

Deerhurst and
Rome: Æthelric's
Pilgrimage c.804
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The testament of Æthelric

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, our principal source for the early history of England, records under the year 802:-

In this year ... Ealdorman Æthelmund rode from the province of the Hwicce across [the border] at *Cynemæres forða* (Kempsford); and ealdorman Weohstan with the people of Wiltshire met him, and a great battle took place, and both ealdormen were killed and the people of Wiltshire had the victory.¹

But what more do we know about this Æthelmund, whose family was so clearly important to Deerhurst? He was the son of a certain Ingeld, and first appeared in 767 and again in 770 when he was granted lands as a *minister* (thegn) of the under-king of Hwicce – a province that included the later counties of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and part of Warwickshire.² Subsequently the line of hereditary under-kings disappeared and Æthelmund's direct allegiance was transferred to Offa the over-king of Mercia (757-96) who, sometime after 793, granted to him as his *minister* land at Westbury on Trym.³ Perhaps already before the end of Offa's reign Æthelmund had been promoted to the rank of ealdorman (*dux* or *princeps*), if his signature as witness to certain documents can be relied upon.⁴ When Offa was succeeded briefly as king by his son Ecgrif in 796, Æthelmund certainly held the rank of *princeps* when as such he received from him a further land grant.⁵ Possibly Æthelmund's responsibility as ealdorman was for the province of Hwicce. He maintained his status after king Coenwulf succeeded in 796, appearing as a *dux* in attendance on the king in 798.⁶ At the time of his death he must have been aged at least fifty-five and he clearly had a long and distinguished career behind him.⁷ He left a widow, Ceolburh; and a son and heir, Æthelric, who was of unknown age but perhaps between twenty and forty.⁸

Sometime probably shortly after his father's death, Æthelric decided to make a pilgrimage to Rome, but before doing so he wished to put his affairs in order. Accordingly he appeared before a synod or council held at the unidentified place named *Clofesho*, presided over by archbishop Æthelheard of Canterbury and king Coenwulf of Mercia. There the charters relating to his inherited landholdings at Westbury on Trym were inspected and it was decided that he

was free to dispose of this property as he wished. Then, says Æthelric in his own declaration:

I commended [my property] to my friends for keeping, while I sought St Peter and St Paul for the healing of my soul. And when I came back to my homeland I received back my land and paid the price as we agreed beforehand, that we might be at peace with one another.⁹

A few years later Æthelric appeared before the archbishop and the king at another synod, this time held at the also unidentified place named *Acleah*. There his right to dispose of his hereditary property at Westbury on Trym was again acknowledged, and furthermore his detailed testamentary provisions were confirmed. These included the following clause:

These are the names of those lands that I give to the place that is called Deerhurst, for me and for my father Æthelmund, if it may befall me that my body shall rest there: Todenham, *æt Sture*, Shrawley and *Cohhanleh* – on this condition, that the community there shall make firm their vows, just as they have promised to me.¹⁰

He also made provision for his mother Ceolburh should she outlive him; and this dates the testament to in or before 807, the year of her recorded death as an abbess – she must have retired after her husband's death to a monastery, possibly that at Westbury on Trym.¹¹ The document recording the details of the two synods before which Æthelric appeared contains an initial clause with the date 804, together with a witness list of corresponding date.¹² But there is some uncertainty as to which of the two synods was actually held in this year.¹³ In either case, it seems most likely that the events in question should be placed between the deaths of Æthelmund in 802 and of Ceolburh in 807. Æthelric himself died before October 824, when his testamentary provisions, having come into effect, were the subject of a dispute settled at another synod at *Clofesho*.¹⁴

The following reconstruction of events as they affected Deerhurst seems likely. When the ealdorman Æthelmund had been killed in battle in 802, it appears that his body was taken to Deerhurst for burial, since his son's bequest to Deerhurst was made in part on behalf of his father. Possibly it was also in connection with this death, and also to seek spiritual help as he entered a more responsible stage of his life, that Æthelric decided to make the pilgrimage to Rome. But this was a potentially dangerous transitional moment and part of his inheritance may already have been in dispute; it was prudent, therefore, to prove his claim before setting out. His pilgrimage was successfully accomplished and on his return he resumed personal responsibility for his estates. A few years later he sought to make testamentary provision for the event of his own death. This included an arrangement that he should be buried at Deerhurst, at which point the community there would receive an increment of four estates to its existing endowment. These were clearly of substantial value, although

their precise extent is uncertain.¹⁵ However, Æthelric had also reached some agreement with the community at Deerhurst, under which it bound itself to a certain undertaking in return for the bequest. The nature of this undertaking is not spelt out. Certainly it would have involved the institution of regular prayers for the souls of Æthelric and his father; but possibly there was some additional condition that is now hidden from us and on which it would be pointless to speculate. From the subsequent history of the estates in question, it is clear that Æthelric's bequests to Deerhurst did indeed come into effect following his death; and it may be concluded, therefore, that he was actually buried at the church.

Pilgrimage to Rome

Æthelric's pilgrimage to the shrines of the apostles in Rome took place in a significant historical period. The throne of St Peter was occupied by pope Leo III (795-816), who in 799 had fled the eternal city after being physically assaulted by his opponents there. He sought the help of the Frankish king Charles, then at Paderborn in Saxony, who sent him back to Rome with an escort. Charles himself arrived in Rome after the pope and presided at a synod at which Leo purged himself of the politically-motivated charges of perjury and adultery made against him. Then two days later, on Christmas day 800, Leo crowned Charles as emperor – inaugurating an institution that was to survive for a millennium (the 'Holy Roman Empire') and conferring on Charles, or Charlemagne as he is generally known to history, an almost mythical status among later generations. It was a decisive moment in western history: but it was far from being a completely new beginning, for the papacy had already made direct contact with the Frankish monarchy, when in 754 pope Stephen II had visited king Pippin III (Charles's father) in France and had anointed him there.

The second half of the 8th century and the first half of the 9th century are characterised by a broad cultural movement known under the convenient label of the 'Carolingian renaissance', after the dynasty to which Charlemagne belonged. But this movement was much broader in its significance than a small number of spectacular political events, and it was quite diffuse and subtle in its manifestations. One aspect of the renaissance was the renewal, broadening and deepening of the cultural ties between northern and southern Europe that had been disrupted by the fall of the Roman empire in the West in the 5th and 6th centuries. In England, much of which had been settled by the non-Christian Anglo-Saxons in the post-Roman period, the process of re-connection with Rome began in 597 when pope Gregory I sent archbishop Augustine as a missionary to convert these peoples. By the late 7th century the English themselves were enthusiastic in their desire to re-appropriate the culture of the Roman church, and by the 8th century the Anglo-Saxon church was producing such towering figures as Bede (c.673-735) the great monastic writer and historian, and Boniface (c.675-754) the apostle of Germany and papal legate

there. In the next generation (contemporary with the ealdorman Æthelmund) there arose the illustrious Alcuin (c.735-804), who was educated at York and, on a journey to Rome in 781, met Charlemagne who persuaded him to become the tutor at the royal court, a position in which he became one of the leading figures of the Carolingian intellectual renaissance.

During the lifetimes of Æthelmund and Æthelric we can see not only English churchmen becoming involved in the affairs of the Church abroad, but also a concern for the affairs of the English church on the part of the papacy. Thus in 786 legates sent to England by pope Hadrian I presided over synods to promote church reforms similar to those being put into effect in Charlemagne's kingdom on the Continent.¹⁶ Among other matters, the synods addressed issues of monastic discipline, decreeing: that monks were to conduct themselves in accordance with the rule, both as to food and clothing; that only persons of upright and religious lives should be chosen to rule monasteries; and that in all churches the daily office was to be conducted publicly and reverently.¹⁷ Monasteries such as Deerhurst, therefore, would have been brought under scrutiny.

At one of these synods held by the papal legates and attended by Offa of Mercia with his leading men (quite possibly including Æthelmund), the king vowed to send every year to St Peter in Rome, as a thank-offering for his victorious reign, 365 *manysi* of gold, one for each day of the year, to provide alms for the poor and lighting for the basilica. This is recorded in a letter that Leo III wrote in 798 to remind king Coenwulf of the arrangement and to suggest that he might renew it; but the king apparently sent only 125 *manysi*, which were acknowledged by the pope in 802.¹⁸ By modern prices the gold in a *manysus* (a coin copied from the Arabic gold *dinar* and introduced to Europe in the late 8th century) would be worth about £45, so Offa's gift was perhaps worth some £16,000 per annum.¹⁹ This, however, would have been but a small contribution to the huge quantities of gold that Hadrian I and Leo III were expending at the time on the lavish adornment of the churches of Rome.

Among the various manifestations of the deepening contacts across Europe in this period, an important place was held by pilgrimage to the shrines of St Peter and St Paul in Rome: 'to the threshold of the Apostles' as it was known then and is still. Anglo-Saxon pilgrims had been making their way to Rome from the late 7th century onwards. The names are recorded of prominent churchmen and of kings who made the pilgrimage, whether out of devotion or on official business; but, it is clear that there were also many others whose names have not been recorded, including those of more humble social status. Whoever they were, the journey would have been long and arduous under the prevailing conditions of travel at the time. Thus, when archbishop Sigeric made his pilgrimage to Rome in 990, his return journey involved nearly eighty overnight stops before reaching the Channel, pointing to a journey there and back of some five and a half months in all.²⁰

When the pilgrims arrived in Rome there were extensive facilities to receive them.²¹ Prominent among these was a group of institutions known as *scholae*,

which were run as pilgrim hospices by and for the different national groups visiting the city. Four in particular were based at churches in the Vatican area: those of the Lombards, the Franks, the (Anglo-)Saxons and the Frisians. One 11th-century document (purporting to be a 9th-century charter) describes the arrangements of the Schola Francorum: the church was to be served by three priests and twelve learned clerics, who were to come from north of the Alps; their duties were to act as guides to the holy places of Rome for pilgrims coming from those parts, and to provide them with shelter; and they were also to bury those who fell sick and died.²² A bull of Leo IX issued in 1053 refers similarly to the priests and *scholenses* of the Schola Saxonum, and it may be presumed, therefore, that in the 11th century, if not earlier, this had a similar constitution to the Frankish schola; the bull refers also to the schola's right of burial in respect of English pilgrims.²³ The foundation of all these scholae would have required a patron to build the church and provide the endowments; and in some cases there are indications that the founders were of royal status – although, no doubt, papal confirmation would also have been required.

The Schola Saxonum is first referred to in the year 800 when, on the return of Leo III to Rome with the support of Charlemagne, the city turned out to greet him, including all the 'scholae of the pilgrims', among them the Saxons.²⁴ Subsequent 9th-century references to the *schola Saxonum* and its church of St Mary are complemented by others to the *burgus* or *vicus Saxonum* and we should probably make some sort of distinction between the formally constituted and endowed church and the broader area of settlement, the *burgus*, around it.²⁵ Together the schola and the *burgus* lay on the right bank of the Tiber between the Ponte Sant'Angelo and St Peter's, in the area today occupied by the Renaissance buildings of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito and the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia. An 8th-century royal visit may have provided the context for the formal foundation and endowment of the Schola Saxonum with its church, and later sources make various claims as to the founder. Thus William of Malmesbury writing in the 12th century reported that the schola was 'reputed' to have been founded by king Offa of Mercia; against this, Roger of Wendover in the 13th century attributed the foundation of the schola and the church of St Mary to king Ine of Wessex (688-726) acting with the consent of pope Gregory II (715-31), and he associated this act with the institution of the payment of *Romscot* (confusing this payment with that of tithes).²⁶ We cannot now substantiate either of these alternative versions.

Around the middle of the 9th century the Schola Saxonum was re-organised by Leo IV, possibly with the involvement of king Æthelwulf of Wessex. In an unspecified year (probably 853) the pope is recorded as making a presentation of precious textiles to the church of St Mary at the Schola Saxonum which, it is added, the pope "built anew from the foundations";²⁷ then in 854 he placed the church, together with the schola churches of the Franks and the Frisians, under the control of St Martin's monastery, which was attached to St Peter's basilica.²⁸ The area of land granted to St Martin's at this time appears to have included not

just the schola churches, but also the wider area of the *burgi* of the Saxons and the Frisians. These events seem contemporary with what later, but independent, English sources say about Æthelwulf's involvement with the schola. Thus William of Malmesbury records that when Æthelwulf made his pilgrimage to Rome (in 855-6) he made an offering to St Peter of the monetary collection made in England and that he "restored excellently the Schola Anglorum which had been burnt down the previous year".²⁹ A spurious Anglo-Saxon charter, the earliest copy of which is contemporary with William, likewise asserts (among other matters) the claim that Æthelwulf, when in Rome, built a minster in honour of St Mary and placed there a school.³⁰ These accounts could be reconciled if it were assumed that, a fire having damaged the schola and its church, Leo IV started a programme of restoration and reorganisation which was still under way when Æthelwulf visited Rome and contributed to the completion of the project.

A generation later, c.874, king Burgred of Mercia, who had quit his kingdom in the face of the Viking invasion and retired to Rome, was buried in St Mary's church.³¹ A little after this, Pope Marinus (882-4) at the request of king Alfred of Wessex granted an exemption from tax and toll to the inhabitants of the Schola Saxonum.³²

Although the scholae offered facilities for their own nationals, the greater part of the provision for pilgrims and the poor was made by the papal administration. At this period there were in the vicinity of St Peter's five *diaconiae* ('deaconries' or welfare centres); there were also two *xenodochia* (hostels for strangers) attached to deaconries; and there were three other separate *hospitia* or *hospitalia* (hospices).³³ All of these were provided with their own endowments to further their charitable work in supporting the poor and pilgrims from outside the city, and in distributing alms.

The four monasteries that were responsible for the celebration of the daily office in St Peter's had also a charitable function. This is referred to specifically in the case of the monastery of St Stephen Major, where the future pope Paschal I was appointed as abbot by Leo III, and there 'provided hospitality for the pilgrims and for the disabled who for love of St Peter flocked to his door from distant regions'.³⁴ The pastoral role of the monasteries in relation to pilgrims may help explain why they were given supervision of some of the facilities surrounding the basilica. Thus Paschal I gave to St Stephen's control of the atrium, together with its forebuilding and the steps down to the campus; and also (to the north east of the basilica) of the schola of the Lombards and of a hospice dedicated to St Peregrinus (that is, St Pilgrim).³⁵ Similarly, as we have seen, in 853 Leo IV gave to St Martin's control of the three national scholae south-east of St Peter's, and also of two hospices probably standing to the west side of the south transept.

Among the necessary facilities for pilgrims, the provision of water must always have been a pressing concern and was dependent on the maintenance of the aqueduct system. For the Vatican area of the city the major source was

the Sabatina aqueduct (the ancient Aqua Traiana) which brought water to a distribution point on the Janiculum hill south of St Peter's. In the late 8th century Hadrian I carried out restoration work on this aqueduct (which also powered corn mills on the Janiculum and was thus important for maintaining the bread supply of the city); furthermore, he renewed the lead water-pipe that brought water from it to St Peter's, where it supplied the baptistery, the fountain in the atrium, and the baths for the use of the poor and pilgrims.³⁶ His successor Leo III provided further bathing facilities for the poor and pilgrims, again adjacent to St Peter's.³⁷

In view of the high social status of Æthelric it may seem likely that during his time in Rome he found accommodation in one of the facilities for more privileged visitors. This was perhaps most likely at the Schola Saxonum, where he could have benefited from the services of one of the priests or clerics attached to the foundation to conduct him around the city. But alternatively he could have been a guest at one of the monasteries attached to St Peter's.

The basilica and tomb of St Peter

The principal destination of every pilgrim to Rome was the tomb of the apostle St Peter in the Vatican, over which a great basilica had been built in the 4th century by the emperors Constantine and Constans; and this, because of the lie of the land, was laid out with the tomb at the west end on the cord of the apse. This building survived in its essentials down to 1506, but was progressively demolished over the succeeding century to make way for the present edifice. It is known to us today mainly through the visual records made at the time it was disappearing, especially the famous plan compiled by Tiberio Alfarano between 1571 and 1590, which showed both what was still standing and a reconstruction of what had already disappeared (**Pl 1 - centrefold pp.16 and 17**). What would still have greeted a visitor in the early 9th century was the original 4th-century basilica, although much work of repair, liturgical re-ordering and embellishment had taken place during the course of the intervening five centuries.

Pilgrims might be guided to the basilica by the clerks of one of the national scholae, but the reception of visitors within the basilica probably came within the remit of the *mansionarii* or *custodes*. These were a body of laymen (their nearest modern equivalent would be vergers) who had their own head (*primicerius*), but came under the higher authority of the provost (*praepositus*) of the Basilica.³⁸ The *mansionarii* were responsible for the routine maintenance of the church, and groups of them were attached to each of the main oratories and shrines, seeing to the lighting and cleaning.

We are especially fortunate in having the text of a short guide to the basilica written at the end of the 8th century, which gives a fascinating insight into at least one aspect of the pilgrim's experience.³⁹ It is concerned not at all with the architectural or artistic character of the building, but only with the numerous shrines, oratories and altars that were sheltered under its roof. This focus perhaps

reflects the responsibilities of the *mansionarii*; but, undoubtedly, for the pilgrims also the primary purpose of their visit was to make contact with the many holy places and derive spiritual benefits from them. Certainly their experience would not have been divorced from wondering at the artistic marvels and treasures that surrounded the holy places, but this aspect was secondary.

The pilgrim following the route in the 8th-century guide would have entered the church in the vicinity of the south transept, suggesting that he or she had previously been received on the south side of the basilica. There he went first into the two rotundas attached to the transept, dedicated to St Andrew and to St Petronilla. From these he moved into the south transept itself and visited the various oratories located there, on what was the men's side of the church. The route then passed into the extended presbytery enclosure around the choir and sanctuary. The oratory of the Virgin and All Saints on the south side of the monastic choir was visited first. Then the pilgrim approached his goal, the very tomb of St Peter. He proceeded first to the semicircular crypt passageway, from which he reached a chamber containing the altar of St Peter's Head on the west side of the tomb. Emerging again from the semicircular passage, he passed back westward at pavement level and found himself in front of the *confessio* or niche, located directly over St Peter's tomb. He then turned back towards the oratory of St Peter the Pastor on the north side of the choir, before passing out of the presbytery area.

The next part of the route proceeded into the north arm of the transept, which was the women's area during the liturgy. The pilgrim visited there the baptistery complex with its subsidiary chapels, including the baptismal font placed in the middle of the *exedra* or extension at the north end of the transept. The route then becomes uncertain, but may at this point have made its way out of the basilica on its north side, rising up steps to a subsidiary structure known as the 'portico of St Petronilla': on the route were displayed the relics of the Virgin's cradle and the bed of St Gregory. Returning into the basilica at its west end, the pilgrim visited the oratory of the Virgin in the outer north aisle; before going out into the portico in front of the west doors, from which there was access to the original tomb of St Gregory, who was buried in front of the *secretarium* or papal audience hall that was attached to the south end of the portico. The route then probably crossed the atrium and went out by the gateway at its east end, past another oratory of the Virgin, before descending the great flight of steps into the campus or piazza in front of the basilica.

At some point during their visits many of the pilgrims would have presented offerings to St Peter, probably in most cases at the apostle's actual tomb. In a few instances the offerings made by English pilgrims are recorded. Thus when king Æthelwulf of Wessex made his pilgrimage to Rome in 855-6, he marked the occasion by presenting to St Peter various gold and silver objects and silk textiles; he also made a distribution of gold and silver in St Peter's to the clergy and leading men.⁴⁰ Æthelwulf's donations included four silver-gilt 'Saxon bowls' so-called, and there are other references to such bowls in the papal inventories

of the 8th and 9th centuries.⁴¹ The bowls may be one indicator of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage activity in the period. On another occasion, a group of un-named English pilgrims, visiting Rome in 863-4, presented a silver altar panel for the oratory of St Gregory, the apostle of England.⁴² No doubt pilgrims then, as now, not only made offerings but also took back home with them souvenirs of their pilgrimage – and this aspect of pilgrimage will be touched on again below.

The oratory of St Mary *Mediana*

The pilgrim's route around St Peter's, as we have seen, encountered a number of oratories (chapels as they would be termed today) dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and quite a lot is known about some of these from other sources. The earliest was established by pope John VII (705-7), who founded an oratory in honour of the Holy Mother of God within the basilica and decorated its walls with mosaic; and subsequently, when he died, he was buried there in front of the altar.⁴³ The oratory was located at the east (entrance) end of the basilica, against the terminal wall of the outer north aisle. It survived down to the early 17th century, when a reasonably good record of it was made before its final demolition, while some sections of the mosaic decoration have been preserved till today.⁴⁴ The central image on the east wall was a figure of the Virgin in royal attire, standing with hands raised in prayer (**PI 2**); while on the underside of the vault over the altar was a mosaic of the Virgin carrying her Child.

The next oratory to be established was that founded and richly furnished in 732 by Gregory III in honour of the Saviour, the Mother of God and All Saints, and this housed an extensive collection of relics.⁴⁵ The oratory was located against the east face of the pier that supported the south side of the triumphal arch. On its south side it was bounded by the main nave colonnade, and on the north by the enclosure screen of the monks' choir. There was an apsidal niche or arch behind its altar, and a *pergula* or screen standing in front. For the image of the Virgin in the oratory, Gregory provided a jewelled gold diadem and collar, indicating that the image was one of Mary vested in royal attire as Queen of Heaven. A 12th-century description says that the image depicted Mary embracing her Son, and seems to indicate that it was placed on or against the wall, presumably the wall behind the altar.⁴⁶ The pope himself was later buried within the oratory.⁴⁷

Pope Paul I (757-67) was responsible for the foundation of two more oratories of the Virgin, one of which was located in the exedra at the south end of the transept, in its south-west angle. Within the oratory, which was adorned with mosaic and other materials, Paul erected a silver-gilt likeness (*effigies*) of the Mother of God shown standing.⁴⁸ This likeness is unlikely to have been a three-dimensional figure, and was probably a panel with a silver-gilt casing. After Paul's death his body was brought here for burial, and it is clear thus that his foundation followed the precedent already established by the funerary oratories constructed by Gregory III and John VII.⁴⁹

The second oratory established by Paul I (that with which this lecture is



Plate 2: Figure of the Virgin above altar in mosaic decoration of oratory of John VII (705-7) in St Peter's; as recorded by Giacomo Grimaldi in early 17th century.

especially concerned) was at the opposite end of the basilica complex, in the ranges of buildings on the east side of the atrium. The basilica of St Peter as built in the 4th century already had a great atrium in front of the façade of the church, but the plan of this is recorded only in the late 16th century by Alfarano – by which time it must have undergone successive generations of alteration.⁵⁰ The original atrium was probably a rectangular courtyard, surrounded by porticoes on four sides, and with a central fountain. Across its east side was a double range of buildings, which included the main entrance to the basilica complex, approached on the side towards the city by a great flight of steps leading up from the campus or piazza below (Fig 1, Pl 3).

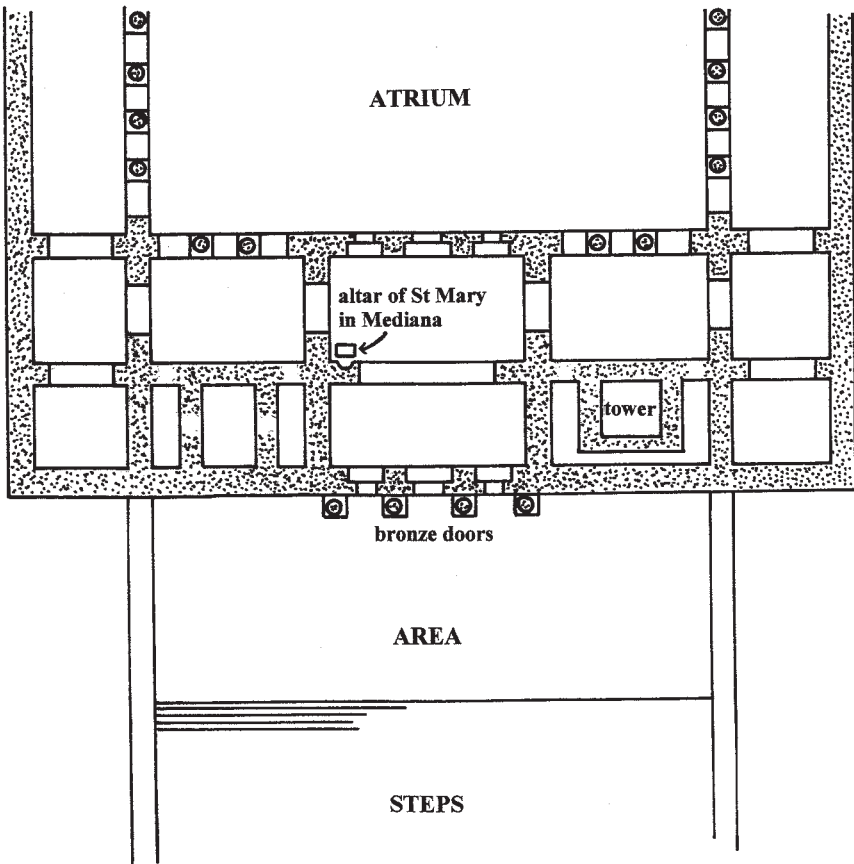


Figure 1: Simplified plan of east side of atrium at St Peter's, Rome, redrawn after Alfarano's plan of 1590.



Plate 3: St Peter's, Rome, view of outer façade drawn by Marten van Heemskerck c.1535. The prominent three-tiered structure is the 15th-century papal benediction loggia, with the campanile behind it; to the left are the triple portals leading into the church of St Mary Mediana; the gable with a rose window crowns the façade of the main basilica beyond the atrium.

The documented early medieval history of the ranges on the east side of the atrium begins in the middle of the 8th century, under the two brothers, popes Stephen II and Paul I. Stephen was responsible for remodelling the canopy over the fountain in the middle of the atrium, and he also:

Built over the basilica of St Peter a tower, which in part he gilded and in part he clothed in silver, in which he placed three bells, which called the clergy and the people to the office [service] of God.⁵¹

The superstructure of the tower, with its gilding and silvering, was presumably of timber and metal, and quite possibly reflected the sort of spire that Stephen may have seen on his visit to France in 754.⁵² The text does not indicate exactly where Stephen's tower was placed over the basilica, but most likely it was the first such structure to be erected on the east side of the atrium, where the campanile was certainly located subsequently.

After Paul had succeeded his brother as pope, it is recorded that:

In the atrium, which is called the 'Paradise', in front of the tower of St Mary at the steps, in front of the Saviour, he made with wonderful workmanship an oratory in honour of the Holy Mother of God, and he decorated it magnificently.⁵³

These topographical indications seem to indicate that Paul's oratory was placed: (a) broadly speaking, in the area of the atrium; (b) in front of the tower of St Mary at the steps; and also (c) in front of some image of the Saviour. The steps in question are certainly those leading up from the campus to the gatehouse, and so help to localise the structures as being on the east side of the atrium; while the tower is presumably that recently built by his brother Stephen. The reference to the tower as 'of St Mary' is anachronistic in the context, since it can only have taken this name after the dedication of the oratory: but the whole passage was, of course, written after the event.

To obtain a more complete picture it is necessary to take into account some later references to the oratory and adjacent structures. From these we learn that Hadrian I carried out a comprehensive restoration of the basilica: this extended to the atrium and, at the extremity, 'even the tower with its chambers'; while in 791-2 the same pope brought a set of Roman bronze doors from Perugia and installed them 'at the tower'.⁵⁴ These doors are identified much later as being in the main portal at the top of the steps, at the entrance to the church of St Mary.⁵⁵ Hadrian's successor but one, Paschal I (817-24), is recorded as having granted to the monastery of St Stephen Major at St Peter's:

The church of St Mary *in Turre* ... with its houses and cells next to it, together with the Paradise and porticoes [*sc.* the atrium] up to the Porta Argentea [*sc.* the silver doors into the basilica] (such that you shall close and open the doors in front of the Porta Argentea); and with all things included beneath it, with the drain and the steps both major and minor down to the area called the *Cortina* (campus).⁵⁶

In 839-40 Gregory IV carried out further restoration works in the area of the



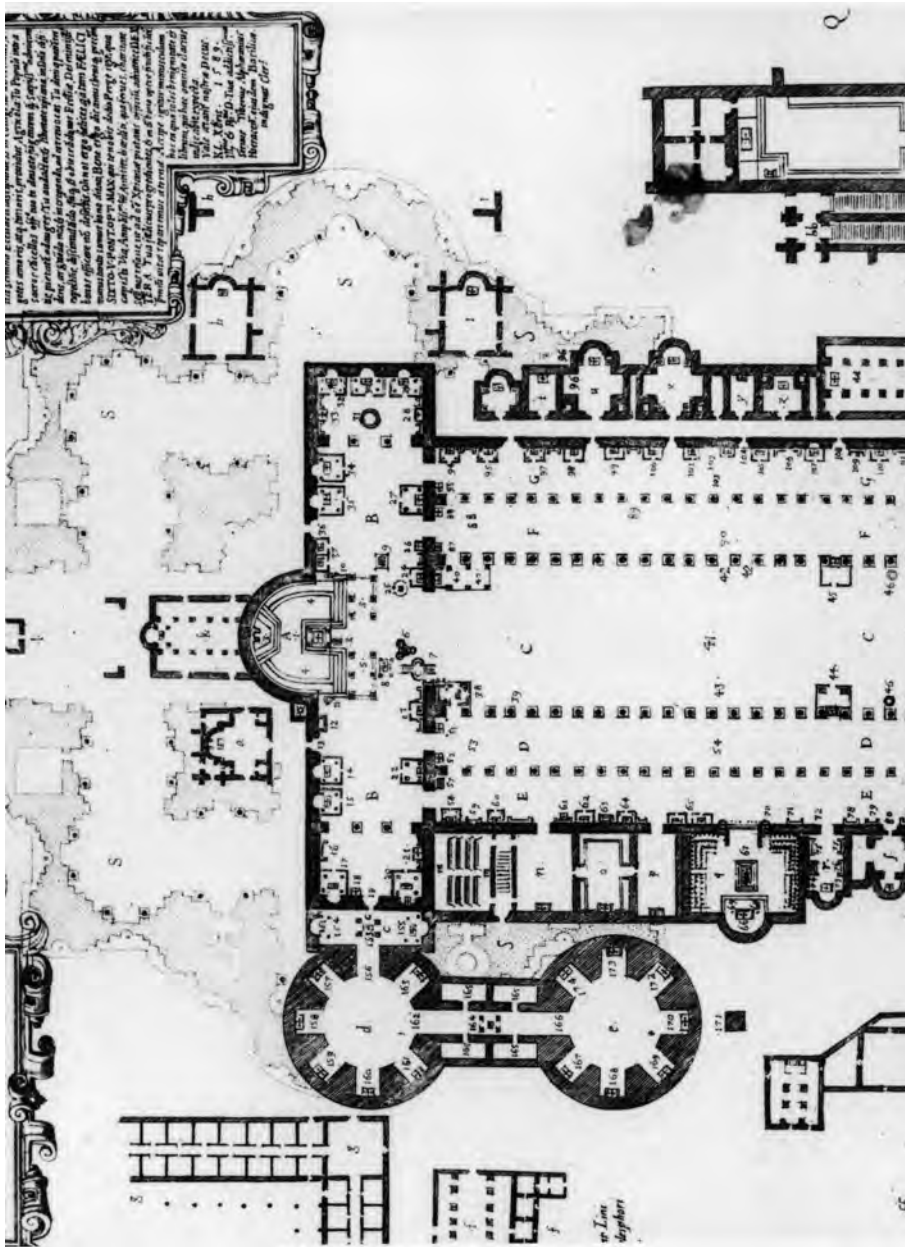
Plate 4: Santi Quattro Coronati, Rome, tower over entrance to atrium built by Pope Leo IV (847-55).

atrium.⁵⁷ These included the roof of the east portico, which was described as ‘above [*sc.* beyond] the oratory of the holy Mother of God which is called *Mediana*’. They involved also: the west portico of the atrium; the mosaic on the wall ‘at the front’ of the atrium (perhaps on its east side); and the portico (perhaps the triple portals) at the top of the steps from the campus. Finally it may be noted that in 849-50 Leo IV built a new bell tower, surmounted by a gilded bronze orb and a cross – a tower perhaps similar to that which the same pope erected at the church of the Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome (PI 4).⁵⁸

This body of references, taken together, confirms the location of Paul’s oratory as being between: on its east side, the portals at the top of the steps up from the campus; and, on its west side, the atrium of the basilica. Furthermore, they locate it as adjacent to the bell tower and other chambers in the east range. It would thus have lain within the entrance hall to the atrium, which is seen on Alfarano’s plan as a large rectangular chamber, divided into two halves by piers that presumably carried a transverse arch.

The primary description of Paul’s oratory already cited referred to its location as being ‘in front of the Saviour’; this may perhaps be interpreted as a reference to an image of the Saviour depicted in a wall mosaic. If so, there would be two candidates for such a mosaic in relevant positions. One was on the west face of the range looking inwards over the atrium, where a gold-embellished image of the Saviour, possibly of quite early origin, was destroyed by fire in 1167;⁵⁹ this was finally replaced around 1300 by Giotto’s famous mosaic, ‘the Navicella’, which depicted Christ saving Peter from sinking in the waters of the Sea of Galilee. The other mosaic was on the east face of the range, looking out over the steps and the campus. As recorded in the 16th and 17th centuries, the mosaic in this position seems to have depicted a figure of Christ in majesty, surrounded by angels and with figures below offering crowns. But the history and date of the mosaic are controversial.⁶⁰ The 16th-century antiquary Pompeo Ugonio recorded a damaged inscription below the mosaic that may once have named the donor, but this name was missing and his suggestion that it recorded Paul I was clearly guesswork.⁶¹ The mosaic when complete may have blocked a series of three arched openings in the wall itself, set above the portals below.⁶² It was perhaps only surmise on the part of Alfarano when he claimed that the popes used to give their blessing from these openings on solemn feast days.⁶³

Within Paul’s oratory the precise location of the altar is shown on Alfarano’s plan and described in his text as within the entrance hall to the atrium, placed ‘against a pier on the south side, facing west’.⁶⁴ Alfarano also goes on to describe how it was the (later) tradition that an emperor, coming to the basilica for his coronation by the pope, would be received by the canons at this altar and would there take an oath to protect the Roman church, before vesting in the imperial robes. He also relates that when the altar was destroyed (c.1574) relics of the saints were discovered within it.⁶⁵ Although there can be no certainty, it seems that the position of the altar indicated by Alfarano is very likely the original location, since it precisely parallels the placing of the altar in the very important oratory of



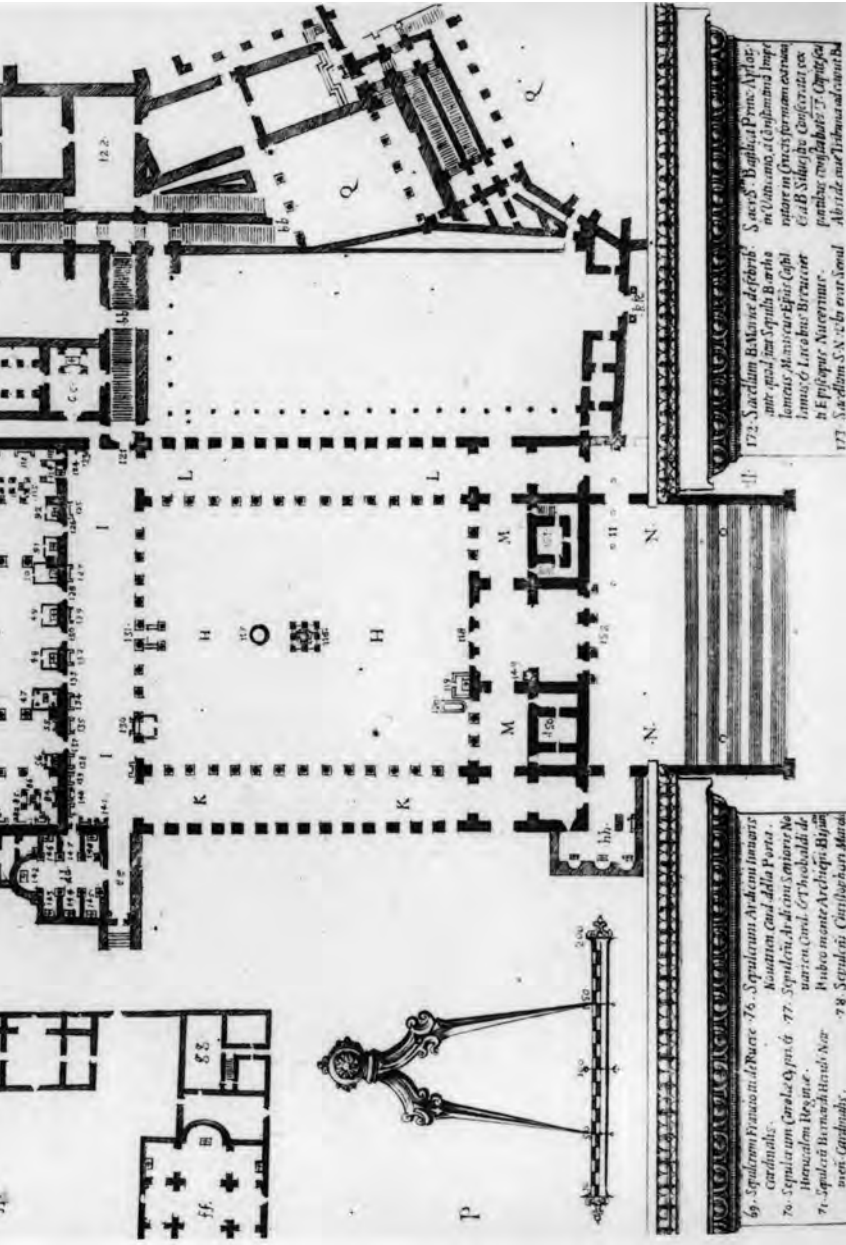


Plate 1: Detail of the plan of St Peter's, Rome, drawn by Tiberio Alfarano, etched by Natale Bonifacio and published in 1590.

Gregory III against the southern pier of the triumphal arch. If this is so, it becomes clear that the foundation of the oratory did not involve a major construction project, but a much lesser programme of work on the furnishing and decoration of the oratory within an existing structure. This would have required the provision of an altar, probably with a *ciborium* or canopy over it, and a set of enclosure screens set round about. As the *Liber Pontificalis* says, there were magnificent decorations, and these would have included both the furnishings themselves and also the embellishment of the wall surfaces. But the focus of the oratory would have been an image of the Virgin Mary behind the altar: whether one already existing as a mosaic or wall painting on the pier; or one newly provided in these media or as a panel painting with a rich silver revetment. Unfortunately, however, we have no information as to the iconography of the Virgin in this depiction.

Once established, the oratory became the object of papal benefactions. Thus in 803-4 Leo III gave an altar cloth enriched with gold thread and having the story of the Annunciation (perhaps as a repeat figure woven into the silk); while in 812-13 he gave another altar cloth of figured white silk, with a gold cross in the centre and an edging of purple.⁶⁶ Later, in 848-9, Leo IV also gave an altar cloth of silk figured with eagles and roundels, again with a gold cross in the centre.⁶⁷ The 1053 bull, confirming the 9th-century donation of the oratory by Paschal I to the monastery of St Stephen Major, referred to the conveyance with the church of 'its books and its silver equipment, crosses and thuribles'.⁶⁸ The bull further provided that 'two priests shall be appointed there from the community of the monastery, who day and night shall offer to God the office of praise and minister necessary things to the people'. If this provision goes back to the 9th century, it shows that the monks were supplying priests to maintain the office in the oratory and to minister to pilgrims – presumably those entering and leaving the basilica through the adjacent portals.

The name of pope Paul's oratory as it appears in the 9th-century sections of the *Liber Pontificalis* is generally given as *Mediana* or *in Mediana*, from the Latin adjective *medius*, 'middle'. This title would most plausibly refer to the median position of the oratory; that is, in the main entrance hall in the middle of the east range, through which pilgrims passed to reach the inner parts of the basilica complex.⁶⁹ Possibly, however, this primarily locational name could also have had theological overtones; that is, referring to Mary's role as the intermediary through whose free consent to the grace of God the Incarnation of Christ had taken place.

Alternative names for the oratory occur in a range of sources. The late 8th-century pilgrim's guide seems to have referred to the oratory simply as 'St Mary's which is called *Noua* (New)'.⁷⁰ Other designations generally bear some reference to the location of the oratory. Thus the original 8th-century *Liber Pontificalis* account of the oratory (as already discussed) identified it in relation to a number of features, including the steps on its east side, such that it is said to be *ad grada*. Sometime later there is another reference to St Mary *in Gradibus*, but this name does not seem to have been common in the Roman sources.⁷¹

Another appellation made use of the oratory's contiguity to the tower or, later, towers. This usage could go back as far as the 9th century if the bull of 1053, when it referred to 'the church of St Mary which is called *in Turre*', cited the precise wording of the earlier grant by Paschal I which it was confirming; but alternatively this could be an 11th-century gloss.

The west porch at Deerhurst

The physical arrangement of the buildings ranged across the east side of the atrium at St Peter's, when brought into liturgical focus by pope Paul's dedication of an altar in honour of the Virgin Mary in the central entrance hall, had certain influences across Europe more widely. In some cases we can see the copying of the architectural formula in which the main entrance of a church is preceded by an atrium, at the opposite end of which is an entrance hall. Thus at the abbey of Fulda in central Germany, the great new church built in the period between 791 and 819 sought to reproduce significant features of the plan of St Peter's basilica in Rome, including the west transept.⁷² Beyond the eastern apse was an atrium with, at the opposite end from the church, an entrance hall divided across its width by a north-south cross wall, and with flanking towers or turrets. Similarly at the abbey of Lorsch the church had an extensive atrium (to the west in this case), set at the end of which was the gatehouse, dating probably from the mid 9th century and still famously surviving (PI 5).⁷³ The gatehouse was a two-



Plate 5: Mid 9th-century gatehouse in forecourt of abbey of Lorsch (Hessen, Germany).

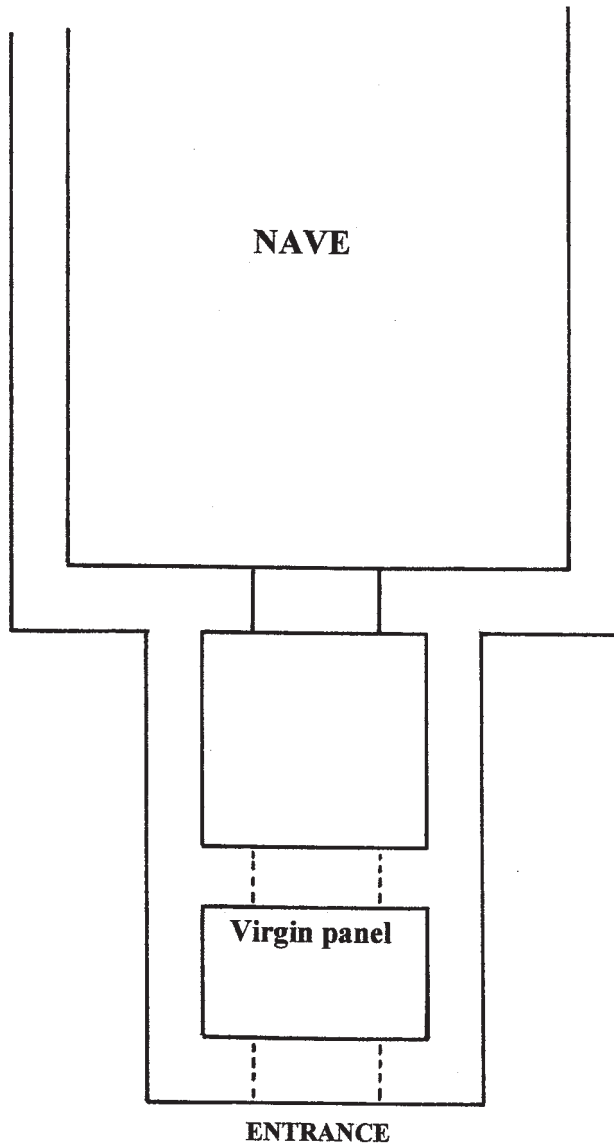


Figure 2: Simplified plan of west porch at Deerhurst in first half of 9th century, redrawn after Knowles 1927.

storied structure with, on the ground floor, the same triple portal arrangement as at St Peter's; while on the upper floor there was probably a chapel.⁷⁴ Such examples show clearly that at this period some very grand buildings north of the Alps might aspire to borrow features from the architecture of St Peter's – and this at a time when also Roman liturgy was being established as a model to be followed in the Carolingian empire. But might more modest buildings be influenced by St Peter's in less spectacular ways, and might such influences extend even to England?

Two observations have led me to consider whether the west porch of Deerhurst might be placed within this context. The first is the plan of the porch (**Fig 2**), which embodies an internal division into two chambers through which one passes to gain access to the church itself (**PI 6**). The second is the sculptured panel set into the intermediate wall over the archway, which not only indicates a dedication to the Virgin Mary, but does so by employing a very rare iconography (**PI 7**). The bipartite plan of the porch at Deerhurst might, of course, bear no more than a fortuitous resemblance to the bipartite plan of the entrance hall to the atrium at St Peter's; and, furthermore, it could have been influenced by a porch already present at Deerhurst before the 9th-century rebuilding.⁷⁵ Similarly, the placing of the image of the Virgin on the intermediate wall at Deerhurst, and the placing of the altar and presumed image of the Virgin *in Mediana* against the intermediate pier at St Peter's might be purely co-incidental. Be that as it may, the actual iconography of the image of the Virgin at Deerhurst strongly suggests a Roman connection.

The stone panel in the porch at Deerhurst is carved with the outline of an image that was intended to be completed with the details being executed in painting.⁷⁶ The image represented the Virgin Mary, clad in a tunic and mantle, holding in front of her an oval panel on which would have been painted the Christ Child. The only surviving western parallels for this image are in wall-paintings in two churches and a cave chapel in central Italy. One of these is a cycle in a side aisle of the church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome executed, it has been thought, in the time of pope Paul I (**PI 8**). Possibly another example was an image, probably a panel painting with a jewelled gold revetment, which Stephen II presented to the basilica of St Mary Major in Rome; though of this we have only a verbal description.⁷⁷ In the case of Paul's two oratories in St Peter's, we know that the one in the south transept had a focal image of the Virgin shown standing, executed with a silver casing. The nature of the other image is unknown and speculation as to its iconography cannot take the discussion very far. Nonetheless, the probability that the rare iconography of the Virgin holding an oval panel bearing the image of the Christ Child appears in Rome in the time of Paul I, and that it turns up at Deerhurst some forty years later, after Æthelric had made his pilgrimage to Rome, does strongly suggest a link. Such a link could have been provided if Æthelric had brought back with him from his pilgrimage a Roman wooden panel painting of the Virgin and Child, just as is recorded of several Anglo-Saxon pilgrims a century earlier:⁷⁸

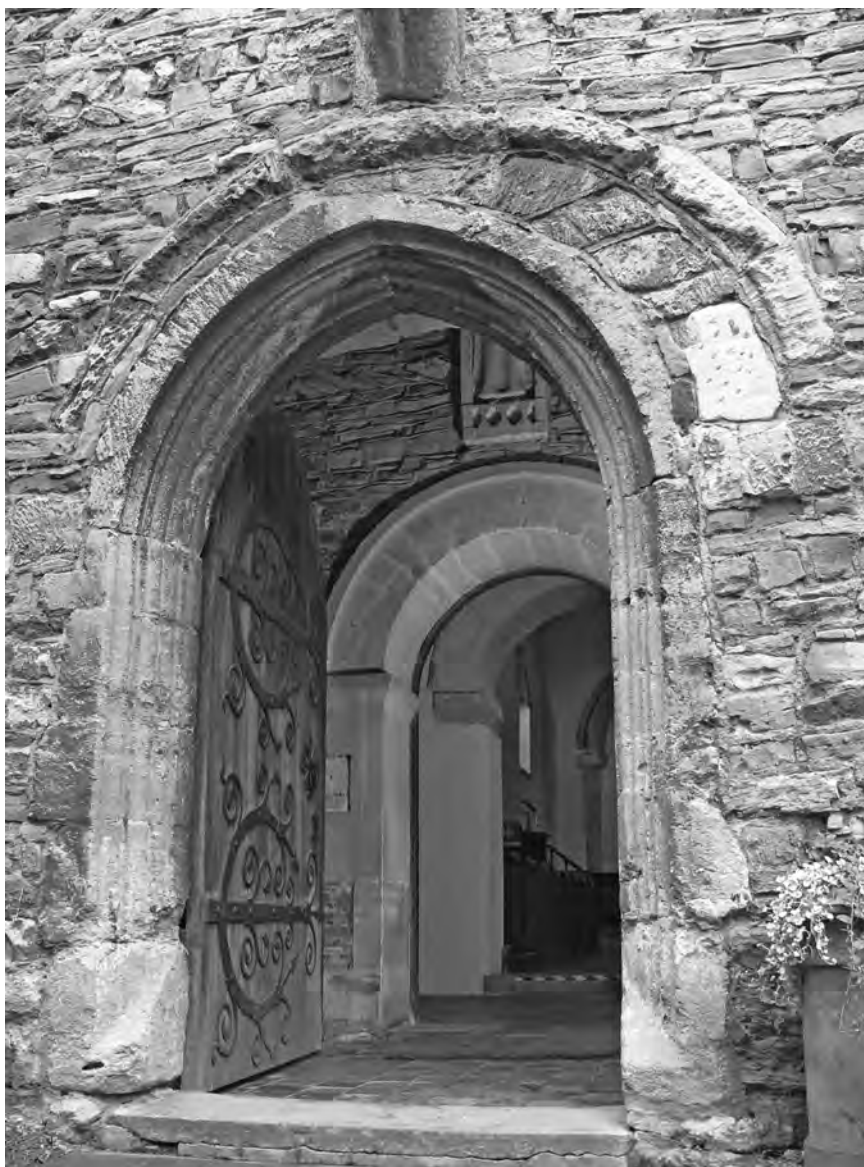


Plate 6: Deerhurst, St Mary, view through porch looking east.



Plate 7: Deerhurst, St Mary, carved panel of Virgin over intermediate arch of porch.



Plate 8: Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome; painting in lateral altar niche in right-hand aisle, depicting Virgin and Child flanked by Sts Elizabeth and Anne, probably mid 8th-century.

this painting on wood could then have been copied as a painted stone panel at Deerhurst.

The image of the Virgin holding a panel with the image of the Christ Child, when contemplated by the faithful, would have been understood in different ways according to the contemporary context and the viewer's religious formation. In Rome, at a period when the papacy was resisting the iconoclast movement that gripped the Byzantine empire and was leading to the suppression there of religious images, a reading would no doubt have been coloured by the orthodox theological position in the dispute. This position was articulated most profoundly by the theologian John of Damascus. Christ, who as God cannot be represented, united humanity to himself fully at his Incarnation and, thus, as God-made-man he can be represented. Accordingly, the Son who is, in St Paul's words to the Colossians (1.15), 'the image (*eikōn*) of the invisible God', may rightly be depicted in secondary man-made images. The image under consideration can thus be read in this sense: the Virgin who became Mother of God, that is, of the true Image himself, is now shown in the panel as offering to the faithful such a secondary image of her Son. It is therefore a vindication of orthodox Christian doctrine about the true understanding of the Incarnation. The Church in England was certainly aware of the dispute over images at the end of the 8th century, even though perhaps it did not fully understand the theological subtleties.⁷⁹

In later Byzantine icons a similar subject, depicting the Virgin standing in prayer with, in front of her breast, a round (not oval) panel bearing the bust of the Christ Child, was read as representing the Mother of God *Platytera*, she who is 'Broader than the Heavens', in that she contained in her womb the God who sustains the universe.⁸⁰ This was beautifully expressed by a hymn to the Virgin in the Byzantine eucharistic liturgy:

Thou art a hallowed temple and a spiritual paradise,
whence God was made flesh and became a little child –
he who is from eternity our God.
For he made thy womb his throne,
and formed thy belly wider than the heavens.
All creation rejoices in thee,
O thou that art full of grace.⁸¹

It is possible that this idea was already present in the earlier Italian paintings, since in these the panel held by the Virgin and containing the Christ child was painted blue, symbolising the heavens. Furthermore, the concept behind the image was probably familiar in England by the early 10th century, when the following antiphon was included in a southern English collection:

O Mary ever Virgin, rejoice:
for you deserved to bear Christ, the Founder of heaven and earth,
and from your womb brought forth the Saviour of the world.⁸²

To argue that the stone panel at Deerhurst was set up at Æthelric's behest in

the entrance porch specifically to reflect the oratory of St Mary *Mediana* that he had seen on his pilgrimage would, of course, be a step beyond the evidence that has been brought forward. It would require that the stone panel was set up specifically while Æthelric was still alive, that is in the period c.802x824. And, what is more, since the placement of the panel appears to be integral with the construction of the porch, it would require that the porch itself belong specifically to the first *quarter* of the 9th century (rather than the first *half* of that century, which can be shown as likely on other grounds). These possibilities may very well be so, but it would require more than the connections examined in this lecture to demonstrate the case. However, it is worth noting that in 816 archbishop Wulfred, following a visit to pope Leo III in Rome, presided over a Synod at Chelsea which decreed that churches being dedicated should have depicted (*depictum*) on the wall or else on a panel (*tabula*), and also on the altar, the saints to whom they were dedicated.⁸³ The placement of the painted panel of the Virgin over the entrance to Deerhurst church, if read in this light, might be seen as relating to a re-dedication of the church. Such a re-dedication is in fact likely to have followed the substantial rebuilding of the church in the first half of the 9th century. But the rebuilding cannot be tied more closely to a particular date, and the 816 canon cannot be used as evidence, since we do not know whether it represented a new requirement or a re-affirmation of the existing position.

Be that as it may, the image once set up over the portal would have become a focus of devotion, and would also have been seen as expressing the role of the Virgin as protector of the church.⁸⁴ Already a century earlier, the West Saxon abbot and bishop Aldhelm had written a poem about a church, perhaps at Malmesbury, in which he had proclaimed that:

Mary's protection keeps this house of the Lord;
to her the venerable heights of this new church are consecrated.⁸⁵

The setting up of an image of the Virgin over the portal at Deerhurst would have been a powerful expression of her protective role over those going in and out of the church, but would have had a more symbolic meaning in addition. In a collection of antiphons made by Alcuin at York c.790 he included a text that referred to Mary being “made the portal of heaven” by God.⁸⁶ The idea here is that, as Mary was chosen by God’s grace to become the way for Christ’s taking of human nature, so by her free consent she opened the gate to heaven for Christ’s followers. Thus, at Deerhurst, the one who is the ‘Portal of Heaven’ presides over the portal of the church building, which is in turn itself an image of heaven.

I would like to end with one further reflection. Æthelric and his father Æthelmund were buried at Deerhurst church, which we may assume was dedicated then as now to the Virgin Mary. Both the dedication and his father’s burial preceded Æthelric’s pilgrimage. However, when he was in Rome he would have observed a number of facts: that the main oratories of the Virgin at

St Peter's were also the places of burial of the popes who had founded them; that the founders had provided for the ongoing liturgy within them; and that the oratories were furnished with significant images of the Virgin behind their altars. This practice reflected that aspect of contemporary faith which believed in the effectiveness of the Virgin's intercession with her Son, and especially at the time of death and judgement.⁸⁷ Possibly, therefore, Æthelric returned from Rome with a strengthened intention to be buried with his father in the church of St Mary at Deerhurst, to which he now made generous benefactions in preparation for his own eventual burial and to ensure thereafter the continuance of prayers for his soul and that of his father. As yet, sadly, we have no evidence as to their exact places of burial which, if they were known, might throw further light on these matters. But whatever the precise relationship between, on the one hand, the historical themes I have been examining here and, on the other hand, the archaeology of the fabric, Æthelric and Æthelmund must indeed be regarded as important figures in the history of Deerhurst church – where may they still be remembered and honoured today.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to the Friends of Deerhurst Church for inviting me to give this lecture, and especially to Michael Hare for his encouragement and very helpful editorial advice, which has saved me from several errors. I would also like to thank Richard Bryant for his generosity in supplying the photographs of Deerhurst for Plates 6 and 7.

NOTES

- ¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, sub anno 800 (*recte* 802), trans. D. Whitelock, D.C. Douglas & S.I. Tucker (London 1961), 38.
- ² P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (London 1968), nos. 58, 59.
- ³ Sawyer, *Charters*, no. 139.
- ⁴ Sawyer, *Charters*, nos. 132, 136 and 146: though the charters are forgeries in their surviving forms, they may incorporate genuine witness lists.
- ⁵ Sawyer, *Charters*, no. 148.
- ⁶ Sawyer, *Charters*, no. 153.
- ⁷ Assuming he was not less than twenty years old when he obtained the charter in 767.
- ⁸ If he was born when his father was aged twenty (*c.* 767), Æthelric would have been in his mid thirties when the former died. He could have been born much later, but clearly was an adult in 802.
- ⁹ A.W. Haddan & W. Stubbs (eds.), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, III, *The English Church 595-1066* (Oxford 1871), 548 (= Sawyer, *Charters*, no. 1187): *Postea commendavi amicis meis ad seruandum, quando quaesivi sanctum Petrum et sanctum Paulum, pro remedio animae meae, et, iterum me reuertente ad patriam, accepi terram meam et praetium reddidi, quasi ante pacti sumus et pacifici fuerimus ad inuicem.*
- ¹⁰ Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, 548: *Haec sunt nomina illarum terrarum quae dabo ad locum qui dicitur Deorhyrst, pro me et Æthelmuundo patre me, si mihi contingat ut illic corpus meum requiescat: Todenham, et æt Sture, Scraefleh, et Cohanleah, ea conditione ut illa congregatio uota eorum faciat firma, sicut mihi promiserunt.*
- ¹¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, sub anno 805 (*recte* 807), trans. Whitelock & al., 39. See C.P. Wormald, *How do we know so much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?* (Deerhurst lecture 1991), 6, for the possibility she was abbess of Berkeley.
- ¹² Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1187; the full text is in Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, 548-9; and an English translation in D. Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents c.500-1042* (London, 2nd ed. 1979), 512-3.
- ¹³ C.P. Wormald, 'Charters, law and the settlement of disputes in Anglo-Saxon England', in W. Davies & P. Fouracre (eds.), *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 1986), 152-7; idem, *How do we know so much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?*; C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c.650-c.850* (Leicester 1995), 281. S. Keynes, *The Councils of Clofesho* (University of Leicester, Vaughan Paper 38, 1993), 9, 28, suggested that there was no reason necessarily to suppose that Æthelmund was in fact dead at the time of the first synod, the date of which he proposed moving back to the 790s (possibly the 798 synod of *Clofesho*), while retaining the 804 date for the second synod (at *Acleah*). However, it would be difficult to understand why, if Æthelmund was alive at the time of the first synod he should not himself have sought approval to dispose as he wished of the Westbury estate, which had been granted to him by Offa *c.* 793x796 (Sawyer, *Charters*, no. 139). The reference in the document to a 'a few years' intervening between the synods may pose an obstacle to the otherwise attractive solution that Æthelric first appeared before the synod at *Clofesho* on 6-12th October 803, immediately set out for Rome, and returned to England in time for a synod at *Acleah* in the late Summer or Autumn of 804 – which would certainly have been a feasible journey time.
- ¹⁴ Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1433; Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, 592-4; Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, 516-7

- 15 In Domesday Book (DB) Todenham (Gloucs.), a berewick of Westminster's Deerhurst manor was assessed at 7 hides. *Sture* may possibly be Preston on Stour (Warwicks., formerly Gloucs.), where Saint-Denis held 10 hides belonging to Deerhurst hundred, but this is uncertain. Shrawley (Worcs.) does not appear under this name in DB; *Cohhanleh* remains unidentified. Thus it is not possible to assess either the original extent of Æthelric's endowment of Deerhurst, or the proportion it formed of the DB holdings associated with Deerhurst (Westminster's DB Gloucestershire manor of Deerhurst was assessed at a total of 59 hides, and Saint-Denis' manor at 40 hides). The other estates disposed of by Æthelric in his testament were assessed therein as follows: at Bromsgrove with Feckenham 11 *manentes* (hides); at Over 30 *manentes*; and at Westbury with Stoke 43 *manentes*. In DB the Worcester manor of Westbury with its berewicks, including Stoke, was assessed at 50 hides.
- 16 Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, 153-90.
- 17 Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, 450-1.
- 18 Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, 523-5, 538-9.
- 19 That is, assuming that the gold coin of Offa in the British Museum, which bears a mixed Arabic and Latin inscription, is a *mancusus*: it weighs 4.28g (L. Webster & J. Backhouse, *The Making of England*, London 1991, 190).
- 20 *Adventus Archiepiscopi nostri Sigerici ad Romam*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Memorials of St Dunstan* (Rolls Series 63, London 1874), 391-5. Despite the length of this journey, the text appears to suggest that he only spent two days in Rome itself.
- 21 For a conspectus of the various buildings in the Vatican area see L. Reekmans, 'Le développement topographique de la région du Vatican à la fin de l'antiquité et au début du moyen âge', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art Offerts au Professeur Jacques Lavalleye* (Louvain 1970), 197-233.
- 22 L. Schiaparelli, 'Le carte antiche dell'archivio capitolare di San Pietro', part I, *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia di Patria*, 24 (1901), 426-32 (no.1). The charter was composed c.1031x1053 and makes Charlemagne a contemporary of Leo IV; but the description of the constitution of the schola reads perfectly coherently, though it cannot be certain to what date this constitution should be attributed.
- 23 Schiaparelli, 'Le carte antiche', 467-73 (no. 16), at 469.
- 24 L.P. Duchesne (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire*, 3 vols. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Paris, 2nd ed. 1955-7), 98.19. An English translation of the *Liber Pontificalis* is that by R. Davis, 3 vols. (Liverpool 1989-95).
- 25 The *burgus* is recorded as being subject to a number of destructive fires in this period: *Liber Pontificalis*, 100.7; 105.20.
- 26 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson & M. Winterbottom (Oxford 1998-9), 2.109; Roger of Wendover, *Chronica siue Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.O. Coxe (Rolls Series, London 1841-2), II, 215-6.
- 27 *Liber Pontificalis*, 105.86. This is the earliest reference to the church.
- 28 Leo IV's original papyrus bull is known from a copy made in 1144: Schiaparelli, 'Le carte antiche', 432-7 (no. 2), at 433.
- 29 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, 2.109, and note.
- 30 Sawyer no. 325; Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, 646-8.
- 31 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, sub anno 874, trans. Whitelock & al., 48.
- 32 W.H. Stevenson (ed.), *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (Oxford 1904), 71.
- 33 Reekmans, 'Le développement topographique', 197-233.
- 34 *Liber Pontificalis*, 100.2

- 35 The original charters of donation do not survive, but are cited in the confirmatory bull of Leo IX in 1053: Schiaparelli, 'Le carte antiche', 473-7 (no. 17), at 474, 476. There is a complication in that *Liber Pontificalis*, 100.18, describes Paschal as donating the hospice of St Peregrinus and its endowments to the monastery of St Cecilia in Trastevere, whereas Leo IX's bull claims that in confirming it to St Stephen's it is renewing the arrangements of Paschal I and Leo IV.
Liber Pontificalis, 97.59; 97.81.
- 36 *Liber Pontificalis*, 98.89.
- 37 L. Duchesne, 'Notes sur la topographie de Rome au moyen-âge', part XII, 'Vaticana', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, 34 (1914), at 308-13.
- 38 R. Valentini, G. Zucchetti (eds.), *Codice Topografico della Città di Roma*, vol.2 (Rome 1942), 94-8.
Liber Pontificalis, 106.34.
- 40 R. Gem, 'Gabatae Saxiscæ: Saxon bowls in the churches of Rome during the eighth and ninth centuries', forthcoming.
- 41 *Liber Pontificalis*, 107.54.
- 42 *Liber Pontificalis*, 88.1; 88.6.
- 43 The record was made by one of the canons, Giacomo Grimaldi, whose work has been edited by R. Niggel, *Descrizione della Basilica Antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano* (Vatican 1972), where the oratory of John VII is described and illustrated at pp. 105-6, 117-21.
Liber Pontificalis, 92.6-7.
- 44 Petrus Mallius, *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, ed. R. Valentini & G. Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico della Città di Roma*, vol. 3 (Rome 1946), 388.
Ibid.
- 47 *Liber Pontificalis*, 95.6.
- 48 *Liber Pontificalis*, 95.7.
- 49 A detailed discussion of the development of the fabric will be contained in a book currently in preparation by the present author on the early history of St Peter's.
- 50 *Liber Pontificalis*, 94.47: ... fecit super basilicam beati Petri apostoli turrem, quam ex parte inauarauit et ex parte argento inuestiuit, in quo tribus posuit campanis, qui clero et populum ad officium Dei inuitarent.
- 51 R. Gem, 'Staged timber spires in Carolingian north-east France and late Anglo-Saxon England', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 148 (1995), 29-54.
- 52 *Liber Pontificalis*, 95.6: Fecit et in atrium, ante turrem sanctae Mariae ad grada, quod uocatur Paradiso, oraculum ante Saluatorem, in honore sanctae Dei genetricis Mariae miro opere et decorauit magnifice.
- 53 *Liber Pontificalis*, 97.96; 98.3.
- 54 Sc. the version of the text of Petrus Mallius published in *Acta Sanctorum*, June, vol. 7, 49, §160.
- 55 The donation was confirmed in a bull of Leo IX in 1053: see Schiaparelli, 'Le carte antiche', 473-477 (no. 17), at 476.
Liber Pontificalis, 103.34-5.
- 56 *Liber Pontificalis*, 105.55.
- 57 *De rebus Laudensibus*, cit. J.C. Picard, 'Le quadriportique de Saint-Pierre-au-Vatican', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, 86.1 (1974), 851-890, at 881.

- 60 The principal discussion of the mosaic is H. Belting, 'Das Fassadenmosaik des Atriums von Alt St. Peter in Rom', *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 23 (1961), 37-54.
- 61 Grimaldi, ed. Niggli, 191, 195, fig. 83.
- 62 A drawing of c.1533 by Marten van Heemskerck in the Albertina in Vienna, published H. Egger, *Römische Verduten: Handzeichnungen aus dem XV. - XVII. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2 (Vienna & Leipzig 1913), pl.17.
- 63 M. Cerrati (ed.), *Tiberii Alfarani, De Basilicae Vaticanae* (Rome 1914), 19-20.
- 64 Alfarano, ed. Cerrati, 123.
- 65 Alfarano, ed. Cerrati, 126. This was presumably the altar with an inscription of Innocent II (1130-43) [? or III (1198-1216)] recorded by Grimaldi, ed. Niggli, 190; see also Belting, 'Fassadenmosaik des Atriums', 52-3.
- 66 *Liber Pontificalis*, 98.55; 98.101.
- 67 *Liber Pontificalis*, 105.37.
- 68 Loc. cit. in note 56.
- 69 It may be noted that the great silver doors in the central portal of the church itself were also called *Mediana* in the 7th century: *Liber Pontificalis*, 72.1. There does not immediately appear to be a connection with the fourth week and fifth Sunday in Lent, which in Rome were called *in mediana* (G.G. Willis, *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy*, London 1964, 101-4): even though on that Sunday the papal stational mass was celebrated at St Peter's.
- 70 See note 39.
- 71 Papal catalogue of 1165x1167 formerly at St. Ulrich und Afra, Augsburg, cit. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. 2, p. 260. The reference is to the decoration with paintings of the oratory of St Mary in *Gradibus* by John XV (985-96), and may in fact go back to a 10th-century source (*ibid* p. xv).
- 72 For a plan and a bibliography see F. Oswald et al., *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Katalog der Denkmäler bis zum Ausgang der Ottonen* (Munich 1966-71) and *Nachtragsband* (1991).
- 73 For a plan and a bibliography up to 1991 see again *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten*; but a major programme of further archaeological research at Lorsch is providing new insights into the abbey's building history.
- 74 The dedications of the entrance structures are uncertain both at Fulda and Lorsch.
- 75 For a discussion of the archaeological evidence relating to possible earlier phases of the porch see P. Rahtz & L. Watts, *St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire* (Woodbridge 1997), 158-62. For a new study of the form of the porch see M. Hare, 'The 9th-century west porch of St Mary's Church, Deerhurst', forthcoming. The excavated west end of the major church of St Mary's abbey at Cirencester, probably dating to the 9th century, also had a rectangular forebuilding, of the full width of the nave, divided by a median north-south foundation wall (see R. Gem, 'The Anglo-Saxon church at Cirencester: a reconstruction and evaluation', in D. Wilkinson & A. McWhirr, *Cirencester Anglo-Saxon Church and Medieval Abbey*, Cirencester 1998, 32-9). This may provide a parallel on a much larger scale for the Deerhurst arrangement. Nothing is known, however, about the context in which the Cirencester church was built.
- 76 R. Gem, E. Howe & R. Bryant, 'The ninth-century polychrome decoration at St Mary's church, Deerhurst', *Antiquaries Journal*, 88 (forthcoming).
- 77 *Liber Pontificalis*, 94.45.
- 78 Gem, Howe & Bryant, 'Polychrome decoration'.
- 79 The role of Pope Hadrian I in the condemnation of iconoclasm at the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, and the subsequent misunderstanding of and opposition to the

decrees of the council in the Frankish empire, are well summarised in T.F.X. Noble, 'Tradition and learning in search of ideology: the *Libri Carolini*', in R.E. Sullivan (ed.), *The Gentle Voice of Teachers*, Columbus 1995, 227-60. In 792 Charlemagne sent a copy of the Nicene decrees to Alcuin in Northumbria, and the latter replied with a letter refuting the decrees on behalf of the English Church (Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, 468-9). But in 793 Hadrian himself responded to a draft of Charlemagne's projected book against the council with a detailed counter refutation. A layman like Æthelric would probably have been more impressed by what he actually witnessed in Rome with his own eyes than by the abstruse arguments of theologians in this dispute.

- ⁸⁰ A. Weis, *Die Madonna Platytera* (Königstein im Taunus 1985); S. Pasi, 'Deomene, la Vergine orante nella cultura artistica Bizantina' in A. Donati & G. Gentili, *Deomene: l'Immagine dell'Orante fra Oriente e Occidente* (Milan 2001), 26-32.
- ⁸¹ Liturgy of St Basil, hymn following the consecration.
- ⁸² Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.IV.19, cit. M. Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge 1990), 64.
- ⁸³ Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, 580.
- ⁸⁴ R.N. Bailey, *Anglo-Saxon Sculptures at Deerhurst* (Deerhurst Lecture 2002), 11.
- ⁸⁵ Aldhelm, *Carmina Ecclesiastica*, II; trans. M. Lapidge & J.L. Rossier, *Aldhelm, the Poetic Works* (Exeter 1985), 47.
- ⁸⁶ Cit. Clayton, *Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 55.
- ⁸⁷ J. Mitchell in R. Hodges (ed.), *San Vincenzo al Volturno, I, the 1980-86 Excavations* (London 1993), 100-1.

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by
RICHARD GEM

Deerhurst Lecture 2007

ISBN10 0 9549484 0 8
ISBN13 978 0 9549484 0 5

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ISBN10 0 9549484 0 8

ISBN13 978 0 9549484 0 5

Published by The Friends of Deerhurst Church

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