

ROME

ART
AND
UND
Y

THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

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ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

Index

- 1/ “Conquerors, and other nomads...”,
François Pinault, President of Palazzo Grassi
- 2/ “Of the good use of immigration”,
Monique Veaute, Director of Palazzo Grassi
- 3/ General presentation,
by Jean-Jacques Aillagon, chief curator of “Rome and Barbarians”.
- 4/ “Rome and the Barbarians, one thousand years of European history”,
Yann Rivière, Director of Studies of the Ecole française de Rome
- 5/ Chronology
- 6/ Key figures of their time, the men and women who made history
- 7/ Facts and figures
- 8/ The catalogue
- 9/ Palazzo Grassi
- 10/ Biographies
- 11/ General information
- 12/ Media Contacts
- 13/ Captions

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

1/

“Conquerors, and other nomads...”

François Pinault, President of Palazzo Grassi

“Rome and the Barbarians”: in spite of its sobriety, the title of this exhibition, the last that Jean-Jacques Aillagon has left us as his heritage, is eminently suggestive. It revives the vision of a civilization, our own, ignited in the early years of the Christian era by hordes of riders surging from still unexplored steppes, in Asia or elsewhere. It conjures bearded nomads pouring forth from the borders of the empires. It evokes, in our imagination, the trampled laws, the slaughtered or enslaved men, the abused women, the children wrested away from their parents, the jewels and the works of culture plundered and piled high on the heavy wagons of the invaders to be carried off to smoky makeshift camps, set up well away from the cities. In short, on the large screen of our collective unconscious, the age of the barbarians remains a time of boundless violence.

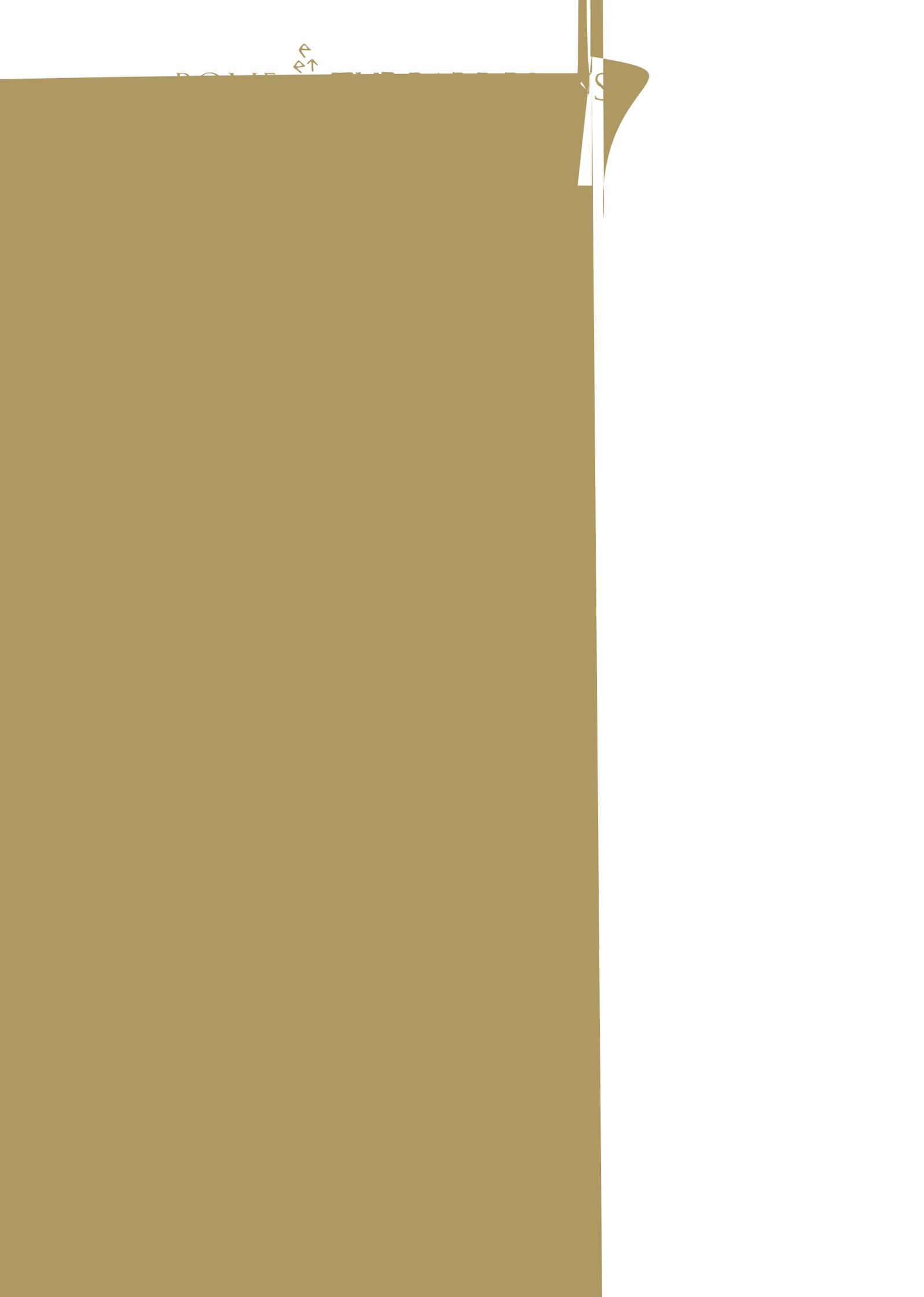
But these are just stereotypes. Because, fortunately, for the contemporaries of Clovis as well as for us, the distant heirs to the Goths, Saxon, and Lombards, the barbarian invasions cannot be epitomized as a sudden wild onrush of which the “civilized” people were the victims. They were preceded, in Constantinople, as in the remotest areas of the imperium, in the Rhine plains, the Po Valley or the Danube estuary, by the muffled rumblings of traditions which appeared permeable to each other, by the brushing of two bordering worlds that had got to know each other before they came to clash, through exchanges, cross-breeding, negotiations, trading, and also conversions to the new faith that was planting its first churches throughout Europe. It was a metamorphosis in progress, whose principal vector was still art.

This complex period, marked by the commingling of civilizations, the opening, the integration of worships and traditions, the dissemination of knowledge, mutual enrichment, and even, why not, cultural diversity, gives evidence, were it still necessary, to the timeless and universal force of art whose origin is lost in the mists of time but yet continues in the most contemporary creations.

The installations of the Indian artist Subodh Gupta, whose «Very hungry god» the Venetians already know, as it is visible in all its awe-inspiring welded lustre outside Palazzo Grassi, those of Pascale-Marthine Tayou, the works of the Italian artist Rudolf Stingel and the mangas of the Japanese plastic art exponent Takashi Murakami, just to name a few, make us aware of how universal the essence of art is.

And Venice has always welcomed artists. This is a tradition that will be embraced by both Palazzo Grassi and the future museum of Punta della Dogana. Because wasn't it to the Venetian coast and to the islands of her lagoon, then under Byzantine rule, that the inhabitants of the Roman empire fled to seek refuge and peace when, starting from the 6th century, the Lombard conquest, long, cruel, indecisive, put them to too severe a test?

François Pinault



ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

working them to the bone - or, quite simply, to push them back, and even slaughter the crowd of Goths who tried to cross over at all costs. It was no longer a case of delimiting an unspecified "tolerance level", but of trying to survive a human flood they just seemed unable to hold back.

To make a long story short, let us say that, what with the force of despair of the barbarian warriors, the dilly-dallying of the emperor, urgently returned from Syria, and the strategic mistakes made by his generals, it was not long before the scales tipped in favour of the barbarians: after the battle of Ad Salices and, even more so, that of Adrianople - on 9 August 378 -, the die was cast. Emperor Valens was killed in the fray, the legions, the very flower of the Roman army, were hacked to pieces by the barbarian cavalry and only the fortified citadels, as well as some of the large cities, escaped conquest by the Goths, now on their way to Rome, sacked in 410 by their chieftain Alaric. Finally, in 476, exactly one century after the first shockwaves had hit, the curtain fell on the Empire when the barbarian king Odoacer deposed Romulus Augustus, the last Western Roman emperor.

The worst appeared to be done, at least in the terms of a Manichean and reactionary history that still has its supporters today: the Empire had allegedly disintegrated under the blows of the Goths, and the civilized populations, victims of their own leniency - too bad "all these brutes" had not been exterminated right from the start of the uprisings, when one had the means to! - had been struck down by the barbarian beasts. Such an account of hatred and terror of "the other", had it been confirmed by facts, would have largely facilitated the task of the chief curator of our exhibition: "Rome and the Barbarians" would only have to show a pool of dried blood, some bones and the ashes of a genocide!

Of course, everyone can see that nothing of the kind happened. On the contrary: far from being "the end of all things", this changeover constitutes the starting point of a new history and this beneficial migration, as badly managed as it was then, constitutes an essential part of the richness of Western civilization. The West had already been abandoned to itself, and to "its" barbarians, by a Byzantine Empire that was fighting hard to survive, and was by now more distant than ever. But a new word, one that was to produce in Europe as many effects as the military conquests, if not more, finally prevailed: integration, the promise of a new world.

It is this melting pot and the first faltering steps towards the mingling of different cultures, taking place at the four corners of the old Empire, that the Palazzo Grassi exhibition intends to illustrate. It will show the barbarian line, always in motion, gain a foothold in Roman representational patterns in fabric design - like the splendid embroidered chasuble of Queen Bathilde -, the interlacing ornamentation of goldsmith works, the jewels - the Merovingian grave of the "Lady" of Grez-Doiceau, near Brussels, in the Walloon Brabant, offers some exceptional findings - and the illuminations of the manuscripts. It will show the barbarian expansion coming to disrupt, at the speed of a galloping horse, the orderly pattern of the biaxial crossings, quadrangular plans and the squares and checks motifs on Roman tunics, silver platters, swords or buckles, while at the same time the Gothic warriors wreak havoc on the order of battle of the legions and uproot the markers of the Roman cadastre. It will show, as on the casket of Theuderic (mid-7th century), this portable treasure of the Abbey of Saint Maurice in the alpine Valais, the decoration ". On the front and sides with plates of cloisonné gold covered with welded bead-like gold tracery, crimped back to form the setting vitreous paste gems and garnets.

Where are we then? In the Teutonic forests? In the workshops of ancient Rome? I prefer to say: in this new place, animated by a new faith and a yet-unborn imagery, where one, the Roman, would certainly not have gone without the other, the Barbarian.

Monique Veaute

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

3 /

Presentation of the exhibition

by Jean-Jacques Aillagon, Chief curator

The Roman expansion into Europe, Africa and Asia inevitably brought the Empire into contact with the peoples of other ancient empires and great civilizations, such as the Egyptians and the Persians, as well as those who would become known as “Barbarians.” This name was used by the Romans to indicate people with habits, customs, languages and cultures that were different from their own. Coined by the Greeks, the expression “barbarian” designated those who did not understand the language and were not organized into territorially stable urban centres and empires.

The conflict of the oppressor/oppressed was often at the basis of Rome’s relationship with the Barbarians, as testified in much of the iconography from Imperial Rome. Often, however, the Barbarians inflicted heavy defeats on Rome, eventually forcing them to withdraw. One example is the Roman defeat in Teutoburg in the year AD 9, when the legions of Varus were annihilated by the Germans.

Over the course of many centuries, this conflict kept the Empire on constant guard, as evidenced by Marcus Aurelius, who died in AD 180 on the Limes Germanicus (Germanic frontier) of Pannonia. Nevertheless, Marcus Aurelius managed to form a prolific fusion between the Roman world and the world of the “Barbarians,” creating a model of an open society in the Empire, which in the end welcomed different beliefs and ways of life. Starting from the third century, a large part of the Roman military appeared to be “barbarized” in terms of equipment, organization and composition of troops. Various soldiers of Barbarian origins rapidly rose through the ranks and had brilliant careers; some of these were even assigned to the highest posts in the consulate, such as Stilicho (AD 359-408) and Aspar (AD 400-471).

The Christianization of the Empire, beginning with Constantine, and of the Barbarian people was an additional element that blended the Roman tradition and the cultures of peoples outside of the Empire, in spite of the discrepancy between the Empire’s Nicene Catholicism and the Arianism of various Barbarian leaders.

These peoples, who came from Northern Europe (Germans, people from Celtic islands Celtic islanders) and from Eastern Europe (Sarmatians, Alans and Goths) and those along the Asian frontier (Huns, Avars) introduced new values, habits and customs, which at times violently clashed with those of the Empire, hence the term “Barbarian Invasions.” However, the Barbarians did adjust to certain characteristics of the Roman civilization, thereby influencing their culture. This movement became more and more trying for the Roman Empire of the West, in spite of later attempts to reorganize, as seen with Diocletian’s creation of a tetrarchy, or the Empire’s establishment of associations of power with the Barbarian leaders. The synthesis between the Roman culture and Barbarian power is evidenced on many occasions, from the Ostrogoth court in Ravenna to the Visigoths in Toulouse, or the Romans Vandals in Carthage.

By AD 476, the Western Roman Empire was no more. Only Constantinople remained the capital of the Roman Empire. The fifth century marked the beginning of the progressive settling of Barbarian kingdoms in Western Europe (including Visigoths, Burgundians, Suebians and Franks), while the Vandals settled in Carthage in Northern Africa, constituting a Roman-Barbarian maritime power that was capable of controlling the central Mediterranean traffic. These kingdoms profoundly changed and rearranged the map of Europe, giving it the majority of its current human, cultural and political characteristics.

Through the encounter between the Roman aristocracy and the Germanic military nobility, some of these kingdoms allowed for a significant cultural continuum with the ancient world. Consider the work of Cassiodorus, Gregory of Tours, Bede the Venerable, Paul the Deacon, and other “Roman-Barbarian” intellectuals who created the foundation for original political systems. Some examples of these include the Ostrogoth kingdom of Theodoric in Italy, the Visigoth kingdom in Spain and, from the end of the sixth century, the Lombard kingdom in Italy. In a similar way, the history of the kingdom of the Franks is much more significant in light of the fact that, after the conversion of Clovis to Catholicism, this kingdom was wise enough to take advantage of the relationship with the Eastern Roman Empire in order to dominate Western Europe.

With the fall of the Merovingian kingdom, when Charlemagne restored the Empire’s dignity in the West (AD 800), Europe relived the dream of Rome. Nevertheless it was divided between the Eastern Roman Empire, the new Holy Roman Empire and the Arab-Andalusia kingdoms, which at this point constituted a new element of the political and cultural history in Europe. In the West, the Papacy’s role was reaffirmed, and Christianization contributed the majority of the intellectual and political characteristics that would come to define the following

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

century. New “Barbarians” knocked on Europe’s doors regardless: the Normans in Western Europe, the Magyars and Bulgarians in Eastern Europe. Around the year AD 1000 the migratory phenomenon ended, giving Europe a more humane face that would remain largely stable for approximately 1000 years.

Rome and the Barbarians, the Birth of a New World re-enacts this long history and demonstrates its crucial role in the development of the identity of the European continent—which all too often celebrates its Greek, Roman and Hebrew-Christian roots while forgetting its powerful and decisive Barbarian origins. The exhibition focuses on the events that most directly affected the territories of Western Europe, without forgetting the processes that, starting from the East, also had an impact on the West. It is important to note that up to the advent of the Arab-Muslim world, the Mediterranean represented an open space and homogenous passageway for people, goods and ideas from East to West. The exhibition, which spans over a millennium of European history, also invites visitors to reflect on Europe’s current situation, a political and cultural space that previously dominated (or attempted to dominate) the world but now finds itself again learning to live with an ever-growing number of people from other parts of the world. And while it is true that Europe imposes the European style of living and thinking on new immigrants, it is also true that these same people enrich or stimulate the evolution of the culture and customs of the countries that welcome them. This dynamic can either be accepted or refused but is nonetheless one of the foundations on which the New Europe is being built.

This exhibition, therefore, covers an extensive time period, literally thousands of years, as well a vast territory that includes almost the entire European continent. In this way it distinguishes itself from other exciting exhibitions which referred to more specific chronological or geographical themes of this historical period, such as – to mention just a few - I Longobardi curated by Prof. Brogiolo in Turin (Italy), Hispania Gothorum. San Ildefonso y el reino visigodo de Toledo, presented in Toledo at the beginning of 2007, Konstantin der Grosse, presented this year in Treves, Attila und die Hunnen in Speyer, etc.

Rome and the Barbarians, the Birth of a New World, can be characterized by an ambition not only to inform the public about a lesser-known historical period, but also to offer the possibility for reflection on the profound meaning of this epoch that was so important in determining the birth of the new European identity, in order to better understand certain political, economic and social realities that Europe faces today.

Displaying more than 2.000 pieces, this vast exhibition is the most important never carried out in Europe on this theme. “Rome and the Barbarians” would never take place without the work of an exceptional international scientific committee, an efficient collaboration among three prominent institutions (Palazzo Grassi in Venice, the Ecole française de Rome, and the Kunst-und Ausstellungshalle of Bonn), and the availability of almost 200 lenders from over 23 European countries, from the USA and even from Africa, (lending the Tunisian items related to the vandal kingdom in Carthage). Many of the exhibited items are true national treasures from their countries of origin; such is the case with the treasure of Beja in Portugal, the hexagonal reliquary from Conques, or the treasure of Childericus, from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, as well as the book of the Gospels of Notger, Belgium, of the presumed portrait of Amalasantha, from the Bargello Museum in Florence.

Many of these pieces are leaving their country for the first time, such as the casket of Theuderic, which will leave the Saint-Maurice abbey, in Switzerland, after 1400 years, to be presented in Venice. A few pieces, such as the monumental foot in bronze from Clermont-Ferrand, or the treasure of the tomb of the lady of Grez-Doiceau in Namur, or the processional lance of Cutry (Moselle, France), were just discovered and will be presented to the public in an international show for the very first time. Also worth mentioning is the presence of the ensemble “Scettri del Palatino” (Rome), recently discovered. Besides the archaeological items, we should mention that the exhibition conveys a few unique manuscripts, such as the Book of Mulling, the book of the Gospels of Saint-Vaast and of Marmoutier, as well as the miniature manuscript of the Gospel according to Saint John, which was copied in Italy between the V and the VI century.

In addition to the abundance of historical material presented in the exhibition, a dozen paintings from the XIX century will offer the visitors a romantic point of view on the historical milestones of the relations between Rome and the Barbarians. Among these paintings, some are particularly noteworthy, such as Honorius by Jean-Paul Laurens (Chrysler Museum, Norfolk), Vercingétorix se rendant à César by Henri-Paul Motte (Musée Crozatier di Puy-en-Velay) and the Battaglia di Aquileia by Alfredo Tominz (Museo Rivoltella, Trieste).

To all the lenders, as well as to all the authors of the catalogue, I wish to express my gratitude.

Jean-Jacques Aillagon

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

Members of the Scientific Committee:

Under the presidency of Jean-Jacques Aillagon, Michel Gras, and Christoph Vitali

The organization of Rome and the Barbarians, the Birth of a New World was assisted by an international scientific committee, which included: Jean-Jacques Aillagon (President of the Etablissement du musée et du domaine national de Versailles), Christoph Vitali (Director of the Kunst-und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland of Bonn), Michel Gras (Director of the Ecole française de Rome), Gian Pietro Brogiolo (professor at the University of Padua, Italy), Lellia Cracco Ruggini (professor at the University of Turin, Italy), Falko Daim (Managing Director of Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum von Mainz, Germany), Paolo Delogu (professor at “La Sapienza” University in Rome, Italy), Peter Heather (professor at Worcester College, Oxford, United Kingdom), Andrea Giardina (professor at the Italian Institute of Human Sciences, Florence, Italy), Sylvain Janniard (professor at the University of Paris IV–Sorbonne, France), Michel Kazanski (research director at CNRS, France), Wilfred Menghin (director of the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin, Germany), Walter Pohl (professor at Universität Wien, Vienna, Austria), Paul Van Ossel (professor at the University of Paris X, Nanterre, France), Patrick Périn (conservateur général du patrimoine, director of Musée d’Archéologie nationale, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France) and Giuliano Volpe (professor at the University of Foggia, Italy). Prof. Dr. Jan Bemman, Professor at the University of Bonn, Germany.

Coordinators of the scientific committee

Yann Rivière, Director of Studies of the Ecole française de Rome

Umberto Roberto, Professor at the University of Rome, La Sapienza

Jean-Jacques Aillagon

Former Minister of Culture

President of the Etablissement public du musée et du domaine national de Versailles

Chief Curator

With the collaboration of

Silvia Roman

with

Marylène Malbert

Alice Mandricardo

Scenography of the exhibition

Daniela Ferretti

Graphic design of the exhibition

Dario Zannier

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

4/

Rome and the Barbarians, one thousand years of European history,

by Yann Rivière, Director of Studies of the Ecole française de Rome

« Pax Romana » without the Germanic peoples

It is at the time of the conquest of the Gauls by Julius Caesar that the Roman troops crossed the Rhine for the first time and came into contact with the Germanic tribes, "violent and coarse men", in the eyes of this general who outlined the first ethnographic portrait of the "barbarians". A few decades later, emperor Augustus, founder of the principate, tried to pacify the territories on the right bank of the Danube and conquer those lying between the Rhine and the Elbe. At the end of his reign, the massacre of the legions of general and consul Quintilius Varus by Germanic tribes in the battle of the Teutoburg Forest, in 9 AD put an end to the Roman ambition to extend the empire to include this continental area.

During a century and a half of "Pax Romana", the Empire expanded northward: Emperor Claudius (41-54 AD) conquered Britain, and Trajan (98-117) created the only province located on the left bank of the Danube, Dacia (present-day Romania). At the same time (in 98 AD), the historian Tacitus first introduced his contemporaries to "these other peoples", in his work *Germania*. The borders (the *limes*) were consolidated everywhere. Starting from Domitianus (81-96 AD), the effort was concentrated in particular on the protection of the "Agri decumates", a highly fortified area of the Empire that lay between the upper Rhine and the Danube. Emperors Hadrian (117-138 AD) and Antoninus (138-161 AD) also pushed back in the North of England the border of the Roman province of Britannia with the construction of an elaborate system of defence lines. The consolidation effort continued in Africa (modern Maghreb) until the reign of Severus (193-235 AD), in order to gain control of the Moorish populations as far as the edges of the desert. In mid-2nd century, the orator Aelius Aristides could sing the praise of the civilizing work of an empire centered in the Mediterranean, able to pacify and integrate the most diverse peoples. At the time it was not allowed to cast doubts on Roman power. "That is why", he exclaims in his panegyric on Rome, "in seeing the drive and the organization of the military force, one will think, in accordance with the Homeric expression, that, were the enemies ten times as many, they would quickly be driven back and overcome to the last man".

However, some time later, the Empire was shaken by a double attack, from the Parthians in the East, and from the Germanic tribes on the Danube. The river was crossed and the Italian soil overrun by the barbarians. Throughout his reign, emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) endeavoured to redress a situation that reflected the limits of the defence system set up one century and a half earlier. These military circumstances, worsened by the plague, marked an epochal change, which is expressed through art: one such example is the violence of the scenes spiralling around the shaft of the column of Marcus Aurelius or the tangle of bodies and faces on the Portonaccio battle sarcophagus: "exhausted men, emaciated, scarred by sorrow and humiliation, born of a new conscience of the fragility of the human being" (B Andreae). And it is at the close of the 2nd century that the civilization of late Antiquity finds its origin.

From the Third Century Crisis to the Tetrarchs

From then on, warring in the Danube area became constant, while in the East, the Parthian threat was replaced by the Persian Empire pressing at the borders. In the 230s, the Roman Empire entered "the Third Century Crisis": emperor Decius, who fought against the Goths in 251, died while fighting; ten emperors were killed by their troops; it was necessary to accept "ignominious" peace treaties, such as the one with the Goths in 253; provincial territories were definitively abandoned (the "Agri Decumates" under Gallienus, Dacia under Aurelian), others temporarily broke away from Rome to ensure their own defence ("the Gallic Empire" from 258 to 268); the Danubian provinces were devastated by the Goths, who put Athens under siege in 268; the Alamanni penetrated into Gaul in 259, then again in 275, at the same time as the Franks. On three occasions the emperors had to defend the Italian soil: Gallienus in 259 and Claudius II Gothicus in 269 against the Alamanni; Aurelian in 270 against the Vandals. At this point Rome, which had not been besieged since 390 BC, had to be surrounded by protective walls.

Starting from the mid-3rd century, however, reforms were introduced in order to increase the mobility of the army and improve the effectiveness of its organization. At the same time, recruitment was opened also to barbarians, who found in the army a way of entering into the service of the Empire and at the same time prove their military prowess and ensure a living to their families: "A Frank in the civilian world, I am a Roman soldier under arms", reads a funerary inscription of the following century. From the late 260s, the situation began to stabilize

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

thanks to the efforts of the soldier, or barrack, emperors, so named because for the greatest part they came from the rank and file of the army and rose to power through the support of their troops and their military competences. Their reigns were short-lived, because a defeat generally led to usurpation. Now more than ever, in Rome power rested on victory. In 284, the assassination of a prince once more brought into power a talented officer, Diocletian, who almost at once decided to share the purple, co-ruling with another soldier of Illyrian origin, Maximian. The multiplicity of the fronts was such that it required the presence of two emperors, who were soon to become four (295). That was the beginning of the Tetrarchy, the system of division of power and distribution of competences between two Augusti and two Caesars, of which the group sculpted out of porphyry in Venice or the relief of the arch of Galerius in Thessalonica still offer a plastic rendition.

From Constantine to Theodosius : the Empire becomes Christian

The shuffle of power, however, put an end to this system, paving the way to the rise of a prominent figure, emperor Constantine. His victory against the usurper Maxentius in the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 had repercussions far beyond the affirmation of his personal power: it led to the conversion of the emperor to Christianity, and to the orthodoxy of the Nicene creed (325), which he professed from his new capital city, Constantinople, consecrated in 330.

Starting from the reign of Constantine, Christianity, which had been subjected to intermittent persecutions during the previous decades, suddenly received the decisive support of the emperor. Throughout the 4th century, however, paganism remained a force to be reckoned with. And it was necessary to wait until Theodosius prohibited all pagan cults, at the end of the same century, for the Empire to become "Christian". But even while the Church was being built, unity of faith was far from being reached, because of the progress of Arianism, with the conversion of the Goths and other Germanic tribes, or the Donatist heretics in Africa. The conversion of the barbarians to Christianity (for a long time in its Arian form) had a decisive impact on the spread of the new religion. It is largely explained by the desire to become part of the Roman Empire which animated these barbarian populations and their chiefs: "they had only one desire, to be integrated. To be really integrated it was necessary to become Christian" (Georges Duby).

Disappearance of the western borders of the Empire

The year 376 opened a new stage in the history of the relations between Rome and the Barbarians. Driven by the Huns who sought to subjugate them, the Goths crossed the Danube once again and entered the Empire. The new factor was the fact that they remained grouped behind their warlords and inflicted, two years later, a devastating defeat upon the Romans at Adrianople (378): Emperor Valens was killed in the battle. Four years later, in 382, the Goths obtained through a treaty (foedus) the right to settle within the Empire. They became "federates", "allies" of the Roman people. This cannot be compared to an invasion, or a forceful conquest, as the historians of the "barbarian invasions" had formerly suggested. "It still remains that since the year 382 the Empire was no longer a territory submitted as a whole to Roman rule and to the emperor: there was a foreign enclave within its borders, even though nominally as a vassal" (Paul Veyne).

While other populations continued to exert their pressure on the Rhine (Franks, Alamanni, Burgundians), at his death, Theodosius divided the Empire into two parts, giving one to each of his two sons: Arcadius received the East, Honorius the West. It is under the reign of the latter that the mass settlements of Germanic populations within the western empire took place: in 406, invading Suevi, Vandals and Goths crossed the Rhine, overran Gaul and reached Spain, and the Goths that had settled in the area of the Upper Danube twenty-five years earlier began moving westward. In 410, Rome was taken by Alaric. It was to be taken again thirty-five years later by Geiseric (455), the king of the Vandals who had taken possession of Africa after crossing the Strait of Gibraltar (May 429). In the course of one century, these Germanic people, turned navigators, dominated the history of the Mediterranean, against Byzantium. On the continent, the Romans as well as the barbarians had to face another danger against which they joined forces: the Huns. Attila was driven back in 451 with the victory by a coalition of Romans and Visigoths at the battle of the Catalaunian Fields.

The barbarian kingdoms

While in Rome the deposition of the last western emperor, Romulus Augustus in 476 theoretically made the emperor of Constantinople the only ruler of the Roman Empire, the massive migration of the Germanic populations continued for one more century, with Burgundians, Alamanni, and Franks moving southward within Gaul, and establishing rival kingdoms. Under the reign of Clovis, at the beginning of the 5th century, the Franks occupied the Aquitaine of the Visigoths, and forced them to retreat into their kingdom in Spain, with Toledo as its capital. In northern Europe, the Jutes, Angles and Saxons from Denmark crossed the North Sea and settled in the British Isles, forcing the Britons to take refuge in Armorica, present-day Brittany, where they also had to

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

push back the Frankish invasion. The Italian peninsula was dominated by the Ostrogothic kingdom of Ravenna (483-553), whose first king Theoderic initially remained, at least in principle, the representative of the emperor of Constantinople.

At least theoretically, the “Roman” emperor had always been the ruler of the Western Empire, and the various barbarian kings had been under his authority. It is in the name of this authority that Justinian undertook the recovery of the stretches of land that had been lost by the empire but that were within the reach of his armies: Vandal Africa fell, as well as the islands of the western Mediterranean. Italy was finally brought into submission in 553. Undoubtedly taking advantage of its distance and good relationship with Constantinople, the Frankish kingdom was not affected by this short-lived recovery effort of the Byzantines. In 569, the arrival of the invading Lombards (driven forward by the Avars) in an Italy exhausted by the Gothic wars constituted the ultimate Germanic conquest of the old territory of the empire (while Saxons, Frisians, Thuringii and Bavarians settled in the areas east of the Rhine that had been their homeland). The Lombard domination lasted for over two centuries, but did not involve the southern part of the Italian peninsula nor the islands.

The Carolingian power and the « newcomers »

Of the mosaic of barbarian kingdoms that occupied the western part of the old Roman Empire, only the Frankish kingdom was to be long-lasting. Visigothic Spain was quickly exposed to a new threat, this time from the south. Fifteen years after the death of Muhammad (632), the Arabs started to move to the conquest of the Byzantine and Berber Maghreb, completed in 700. The Iberian peninsula was then invaded between 711 and 713. Twenty years later, the victory of Charles Martel at Poitiers (732) has at times been interpreted as a failed raid, at others as a crushing blow to the Berber conquest of Europe. In any case, the *Continuatio Hispana* (continuation of the *Chronica Maiora* by Isidore of Seville) called this battle the victory of the Europeans over the Saracens.

That victory also marked the growth of Frankish power under the Carolingians. Reunified by the son of Charles Martel, Pepin the Short, in 751, the kingdom was expanded in the following years thanks to Charlemagne's conquests. He was crowned emperor by the pope in Rome in 800, in an attempt to revive imperial unity. In the South, admittedly, Lombard Italy had been subjugated, in the East Charlemagne's empire extended all the way to the Elbe, and in the North the victory obtained over the Saxons in 785 gave him Frisia. But Spain remained firmly in Muslim hands, Britain defied Carolingian rule and only northern Italy had been conquered. The Carolingians nevertheless had created a vast empire protected by a belt of military buffer zones, called marks or marches (Spain, Friuli, Pannonia, Bavaria, the land of the Danes, Brittany), bordering the areas not yet fully brought under control. This precariousness appeared particularly evident at the time of the Viking raids from Scandinavia, which ravaged the coasts of England, of Ireland and of Gaul in the second half of the 8th century, and then intensified throughout the 9th century (“First Viking age”).

The heritage of the Carolingian period was in particular the legal unification of Europe and a rebirth of art and literature. Ancient Rome always exerted the same attraction, in the field of law, as well as of culture.

From an Empire to the next : the Germans and Rome

In mid-10th century, the dream of imperial unity envisaged by Charlemagne re-appeared, at the time when Western Europe saw the rise of “newcomers”: in addition to the Scandinavians, already an old acquaintance, the new populations included Hungarians and the Slavs. Shortly after his victory at Lechfeld against the Hungarians (955), Otto I the Great, king of Germany, revived the dream of unity in 962. More than the “national” Empire of Charlemagne, the one outlined by Otto was a supranational, “European” reality, according to Jacques Le Goff: “The significant name of this empire was Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. This title initially indicated the sacred character of the empire, but came to be a reminder that it was the heir to the Roman empire and that Rome was its capital; and, finally, it underlined the pre-eminent role held by the Germans in the institution”.

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

5/ Chronology

58-51 B.C.: Caesar subdues Gaul and drives back the Germanic tribes led by Ariovustus.

9 (summer): The Varus Disaster: P. Quintilius Varus' legions are wiped out in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest.

83-85: Domitian launches military campaigns against the Chatti. Building of border fortifications (*limes*) in Upper Germany.

98: Tacitus writes his ethnographic work *Germania*.

105-106: Dacia (modern Romania) is conquered by Trajan.

122: The Hadrian wall is built to defend the north of the province of Britain.

167-180: Marcus Aurelius launches punitive trans-Danubian campaigns against the marauding Germanic tribes.

251: Emperor Decius dies fighting the Goths. First State persecution of Christians.

260: The Goths invade Thrace and raid their way to the Aegean sea; Italy, attacked by the Juthungi, is defended by Gallienus. In the spring, his father Valerian is defeated and captured in Edessa by the Persians. Secessions and usurpations follow: «The whole Roman empire was in such a helpless state as to be on the very verge of ruin» (Zosimus).

268: The Goths and the Heruli besiege Athens.

270: After defeating the Goths at Naissus (Nis, Serbia), Claudius II Gothicus crushes the Alamanni at Lake Benacus (Lake Garda).

271: Aurelian abandons trans-Danubian Dacia to the Goths. In the same year new walls are built to protect Rome (the Aurelian Walls).

275: The *Agri decumates* are evacuated. Wars against the Franks and the Goths.

293: The first tetrarchy is founded (Diocletian, Maximian Herculius, Constantius Chlorus, Galerius).

296: After a 10-year secession, Roman co-emperor Constantius Chlorus reclaims the province of Britain and captures London.

298: Maximian attacks the Moors and campaigns in Africa.

303-304: The Great Persecution of Christians.

312: Constantine defeats Maxentius at the battle of the Milvian Bridge.

313: The Edict of Milan grants Christian freedom to worship.

325: The first Council of Nicaea condemns Arianism.

330 (May 11): Constantinople is consecrated the new capital of the Empire.

357: Battle of Strasbourg against the Alamanni.

363: Roman general Theodosius the Elder drives the Scots and the Saxons out of Roman Britain.

376: Driven by the Huns, the Visigoths cross the Danube and obtain from Emperor Valens the right to settle on Roman soil.

378: Valens is defeated by the Goths and dies at Adrianople.

380: Emperor Theodosius I signs a treaty (foedus) with the Goths, who settle south of the Danube.

382: St. Jerome is in Rome and starts to work on the translation of the Bible into Latin (c. 347-420).

392: Pagan worship is banned.

395: Emperor Theodosius the Great dies and the Empire is split in two parts: Arcadius rules over the Eastern empire, Honorius over the Western half. Stilicho, a Vandal by birth, is appointed Honorius' guardian.

406: Stilicho defeats the Ostrogoths at Fiesole.

406 (December 31): The Vandals, Alans, and Suebi cross the frozen Rhine and overrun Gaul.

410 (August 24): Alaric sacks Rome.

413-418: The Visigoths settle in Spain at the beginning of the 5th century.

430: Saint Augustine (b. 534) dies in Hippo besieged by the Vandals.

443: The Burgundians settle in the mid-Rhône valley.

451: The Romans led by Aetius and their Visigoth allies defeat Attila's Huns at the Catalaunian Fields (Battle of Campus Mauriacus).

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

455 (June 2-16): Gaeseric's Vandals sack Rome.

476 (September 4): Emperor Romulus Augustus (Augustulus) is deposed by Odovacar (Odoacer) who sends the imperial insignia back to Constantinople.

486: the Frankish king Clovis takes Soissons, the last Gaulish territory still occupied by a Roman army.

493: Theoderic king of the Ostrogoths seizes power in Italy and moves his capital to Ravenna.

Between 496 and 511: Clovis is baptized.

507: Clovis's Franks defeat the Visigoths at the battle of Vouillé.

511: Clovis dies. The *Regnum Francorum* is partitioned between his four sons.

v. 529: Benedict of Nursia founds the Monte Cassino monastery and the Benedictine order.

533: Byzantine general Belisarius reconquers Africa, then Sardinia, Corsica and the Balearic Islands. The Vandals disappear from history.

554-555: At the end of the Gothic wars the Byzantines regain control over Italy.

569: Driven by the advance of the Avars, the Lombards settle in Italy.

597: Ethelbert, King of Kent, is converted by St. Augustine of Canterbury.

615: St. Columban, Irish missionary, founder of the monasteries of Luxeuil (590) and Bobbio (612), dies.

647: First invasion of Byzantine Africa by the Arabs.

711-719: Moors (Arabs and Berbers) from North Africa invade the Iberian Peninsula. The Christian kingdoms resist in the north and west, especially in the Asturias.

732: Charles Martel defeats the Berbers converted to Islam at Poitiers.

751: Pepin the Short has himself crowned king of the Franks. Birth of the Carolingian dynasty.

771: Carloman dies. Charlemagne becomes the king of all Franks.

773: Called by Pope Adrian I, Charlemagne seizes Pavia and captures the Lombard king Desiderius.

787: Second Council of Niceae: Charlemagne authorizes images in Christian art (condemnation of iconoclasm).

788: Bavaria is incorporated into the Carolingian empire, bringing it into direct contact with the Avars.

796: Charlemagne's forces subdue the Avars.

800 (December 25): Charlemagne is crowned emperor in Rome by Pope Leo III. He becomes *Romanorum gubernans Imperium* «governor of the Roman Empire».

810: The Normans attack Frisia (previously conquered by Charlemagne).

814: Charlemagne dies.

824: The Normans seize Noirmoutiers.

842: Oaths of Strasbourg (pledge of alliance between Charles the Bald Lothaire and Louis the German): first official text in vernacular Frankish and Old High German.

843: The Treaty of Verdun partitions the Carolingian empire into three kingdoms (*Francia Occidentalis*, *Lotharingia*, *Francia orientalis*). Birth of Germany and France.

846: Rome is sacked by the Arab Saracens.

885-886: Paris is besieged by the Normans.

910: The Benedictine Abbey of Cluny is founded.

911: The duchy of Normandy is established. Rollo is baptized.

920: First mention of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.

955: Battle of the Lechfeld: the German king Otto I the Great defeats the Magyars.

962 (February 2): Otto I is crowned by Pope John XII: Birth of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire.

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

6/

Key figures of their time

The men and women who made history

Caesar (d. 44 BC): the threat posed by the Germanic chieftain Ariovistus was the decisive factor, one of the pretexts for the continuation of the conquest of Gaul by Julius Caesar in 58 BC. "He saw", wrote the future dictator in the Gallic War, "how dangerous it would be for the Romans if the Germans formed a habit of crossing the Rhine and entering Gaul in large numbers". Caesar's campaigns led to the sedentarisation of the Celts and contained the pressure exercised by the Germanic tribes, who were to become dangerous again only under the reign of Marcus Aurelius*, more than two centuries later. In 19th century French historiography, Caesar is sometimes presented as the adversary of the national hero Vercingetorix, and sometimes as the saviour of Gaul in front of the Germanic danger, when the yoke of Rome seemed the lesser of the two evils.

Varus (Publius Quintilius) (Roman general, 50 B.C.-9 A.D.): this consul and governor of Germany gave his name to the massacre of the legions he commanded in 9 A.D., as the result of the treachery of Arminius *, in the area of the Teutoburg Forest: the "Varus disaster" or clades Variana. Before this date, emperor Augustus still aimed at controlling the whole of the territories between the Rhine and Elbe. His successor Tiberius (14-37) renounced this enterprise and fell back, as did his successors, on a policy of defence and consolidation of the Rhine and Danube borders against the German tribes.

Arminius (16 B.C., 21 A.D.): this noble Cheruscan chieftain entered into the service of the Roman army, and became a Roman citizen and equestrian. His rivalry with Marbod, the king of the Marcomanni, made him rise against Rome to gain prestige with a victory. In the summer of 9 A.D., in the Teutoburg Forest the three legions led by Varus* were brutally slaughtered. Defeated by Germanicus* eight years later, he died of poison some time later. Rediscovered in the 16th century, Arminius (rechristened Herrmann) became an emblematic figure of German nationalism: in 1808 Heinrich von Kleist wrote a great heroic play on him meant to arouse anti-Napoleonic sentiment in Germany. A few decades later (in 1844), the poet Heinrich Heine wrote these verses in his *Germania*, a winter tale: «If Hermann had not won the battle / with his blond hordes / German liberty would be no longer / we would have become Roman». Arminius/Herrmann's success was to continue unabated until Hitler's time.

Germanicus (Roman general, 15 B.C.-19 A.D.) : the adoptive son of Tiberius, who named him his heir to the purple, he repressed military uprisings at the Rhine border and in particular avenged Varus* by defeating Arminius* at Idistaviso in 16 A.D.. During this counter-offensive, Germanicus paid funeral honours to Varus and his soldiers in an apocalyptic landscape, a scene that clearly shows the fear the barbarians inspired in the Romans: "In the centre of the field", wrote Tacitus, "were the whitening bones of men, as they had fled, or stood their ground, strewn everywhere or piled in heaps. Near, lay fragments of weapons and limbs of horses, and also human heads, prominently nailed to trunks of trees"

Marcus Aurelius (Roman emperor from 161 to 180): The philosopher emperor devoted most of his reign to the fight against the barbarians, composing his *Meditations* at his camp at Carnuntum, on the Danube, sometimes even during an offensive. Together with co-emperor Lucius Verus, he led an expedition against the Parthians in the East that lasted until 166, and was then forced to turn to the Danubian front to stop the various Germanic tribes who had begun raiding northern Italy in 167. The barbarians were pushed back the following year, but the war continued almost uninterrupted until the end of his reign. The emperor was carried off by disease in 180, without doubt in Vindobona (Vienna) on the eve of a new campaign: «Death is a cessation of the impressions through the senses, and of the pulling of the strings which move the appetites, and of the discursive movements of the thoughts, and of the service to the flesh» (*Meditations*, 6, 28).

Decius (Roman emperor from 249 to 251): described as an "accursed wild beast" by Christian tradition (Lactantius), he was indeed the first emperor to have started an Empire-wide persecution against those inhabitants who refused to sacrifice to the emperor and the gods (in Rome, Pope Fabian was executed on 20 January 250 and was buried in the catacomb of Callistus). Confronted with the raids of the Carpi and a coalition of Goths led by king Cniva, Decius was killed on the swampy ground of the Dobroudja marshes (modern Romania) while giving chase to the barbarians.

Gallienus (Roman emperor from 253 to 268): from the accession to the throne of his father Valerian until the latter's capture by the Persians in 260, he co-ruled with his father in order to better face the threat of the barbarians on the Danube and the Rhine. After his father's death he ruled alone. At the time when the Third Century Crisis (pressure at the borders, secessions, usurpations...) reached its climax, he paved the way to the revival of the Empire, in particular with his military reforms.

Claudius II Gothicus (Roman emperor from 268 to 270): the short reign of this emperor that came from the army was marked by his decisive victory against the Goths at Naissus (Nis in Serbia) in 269. His talents as a warrior led certain ancient authors to state that he fell in combat after having uttered a devotio, by which "he made a gift of his life to the State". In the following century, because of his prestige, he was regarded as an ancestor of the Constantinian dynasty.

Diocletian (Roman emperor from 284 to 305): Shortly after his accession to the purple, this talented officer of Dalmatian origin assigned part of the imperial power to Maximian, in order to provide an imperial presence throughout the empire in the fight against the barbarians and to prevent the threat of usurpation. The imperial college was extended a few years later (293) to include two more emperors, Constantius and Galerius. This was the origin of the tetrarchy, established in response to the threats at the borders. The administration of the empire was entirely reorganized, and several economic reforms introduced. Extreme measure against the Christians were also re-introduced at the time of Great Persecution. The tetrarchy system, renewed in 305, did not survive long after the abdication of its founder that same year. Diocletian then retired to his palace at Split, where he died in 313.

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

Arius (280-336): around 323 this Christian priest from Alexandria began to preach a doctrine disputing the divinity of the Jesus Christ. Twelve years later, arianism had spread so far and wide that Emperor Constantine and Pope Sylvester I called an assembly of bishops from all Christendom, the first Council of Nicaea (summer of 325), to define the Holy Trinity and formulate the Nicene creed. The creed affirms that Christ the son of God is “begotten, not made”, i.e., generated and not created, and is consubstantial (homoousios) with the father. Arius was excommunicated and declared heretical, but after his death his doctrine, arianism, spread in particular among the barbarian populations, who were often christianised in an Arian form, before converting one after the other to Catholicism. The recitation of the creed in the mass was introduced in the East only after the Council of Toledo (589) on the decision of the Visigoth king Reccared. Like Charlemagne, he introduced the *filioque* clause: “I believe in the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father and the Son”. The addition of the words “and the Son” was to create a permanent rift between the Eastern and Western Churches.

Maxentius (Roman emperor, usurper, from 306 to 312): After the abdication of Diocletian* and Maximian (1 May 305), Maximian's son did not accept his exclusion from the new imperial tetrarchy. Again, when a year later (28 October 306), Constantine* succeeded his father Constantius Clorus, Maxentius was publicly acclaimed emperor in Rome by the Praetorian guard. During his six years of reign, this usurper turned his presence in the Urbs into a source of legitimacy: he built a basilica in the forum and a temple to Venus and Rome at the foot of Palatine, impressing on his coinage the god Mars invictus and the figure of Romulus, and also proclaimed himself Conservator Urbis suae. Unable to resist Constantine's offensive in Italy, he drowned in the Tiber at the battle of the Milvian Bridge (28 October 312).

Constantine I (the Great) (Roman emperor from 306 to 337): undoubtedly fearing for his life at the emperor's court at Nicomedia, he joined his father Constantius Clorus in York (Eboracum) in 305 at the end of a long ride across Europe. The following year, when Constantius died, his son was proclaimed emperor by his troops in Britain and was granted the rule over the Western provinces as part of the tetrarchy, recently renewed by Diocletian*. He initially fought vigorously against the Franks on the Rhine frontier, then crossed the Alps into Italy to overturn the usurper Maxentius*. The battle of the Milvian Bridge, on 28 October 312, was to have a fundamental importance in Western history: the day before the battle, Constantine allegedly had a vision that instructed him to place the sign of Christ (the first two letters of the Greek alphabet interlaced with the name of Christ) on the shield of his soldiers, the first step towards the final conversion of the emperor to Christianity. In 324 he defeated his adversary Licinius, and the following year (summer of 325) he summoned the ecumenical council of Nicaea which, by excluding any subordination of Christ the Son to the Father, rejected the heresy of Arius*. The erection of a new capital on the site of old Byzantium was then begun: Constantinople was consecrated five years later, in 330. During his long reign, Constantine continued the military effort of strengthening the borders against the Barbarians, thus facilitating the task of his successors and the dynasty he had founded.

Ambrose of Milan (Saint) (340-397): One of the Fathers of the Church. Born into an aristocratic family, he held important positions in the imperial administration before becoming bishop. His actions and writings were tinged by the desire to define the relationship between State and Church: the latter is the holder of absolute truth, and can thus intervene when this truth is threatened by the shortcomings of temporal power. The bishop is the guardian of his fold: “the clergy are wont to check disturbances and desirous of peace, save when they are themselves moved by some offence against God or insult to the Church” (Letters, 40, 6). He is also the spiritual guide of the prince: in 390, in retaliation for the lynching of the Goth Butheric, the imperial commander of the garrison of Thessalonica, Theodosius I ordered the massacre of 7000 inhabitants of the city. Ambrose exhorted the emperor to submit himself to public penance like any other Christian. Ambrose's contribution to Western thought is due largely to his influence on Augustine* and his role in transmitting Philo, Origenes, and the Greek Fathers to medieval culture.

Saint Augustine (Father of the Church, 354-430): baptized by Saint Ambrose* of Milan in 387, he was ordained a priest in 391 and became bishop of the town of Hippo in 396. He died there in 430 during the siege of the city by the Vandals. He wrote of the spiritual journey that led to his conversion in the Confessions, one of the most widely read works during the Middle Ages. His other great literary achievement is *The City of God*, written after the sack of Rome by Alaric I* in 410. “After Saint Paul”, wrote Jacques Le Goff, “St. Augustine is the most important personality for the establishment and development of Christianity. He is the great teacher of the Middle Ages”.

Stilicho (Roman general of Vandal origin, 360-408): an exceptional figure, a barbarian in the service of the Empire. Raised in Rome, he married Serena, the niece of emperor Theodosius, and later his daughter Maria married the emperor's son Honorius. In 402 he defeated Alaric at Pollentia, then in 406 exterminated Radagaisus' Ostrogoths in Fiesole. But in 407 he failed to stop barbarian raids in Gaul. He was murdered in Pavia the following year.

Honorius (first Western Roman Emperor, ruled 395-423): second son of Theodosius I. While he ruled over the western part of the empire, his brother Arcadius reigned over the Eastern empire. Because of his youth - he was only 9 years old at the time of his accession, he left power in the hands of Stilicho without preventing the intrigues that led to the latter's assassination in 408. He married Stilicho's two daughters in succession, first Maria, then Thermantia. Unable to deal forcefully with the usurpers, he associated Flavius Constantinius as co-emperor (8 February 421), but Constantinius died a few months later. From his palace in the new capital city of Ravenna, he endeavoured to christianise Roman law.

Galla Placidia (Roman princess, 389?-450): for almost half a century the daughter of Theodosius I and Galla was at the forefront of the political scene and was a pawn in the confrontation between the Visigothic court of Ravenna, where her mausoleum still stands today, and the Goths. Captured by Alaric at the time of the sack of Rome in 410, in 414 she was married to his successor Athaulf, who was killed the following year. Once she was returned to Rome, she married Constantius in 417. A few months later this general became co-emperor at Honorius' side. At the death of Honorius, she managed to have the son she had had by Constantius III, Valentinian III, elevated as emperor (425-455).

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

Alaric I (king of the Visigoths from 396 to 410): An Arian, he was appointed by emperor Theodosius army commander for Illyricum. In 398 he rose against Rome and marched as far as Constantinople before turning towards Italy but was pushed back by Stilicon. After Stilicon's death in 408, Alaric invaded Italy for the second time. On 24 August 410 he stormed into Rome and let his troops plunder the City for three days. He then continued his march southwards, perhaps hoping to conquer Sicily. He died on the banks of the Busento.

Attila (d. 453): king of the Huns. The Huns, a nomadic people originating from Asia, in the eyes of the Romans were the barbarians par excellence: "Without faith during the truces, inconstant, changing with the least breath of air if they see some new advantage, they are prone to mad fury". In 451, their chieftain Attila left the Hungarian plain (Pannonia) at the head of his army, crossed the Rhine, spared Paris defended by Saint Genevieve and was stopped at the campus Mauriacum (the "Catalaunic Fields") by the Roman General Aetius and his ally the king of the Visigoths, Theodoric, on 20 June 451. The following year he penetrated into Italy where he destroyed Aquileia. He died suddenly in 453 during his wedding night celebrating his marriage to the young Ildico.

Leo I the Great (Saint) (pope from 440 to 461): When the Huns penetrated into Italy in 452, he was appointed by emperor Valentinian III (the son of Galla Placidia*) as ambassador to Attila* whose hordes were ravaging their way through Venetia. The famous meeting between the two was the subject of a fresco by Raphael, The Meeting of Leo the Great and Attila, in the Vatican (room of Heliodorus). Tradition surrounded the meeting with legendary details and it is admitted today that the retreat of the Huns from the peninsula can be explained by the strategy of their chieftain more than by the persuasiveness of the pope. Nevertheless, Leo I once again proved his courage and negotiation abilities at the time of the sack of Rome by the Vandals of king Geiseric* in 455: during the 14 days of pillage, though the pope's intercession the inhabitants had their life spared. In the same years, he reaffirmed the authority of the apostolic see in Gaul, Spain and Africa, and at the Council of Chalcedon (451) he obtained the condemnation of monophysitism. The creator of the first missal, which became with modifications the Leonine Sacramentary, he was proclaimed Doctor of the Church in 1754.

Romulus Augustus (Roman emperor from October 475 to September 476): Because of his youth, Romulus Augustus was called Romulus Augustulus (the little Augustus) by his contemporaries. The "last Western Roman Emperor" thus bore the names of the founder of Rome (Romulus) and of the first emperor (Augustus). He was installed as emperor by his father, Orestes, a senior officer who had just deposed the reigning emperor, Julius Nepos, forcing him to seek refuge in Dalmatia (where he died in 480). One year later, Orestes was killed by the Herulian chieftain Odoacer, who deposed Romulus Augustus and sent him in exile in Campania, granting him however a comfortable annual pension of 6000 gold solidi.

Childeric I (king of the Salian Franks from 457 to 481 or 482): According to Gregory of Tours*, Childeric's father was the semi-legendary Merovech, the eponymous ancestor of the Merovingian dynasty. King of his people, Childeric was at the same time the administrator of the territory of Belgica Secunda in the service of Rome. The funerary artefacts found in the tomb of Clovis' father in Tournai in 1653 attest to this cultural and political dualism. The publication of this treasure by J. J. Chifflet in 1655 caused a wave of enthusiasm for "barbarian" burials and marked the starting point of a rediscovery of the High Middle Ages, initially in France, then also in Germany and England.

Caesarius of Arles (Saint) (470-542): Born in Chalons, when still quite young he entered the monastery of Lérins, and was then sent to Arles for three years (499-502). Throughout his long episcopate (502-542), he manifested his commitment to monastic rules as well as to pastoral activity to which his Sermons testify. The author of the first monastic rule intended for the conduct of nuns, in 512 he founded the monastery of Saint Jean of Arles which at his death counted two hundred nuns. Appointed vicar apostolic of Gaul and Spain by the Pope Symmachus, he presided over several councils.

Clovis (king of the Franks from 482 to 511): one of the most emblematic figures of the early history of France. Little is known about this Salian king, because of scant contemporary sources. The few pages Gregory of Tours* devoted to him were written half a century after his death. Like his father Childeric*, Clovis ruled over Belgica Secunda as a federate of Rome. He soon expanded his lands to include the area north of the Loire, while at the same time seeking to defend the Rhine border against the Alamanni in particular, whom he defeated in the battle of Tolbiac (495-496). Following this victory and under the influence of his wife Clotilda* he was baptized (date uncertain, between 496 and 508?). Continuing his policy of expansion towards Spain, he defeated the Visigoths of Alaric II* at the battle of Vouillé. The following year, he celebrated his triumph in Tours, and on this occasion he received his consular insignia from Emperor Anastasius. He then established Paris as his capital, undoubtedly because the burial site of Saint Genevieve was there. On the site he built the basilica of the Saint Apostles (later, St. Genevieve) and next to it a mausoleum for his dynasty, thus becoming the new Constantine*.

Clotilda (Saint) (475-545): Trusting the flattering portrait painted by the ambassadors who praised her "wisdom" and "elegance", Clovis* married Clotilda, the niece of Gundobad, or Gondebad, king of the Burgundians, around 492-494. Gundobad could not refuse the union with the king of a neighbouring, more powerful nation. Clotilda was not Arian, but Catholic, differently from the majority of the Burgundians. She played an essential role in the conversion of her husband, by whom she had at least five children. At the death of Clovis, she withdrew to a monastery at Tours. Like her husband, she was buried in the church of the Apostles in Paris.

Theodoric I (the Great) (king of the Ostrogoths from 493 to 526): Son of king Theodemir, this Gothic aristocrat of the Amali dynasty was born around 454. Hostage in Constantinople for ten years, where he received a Greco-Roman education, it is in the name of the emperor of Constantinople that Theodoric seized the control of Italy from Odoacer, whom he killed in 493. At the head of two armies ostensibly in the service of the Byzantine emperor, he was proclaimed king by his people and moved his court to Ravenna. Surrounding himself with learned men (Boethius, Cassiodorus), Theodoric launched great architectural programs in his capital and other cities like Rome, Spoleto, Pavia, Verona. He also tried to control the barbarian kingdoms of

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

the Western Empire through numerous marriage alliances (he himself married Audofleda, Clovis's sister). Though of Arian faith, he respected the Catholics until Constantinople's anti-Arian policies (523) forced him to respond with retaliation and repression (execution of Symmacus, Boethius, death of Pope John I). His mausoleum still testifies to the architectural persistence of Eastern influences.

Amalasantha: daughter of Theodoric the Great and mother of Athalaric (ruled 526-535). Because of the youth of her son when he succeeded his grandfather (he was ten years old), she held the power as regent until 535. A patroness of literature, her closest advisor was Cassiodorus, one of the greatest intellectual figures of the High Middle Ages, who also played a political role as a mediator between the barbarian society of Ostrogothic Italy and the Roman-Byzantine world. Amalasantha was exiled and then murdered at Bolsena in 535, at the instigation of her husband (and cousin) Theodahad. This assassination was the pretext for the reconquest of Ostrogothic Italy by the Byzantines under Belisarius' command.

Athalaric (king of the Ostrogoths from 526 to 534): At the death of his grandfather Theodoric the Great *, he was only ten year old and the regency was assumed by his mother Amalasantha*. Although Cassiodorus exalted his ascension to the throne as a rebirth of the world, this prematurely-dead king lacked the essential qualities of a military leader and the sufficient authority to put a stop to the court intrigues his mother ultimately fell victim to.

Justinian (Byzantine emperor, 527-565): From his rise to power until 540, Justinian undertook to rebuild the Roman empire from his capital city of Constantinople: Vandal Africa fell to General Belisarius in 534, and Ostrogothic Italy was conquered 6 years later. During those years, Justinian accomplished his judicial reform: Roman laws issued since emperor Hadrian (117-136) were revised and collected in the Codex Justinianus, while the jurisprudence of the High-Empire was codified in the Digest. This body of legal achievement was rediscovered in the 12th century and the heritage of Roman law became the basis of many of the later law codes. 540 was a pivotal year for Justinian's reign: the Persian were attacking at the Eastern border; the Goths under Totila drove the Byzantines out of Italy (Rome was taken in 546); the Berbers were rising in Africa; the Danubian border was crossed by the Huns, Slavs and Avars. In 554 Italy was re-conquered by General Narses, who also occupied the south of Spain in the same year. The end of the reign was marked by the preambles of renewed waves of barbarian pressure (Lombards, Slavs, Avars) and by a series of natural disasters and financial difficulties that partially overshadowed the earlier successes.

Theodora (Byzantine empress from 527 to 548): "wedded to this man, she tore up the Roman Empire by the very roots"... the *Secret History* of the Byzantine historian Procopius contributed much to the sulphurous reputation of Justinian's wife, indicated as the source of all the evils of the reign. Of lower class origin, she was gifted with a rare beauty and an intelligence that made her irresistible. She may have been a courtesan, probably even a prostitute, before becoming empress. Because of the prominent role that she played in the government of the Empire, Theodora "appears in the forefront of Justinian's advisors". In the mosaics of San Vitale of Ravenna, she is represented as equal to the emperor, adorned with jewels and surrounded by her retinue, in the same "offering" position.

Gregory of Tours (Saint) (538-594): He was descended from a distinguished family of the senatorial aristocracy of the Auvergne province. He began his ecclesiastical career while still very young. In 563, while on pilgrimage to St. Martin in Tours he was made deacon. Ten years later (573) he became bishop of that city, and he held the see until his death. He defended the privileges of St. Martin, in particular its right of asylum, and struggled hard to maintain his authority on an ecclesiastical province divided between several Frankish kingdoms. The work known as *Historia Francorum* (History of the Franks) constitute a major source for the history of that population whose patron saint was St. Martin. On the model of the conversion of Constantine*, the alliance of Clovis* with God is presented as the essential stage in the consolidation of Frankish power.

Ar(n)egund (Frankish Queen, died between 573 and 579): During excavations in the basilica Saint Denis in 1959, the basement of an older church (founded in the 4th century) revealed a tomb of exceptional richness, containing among other remarkable finds a gold ring insignia bearing the word ARNEGONDIS. Because of the site of this tomb in a necropolis that also contained the body of Dagobert I*, the remains were identified as those of Queen Aregund, one of the wives of Clothar I (the last of Clovis's* sons) mentioned by Gregory of Tours*.

Alaric II of Toulouse (King of the Visigoths from 487 to 507): This "barbarian king" ensured the transmission of Roman law, when he issued the Breviary of Alaric, a compilation of contemporary Roman law for the Gallo-Roman populations living in his kingdom, as an addition to his Codex Theodosianus. Worried about the expansionism of the Frankish-Burgundian coalition, he asked the support of another Goth, Theodoric the Great*. At the suggestion of the king of Ravenna, a meeting took place between Clovis* and Alaric II on an island in the Loire, during which, according to Gregory of Tours*, "they discussed, ate and drank together, and after having sworn a vow of friendship, they separated with their spirit in peace"... Shortly afterwards, in 507 Clovis defeated Alaric at the battle of Vouillé and slay him with his own hands. The Visigoths had to retreat to Spain, and north of the Pyrenees they retained possession only of Septimania, and for some time also of Provence.

Agilulf (king of Lombards from 590 to 616): seeking advice from a council of wise men, Queen Theodelinda, the widow of king Authari (583-652), "chose the duke of Turin Agilulf, as her husband and king of the Lombard people". Paul the Deacon* continues: "He was indeed an resolute, combative man and completely ready to take the helm of the kingdom". The choice was confirmed in Milan by an assembly of the people. It is with this laudatory portrait that Paul the Deacon begins the account of a reign that was to last a quarter of a century. Under Agilulf's reign, thanks to Theodelinda's influence, who corresponded with Pope Gregory the Great, the Lombards began converting to Catholicism. In 614, he failed to stop the Avars from raiding Friuli. On the fragment of a gold helmet coming from Valdinievole (Monza, Cathedral treasure) king Agilulf is represented on his throne, surrounded by his warriors and his courtiers and framed by two winged victories representing the fusion of the Roman and barbarian traditions.

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

Gregory I the Great (Saint) (pope, 590-604): born in Rome around the year 540 into an ancient senatorial family and at one point prefect of the City, from 572 to 574 he distinguished himself for the effectiveness of the measures he took to supply the City. Later, after renouncing all his worldly goods, he founded six monasteries in Sicily and began to follow the Benedictine rule, entering as a monk the monastery of Saint Andrew that he had founded in his own Roman home on the Caelian Hill. Appointed papal Nuntius to Constantinople (from 578 to 586), he returned to Rome where he was, against his will, elected pope by the people and the Roman clergy at a time of natural disasters (plague, floods of the Tiber...). He himself feared that the end of the world was coming, remembering from his childhood the devastations of the Gothic wars led by Narses, the Lombard invasion of 568 and the siege of Rome by Agilulf* in 593. In confronting the claims of the patriarch of Constantinople, he affirmed the primacy of Rome by continuing the evangelisation of the West in the more remote areas, Britain in particular (he sent the monk Augustine and other missionaries), and contributed to the diffusion of the Benedictine rule.

Dagobert I (king of the Franks, ruled 629-639): was this king so little respectful of morals and hostile to the interests of the Church as the so called Chronicle of Fredegar (the continuation of the *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours*) implies? The eldest son of Chlothar II continued the rebuilding of the Frankish kingdom begun by his father, without ensuring that the new-found unity would last (his kingdom was divided between its sons Sigebert and Clovis). He surrounded himself with advisers recruited from Gallo-Roman families from southern France, such as Saint Eligius (St. Eloi)* or from the Frankish aristocracy of the North. He was buried in the abbey of Saint-Denis and after his death the legend of the good king developed. The throne known as of Dagobert, preserved until our days with successive additions, constitutes a remarkable work testifying at the same time to the survival of ancient models and the art of the 7th century Merovingian bronze-smiths.

Paul the Deacon (Warnefrid) (720/30-797/799): admitted to the court of king Ratchis (744-749) he received his education there and began to compile the history of the Lombards. He was deacon of the Church of Aquileia, adviser at the court of king Desiderius (the last king of Pavia), then, after the conquest of the Lombard kingdom by the Franks (774), monk at Montecassino. In 782 he went to the court of Charlemagne* where his brother was held as a prisoner. There he wrote a collection of homilies at the request of the emperor. In the last years of his life he retired to Montecassino, where he wrote his major work, *Historia Longobardorum*, which covers the history of the Lombards from their origins to the death of king Liutprand (744). He was also a poet and a grammarian.

Charlemagne (king of the Franks from 768-814): Following in the tradition of the Franks since the time of the mass invasions, Charlemagne was first of all a great warrior (out of the 46 years of his reign, only 2 years were of peace) and the founder of a legal unity over vast territories that attempted to revive the Roman Empire. His coronation in Rome by Leon III, in 800, sealed the union between the Frankish crown and the papacy begun by his father Pepin the Short (751-768). Even though he himself was illiterate, Charlemagne surrounded himself with intellectuals and was at the origin of an intense cultural activity, the "Carolingian Renaissance".

Rollo (d. 932): this Viking chieftain, of Norwegian origin, led his first raids in the north of the most outlying British Isles (Orkneys, Hebrides), before turning to the continent: initially Frisia, then the Seine estuary where the Viking raids became a recurrent scourge after 820. In 911, he was defeated near Chartres by the king of France, Charles the Simple (898-923). With the ensuing treaty (Saint-Clément-on-Epte) he accepted the areas of Rouen and Evreux pledging feudal allegiance to the king under the condition that he defend the area against brigandage and ensure pacification. He then became the first "duke of Normandy" (the duchy was extended to include the Cotentin peninsula by his son William). Under the name of Gôngu-Hrólfr (Hrólfr the Walker), he is mentioned in the legendary accounts collected in a 14th century saga.

Stephen I (Saint) (king of Hungary from 1001-1038): First king of Hungary, he descended on his father's side from Arpad the conqueror (d. 907) who freed his people from the empire of the Khazars and installed it in the area between the Danube and the Danube. He ordered the conversion of his subjects to Roman Christianity, and founded the national Church. The crown he accepted from Pope Sylvester was used from then on for the coronation of the Hungarian kings. The administration and legislation of his kingdom patterned on the Carolingian model lasted for several centuries. His religious legacy was also to be enduring, in spite of the upheavals caused by the pagan revolt of 1044-1046. He was canonised in 1083.

Boniface (Saint) (672/675-754): After receiving his theological training in Exeter and Nursling and after his first missionary expedition on the continent, in 718 Winfrid was in Rome where pope Gregory II gave him the Latin name of Boniface and entrusted to him the evangelisation of pagan Germany. His mission initially brought him to Hesse and Thuringia. He was elevated to archbishop in 732, and established bishoprics in Bavaria (735-737). In 744, he founded the Benedictine abbey of Fulda, which remained a religious, artistic and intellectual centre throughout the Middle Ages. The regular summons of councils enabled him to affirm the authority of the bishops and regulate the discipline in the Frankish kingdom. In 754, he left the episcopal see of Mainz that he had occupied for eight years to pursue his missionary vocation in Frisia where he was eventually killed.

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

7/

Facts and figures

- **182** exhibition days, i.e., 6 and a half months.
- over **2000** exhibits, from **23** countries, on loan from approx. **200** museums and institutions.
- **3 000 m2** exhibition area.
- **1 590 g of 22-carat gold** is the weight of the Marcus Aurelius bust from Avenches (Switzerland) presented in the exhibition.
- **14** historical paintings, most dating from the 19th century, depicting the Roman conquests and the barbarian invasions.
- **7 097 km** is the distance covered by the painting by Jean-Paul Laurens, representing Honorius, on loan from the Chrysler Museum of Art in Norfolk, U.S.A.
- **2 km** is the distance separating Palazzo Grassi from the Archaeological Museum of Venice, the nearest lender for Rome and the Barbarians
- **248 x 66 x 97 cm** is the size of the Ludovisi sarcophagus, the largest single piece in the exhibition, from the collections of Palazzo Altemps in Rome.
- **1,6 x 1,1 cm** is the size of the precious buttons found in Childeric's tomb and on loan from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
- **126** are the authors that have contributed to the catalogue, which will contain over 720 pages.
- **1,8 tons** of the ara victoriae from Augsburg.
- **10, 150 kg** of silver for the Missorium, also called «Plate of Achilles» or “Scipion Plate” from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

8/

The catalogue

Co-published by Palazzo Grassi, the Ecole française de Rome and Skira.

Published in four editions: Italian, French, English, German.

Catalogue of 696 pages (250 colour illustrations, 300 black and white illustrations)

Under the direction of Jean-Jacques Aillagon, chief curator of the exhibition.

Scientific coordination: Yann Rivière and Umberto Roberto.

Director of the publication: Emmanuel Berard.

Graphic design: Studio Camuffo, Venice.

Gathering the contributions from about a hundred and twenty authors from the most diverse countries (Germany, Austria, Spain, France, Italy, Poland, the United Kingdom, Tunisia, Ukraine...), as well as from scientists (historians, archaeologists, art historians...) the catalogue will reflect the extraordinary multiplicity from the points of view and the research currently under way on the subject.

Among other original features, the catalogue will present a new historical atlas, synthesizing all the historical and cultural events on the European territory during the first millennium of our era.

The catalogue will be on sale at the opening of the exhibition, at a price of 48 euros. A hard-bound version will also be available in bookshop starting from February 2008 (at a price of 80 euros).

Emmanuel Berard

Publication and marketing

With the collaboration of

Antonio Cosseddu

Alexandra d'Hérouville

Olivia de Smedt

Palazzo Grassi

Palazzo Grassi: A Venetian Story

The architecture of Palazzo Grassi is attributed to Giorgio Massari (1687-1766) who was at that period terminating Ca'Rezzonico on the opposite side of the Grand Canal. Prior to this, he had built the large church of the Gesuati on the Zattere, and that of the Pietà on the riva degli Schiavoni. He was also responsible for the façade of the Accademia museum. The Grassi family, originally from Chioggia, had bought a patch of land in a magnificent location. Its trapezoidal form offered the added advantage of providing a long façade on the canal. The precise circumstances concerning the building of the palace are little-known. It is supposed that work began in 1740, or more probably in 1748, for which date a text mentions excavation work and the preparation of foundations. It was possibly finished by 1758 or, more probably, in 1772, and therefore after Massari's death in 1766. This was the last palace to be erected in Venice before the fall of the Republic. Soon after, the palace entered a phase of successive adventures and greater or lesser fortune, following the extinction of the Grassi family, or at least of its riches, and its layout was changed several

times. In 1840, brothers Angelo and Domenico Grassi made over the palace to the Società Veneta Commerciale, owned by Spiridione Papadopoli. He sold it four years later to the opera singer, Antonio Poggi, a great interpreter of Italian Romantic works. Soon after, he sold it to a Hungarian painter, József Agost Schöffl. After his death in 1850, his second wife, Giuseppina Lindlau, opened it under the name of Hôtel de la Ville, in like fashion to the fate of many old Venetian palaces up and down the canal at the time. There was a new change of owner in 1857, following its purchase by a Greek financier living in Venice, baron Simeone de Sina, who effected some important transformations. For reasons of stability, he added four columns to the entrance hall, destroyed part of the 18th century decor, and divided the large ballroom on the first floor, the piano nobile (and to do this, covered Giambattista Canal's fresco of Il Trionfo della Giustizia incoronata dalla Gloria, then attributed to Giambattista Tiepolo) to create an antechamber with ogival vaults and the Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite room, illustrated with mythological and Rococo decorative scenes by an Austrian painter, Christian Griepenkerl.

In 1908, his heirs sold the palace to the Swiss industrialist, Giovanni Stucky, who had built the large red-brick mills on Giudecca after 1896. Following his murder, his son, Giancarlo, had lifts installed, together with electricity and central heating. Some coffered ceilings with giltwood decoration also date from this period. Giancarlo had the fresco by Giambattista Canal moved from the drawing room to the stairs. After the death of Giancarlo Stucky in 1943, the palace passed into the hands of another important industrialist and Venetian financier, Vittorio Cini, who sold it in 1949. The palace was bought by a property company which, two years later, installed an international art and costume centre within its walls. Two essential interventions date from these years: the covering of the central courtyard with a glass roof and pearled fabric and the replacement of the old flagged floor in Istrian stone with smooth marble. The garden was replaced by an open-air theatre intended for theatre, receptions and fashion shows.

From Gianni Agnelli to François Pinault

Palazzo Grassi was bought in 1983 by the Fiat group, which entrusted its refurbishment and transformation into an exhibitions gallery to the Milanese architect, Gae Aulenti. From 1983 to 2005, the Palazzo Grassi was internationally recognized for its art exhibitions, administered by a FIAT management team personally selected by Gianni Agnelli. Under the aegis of a series of exceptional directors (Pontus Hulten, Paolo Viti, and others), the Palazzo Grassi presented ambitious and well-attended shows, notably those devoted to great civilizations (the Etruscans, the Mayans, and the Celts, among others). The last exhibition at the Palazzo Grassi, "Dali," closed in February 2005. At that point the Palazzo was shut down, because, following the death of M. Agnelli, FIAT had chosen to terminate its involvement. In May 2005, François Pinault decided to take over the Palazzo Grassi. A new company, Palazzo Grassi S.p.A., was established. Its joint owners are François Pinault, the majority shareholder (with eighty percent ownership), and the Casino Municipale di Venezia, a public-private company owned by the City of Venice, which is eager to continue its involvement with the Palazzo Grassi.

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

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Tadao Ando's renovation

François Pinault invited Japanese architect Tadao Ando to carry out the restyling of the Palazzo Grassi. Ando set himself three goals: to create the neutral ambience necessary for the effective presentation of an exhibition; to respect the Palazzo's architecture and all the stages of its long history; and to render his alterations reversible, as is the standard when renovating historic buildings. To this end, he adopted a plain, minimal, self-contained look that plays off the existing style without interfering with it, engaging in an understated, respectful dialogue with the building while establishing ideal conditions for displaying art. In the rooms specifically intended to house the exhibitions, Ando has installed free-standing white partitions that mask the walls without touching them. Set slightly forward from the walls, they leave the passageways and their marble surrounds open to view. Often the straight lines of these new partitions throw the decorative contours of the old building into striking relief. The lighting, created by Ferrara-Palladino srl, is also self-contained.

Hollow metal beams—in deliberate contrast with the high, ornate ceilings—house the safety equipment and lighting appliances. The extremely restricted scope of these additions and their reduced colour palette enhance the Palazzo's architecture and decorative features while generating the tranquil atmosphere essential for the contemplation of the works on display. On the physical surfaces of the Palazzo, Ando has recreated the fluid sensuality of typically Venetian materials, adopting the intonaco and marmorino techniques. Special care was taken with the design of the Palazzo's entrance. François Pinault stressed the importance of accommodating the visitors' needs, and thus the entrance on the Campo San Samuele has been remodelled and the ticket windows moved inside the courtyard under the colonnade. The facilities—cloakrooms, toilets, bookshop—were rearranged and separated in order to relieve congestion in the narrow entryway and to ease the flow of visitors. Lastly, a sheet of transparent fabric was hung underneath the glass roof of the atrium, masking the armature and diffusing the glorious Venetian light. The effect epitomizes Tadao Ando's transformation of the Palazzo Grassi: bright, simple, and natural, alternately sensual and restrained depending on the surfaces of the Palazzo.

The Palazzo Grassi's cultural direction

The Palazzo Grassi remains faithful to its traditions, retaining its role as a display space for major temporary exhibitions. Some of these are to be drawn wholly or partly from the resources of the François Pinault Collection, while others will involve loans from other public and private collections.

The Palazzo Grassi's programming develops in three major directions:

- contemporary art exhibitions
- modern art exhibitions, organised either by artist or by theme
- exhibitions dedicated to the main civilisations and periods in cultural history.

It goes without saying that François Pinault's personal interests and the riches of his contemporary art collection result in a greater commitment to the field of contemporary art at the Palazzo Grassi.

Next shows at Palazzo Grassi

Palazzo Grassi will host the exhibition "Italics: Italian Art between Tradition and Revolution 1968 - 2008", to take place from September 27th 2008 to January 11th 2009, curated by Francesco Bonami. The exhibition is co-produced by Palazzo Grassi and the Museum of Contemporary Art of Chicago.

In covering a time span of over forty years, Italics will be one of the most important exhibitions dedicated to contemporary Italian art ever organized. More than 85 artists, such as Lucio Fontana, Gastone Novelli, Pino Pascali, Renato Guttuso, Alighiero Boetti, Marisa Mertz, and nearly 140 works will be presented. Extremely influential figures like Fernando Melani and virtually

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

unknown artists like Maria Lai will not fail to amaze the international public but also the Italian general public. Through a series of contrasts and symmetries, Italics will also include the latest generation of artists, ranging from Maurizio Cattelan, Vanessa Beecroft, Paola Pivi, Micol Assael and Roberto Cuoghi to emerging figures like Massimo Grimaldi and Enrico David. Works of Italian artists from the Pinault Collection will be an important contribution to the exhibition.

Punta della Dogana

Punta della Dogana or Dogana de Mar, is the tip of land housing the ancient customs warehouses adjacent to the church of Santa Maria della Salute, whose concession has been granted to the City of Venice by the Italian State, which however retains ownership of the complex.

In 2006, the City of Venice issued an invitation to tender for the selection of a partner in a project to convert the complex into a centre for contemporary. Palazzo Grassi accepted the challenge and presented its own candidacy and a project.

On April 5, 2007, the committee of experts entrusted with the selection, confirmed Palazzo Grassi's bid and the official ceremony for the signature of the agreement between the City of Venice and Palazzo Grassi took place on June 8, 2007. Palazzo Grassi thus received the daunting task of realizing the Contemporary Art Punta della Dogana Centre

On September 20, François Pinault presented the renovation project for the long-disused facility during a press conference attended also by Venice Mayor Massimo Cacciari and architect Tadao Ando, who had also been called by François Pinault to restyle Palazzo Grassi.

The Punta della Dogana building comprises a number of huge rooms that served as a customs warehouse for the maritime trading activities of Venice.

The exceptionally strategic position, controlling the entrance to the Grand Canal, and facing St. Mark's Square on one side and the island of San Giorgio Maggiore on the other, borders on the Basilica of S. Maria della Salute and the patriarchal Seminary and makes Punta della Dogana a symbolic place of great significance.

Tadao Ando's conceptually aims to reinstate the original architectural logic to the building: six adjoining bays running south-north from the Giudecca Canal (south) to the Grand Canal (north), of decreasing length the farther they are from the Church of La Salute and ending in a triangle.

During the past century the building was often altered, and the alterations will have to be taken into account. Broadly speaking, Ando's project calls for the removal of all the partitions made during the previous restorations to re-establish the original building to its earliest form. In particular, the brick walls will be exposed again and the truss beams will be visible once more. However, the square area at the centre of the building, the result of later interventions, will be retained. It will contain a self-supporting structure, "a concrete box" able to support the often massive weight of contemporary artwork.

In the respect of the historical, artistic, cultural and symbolic value of this place, Tadao Ando's project aims to recoup all the energy and fascination of Punta della Dogana, through the combination of old and new elements that will enable the building to bring together past, present and future.

The partnership with the City of Venice for the management of Punta della Dogana will have a renewable duration of 30 years.

Palazzo Grassi and the Contemporary Art Center of Punta della Dogana together will form a cohesive cultural whole, in which each of the two venues will develop its own individual specificity: Punta della Dogana will house a contemporary art centre supported by the permanent presence of the François Pinault Collection; whereas, faithful to its tradition, Palazzo Grassi will continue to host the great temporary exhibitions, with a calendar that will alternate contemporary art, 20th century modern art, and history of civilizations.

10/ Biography

François Pinault

François Pinault was born on August 21, 1936, in Champs-Géraux in Brittany. He established his first wood business at Rennes in 1963. Subsequently, he widened the scope of his activities to include wood importing and, eventually, manufacture, sales, and distribution.

In 1988, the Pinault group went public on the French stock market. In 1990, François Pinault decided to redirect the group's activity toward specialized sales and distribution and to withdraw from the wood business. From then on the group began to acquire other companies: first the CFAO (Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale), a leader in sales and distribution in sub-Saharan Africa; then Conforama, a leader in the household goods field; and Au Printemps SA and its subsidiaries, including La Redoute, a leader in the mail-order business. Renamed Pinault-Printemps-Redoute (PPR), the group expanded its portfolio with the acquisition of FNAC, a leader in the cultural market. By 1999, PPR became third largest firm in the luxury goods sector worldwide after acquiring the Gucci Group (Gucci, Yves Saint-Laurent, Bottega Veneta, Sergio Rossi, Boucheron, Stella McCartney, Alexander McQueen, and Bedat). Designers Frida Giannini (Gucci), Stefano Pilati (Yves Saint-Laurent), Tomas Maier (Bottega Veneta), and Elmundo Castillo (Sergio Rossi) now work for these fashion houses. At the same time, François Pinault decided to develop a plan for investing in companies with strong growth potential in sectors other than the specialized sales and distribution and luxury goods fields included in PPR. In 1992, he created Artemis, a privately held company entirely owned by the Pinault family. Artemis controls the Château-Latour vineyard in Bordeaux, the news magazine Le Point, and the auction house Christie's, a world leader in the art market. François Pinault is also the owner of a French Division 1 football team, the Stade Rennais, and the Théâtre Marigny in Paris.

Monique Veaute

Born in 1951 in Tübingen, Germany.

After studying sociology and philosophy at the University of Strasbourg, Veaute began her career as a journalist at Radio France in 1977, and since 1984 she has served as international events manager for the French public radio's France Musique.

In 1982, she founded and served as manager of the Music section at the Paris Biennale. In 1984, Veaute organized the opening of the Grande Halle de la Villette, and she participated in founding the Music Festival of Strasbourg, for which she continues to serve as artistic consultant.

In 1984, on the request of Jean-Marie Drot, Director of Villa Medici, Veaute established the Festival of Villa Medici in Rome, which changed its name in 1986 to Fondazione Romaeuropa-arte e cultura, for which Veaute continues to serve as Director. From 1989 to 1991, Veaute was Technical Advisor for culture and audio-visual media for the President of the Chamber of Deputies in France, and from 1992 to 1993 she served as Cultural Advisor at the French Embassy in Lisbon. She also worked as Scientific Advisor at the Istituto Nazionale di Dramma Antico from 1999 to 2002.

Since 2003, Veaute has been Artistic Director of the Palladium Theater at Roma Tre University in Rome. In September 2006, she was named President of the Centre Chorégraphique National de Créteil – Compagnie Montalvo Hervieu. She has also been a member of the Comité d'Etique pour la Publicité since 2006.

In November 2004, Veaute was appointed General Commissioner of French-speaking communities by French Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin, a position she held until October 2006, and since 2007 she has been a member of the cabinet of the Secretary-General.

Monique Veaute was honoured in France with the title of Chevalier des arts et lettres by the Minister of Culture, and she received the Ordre National du Mérite by the Minister of External Affairs; in Italy she was honoured in 2006 with the title of Cavaliere al Merito of the Italian Republic.

Monique Veaute is Director of Palazzo Grassi in Venice since August 2007.

Jean-Jacques Aillagon, Chief curator of Rome and Barbarians

Born in 1946 in Metz, Jean-Jacques Aillagon has successively been deputy director of the Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris (1979–1982), manager of the Musée national d'art moderne (1982–1985), cultural events representative for the City of Paris (1985–1991), cultural affairs director for the City of Paris (1992–1996), and director of the Georges Pompidou Centre (1996–2002). In May 2002, he was appointed Minister for Culture and Communication, a position he would occupy until March 2004. In April 2005 he was chosen as general director and president of TV5 Monde and president of Trans-télé CanalFrance International (CFI). He left these positions in April 2006 to accept François Pinault's offer to become Palazzo Grassi's general director.

Under his guidance, Palazzo Grassi has presented the first exhibitions dedicated to the François Pinault Collection – « Where Are We Going? Selections from the François Pinault Collection », « The François Pinault Collection, a Post-Pop Selection » and « Sequence 1, Painting and Sculpture in the François Pinault Collection » - as well as a modern art exhibition entitled « Picasso, la joie de vivre, 1945-1948 ». It is under his guidance, as well, that Palazzo Grassi was granted the concession to operate the Punta della Dogana in Venice due to become the Punta della Dogana Centre for Contemporary Art - François Pinault Foundation.

In June 2007, Jean-Jacques Aillagon left his duties as Palazzo Grassi's director to become the President of the Etablissement public du musée et du domaine national de Versailles. Nevertheless, Jean-Jacques Aillagon's contribution to Palazzo Grassi's adventure continues, as he remains an active member in its board of directors and has been the chief curator of the « Rome and the Barbarians, the Birth of a New World » historical exhibition.

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

Michel Gras

Director of l'École française de Rome

Michel Gras, historian and archaeologist, was born in 1945.

After obtaining his "agrégation" in history, he was selected as a Scholar of the French School of Rome and, lately, appointed in the same Institute as Director of the Ancient Studies.

In 1985 was appointed Research Director in the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS).

Among other commitments, he has been Joint Director at the Department of Human Sciences and Social Studies of the CNRS and also Vice President of the National Council for Archaeological Research of the French Ministry of Culture.

Since July 2003, Michel Gras is Director of the French School of Rome.

Michel Gras has carried out research on pre-Roman Western Mediterranean region, with a special focus on the communication links and commercial exchanges among Etruscans, Greeks and Phoenicians, the rise of Greek urbanism in Western Europe and Greek funeral rites. His main archaeological activity has taken place in Mégara Hyblaea, a Greek city near Syracuse on the Sicilian East coast.

Michel Gras has published around 160 articles and 4 books.

- *Trafics tyrrhéniens archaïques*, Roma, 1985
- *La Méditerranée archaïque*, Parigi, 1995
- *L'Univers phénicien* (en collab.), Parigi, 1992
- *Mégara Hyblaea. V. La ville archaïque* (en collab.), Roma, 2005

Christoph Vitali

Director of the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn

Christoph Vitali was born in Zurich in 1940. After studying Law in Zurich as well as language, literature, art and civilisation in the United States and in Spain, he enters in 1969 the cultural department of the Municipality of Zurich as a deputy. He successively promotes to immediate deputy and becomes Chief director in 1971. In this framework, he gets involved in numerous activities related to cultural advancement and cultural and educational policy ranging from theatre, graphic art, literature, music to film. As a Municipality Representative he enters the controlling committees of important cultural institutes, in particular the "Schauspielhaus" (member of the board and of the board commission) as well as the "Theater am Neumarkt" (delegate of the board). He directs the municipality-owned "Theater am Hechtplatz" founds the "Theater 11", takes over the "Helmhaus", the "Rietberg" and the "Kunstammer zum Strauhof" museums, sets up the "Filmpodium" and "Theareana" an alternative culture centre in a wasteland area. He directs the protocol department of the municipal administration and supervises the various branch offices.

From 1979 to 1984, he is the director of the municipal theatres in Frankfurt-am-Main (opera, ballet, theatre). From 1985 to 1993, he administers and directs the "Theater am Turn", the Künstlerhaus Mousonturm, the OFF-TAT and the Schirn Kunsthalle in Frankfurt. From 1994 to 2003, he is the director of the Haus der Kunst, Munich, and from 2003, of the Beyeler Foundation Riehen/Bâle.

In 2007, Christoph Vitali is appointed Director of the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn.

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

11/

General information

Palazzo Grassi

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Vaporetto stops: S.Samuele (line 82) or S.Angelo (line 1)
Tel: +39 (0)41 523 16 80 - Fax: +39 (0)41 528 62 18
www.palazzograssi.it
Infoline (paid call): 199 139 139 (from Italy), +39 0423 733 110 (international calls)

Opening hours

January 26th 2008-july 20th 2008
Open every day from 9 am to 7 pm
Last entrance at 6pm

Admission fee

Full rate: 15 euros
Groups rate: 10 euros (min. 15 people)
Discounted rate: 6 euros (from 6 to 18 years old; students until 25 years old)

Advance booking

(Circuit Vivaticket by Charta)
By phone: Monday through Friday, 8 a.m.-8 p.m. (paid call)
899 666 805 (from Italy), +39 0445 230 313 (international calls)
On line: www.vivaticket.it (for a list of sales outlets)
Booking fee: 1 euro
Reservations are required for school groups

Guided tours

Palazzo Grassi is working in close collaboration with the associations Codess and Cooperativa Guide Turistiche Autorizzate Venezia. Visitors are invited to contact these associations to book their guided tour.
- Codess Cultura (tel: 041 52 40 119 / fax: 041 72 30 07
prenotazioni@codesscultura.it www.codesscultura.it)
- Cooperative Guide Turistiche Venezia (tel: 041 52 09 0385 - fax: 041 52 10 762
mailto:guide@guidevenezia.it - [Http://www.guidevenezia.it](http://www.guidevenezia.it))

Audio-Guide and Short Guide

At the entrance of the exhibition, on location are available audio-guides in italian, french, english.
The detailed short guide of the exhibition will also be available in italian, french, english and german at the price of 8 euros.

Educational programs

On the occasion of the exhibition "Rome and Barbarians the didactics department of Palazzo Grassi offers various activities in order to lead the visitors through the different rooms of the exhibition explaining them the complex history displayed there. It is almost 1000 years of history exploring the contacts between the Roman Empire and the Barbarians, the mutual influences which are revived through didactic guided tours, thematic tours and in depth analysis. The extraordinary archeological finds displayed in Palazzo Grassi explain how many cultures started to merge, and try moreover to stimulate the intuition and the imagination of the people.

Didactic laboratories for schools. The visit to a particular section of the exhibition is joined with practical experiences in order to approach students to a particular historical period, to habits and customs of the ancient Rome and the Barbarians.

Sunday ateliers for families. The kids become protagonist of the activities and learn while playing. They will be involved to create works similar to the original works of art trying to identify with the ancient characters, while their parents or relatives can enjoy the exhibition following a guided tour which starts at the same time.

Palazzo Grassi offers children, high-school and university students educational programs, conceived with a innovative didactic approach.

For reservations of further information please contact the Educational Department (Sezione Didattica) at Palazzo Grassi
tel: 041 2401345 (from 9am to 13am),
scuole@palazzograssi.it

Bookshop

Situated at the ground floor of Palazzo Grassi, the bookshop is managed by the Italian publisher Skira, specialized in art and architecture publications. In the premises, fully designed by Tadao Ando, you may purchase the various catalogues illustrating Palazzo Grassi exhibitions as well as a wide range of art and architecture books and exclusive merchandising products.

Open from 9 am till 7 pm
Tel : +39 041 27 70 876 / + 39 041 52 39 174

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

Palazzo Grassi Café

On the first floor of Palazzo Grassi, with a breathtaking view on the Grand Canal and Campo San Samuele, The Palazzo Grassi café is managed by Irina Freguia, from the Venetian restaurant Vecio Fritolin and offers a large choice of Venetian and Italian food. For the special purpose of the "Rome and the Barbarians" exhibition, Palazzo Grassi entrusted the conception of the new mural graphic background to French writer Dominique Muller. In close collaboration with graphic artist Ricardo Mosner, she provides a playful and imaginative interpretation of the exhibition theme, the Bar Barbarian.

Open from 9 am till 7 pm
Tel : + 39 041 24 01 337

ROME **AND** THE BARBARIANS
THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

12 /

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ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

13/

Captions CDROM

Roman items

344

Balteus depicting a battle scene between Romans and Barbarians

Mid-2nd century AD

Bronze

Ufficio Beni Archeologici, Regione Autonoma Valle d'Aosta, Italy

Size: 20,7 x 43 cm (approx.)

© René Monjoie, RAVA

183

Bust of a prince

Second half of the 3rd century - first half of the 4th century AD

glass

Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne (Germany)

Size: 8,3 x 6,3 cm

698

Ivory diptych of Consul Anicius Petronius Probus representing Emperor Honorius

406

Ivory

Museo del Tesoro della Cattedrale di Aosta, Italy

Size: 30x28x1 cm

© Diego Cesare, RAVA.

846

Meleager sarcophagus with scene from the Calydonian Hunt

Second half of the 5th-6th century

Marble

Musée Saint-Raymond, Musée des Antiques de Toulouse - Toulouse (France).

Size: 52x230x69 cm.

91

Missorium, silver dish called "Shield of Scipio" or "Shield of Achilles"

(found in the Rhone nel 1656, near Avignon, Mey Collection and later Peylata Collection.

Acquired by Louis XIV in 1697)

Late 4th - early 5th century AD

Partly gilt silver; central medallion smelted and hammered,

chased work reliefs, engraved details

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (France).

Size: diameter, 71 cm.

752

Bronze portrait of an emperor (Claudius II Gothicus?)

(artifact from the Capitolium excavations, 1826)

gilt bronze

Musei Civici di Arte e Storia di Brescia-Santa Giulia,

Museo della Città, Brescia (Italy)

Size: H, 36 cm.

767

Goddess Mother Stele from Nasium

1st century AD

Sculpted limestone

Barrois Musée, Bar le Duc (France)

Size: 156 x 95 x 44 cm

946

Colossal foot

Bronze

DRAC Auvergne, Clermont-Ferrand (France)

Size: 18,8 x 21,5 x 54,5 cm

© Photo Guy Alfonso/Inrap 2007

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

1187-1188-1891

Dortmund Treasure

Late Roman period

Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Dortmund (Germany)

751

**Bronze balteus depicting the clash
between Romans and Barbarians**

Artifact from the Capitolium excavations, 1826

bronze

Musei Civici di Arte e Storia di Brescia-Santa Giulia,
Museo della Città, Brescia (Italy)

Size: 86 x 20 cm

789

Tabula Claudiana

1st c. AD

Bronze

Musée gallo-romain de Fourvière, Lyon (France)

Size: 139 x 193 cm (2 identical fragments)

360

Sarcophagus with battle scenes

between Romans and Barbarians (Piccolo Ludovisi)

175-180

fine grain crystalline marble

Museo nazionale Romano in Palazzo Altemps, Rome, Italy

Size: 66 x 248 x 97cm

988

Gallic prisoner

End of 1st century BC

Marble

Musée archéologique départemental,
Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, France

Size : 93 x 68 x 41 cm

359

**Sarcophagus of Portonaccio with representation of clash
between Romans and Barbarians**

1st century AD

White Marble medium-grained

Museo Nazionale Romano - Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome, Italy

Size: 114 x 239 x 116 cm

960

Jupiter

2nd half of 1th century AD

Bronze, copper, silver

Musée d'Evreux, Evreux, France

91,7 x 46 cm

© Jean-Pierre Godais

563

Meerstadtplatte

Kaiseraugst, Kanton Aargau

Half of 4th century AD

Silver, gold and niello

Museum Augusta Raurica, Augst, Switzerland

Size: 58 x 16,3 cm

507a – 507b

Roman helmet

(found at Deurne)

320 AD

Golden silver and iron

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, Holland

28,5 x 20 cm

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

95

Cameo called «Triumph of Licinius»

4th century

Sardonyx at three covers and enamelled gold setting (modern period)

Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, France

8 x 8,3 cm (with setting and locket)

1876

Sheet of pentadiptych with representation of empress

Byzantine Art of the beginning of 6th century

Ivory

Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, Italy

Size: 30 x 13,6 cm

571a – 571b – 571c

Buste of Marcus Aurelius

About 180 AD

Gold (22 karats)

Musée Romains d'Avenches, Avenches, Switzerland

Size: 33,54 x 29,54 x 17 cm

© J. Zbinden, Berne

1310 – 2242

**Horseman's helmet from Xanten-Wardt
and Visor for a horseman's helmet from Neuss**

Iron

Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn/Landschaftsverband Rheinland, Bonn, Germany

© S. Taubmann

1673

Female portrait of the Theodosian period

between 380 and 425 AD

marble

Villa of Chiragan

Musée Saint-Raymond, Musée des Antiques de Toulouse (France)

Size : 335x300x500

551163

The Signs of power

Sceptre with glass sphere and two glass globes.

Archaeological context of "the sceptres of the Palatine,

Area of the Palatine, Rome, early fourth century

551162

The Signs of power

Glass globe

Diam. 7 cm.

Archaeological context of "the sceptres of the Palatine,

Area of the Palatine, Rome, early fourth century

551180

The signs of power

Parade spear

Orikhalkon, iron, wood

Archaeological context of "the sceptres of the Palatine,

Area of the Palatine, Rome, early fourth century

Barbarian or late roman age items

1058

Chalice of the Patriarchs

10th century AD

Sardonyx, gilt silver, cloisonné enamel with gold, pearls,

precious stones and rock crystal cabochons

Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice (Italy)

Size: H, 27 cm., diameter 18 cm

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

14

Onion-shaped fibula

4th century AD

Gold and niello (copper, silver, lead, and sulfur alloy)

Kunsthistorisches Museum with MVK and ÖTM, Antikensammlung, Vienna (Austria)

30

Onyx fibula

3rd century AD

Gold and onyx

Kunsthistorisches Museum with MVK and ÖTM, Antikensammlung, Vienna (Austria)

528

Funerary artifacts

Gold and precious stones

Tomb of Omharus , Apahida Necropolis, Bucharest (Romania)

National Museum of Romanian History, Bucharest

551-551b

Male statuette

1st-2nd century AD

Bronze

The Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm (Sweden)

Size: 7.2cm high.

755

Pluteus with gem-encrusted cross local limestone

Monastero di San Salvatore – Santa Giulia

Musei Civici di Arte e Storia di Brescia – Santa Giulia, Brescia, Italy

101x60x24 cm

763

Holy water stoup

6th century AD

Pentelic marble

Museo provinciale di Torcello, Mestre, Italy

Size: H, 72 cm., diameter 73 cm.

948-1341-1342

Fragment of a portable altar

From the court of Emperor Charles the Bald

870 – 880 AD

Walrus ivory

Antoine Vivenel Musée, Compiègne (France)

Size: 4,8 x 6,8 cm and 4,8 x 7 cm

1471

Visigoth votive cross

From Guarrazar

7th century AD

Gold and precious stones

Musée National du Moyen Age (Musée Cluny) Paris (France)

Size : 18,5 x 10,8 cm

1547

Fibula with griffin1

Grave of the “Dame de la Calotterie”

6th century AD

Silver, gold, garnets

Musée d’Opale-sud, Berck-sur-mer (France)

Size : 2,8 x 4,6 cm

778

Viking sword hilt

800-950 AD

Iron, bronze, brass

Maison des Templiers, Caudebec-en Caux (Francia)

Size: 19,5 cm - hilt: 8,5 x 1,5 cm - pommel: 3,5 x 7 cm -

Blade: 4,5 x 4,5cm

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

573

“Dulcissima filia Natalica” tomb mosaic

Accolla archaeological site
5th century AD
Bardo Museum, Tunis (Tunisia)
Size: 206 x 100 cm.

987

Pair of bird brooches from Envermeu

Late 6th – early 7th century AD
Bronze
Musée Départemental des Antiquités, Rouen (Francia)
Cliché: Y. Deslandes

764

The God Freyr

End of 4th century
Stone, sandstone
Musée des Beaux-Arts, dépôt du service archéologique
de la ville d'Arras, Arras, France
Size : 60 x 32 x 29 cm
Photo: H.Maertens

2174

Belt's element from the treasure called «Koudiet Zaateur», Carthage

2nd half of 5th century- beginning of 6th AD
anonym grave found in 1915
gold, pearls and grenades
Musée national de Carthage, Carthage, Tunisia
Size : 5,3 x 2,8 x 1,4 cm

470

Casket of Theodoric

654 – 656
Gold, glass paste, gold threads,
cabochon, antique cameos
Trésor de l'Abbaye
12.5 x 19 x 6.5 cm; 1.632 kg

168

Tunic of Bathilde

End 7th century fabric
Musée Alfred Bonno, Chelles, France
Textile,
Size: 141 x 101 x 3 cm

2017

Basket of Cuenca

c.1032
Ivory, silver nielo
Trésor de la cathédrale Saint-Just
et Saint-Pasteur, Narbonne, France
Size: 10 x 7,2 cm

741

Rambona diptych

circa 900 AD
ivory
Musei Vaticani, Vatican City (Vatican)
Size: 31 x 27,5 cm

785

Vézeronce helmet

c. 520 century AD
Bronze, leather, iron
Musée Dauphinois Collections, Grenoble,
in deposit at the Musée De l'Ancien Evêché, Grenoble (France)
Size: H, 18 cm., diameter, 21 cm.

ROME AND THE BARBARIANS

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD

Paintings

762

“The battle of Aquileia”, by Alfredo Tominz (1894)

Oil on canvas

Civico Museo Rivoltella - Galleria d'arte moderna, Trieste (Italy)

Size: 102 x 174 cm

961

“Germanicus in front of the disaster of Varus”, by Lionel Royer

Oil on canvas

Acquisition, 1989

Museo di Mans, Le Mans (France)

Size: 89,5 x 130,5 cm

1838

« Vercingetorix surrendering to Caesar », by Henry- Paul Motte, 1886

Oil on canvas

Fonds national d'art contemporain (Fnac), Ministry of Culture and Communication,
Paris –Stae deposit, Musée Crozatier, Le Puy en Velay (France)

Size: 176,5 x 250 x 5 cm

862

Jean-Paul Laurens

“The Late Empire: Honourous”, by Jean-Paul Laurens (1880)

Oil on canvas

Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Virginia.

Gift of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., Norfolk, Virginia, U.S.A.

Size: 155x109 cm

1009

“The sack of Rome by the Barbarians in 410” by Joseph Noël Silvestre (1890)

Oil on canvas

Musée Paul Valere, Sète (France)

Size: 197 x 130

1910

“Charlemagne, Western Emperor” by Amiel Louis-Félix (1837)

Oil on canvas

Palais de Versailles (France)

Size: 92 x 74.5 cm