
CONFERENCE PROGRAM

9:00-9:30

WELCOME AND OPENING REMARKS

FRANCO PAVONCELLO
PRESIDENT, JOHN CABOT UNIVERSITY

GERALD SCHWEDLER
UNIVERSITÄT ZÜRICH

9:30-11:15

WRITING CLEMENT III (WIBERT OF RAVENNA)

POPES THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS, OR *CECI N'EST PAS UN PAPE*
TOMMASO DI CARPEGNA FALCONIERI
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI URBINO

DIFFERENT POPES FOR DIFFERENT FOLKS

T. J. H. MCCARTHY
NEW COLLEGE OF FLORIDA

A SAINT OF DAMNED MEMORY

UMBERTO LONGO
SAPIENZA - UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

11:15-11:45

COFFEE BREAK

11:45-13:00

MEMORY, OBLIVION, AND THE CITY

POPES IN THE TIBER
KAI-MICHAEL SPRENGER
DEUTSCHES HISTORISCHES INSTITUT IN ROM

CLEMENT'S CLOTHES

LILA YAWN
JOHN CABOT UNIVERSITY

13:00-13:30

DISCUSSION

13:30

PIZZA ON THE SECCHIA TERRACE

NOTE: PHOTO ID REQUIRED FOR ADMISSION
FOR INFORMATION, PLEASE CONTACT EVENTS@JOHNCABOT.EDU.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CONFERENCE

The Middle Ages produced any number of figures now considered 'antipopes.' What was an antipope, however, and what impact did the antipopes have on history, religion, and art? This conference considers one of the most important of all antipopes, Clement III (Wibert of Ravenna), who exercised substantial power in Rome and in Italy during the final decades of the eleventh century. Elected by a synod of imperial bishops at Brixen (Bressanone) in 1080, Clement was solemnly enthroned and consecrated at St. John Lateran in 1084, following the siege in which Henry IV, the German king and future emperor, took Rome from the forces of his arch-adversary, Gregory VII.

After his consecration in 1084, Clement III resided in Rome intermittently for fifteen years, acting as pope and simultaneously serving as archbishop of the large and important archdiocese of Ravenna, with the support of Emperor Henry IV and of other powers. In the meantime, three alternative popes now considered the canonical line—Victor III, Urban II, and Paschal II—were elected by cardinals loyal to the memory of Gregory VII and to the so-called 'Reform' party. After Clement's death in 1100, a cult of miracles grew up around his tomb at Civita Castellana, the town in northern Latium where he died. Paschal II put an abrupt end to the cult, however, by having Clement's remains exhumed and thrown into the Tiber.

Our conference focuses upon the image and historical afterlife of Clement III with attention to the different perspectives recoverable from the study of medieval literature, art, and religious and political practice. Several broader questions will constitute leitmotifs. How is history written and rewritten? How are long-term collective memories established and perpetuated? How do the winning parties in a struggle make their defeated and often deceased enemies into villains, when the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate, right and wrong, was not always so clear during the actual struggle?

ABSTRACTS OF THE PAPERS

POPES THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS, OR *CECI N'EST PAS UN PAPE*

TOMMASO DI CARPEGNA FALCONIERI
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI URBINO

This paper introduces Clement III (Wibert of Ravenna) in the context of the general phenomenon of the antipopes, a vast and fundamentally medieval subject. The theme can be approached in two substantially different ways: from the official, well-established position, which condemns the antipopes as schismatics and subverters of the divine order; or from the point of view of an observer studying the phenomenon from the inside. From the latter perspective, which this paper and conference adopt, the antipopes are historical personages who believed in their own legitimacy as popes; who often had large followings; and who received their mark of infamy—that is, the title of antipope—because they were defeated by their opponents.

With the first of the two methods (the official, well-established one), history is interpreted backwards, giving events an after-the-fact justification. With the second approach, the interpreter instead views history in the historical present and tries to comprehend how events unfolded within the dynamics of the myriad possibilities, changes, and inversions of course that life presents. In this sense, we will look not at ‘anti-popes’ but rather at ‘other-popes’ reflected in the mirrors of their adversaries—adversaries who won and who were thus able to transmit their own visions of events as the sole vehicles of truth. In the same spirit, we will consider not antipopes but rather individuals who, like the pipe in Magritte’s famous painting, come down to us not in their authentic dimension but rather through the filters of representation.

DIFFERENT POPES FOR DIFFERENT FOLKS

T. J. H. MCCARTHY

NEW COLLEGE OF FLORIDA

Archbishop Wibert of Ravenna, who was elected Pope Clement III by the imperial episcopacy at the Council of Brixen in June 1080, presented a challenging and somewhat contradictory figure for contemporary German chroniclers. He was a committed reformer, a kinsman of the house of Canossa and, as Chancellor of the Italian kingdom, a trusted adherent of the Salian kings of Germany. His election in direct opposition to Gregory VII at the height of the struggle between empire and papacy was treated differently in the German narrative sources: for some he was a legitimate pope while for others he was an arch-heresiarch.

This paper examines the portrayal of Clement III in German narrative sources from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. It surveys pro-imperial and pro-Gregorian sources in an attempt to show how German commentators sought either to justify or to denounce Clement III and by extension the king and bishops who had elected him. Among these sources are the accounts by Bernold of St Blasien, Lampert of Hersfeld, Frutolf of Michelsberg, Sigebert of Gembloux and Ekkehard of Aura. The paper will also discuss the rewriting of history, particularly the case of Ekkehard of Aura, who altered Frutolf of Michelsberg's *Chronicle* to produce a strikingly negative picture of the imperial opponent to Gregory VII and Urban II.

A SAINT OF DAMNED MEMORY

UMBERTO LONGO

SAPIENZA – UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

In the wake of the death of (anti)pope Clement III at Civita Castellana in the year 1100, a series of written sources bore witness to the many miracles—the “*plurima miracula*”—that occurred around his tomb. These miracles contributed to the spread of the fame of Clement’s sanctity, which was strongly upheld by the anti-Gregorian party and resolutely opposed by Gregory VII’s successors. Affirmed by some, contrasted by others, and ultimately condemned to oblivion, Clement III’s sanctity provides a fitting illustration of the reasons the reform of the eleventh century cannot be interpreted as a unitary and unambiguous process.

POPES IN THE TIBER
KAI-MICHAEL SPRENGER
DEUTSCHES HISTORISCHES INSTITUT IN ROM

From classical antiquity to the nineteenth century, a tradition existed in Rome of throwing the corpses of one’s political enemies into the Tiber to cancel all memory of them. Clement III (Wibert of Ravenna) shared this unenviable fate. Pope Paschal II ordered that his remains be exhumed and tossed into the Tiber so that no trace of the man would remain, either for remembrance or for future hagiographic veneration. This lecture sketches the lines of this tradition from the Roman period to the nineteenth century, underlining the specific political contexts in which these intended acts of *damnatio memoriae* occurred. The word “intended” is crucial, as the Tiber often turned out paradoxically to be not so much an instrument of oblivion as the stage upon which a particular tradition of recollection developed. Acts meant to erase specific memories instead rendered them indelible.

CLEMENT'S CLOTHES
LILA YAWN
JOHN CABOT UNIVERSITY

A masterwork of medieval painting, the frescoes in the Lower Church of S. Clemente in Rome celebrating the first-century pope St. Clement have long been regarded as an expression of the Reform party of the papacy during a period of mounting papal-imperial strife (c. 1080-1099). Modern interpretations of the frescoes have associated them in particular with Rainer of Bleda (Ranieri di Bieda), titular cardinal of S. Clemente, who in 1099 would become Pope Paschal II. Inspired by a suggestion published in 2005 by Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, this paper considers a converse possibility: that the frescoes pay homage to Ranieri's archenemy, the imperial (anti)pope Clement III.

De-emphasized in art-historical studies, Clement III's long pontificate and significant presence and power in Rome pose several critical questions. Who, for example, had physical control of the basilica when the frescoes were painted: Rainer of Bleda, or the supporters of Clement III? What evidence has survived about Beno and Maria, the sponsors of the cycle? What free associations would the paintings have evoked in the minds of eleventh-century viewers? This final question is especially relevant to the scene of the cycle given pride of place in the highest position nearest the church's high altar. Dating to an era when papal names were highly significant emblems of affiliation and similitude, it glorifies—with unprecedented bombast—the pontifical enthronement and legitimacy of a pope named Clement.

THE SPEAKERS (in alphabetical order)

Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri is a permanent researcher (*ricercatore confermato*) at the Università degli Studi di Urbino, where he teaches medieval history. His

principal research themes are the history of Rome and the Roman church in the Middle Ages, subjects about which he has published numerous articles and two books (*Cola di Rienzo*, Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2002; and *Il clero di Roma nel medioevo*, Rome: Viella, 2002). He also investigates the more general theme of historical evidence, with particular attention to forgeries and impostors, and has written a book on the subject recently translated into English: *The Man Who Believed He Was King of France. A True Medieval Tale*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri has also taken part on multiple occasions in Programs of Prominent National Interest (*Programmi di rilevante interesse nazionale*) of the Italian University Ministry and is currently working with an international research group on the project "Medievalism, archaic origins and regimes of historicity." Further information about his publications see <<http://www.uniurb.it/scipol/index.php?module=CMpro&func=viewpage&pageid=13>>

Ricercatore confermato at Sapienza-Università di Roma, **Umberto Longo** specializes in the history of the Central Middle Ages and of the church reform of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, with emphasis on monastic and ecclesiastical institutions and on the relationship between sanctity, institutions, and politics. In 2006 he published *La santità medievale* (Rome: Jouvence), and has recently completed a second monograph, currently in production, on St. Peter Damian and the interconnectedness of writing, sanctity, and the church reform. He is the author of dozens of articles, encyclopedia entries, and essays, the most recent of which concentrate on the experience of the church reform at Fonte Avellana; struggle as an element of medieval monastic life; and the papacy and Jewish heritage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Umberto Longo teaches at the University of Rome La Sapienza in the Department of History, Cultures, and Religion. For further bibliography, see <<http://cisadu2.let.uniroma1.it/medioevo/?q=user/27>>.

T. J. H. McCarthy is Assistant Professor of Medieval History at New College of Florida. He studied at Trinity College, Dublin, and Oxford, and has held teaching and research positions at Trinity College, Dublin, and the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto. His research interests lie primarily in the cultural and religious history of Salian Germany, with particular reference to music, manuscripts and historical writing. He has published and forthcoming articles in *Medium Aevum*, *Revue bénédictine*, *Mediaevistik*, *Revue d'histoire des textes*, *Scriptorium* and the *Haskins Society Journal*. His first monograph, entitled *Music, scholasticism and reform: Salian Germany 1024–1125*, was published by Manchester University Press in 2009 while a critical edition and translation of an eleventh-century music treatise (Aribo's *De musica and Sententiae: a critical edition and translation*) is in press with the TEAMS series. He is currently working on a translation of the *Chronicle* by Frutolf of Michelsberg and its continuations by Ekkehard of Aura, which will be published by Manchester Medieval Sources (*Chronicles of the Investiture Contest: Frutolf of Michelsberg and Ekkehard of Aura*). A fuller bibliography of his publications is available at <<http://www.ncf.edu/tmccarthy>>

Dr. Gerald Schwedler is lecturer for medieval History in the Department of History at Zurich University. He studied History, English Literature, Philosophy and Historical Auxiliary Sciences in Salzburg, Oxford, Rome and Heidelberg. In his dissertation he dealt with political ritual and political performance of kingship in late medieval Europe: "Herrschartreffen des Spätmittelalters. Formen, Rituale, Wirkungen." As a member of the Sonderforschungsbereich 619 „Ritualdynamik“ in Heidelberg he organised various conferences and workshops. He published articles on rituals and late medieval religious and public ceremonial life. So far he has (co-)edited six volumes in the field, recently „Prozessionen, Wallfahrten, Aufmärsche. Bewegung zwischen Religion und Politik in Europa und Asien seit

dem Mittelalter (2006), „Ritualinnovation. Das Ursprüngliche und das Neue: Rituale im historischen Prozeß,“ (2009), „Rituale und die „Politische Versammlungen und ihre Rituale“ (2009) as well as „Ritualmacher - Makers of Ritual“ (forthcoming). Besides his focus on cultural history of monarchy (emperors, kings and popes), he works on questions of late medieval legal history and codification of law. He currently works on a book on *damnatio memoriae* in the early middle ages.

Born in Mainz, **Kai-Michael Sprenger**, studied history, Latin, Germanic Studies, and Pedagogy in Mainz, Glasgow, and Pavia, earning his *laurea* (Master's degree) with a thesis on the history of Pavia in the twelfth century (1995). Afterwards, he worked for three years as curator of the Gutenberg-Museum in Mainz and then as a researcher at the University of Mainz, where he submitted his doctoral dissertation on the repercussions of the Alexandrine schism in Italy. For that thesis he was awarded the prize of the friends of the University of Mainz. From 2001 to July 2010 he served as the Councillor for Culture and Archives of the Province of Ravensburg (Germany). Since August 2010, he has been on a three-year term of leave from the Province of Ravensburg and in residence at the German Historical Institute in Rome in order to dedicate his time to a research project (habilitation thesis) on the typologies of the receptions of the Swabians in Italy in historiography, art, and literature. Kai-Michael Sprenger is specialized in the theme of *damnatio memoriae* and together with Sebastian Scholz e Gerald Schwedler founded the international interdisciplinary research group “*Damnatio in memoria. Deformation und Gegenkonstruktionen in der Geschichte*“ (University of Zurich).

Lila Yawn specializes in the study of central-Italian art and architecture of the Middle Ages. She completed her Ph.D. in the history of art and medieval studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2004, supported by

ellowships from the Fogue Foundation (1987-1990), the Rotary Foundation (1995-1996), the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Broneer Fellow, 1999-2000), and the American Academy in Rome, where she was awarded a two-year pre-doctoral Rome Prize in 1996. She currently serves as an Arts and Humanities Advisor to the American Academy in Rome and teaches courses in medieval art in Rome for John Cabot University, Cornell University, and other American university programs. Her current research interests, in addition to antipopes, include color in the medieval Roman cityscape, the physical and mythical history of the Colosseum after the end of antiquity, and the systems of labor used to produce the Italian Giant Bibles, a large group of very large manuscripts made during the era of (anti)pope Clement III and his contemporaries. Her recent state-of-the-question essays about the Giant Bibles will be published in 2011 by Columbia University Press in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (ed. Susan Boynton and Diane Reilly) and in the *Cahiers Electroniques d'Histoire Textuelle du LAMOP* (Laboratoire de Médiévisique Occidentale de Paris) of the French Centre national de la recherche scientifique.