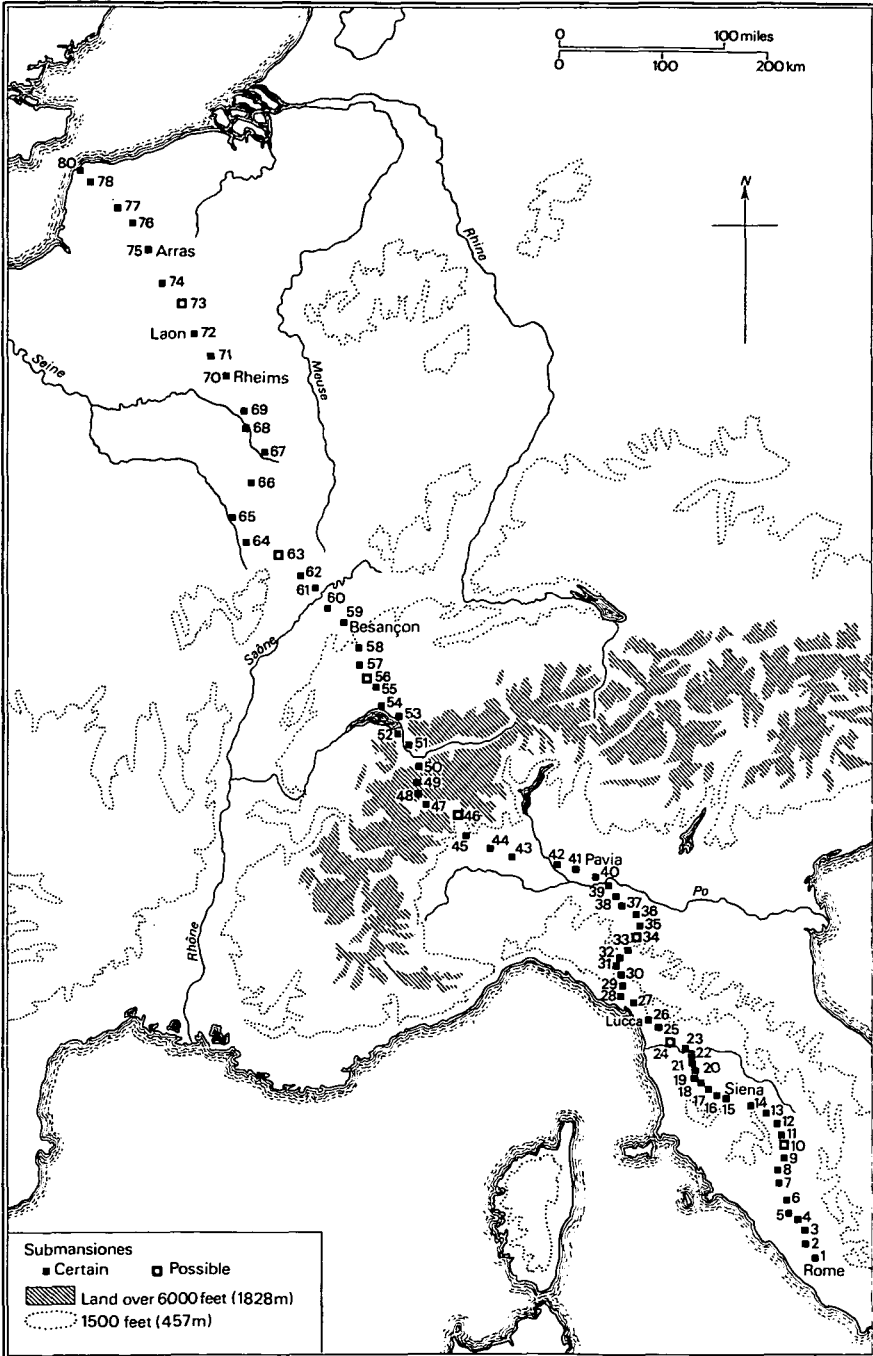
10. *Sce Petir in pail*: 'St Peter on the river Paglia', an unidentified monastery, *pieve* or hospice.

The pilgrims reached the limit of the *Patrimonium* and entered Tuscany.

¹²¹ A church which had baptismal rights and was usually collegiate; it corresponds, generally speaking, to a parish church. ¹²² Wickham, 'Notes', pp. 157–8.

¹²³ On Viterbo, see C. Pinzi, *Storia della città di Viterbo*, 4 vols. (Viterbo, 1887–1913) I, 13–82.

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Fig. 4 Archbishop Sigeric's homeward journey (after D. Hill, 1985–6)

	NAME	IDENTIFICATION
80	Sumeran	Sombre, near Wissant
78	Gisne	Guisnes
77	Teranburh	Thérouanne
76	Bruwaei	Bruay-en-Artois
75	Atherats	Arras
74	Duin	Doingt
73	Martinwaeth	
72	Mundlothuin	Laon
71	Corbunei	Corbény
70	Rems	Rheims
69	Catheluns	Châlons sur Marne
68	Funtaine	Fontaine
67	Domaniant	Donnement
66	Breone	Brienne
65	Bar	Bar-sur-Aube
64	Blaecuile	Blessonville
63	Oisma	St Geosmes
62	Grenant	Grenant
61	Sefui	Seveux
60	Cuscei	Cussey
59	Bysiceon	Besançon
58	Nos	Nods
57	Punterlin	Pontarlier
56	Antifern	
55	Urba	Orbe
54	Losanna	Lausanne
53	Vivæc	Vevey
52	Burbulei	Vervey or Vouvry
51	Sce Maurici	S. Maurice
50	Ursiores	Orsières
49	Petreicastel	Bourg St Pierre
48	Sce Remei	S. Rémi
47	Agusta	Aosta
46	Publei	?Pollein
45	Everi	Ivrea
44	Sce Agath	S. Agata, Santhia
43	Vercel	Vercelli
42	Tremel	Tromello
41	Pamphica	?Pavia
40	Sce Cristine	Santa Cristina
39	Sce Andrea	Corte di S. Andrea
38	Placentia	Piacenza
37	Floricum	Fiorenzuola d'Arda
36	Sce Domnine	Borgo S. Donnino
35	Mezane	Medesano
34	Philemangenur	Fornovo or Felegara
33	Sce Modesanne	S. Moderannus', Berceto
32	Sce Benedicte	S. Benedetto, Montelungo
31	Puntremel	Potremoli

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30	Aguilla	Aulla
29	Sce Stephane	Borgo S. Stefano di Magra
28	Luna	Luni
27	Campmajor	Camaiore in Versilia
26	Luca	Lucca
25	Forcri	Porcari
24	Aqua Nigra	
23	Arneblanca	River Arno, nr Fucechchio
22	Sce Dionysii	S. Genesio, Sanminiato
21	Sce Petre currant	S. Pietro, Corazzano
20	Sce Maria glan	S. Maria, Chianni
19	Sce Gemiane	S. Gimignano
18	Sce Martin in Fosse	S. Martino, Fosci
17	Ælse	River Elsa
16	Burgenove	Borgo Nuovo d'Isola
15	Seocine	Siena
14	Arbia	River Arbia (crossing of Ponte or Taverne)
13	Turreiner	Torrenieri
12	Sce Quiric	S. Quirico
11	Abricula	Bricola
10	Sce Petir-in-Pail	'St Peter's on the river Paglia'
9	Aqua Pendente	Acquapendente
8	Sca Cristina	Bolsena
7	Sce Flaviane	Montefiascone
6	Sce Valentine	Viterbo
5	Furcari	Forum Cassii
4	Suteria	Sutri
3	Bacane	Baccano
2	Johannis VIII	S. Giovanni in Nono, La Storta
1	Urbs Roma	Rome

11. *Abricula*: Bricola in the Val d'Orcia. There was a famous hospice there, depending on the monastery of San Pietro in Campo di Val d'Orcia.

12. *Sce Quiric*: San Quirico d'Orcia, *pieve* dedicated to SS Quirico e Giulitta, dating from the eighth century, also called 'San Quirico in Osenna'.

13. *Turreiner*: Torrenieri, near Montalcino in the Val d'Asso. The great neighbouring monastery of Sant'Antimo possessed much land, hence possibly a church, in Torrenieri.¹²⁴

14. *Arbia*: Ponte d'Arbia or, possibly, Taverne d'Arbia, where there is also a bridge. Sigeric often gave the name of a river when he was actually referring to a crossing on that river, usually a bridge. It was alongside the Arbia that one of the patron saints of Siena, St Ansano, was martyred, and there was a church dedicated to him not far away, in Dofana.

¹²⁴ E. Repetti, *Dizionario geografico fisico storico della Toscana*, 5 vols. (Florence, 1833–46) V, 542.

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15. *Seocine*: Siena.¹²⁵ The importance of the town increased considerably during the Lombard period and was maintained under the Carolingians and the Ottonians. Its patron saints were SS Ansano, Crescentius, Victor and Savinus. Its two most prestigious churches were the Cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and San Martino, of the eighth century. Tradition ascribes the foundation of the greatest hospital and hospice for pilgrims, Santa Maria della Scala, to the ninth century. An important monastery, San Salvatore in Monte Amiata, was situated in the vicinity of Siena.
16. *Burgenoue*: Borgonuovo d'Isola, near Staggia in the Val d'Elsa, where there was an old *pieve* of St Stephen. The monastery of Isola was founded there in 1001.¹²⁶
17. *Ælse*: the river Elsa, tributary of the Arno, and presumably, at the same time, indicating a bridge over it.
18. *Sce Martin infosse*: the church of San Martino at Fosci, where there was also a church of St Stephen, both dependent on the nearby monastery of San Michele a Poggibonsi.¹²⁷
19. *Sce Gemiane*: San Gimignano. The popularity of its patron saint largely accounted for the growth of this increasingly independent market town.
20. *Sce (sic) Maria glan*: *pieve* of Santa Maria Chianni di Gambassi in the Val d'Elsa.
21. *Sce Petre current*: San Pietro Corazzano, dependent on the *pieve* of San Giovanni Corazzano, itself dependent on San Martino's, Lucca.¹²⁸
22. *Sce Dionisii*: the *pieve* of San Genesio, in the Borgo San Genesio. This *pieve*, founded in the sixth century, was rededicated to SS Genesio e Giovanni Battista about 930 and was part of the origin of the cathedral of San Miniato in the Val d'Arno. San Miniato gradually incorporated the Borgo San Genesio at the foot of the hill.¹²⁹
23. *Arneblanca*: one of the branches of the Arno, possibly a crossing point on the river near Fucechio, where the pilgrims would join the Via Francesca or Francigena, the main pilgrimage route from France to Rome. It seems unlikely

¹²⁵ On Sienna, see Repetti, *Dizionario* V, 297–303 and 364–80; F. Schevill, *Sienna: the Story of a Medieval Commune* (London, 1909); and J. Hook, *Sienna: a History of the City* (London, 1979).

¹²⁶ Repetti, *Dizionario* I, 15. ¹²⁷ *Ibid.* I, 330–1.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* I, 796. Repetti ascribes the first mention of *pievi* dependent on San Giovanni, amongst which is a *pieve* of SS Pietro e Paolo di Valconeghisi, to a thirteenth-century list. Thus, Sigeric's entry may be, yet again, the first piece of evidence for the existence of a church.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* I, 352–3 and V, 80.

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that the place recorded would have a bridge, because the right to build a bridge was granted only in 1244 by the Emperor Frederick II to the Hospitallers of Altopascio, when they established a hospice for pilgrims at this spot.¹³⁰ However, an earlier hospice may have existed there, if this was a convenient crossing point for pilgrims.

The other branch of the Arno was:

24. *Aqua nigra*.

25. *Forcri*: Porcari. From the eighth century onwards, it belonged to the abbey of San Savino a Montione, and its church was dedicated to San Giusto.¹³¹

26. *Luca*: Lucca.¹³² This was a major crossroads, where most pilgrimage routes met, and was already then fighting against Pisa to preserve this advantage, since Pisa was attempting to attract more traffic to itself; it had already begun to develop its trade in precious stuffs since the 980s.¹³³ Lucca had a great many churches and monasteries, the most important of which were the church of SS Vincenzo e Frediano, which possessed the relics of the patron saint of the city, St Fredianus, and the cathedral of San Martino. In the cathedral were kept the relics of St Regulus and the *Volto Santo*, and the apse mosaic depicted Christ enthroned and the Four Rivers. Other churches within the city were dedicated to various saints, apart from those under the patronage of the Saviour and the Virgin. Among these, the most popular were SS Peter, Michael and George, whilst SS Pantaleon and Reparata, Julia, Romanus, Gimignanus, Simplicius, Euphemia and Nazarus, Simeon, Genesius, Theodore, Hippolytus and Cassian, Lucy, Alexandrus, Cerbonus, Leo, Anastasius and Sensius represent less common dedications, as do those to SS Columbanus, Donatus, Gervase and Protasius, Vitalis and Euplius for the suburban churches outside the walls of the city. Out of these churches, nine at least were monastic, some belonging to St Peter's in Rome and one to Monte Cassino, four at least had *xenodochia* and hospices attached to them, of which San Silvestro was the most popular since 720. The most prestigious attraction of the city was the image known as the *Volto Santo*, a Byzantine crucifix which reached the city in the eighth century, and was greatly venerated as a miraculous image and admired by

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* I, 146. ¹³¹ *Ibid.* IV, 581.

¹³² On Lucca, see I. Belli Barsali, 'La topografia di Lucca nei secoli VIII-X', *Atti del 5. Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Lucca)* (Spoleto, 1973), pp. 461-554, and B. Ward Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Urban Public Buildings in Northern and Central Italy AD 300-850* (Oxford, 1984), Appendix 2, pp. 245-9.

¹³³ Magoun, 'Pilgrim-Diary', p. 239; see also D. J. Osheim, *An Italian Lordship: the Bishopric of Lucca in the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 1-12; J. Lestocquoy, 'The Tenth Century', *Etudes d'histoire urbaine. Villes et Abbayes. Arras au Moyen Age* (Arras, 1966), p. 43.

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pilgrims such as Abbot Leofstan of Bury (1044–65).¹³⁴ Anglo-Saxon pilgrims would have also visited the tomb of an earlier pilgrim, the father of SS Willibald and Wynnebald, who had died there on his way to Rome in the eighth century.¹³⁵ Another sign of early Anglo-Saxon presence in Lucca was the church of San Dalmazio, first mentioned in 771 and sold in 782 to 'Ætheltrud, the daughter of King Æthelwald'.¹³⁶

27. *Campmaior*: Camaiore in Versilia, at the foot of the Apennines. The monastery of San Pietro 'in Campo Maggiore' had been founded in 760.

28. *Luna*: Luni in the Val di Magra.¹³⁷ This once famous Etruscan city had been steadily declining since the Carolingian period. It was still an episcopal see in Sigeric's time, but Saracen attacks during the ninth century, then its raiding by pirates in 1015, led to the removal of the see after the eleventh century. Its patron saints were St Valentius and St Euticherius and, apart from its cathedral dedicated to the Virgin, it had one monastery of SS John and Paul, and a church of St Martin. It was the meeting place for pilgrims coming from the north through the *Mons Bardonis* and Piacenza, and for those coming by sea from Santiago di Compostela, en route to Rome.

The road then followed the Via Romea, the 'Pilgrim Way', across Lombardy.

29. *Sce Stephane*: Borgo San Stefano di Magra, or di Ceretto, with a *pieve* of San Stefano first attested in a source of 981.¹³⁸

30. *Aguilla*: Aulla in the Val di Magra, where there was a renowned abbey of St Caprasius, founded about 884. St Caprasius is yet another saint whose unusual entry in an Anglo-Saxon calendar could be explained by the passage of pilgrims through Aulla.

31. *Puntremel*: Pontremoli. This is probably the first reference to it in medieval sources. The nearest *pieve* was that of San Cassiano di Urceola, whose first appearance in the sources is in 998.¹³⁹

32. *Sce Benedicte*: probably the abbey of St Benedict at Montelungo, dependent

¹³⁴ On his return from Rome, he commissioned the Great Road at Bury to be modelled on the *Volto Santo*; see 'Registrum Album Monasterii Sancti Edmundi' in London, British Library, Add. 14847, 21r.

¹³⁵ *Hodoeponicon* of St Willibald, in C.H. Talbot, *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany* (London, 1954), pp. 157–8.

¹³⁶ Belli Barsali, 'Topografia', p. 528. This may be King Æthelbald of Mercia.

¹³⁷ On Luni, see G. Pistarino, *Le pievi della diocesi di Luni*, pt I (La Spezia, 1961), pp. 51–2, and P.M. Conti, *Luni nell'alto medioevo* (Padua, 1967).

¹³⁸ Pistarino, *Pievi*, pp. 19 and 21–2. ¹³⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 22–3.

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on Bobbio. The whole area around Pontremoli, Montelungo and the La Cisa Pass was, to a certain extent, under the influence of Bobbio, which owned much land there.

The pilgrims then crossed the Apennines, probably through the La Cisa Pass, known in the Middle Ages as the *Mons Bardonis*.

33. *Sce Modesanne*: the abbey of St Moderanus at Berceto, founded in the eighth century. St Moderanus, bishop of Rennes in Brittany, had been one of its abbots.¹⁴⁰

34. *Philemangenur*: one of the cruxes of the text. Magoun suggested Fornovo di Taro, an important crossroads, or possibly, I think, Felegara, north of Fornovo, but it is impossible to ascertain how old this village is.¹⁴¹

35. *Mezane*: Medesano.

36. *Scae [sic] Domnine*: Borgo San Donnino, named after the martyr of Parma, St Dominus.

The pilgrims then followed the Aemilian Way between Parma and Piacenza.

37. *Floricun*: Fiorenzuola d'Arda, originally called Florentia, but later changed to this diminutive form to distinguish it from Florence.

38. *Placentia*: Piacenza. There was a hospice here founded by Bishop Donatus of Fiesole about 850, dedicated to St Brigid, and this city was already developing its commercial role.¹⁴²

Sigeric and his companions were then entering Piedmont.

39. *Sce Andrea*: Corte di Sant'Andrea. This name possibly suggests that there might have been a monastery or a hospice there.

40. *Sce [sic] Cristine*: Santa Cristina e Bissonne. Here, too, there might have been a monastery or a hospice attached to the church.

41. *Pamphica*: it seems probable, geographically speaking, and despite the distortion of the name in the manuscript, that this was, in fact, Pavia. The ex-capital of the Lombards had been a regular stopping point for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims from Wilfrid onwards: King Alfred's sister Æthelswith died there while on pilgrimage, and some time before her, another royal personage, the ill-famed Queen Eadburh, had taken refuge there after having been driven

¹⁴⁰ Flodoard, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Reims*, ed. M. Lejeune *et al.*, 2 vols. (Rheims, 1854) I, 145–7.

This saint spent some time at Rheims and took some relics of St Rémi to Berceto, where the original dedication of the abbey had been St Rémi.

¹⁴¹ Magoun, 'Pilgrim-Diary', p. 241.

¹⁴² Gougaud, 'Sur les routes', pp. 257–8, and Lestocquoy, 'D'Angleterre', p. 38.

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away from both England and Charlemagne's court; in the early tenth century Bishop Theodred of London bequeathed two chasubles which he had bought in Pavia; and English merchants were attested there.¹⁴³ Pavia's most famous monastery was San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, with the tomb of Boethius and the relics of St Augustine of Hippo, bought by King Liutprand from Saracens in Sardinia and translated to this abbey.¹⁴⁴ Other churches were dedicated to St Mary (nine, of which four were nunneries), the Saviour and, in order of foundation, SS Gervase and Protasius, SS Nazarius and Celsus, SS Eusebius, John (two), Ambrose, Peter (three, one of which was attached to a hospital), Agatha, Romanus, Hadrian, Gregory, Sabinus, Felix, Stephen, Michael (three), Germanus, Pontianus, Marinus, Tecla, Thomas, Columbanus, Pancras, Laurence, Maurice, Romulus, Victor (two), Christina (two), Euplius, Quiricus, Mostiola, James, George, Theodore, Vitus, Maiolus and Martin.¹⁴⁵ Of these four were abbeys for monks and nine were nunneries. Anglo-Saxon pilgrims may have stayed at the *xenodochium* of Sta Maria *Brittonorum*, founded in 868. Not far was the famous abbey of Nonantola, which possessed several churches in Pavia itself, and at least one manuscript from this abbey may have reached England before the Conquest.¹⁴⁶ Other important monasteries also

¹⁴³ *Life of Wilfrid*, pp. 54–5; *ASC* 888 (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock *et al.*, p. 53); *Asser's Life*, ed. Stevenson, ch. 15, p. 14; *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. D. Whitelock (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 2–5; *Instituta Regalia . . . Camerae Regum Longobardorum . . .*, ed. A. Hofmeister, MGH, SS 30.2 (Leipzig, 1934), 1452.

¹⁴⁴ The translation was first mentioned by Bede in the *Chronica maiora*, p. 535. On the abbey and its relics, see A. Addeo, *Pavia e S. Agostino* (Pavia, 1950). Archbishop Æthelnoth of Canterbury bought there a relic, the arm of St Augustine, which he gave to Coventry; see *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS (London, 1887–9) I, 224. The twelfth-century London church of St Augustine Papey was named after the Pavian abbey; see C. Brooke and G. Keir, *London 800–1216. The Shaping of a City* (London, 1975), p. 14. Interestingly, the only representation of Boethius as a saint is found in a manuscript from Fleury, of the last quarter of the tenth century, illuminated by an Anglo-Saxon artist, now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6401, 158v (reproduced in J. Backhouse, D. H. Turner and L. Webster, *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966–1066* (London, 1984), p. 64).

¹⁴⁵ Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity*, Appendix 2, pp. 244–5; D. Bullough, 'Urban Change in Early Medieval Italy: the Example of Pavia', *Papers of the Brit. School at Rome* 34 (1966), 82–130; P. Hudson, 'Pavia: l'evoluzione urbanistica di una capitale altomedioevale', *Storia di Pavia*, a cura della Banca del Monte di Lombardia, Società pavese di storia patria (Milan, 1987) II, 237–315; Hudson, *Archeologia urbana e programmazione della ricerca: l'esempio di Pavia* (Florence, 1981), pp. 23–32 and 63–6.

¹⁴⁶ Several leaves from a manuscript of Ambrose's works, written at Nonantola in the ninth century, are attached to a manuscript of Arator's *Historia Apostolica* (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. x/xi), now Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 3; for this, see S. Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and other Items of Related Interest in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1985), no. 16, and B. Bischoff, 'Manoscritti nonantolani dispersi dell'epoca carolingia', *La Bibliofilia* 85 (1983), 99–124, at 114–16.

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had churches belonging to them in Pavia – Bobbio, St Martin of Tours, Sant’Ambrogio in Milan and Cluny – as did some of the neighbouring episcopal sees. At the time of Sigeric’s visit, Pavia had recovered from the consequences of the Hungarians’ attack of 924, well described by Liutprand, and was once again not only economically prosperous, but also still a great political capital under the Ottonians, as it had been under the Lombards and the Carolingians; in 990, the Empress Adelaide was in residence in Pavia.¹⁴⁷

42. *Tremel*: Tromello, on the river Terdoppio.

43. *Uercel*: Vercelli. The town had had strong Irish connections since the time of its Irish bishop St Eusebius. The ‘Hospitale Scottorum’, attached to a church of St Brigid and documented in the eleventh century, may have already existed in the tenth.¹⁴⁸

44. *Sce [sic] Agath*: Santhia, where there was a ninth-century *pieve* of St Agatha.

45. *Eueri*: Ivrea. Its main church and hospice were dedicated to St Ursus.¹⁴⁹
The pilgrims reached the Val d’Aosta and the Alps.

46. *Publei*: Magoun and Stubbs suggested Pollein in the Val d’Aosta, with a question-mark. Unfortunately, Pollein is very close indeed to Aosta itself, which is the next stopping place recorded, and the distance between the two can hardly be described as a day’s ride, which seems to be, on the whole, the way in which the list of *submansiones* is conceived. However, I cannot find another name in the valley between these two places which could conceivably be twisted into *Publei*.

47. *Agusta*: Aosta. Its hospice and church, Sant’Orso, were founded in the seventh or eighth century by the Irish bishop St Ursus.¹⁵⁰

48. *Sce Remei*: St Rémi, named after the patron saint of Rheims.

¹⁴⁷ Liutprand of Cremona: *Liudprandi Opera*, ed. J. Becker, MGH, SS (Hannover and Leipzig, 1915), pp. 74–7. On Pavia’s economic and political role, see A. A. Settia, ‘Pavia carolingia e postcarolingia’, *Storia di Pavia*, pp. 69–158, at 95–8.

¹⁴⁸ *Guida d’Italia del Touring Club Italiano: Piemonte* (Milan, 1961), pp. 613 and 622, and Gougaud, ‘Sur les routes’, p. 257. On the hospital and on English pilgrims in Vercelli, such as those possibly responsible for bringing there the ‘Vercelli book’, see M. Halsall, ‘Vercelli and the *Vercelli Book*’, *PMLA* 84 (1969), 1545–7 and A. M. Tommasini, *Irish Saints in Italy* (London, 1937), p. 246.

¹⁴⁹ Tommasini, *Irish Saints*, p. 275. A sacramentary, written and illuminated about 1000 at Ivrea, now Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXVI, ed. L. Magnani, *Le miniature del Sacramentario d’Ivrea e di altri codici warmondiani* (Rome, 1934), has several iconographical motifs in common with some early-eleventh-century English manuscripts, which is especially interesting since the bishop who commissioned it, Warmund, was a near-contemporary of Sigeric. ¹⁵⁰ Tommasini, *Irish Saints*, pp. 271–2.

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The pilgrims then crossed the Great St Bernard, which is not mentioned in the text. Until the thirteenth century, the common name for the Pass was *Mons Iovis*, from the temple of Jupiter which had been located there. The name of Great St Bernard came into usage after St Bernard of Menthon founded a hospice there in the eleventh century. Sigeric then reached Switzerland.

49. *Petrescastel*: Bourg St Pierre. In Sigeric's time, the hospice for pilgrims was located here, before St Bernard founded his at the top of the Pass itself.

50. *Ursiores*: Orsières, on the river Drance.

The pilgrims probably went through Martigny and down the Rhône valley.

51. *Sce Maurici*: St Maurice d'Agaune, in the Valais. This was a renowned abbey, founded in 515 and associated with the legend of the martyrdom of St Maurice and his companions of the Theban Legion. This saint was exceedingly popular in England and the almost obligatory passage of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims through this great abbey must have, if not given rise to, at least increased his popularity.¹⁵¹

52. *Burbulei*: Stubbs and Magoun chose Vervey, with a question mark, but the little town of Vouvry, half-way between St Maurice and Vevey, already found in the sources of 921,¹⁵² seems to me a more likely candidate.

53. *Uinaec*: Vevey. There were several hospices there.¹⁵³

54. *Losanna*: Lausanne.¹⁵⁴ Apart from the cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin, where several kings of Burgundy had been crowned, and the church of St Thyrsse with the relics of the first bishops, there was a church of St Stephen in Lausanne before the tenth century. That century was one of great prosperity for the town, centred essentially on the fair and the trade route to Italy, and saw the foundation of two other churches, one of St Laurence and one of St Peter, first documented in 906. The main hospice of St John is not documented before the twelfth century but there would doubtless have been others available for travellers.

¹⁵¹ On the other source of popularity of the saint, his patronage of the Ottonian dynasty, see A. J. Herzberg, *Der heilige Mauritius* (Düsseldorf, 1936) and M. Huhn, *Sankt Mauritius mit der Lanze, der Ottonische Reichspatron an der Schwelle zwischen Franken und Thuringen*, *Geschichte am Obermain* 7 (1971–2). Another saint venerated at Agaune, Sigismund, was also entered in the Winchcombe Sacramentary (Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 105 (Winchcombe or Ramsey, s. x²; later sent to Fleury)).

¹⁵² H. Jaccard, *Essai de toponymie: origine des noms de lieux habités et de lieux-dits de la Suisse romande*, *Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande* 7 (Lausanne, 1906), 522. ¹⁵³ Tyler, *The Alpine Passes*, p. 33.

¹⁵⁴ On Lausanne, see D. Anex-Cabanis, 'Le Moyen-Age Lausannois', *Histoire de Lausanne*, ed. J.-C. Baudet (Toulouse and Lausanne, 1982), pp. 81–134.

55. *Urba*: Orbe.

56. *Antifern*: Stubbs's guarded identification with Yverdon seems quite improbable, since it is much out of the way, on the Orbe-Pontarlier route. Magoun's choice of Tavel (In Tabernis), a suburb of Orbe, poses the same problem as in the case of Publei–Aosta, i.e. the vicinity of the two places. There are two other places whose names could have become Antifern: (Gorges) – Tavernier and, most probably, Entre-les-Fourgs, near the Jougne Pass which was the usual crossing point of the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims in the Jura. It is, however, impossible to know how old these settlements are.

57. *Punterlin*: Pontarlier.¹⁵⁵ The church and hospice had originally belonged to St Bénigne of Dijon and had had confraternity links with Agaune since about 590. In 941, the town passed under the authority of the Counts of Mâcon, then under that of the lords of Joux towards the end of the tenth century. It was under the spiritual influence of Agaune, as were numerous other churches in the vicinity, for example, Jougne, dedicated to St Maurice.

58. *Nos*: Nods, in the *département* of the Doubs.

59. *Bysiceon*: Besançon. The passage of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims through this area is also attested indirectly, for example, through the presence of a late-tenth-century English gospelbook there.¹⁵⁶ The cathedral, founded possibly in the fourth century, was dedicated to St Stephen in the fifth, when an arm of the saint was translated there, and rebuilt in the ninth century with a dedication to St John the Evangelist. Apart from this relic, it also possessed those of SS Epiphanius, Isidorus and Agapitus. The patron saints of the town, SS Ferriolis and Ferritiolis, saw their cult develop from the fifth century onwards, a cult already mentioned by Gregory of Tours. After Columbanus's departure from the city, his disciple Donatus founded the abbey of St Paul and contributed to the foundation of Romainmôtier and St Martin of Brégille. Apart from St Pierre, a cemeterial basilica possibly founded in the fourth century, most churches dated from the seventh century: St John the Baptist, St Lin, St Paul, St Maurice, St Martin and St Ferjeux, the latter four all monasteries. In the tenth century, the links between Besançon and Cluny were strong. SS Ferriolis and Ferritiolis, after being recorded in Bede's Martyrology and in the Old English Martyrology, appear in a late-tenth-century

¹⁵⁵ On Pontarlier, see M. Malfroy, ed., *Histoire de Pontarlier* (Besançon, 1979), pp. 60–71.

¹⁵⁶ Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, pp. 93–4. On Besançon, see B. de Vrégille, 'Les origines chrétiennes et le Haut Moyen-Age', *Histoire de Besançon*, ed. C. Fohlen, 2 vols. (Besançon, 1964) I, 155–237.

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calendar from Wessex and in the litany from the 'Winchcombe Sacramentary'.¹⁵⁷

60. *Cuscei*: Cussey-sur-l'Ognon, on the site of a Roman bridge, The town was mentioned in the 'Chronicle of St Bénigne' about 943, then in a diploma given by King Conrad in 967.¹⁵⁸

61. *Sefui*: Seveux-sur-Saône, also on the site of a Roman bridge.

62. *Grenant*: Grenant sur le Saolon.

Having left Burgundy, the pilgrims crossed the Langres plateau into the Marne valley, across Champagne.

63. *Oisma*: Stubbs suggested Hûmes-sur-Marne, a little after Langres, but I should prefer St Geosmes, very close to Langres itself, where its patron saints Eleusippus, Speusippus and Meleusippus had been martyred. The abbey of St Geosmes possessed their relics and, because of its prestige and wealth, a council was held there under Charles the Bald in 854.¹⁵⁹

64. *Blaeculle*: Blessonville.

65. *Bar*: Bar-sur-Aube.

66. *Breone*: Brienne-le-Château.

67. *Domaniant*: Donnemont-sur-Meldaçon. The name corresponds to 'Domnus Amandus', 'St Amand', where there might have been a church or a hospice of that name.

68. *Funtaine*: Fontaine-sur-Cooles.

69. *Catheluns*: Châlons-sur-Marne. The fair is already mentioned as being in existence by 963; Italian merchants were beginning to be seen there, and it was on its way to becoming one of the four great fairs of Champagne during the next three centuries.¹⁶⁰

70. *Rems*: Rheims.¹⁶¹ The patron saints of Rheims were St Rémi and St

¹⁵⁷ Bede's *Martyrology* is edited in H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen-âge*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1908), p. 48, and the *Old English Martyrology* in G. Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1981) II, 121–2; the calendar is ptd in *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, ed. F. Wormald, HBS 72 (London, 1934), no. 2.

¹⁵⁸ de Vrégille, 'Les origines', pp. 223 and 228.

¹⁵⁹ *Langres ancienne et moderne. Guide de Langres*, 6th ed. (Langres, 1947), pp. 19–20 and 66.

¹⁶⁰ Lestoquoy, 'The Tenth Century', p. 48.

¹⁶¹ On Rheims, see P. Desportes, *Histoire de Reims* (Toulouse, 1983), pp. 63–135. For a detailed description of the cathedral, as well as for several entries recording the passage of English pilgrims through Rheims, see Flodoard, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Reims*, pp. 20–3, 416, 616–19, and *Les Annales de Flodoard*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1905), pp. 5, 19 and 79.

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Nicasius, whose cults were centred on the two abbeys dedicated to them, which held their relics. Bishop Nicasius built the first cathedral in the fifth century and dedicated it to the Virgin. A hospice was attached to it, and it was rebuilt first under Bishop Ebbo, then again in 862 under Hincmar, when it acquired a Western end (Westwork), a façade mosaic depicting Louis the Pious and Pope Stephen IV at the feet of Christ, and a roof covered in sheets of tin, probably imported from England. The church of Rheims possessed lands in the dioceses of Metz, Mainz and Worms, and as far south as Poitiers, Limoges and Provence. During the course of the tenth century, the cathedral school, run by the canons under Gerbert, who had been educated in Spain and Italy, was at its intellectual peak, and it was particularly renowned between the years 972 and 991, when Sigeric was there.

Hincmar also rebuilt the basilica of St Rémi, originally built by the saint in 573, then dedicated to him in 627, and translated the saint's relics there in 852. The monastery attached to it was reformed from Gorze in the tenth century. The relics of the saint were solemnly translated anew in 1049 by Pope Leo IX during the council held in Rheims.¹⁶² The saint was greatly venerated in England and, in the late-tenth century, the monk Radbod from Rheims was one of St Edith's teachers at Wilton.¹⁶³

Outside the walls of Rheims itself were several other churches, dedicated to SS Timotheus and Apollinarius, of the sixth century, St Martin, possibly of the fourth century, with a sanctuary dedicated to St Christopher where St Rémi had been buried first, St Thierry and St Basle of Verzy. Within the walls were two nunneries dedicated to St Peter, chapels of St Hilary, St Martin, St Victor and SS Crispin and Crispinian, a ninth-century church of St Timothy, and two hospices, St Julien and SS Cosme et Damien. By the tenth century, the monastic borough was increasingly prosperous once again with two fairs, and 990 must have been a particularly memorable date for the monks of St Rémi,

¹⁶² Three English ecclesiastics attended the council and the Translation in 1049, on which see R. Southern's account in *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953), pp. 125–7. Another source of evidence for the passage of English pilgrims through Rheims also comes from the eleventh century, in the account of the death in Rheims of Burgheard, Earl Ælfgar's son, in 1061–2, on his return from Rome; see R. R. Darlington, 'The Anglo-Saxon period', in *The English Church and the Continent*, ed. C. R. Dodwell (London, 1959), p. 19. Most of the evidence for St Nicasius's cult in England also comes from the eleventh century: his name appears in a calendar from Wells under Bishop Giso in *Kalendars*, ed. Wormald, no. 8; he has a Benediction in a pontifical from Christ Church, Canterbury, or Worcester, of the second half of the century (*The Claudius Pontificals*, ed. D. H. Turner, HBS 97 (London, 1971), 82); and a charm against sickness in a Christ Church manuscript, also of the second half of the century, London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. xv, 129v. St Rémi's cult was, of course, much more widespread than St Nicasius's in England even by the tenth century.

¹⁶³ A. Wilmart, 'La légende de Ste Edith en prose et en vers par le moine Goscelin', *AB* 56 (1938), 5–101 and 265–307, at 50.

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since Gislebert of Roucy abandoned his rights of public authority over the monastic borough to them. Sigeric's passage through Rheims occurred at a time when the town was, both intellectually and economically, exceptionally prosperous.

71. *Corbuneei*: Corbény. A priory dedicated to St Marculf and possessing his relics was founded there at the end of the ninth or in the early tenth century, and it was dependent on St Rémi of Rheims. A royal palace had been built there at the end of the ninth century.¹⁶⁴

The pilgrims then crossed the Laonnois and the Artois on their way to the sea.

72. *Mundlotbuin*: Laon.¹⁶⁵ The churches of St Christopher (later St Vincent), St Hilary, St Peter and the abbey of the Virgin and St John were all founded during the Merovingian era. Laon had an English connection since Eadgifu, wife of Charles the Simple and mother of Louis 'd'Outremer', married there her second husband, Herbert of Vermandois, later Count of Troyes. Two years before Sigeric's visit, in 988, Hugh the Great had besieged Laon held by Charles of Lorraine, and the issue had been resolved through the mediation of the Empress Theophano.

73. *Martinwaeth*: another insoluble crux. Magoun's interpretation as 'St Martin's ford' seems the most likely.¹⁶⁶

74. *Duin*: Doingt-sur-la-Cologne, a suburb of Péronne. The abbey of Péronne itself had been founded by the Irish missionary Fursa, who had worked in East Anglia before going to Gaul and whose head was a major relic of Christ Church, Canterbury.¹⁶⁷

75. *Atherats*: Arras, with the renowned abbey of St Vaast.¹⁶⁸ The abbey contained three churches, dedicated to St Vaast, St Peter and the Virgin. The first had fourteen altars, with dedications to SS Martin, Denis, Rémi and Ouen, Lambert and Richard, Gregory and Jerome, Benedict and Scholastica, Cosmas and Damian, Cecilia, Agatha, Agnes and Lucy, the Holy Cross, St

¹⁶⁴ Flodoard, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Reims*, ed. Lauer, p. 171.

¹⁶⁵ On Laon, see J. F. L. Devisme, *Histoire de la ville de Laon* (Laon, 1822) I, 15–124.

¹⁶⁶ *Memorials*, ed. Stubbs, p. 395 n. 73, provided three alternative interpretations: St Martin on the Amignon, Mont St Martin near Cambrai, and Martinpuich near Bapaumes. The first of these would be the most likely of the three because this place is on the way to Doingt, the next stop.

¹⁶⁷ *HE* III. 19 (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 268–77); for the relic, see Eadmer, 'De Reliquiis Sancti Audoeni et Quorundam Aliorum Sanctorum quae Cantuariac Ecclesiae Domini Salvatoris Habentur', ed. A. Wilmart, *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 15 (1935), 362–70, at 365.

¹⁶⁸ On Arras, see Lestocquoy, *Études*, pp. 85–6, 92 and 127–35.

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Clement, John and Matthew, Piato and George, and Laurence with John and Paul, as well as Vaast himself. St Peter's had altars dedicated to Peter, Paul, Andrew, Aldegundis, John the Baptist, Germanus, Amandus, Quentin, Michael, Géry and Ouen, Autbertus and Omer and Genoveva; and St Mary's had altars of SS Martin, John the Baptist and Amandus, apart from the main altar itself. Other churches at Arras were those of St Stephen, St Maurice with three altars, and St Médard, of the eighth century, also with three altars, two dedicated to SS Quentin and Denis, and Salvius and Amandus. In 965, the relics of St Maellon were brought from Paris, and a church was built to house them at the end of the century. The cathedral had a hospice, though it appears in the texts only in the eleventh century.

St Vaast was one of the most popular continental saints in England whose cult reached this country even before the arrival of the manuscript known as the 'Leofric Missal', written at St Vaast in the ninth century and used at Glastonbury in the tenth, then at Exeter in the eleventh century. Sigeric's predecessor, Archbishop Æthelgar, had corresponded with the abbot of St Vaast, Fulrad.¹⁶⁹

76. *Bruwaei*: Bruay-en-Artois.

77. *Teranburh*: Théroutanne. One of its saints, Amandus, was also immensely popular in England, chiefly because of the links of various monasteries with his two foundations at Ghent. Another local saint, Silvinus, also appears in two calendars in the late-tenth and early-eleventh centuries in Wessex and at Christ Church, Canterbury.¹⁷⁰

78. *Gisne*: Guisnes, south of Calais.

From Guisnes to the Channel, they probably followed the route leading to the now silted port of Wissant, via

80. [*sic* in manuscript] *Sumeran*: Sombres.

CONTINENTAL INFLUENCE IN ENGLAND

Many of the stops on Sigeric's route are significant in relation to either the early stages or the expansion of a foreign cult, brought back to England from

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 383–4. There are other manuscripts from St Vaast which may have reached England before the Conquest, for example, Cambridge, Trinity College R. 15. 14, an antiphonary written there at the end of the tenth century (Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 12). After the Conquest, the connection was still active, if somewhat dramatically, when Abbot Seiworld of Bath fled there, taking his library with him, which he then bequeathed to St Vaast; see P. Grierson, 'Les livres de l'abbé Seiworld de Bath', *RB* 52 (1940), 96–116, and M. Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', *Literature and Learning in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 33–89, at 58–62.

¹⁷⁰ *Kalendars*, ed. Wormald, nos. 2 and 13.

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monasteries and churches encountered by Anglo-Saxon pilgrims on their way to and from Rome. Such are, for example, the cults of St Christina of Bolsena, of St Caprasius of Aulla, of St Maurice of Agaune and, above all, of St Rémi of Rheims and St Vaast of Arras. While saints such as Caprasius, Amandus, Nicasius or Silvinus only appear in a few English sources, especially in the eleventh century, others, such as St Christina, seem important enough even to have part of the office for their feasts recorded,¹⁷¹ and SS Maurice, Rémi and Vaast were among the most popular continental saints in England. The feast of St Rémi's Translation figured prominently in England by the tenth century, as well as the original feast of his *Natale*, and ever increasing links between the Anglo-Saxon church and Rheims in the eleventh century led to a parallel increase of this saint's veneration in England. St Vaast seems to have been particularly honoured in the south-west of England and at Winchester, later becoming an established cult throughout the country. The popularity of St Maurice, unflagging throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries in England, was originally due to the pilgrimage, and was subsequently reinforced by the saint's patronage of the Ottonian and Salian Emperors, with whom English kings and ecclesiastics such as Athelstan, Edgar, Cnut and Ealdred, archbishop of York, were in close touch.¹⁷² Through its major stopping points, the route to Rome was a great purveyor of devotions.

Moreover, since Sigeric appears to have chosen to record essentially the night-stops, some places have presumably been omitted, as we know that the names of mountain passes and of Martigny have been. It is not inconceivable that the pilgrims passed through other places, without recording them when they had not stopped there. Thus, they may well have gone through Langres (a city well-known in England after Bede's account of Ceolfrid's death there),¹⁷³ Péronne or St Quentin, since they were so close to them. They would then have encountered various cults associated with these cities, for example, that of SS Eleusippus, Speusippus and Meleusippus, the three saints of Langres.

¹⁷¹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 (Worcester, s. xi²); *The Portiforium of St Wulfstan*, ed. A. Hughes, HBS 89 (London, 1958) I, 134.

¹⁷² See above, n. 151. For Athelstan, see *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell (Cambridge, 1962), p. 2, and *ASC Mercian Register 924 (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle)*, ed. Whitelock *et al.*, p. 68; see also S. Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', *Learning and Literature*, ed. Lapidge and Gneuss, pp. 143–201, at 143–53, 159–65, 189–93 and 196–201. For Edgar, see John of Worcester, in *Florentii Wigornensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols. (London, 1848–9) I, 139. For Cnut, see his letter to the people of England, 1027, in *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981) I. i, 509–10. For Ealdred see, for example, *ASC 1054D (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle)*, ed. Whitelock *et al.*, p. 129), and, more generally, F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), pp. 87–90.

¹⁷³ Bede's *Historia abbatum*, in *Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. Plummer, pp. 385–7; and the Anonymous *Historia abbatum*, *ibid.*, pp. 401–3. Bede also entered the names of the three patron saints of Langres in his Martyrology (Quentin, *Les martyrologes*, p. 47).

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The devotion to St Peter was evidently as strong as ever in England at the end of the tenth century, since neither the journey to nor the stay in Rome was without danger. However, it still must have seemed worthwhile to undertake such a journey, even if the necessity of obtaining the *pallium* is set aside, since Rome remained a focus for, and a repository of, devotions and treasures.

On the route to and from Rome, Anglo-Saxon pilgrims came across various monasteries and towns, the saints of which they sometimes adopted and imported into England. Without it being necessarily the only way in which such cults as that of St Maurice or St Vaast reached this country, the route to Rome played an important part in the development of some of the most popular continental devotions of the late Anglo-Saxon Church, and contributed to importing even minor local cults from the Continent. Examples of these are saints venerated at Arras: Amandus, Géry, Autbert, Salvius and Maellon, or at Rheims: Nicasius and Timothy and Apollinarius.

Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, links with Rome were amongst the most fruitful sources of devotional and artistic influences on the English church. If examined from this angle, Sigeric's Itinerary proves to be a valuable piece of evidence illustrating the impact of such visits to Rome. In studies of the relations between England and Rome in the Middle Ages, attention has been focused primarily on the political and jurisdictional influence of the papacy on the English church, especially for the period after the Gregorian reform. An examination of the material available both before and after the Norman Conquest, of which pilgrims' itineraries are only one source, demonstrates that spiritual and artistic links with Rome, and with the Norman kingdom in the south of Italy from the eleventh century onwards, were also an important component of the English church.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ A study of the cultural influences of Rome in England within the more general context of Mediterranean Art has been made by F. Saxl and R. Wittkower, *British Art and the Mediterranean* (Oxford, 1948) and, for the earlier Anglo-Saxon period, by H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1972), and also by R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Reception by the Anglo-Saxons of Mediterranean Art following their Conversion from Ireland and Rome', *SettSpol* 14 (1967), 797–825. However, there are no such studies for the later Anglo-Saxon period, and it is hoped that some more evidence will be supplied in my forthcoming book, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Cultural, Spiritual and Artistic Exchanges* (Oxford, forthcoming). I should like to express my warmest thanks to Dr S. D. Keynes, who encouraged me to write this article and gave me a first set of very useful comments; to Professor R. Krautheimer and Dr B. Hamilton, who patiently read it and assisted me with their extensive knowledge in this field; and to Dr B. Ward Perkins, whose comments and references enabled me to complete the second part. Finally, I am grateful to Trinity College, Cambridge, for having awarded me a grant from the Lapsley Fund, which enabled me to do some of the preparatory work for this article in Rome.