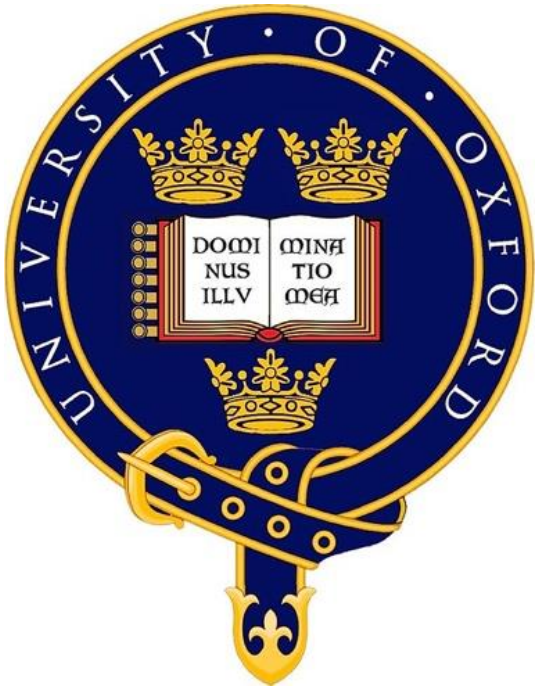
Triangulating Byzantium:
The Image of Byzantium and the Byzantines in Three Early Medieval Italian Histories



W. R. Kinsella
St. Cross College
Faculty of History
University of Oxford

Under the supervision of Dr. I. Toth and Dr. J. Shepard

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School was where I first discovered history (beyond Rome: Total War and the Osbourne Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World, of course). Though these words may go unread, without the collective effort of Mr. Morris and Mr. Lawrence, amongst many others, and, most especially, the sharp wit and eccentric brilliance of Mr. Stephenson, who can know if I would have pursued history for further education?

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Short Abstract

This thesis is a textual analysis that addresses the image of Byzantium and the Byzantines constructed in three early medieval Italian works: 1) the Roman *Liber Pontificalis* (focusing on the Lives from Stephen II to Hadrian II (*c.*752-871)), 2) the Ravennan *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* written in the first half of the ninth century by Andreas Agnellus and 3) the Salernitan *Chronicon Salernitanum* written in the late-tenth century by an anonymous member of the Prince of Salerno's administration. The scholarly literature on the image of Byzantium in the period prior to the First Crusade is limited. This thesis seeks to help fill this gap.

In all three works, I uncover a silent polemic and hidden agenda which revolves around the issues that Byzantium's existence posed for each of the institutions and polities within which these histories were written. In the *Liber Pontificalis*, evidence for a continuously negative presentation of Byzantium as heretical and non-Roman is shown primarily through statistical analysis in the Lives of Hadrian I up to the first version of the Life of Nicolas I. The *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* is revealed to be a pro-Byzantine work through the deciphering of a prophecy that unlocks a coded and subtle message present throughout the text. Finally, the *Chronicon Salernitanum* contains ostensibly mutually exclusive images of imperial Roman Byzantium and Greek Byzantines inhabiting it. This apparent dichotomy is actually congruent and is greatly influenced by the encroaching Ottonian threat in the late-tenth century. The image of Byzantium and the Byzantines contained within all these works is complex and often contingent on circumstantial factors. Nevertheless, all three works operate within the same conceptual framework when writing about and producing an image of Byzantium and its people.

Long Abstract

The image of Byzantium and the Byzantines in the medieval Latin West is a highly complex and layered issue that is intertwined with emerging medieval identities in Western Europe and the changing idea of Romanness. Engaging with this topic is further complicated by the relative paucity of extant source material, all of which was produced in distinct and specific geographical, historical and institutional contexts. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in his contribution to *A Companion to Byzantium and the West, 900-1204*, Hans-Werner Goetz noted that the state of the research into the Latin West's perception of the Eastern Roman Empire is remarkably poor. This is particularly the case for the period prior to the First Crusade.

My thesis responds directly to this shortcoming by analysing the image of the Byzantines in three works from medieval Italy: the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*, the Ravennan *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* and the Salernitan *Chronicon Salernitanum*. Through this textual analysis, this study examines the constructed representations of Byzantium and its people in each work. I seek to scrutinise how the Eastern Roman Empire was perceived, and the means by which the images of Byzantium and the Byzantines were constructed in these works. I aim to develop and refine current understandings of each work, the role that the image of Byzantium plays within them and to raise questions about the perception of the Eastern Roman Empire more broadly in Latin Christendom in the early Middle Ages.

This thesis is divided into an introduction, four chapters and a conclusion. In the introduction, I set out the intent and aims of my research, clarify my methodology and terminology – with a particular focus on the label of "Greek" –, introduce the sources, explain the *status quaestionis*, outline my arguments and provide a brief historical background of the geographies relevant to the analysed works in the years *c.*750 to *c.*980.

Chapters One, Two and Three concern the three works themselves. Each of these chapters is split into two sections. The first examines the provenance of the work in question. The second contains the analysis of the constructed image of Byzantium and its people in each work.

Chapter One analyses the *Liber Pontificalis*, a papal history containing biographies from St. Peter to Stephen V. Earlier research on this work has predominantly focused on the construction of the image of the papacy and its place within Western Christendom. The *Liber Pontificalis* has been dismissed for the paucity of information concerning Byzantium and its apparently passive approach towards it. In particular, the lack of any mention of the Eastern Roman Empire between the Lives of Hadrian I and the first version of Nicolas I suggests that very little can be gleaned about the papal perception of the empire in this work. Moreover, this silence is in stark contrast to several of the papal letters preserved in the *Codex Carolinus* which contain virulent invective against the Byzantine Empire.

Focusing on the Lives from Stephen II to Hadrian II (*c.*752-871), my thesis shows that the *Liber Pontificalis* consciously and continuously separates papal Rome from the Byzantine Empire. It presents and constructs an image of the empire as heretical, un-Roman and, finally,

"Greek". I first examine the presentation of Byzantium as heretical. In order to convey this understanding, the authors of the *Liber Pontificalis* alternate between an explicit and implicit strategy. The first two authors analysed take up a subdued but explicit strategy. The Lives of Stephen II, Stephen III, Paul I and the first part of the Life of Hadrian I all detail anti-iconoclastic actions carried out by these popes, such as the sending of apostolic letters to Constantinople. By contrast, the following nine authors adopt an implicit strategy. Here, anti-iconoclastic sentiment is conveyed through the mention of icons in the donation lists appended to the Lives from Hadrian I to Nicolas I. Through a statistical analysis, I show a direct relationship between iconoclasm and the mention of icons across these Lives which are normally understood as ignoring Byzantium. Finally, the last two authors return to the explicit strategy of the first two, albeit much more forcefully, with vehement criticism of Byzantine heterodoxy and of Byzantine clergy in general. In summary, my analysis unveils a deliberate and consistent attempt across all the Lives analysed to construct an image of impious Byzantium versus an orthodox papal Rome.

More fundamentally, however, uncovering this continuity in the Lives between Paul I and Nicolas I reveals that the approach taken towards Byzantium in the *Liber Pontificalis* is more often implicit than explicit. This finding necessitates a reappraisal of how Byzantium is treated in the papal history and calls for a close analysis of the sub-text. I undertake this task and chart a twofold process. Firstly, I uncover how the Romanness of the Byzantine state and its people is denied within the *Liber Pontificalis*. Papal Rome is described as the orthodox *respublica Romanorum* while Byzantium is shown to be a heretical and incapable polity. This heresy and weakness, further highlighted by contrast with the Franks, necessarily deny the Byzantine claim to Romanness. Subsequently, Byzantium is labelled "Greek", with all the classical and pejorative connotations associated with this term, which replaces the Romanness it had previously possessed.

Chapter Two engages with the *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*. Andreas Agnellus, a local cleric of some seniority in Ravenna's ecclesiastical hierarchy, wrote this history in the first half of the ninth century. Modelled on the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*, this history of the Ravennan bishops ranges from a legendary founder, St. Apollinaris, a disciple of St. Peter, to Archbishop George (*c.*837-*c.*846). The *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* has rightly been interpreted as a work with at least two principal purposes. The first is to uplift the status of the bishopric of Ravenna with regard to autonomy from the Roman see. The second is a desire to preserve and promote the rights of the local clergy against overbearing bishops. That said, Agnellus' work has been criticised for its confused narrative, chronological mishaps, and the inclusion of numerous strange tales and tangential, sermon-like passages that are often unrelated to the subject matter.

This thesis identifies a third principal purpose that, to a significant extent, clarifies the sometimes confused logic of Agnellus' narrative. Namely, there is a pro-Byzantinist sentiment running throughout the *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* which is complemented by anti-Frankish opinion. Ostensibly, Agnellus has little to say about Byzantium and his history at first reads as anti-Byzantine. He seemingly sidelines the Eastern Roman Empire despite its importance to his city, which had once been the capital of the Byzantine Exarchate. Moreover, he takes a strong pro-icon stance, interweaving numerous miracle stories asserting the efficacy and sanctity of icons. Lacking the documentary record available to the authors of his archetype, the

Liber Pontificalis, he nevertheless copies the implicit approach to iconoclasm taken in the papal history. Furthermore, this Byzantine heretical theology is tied to an episode of conflict between Ravenna and the empire. A raid conducted on the city by Justinian II, followed by an attack that led to a pitched battle between Ravennan and Byzantine forces. Before this episode, the Byzantines were always referred to as Romans, but, during it, they are labelled as "Greek".

This ostensible anti-Byzantinism has long been recognised, but Deborah Deliyannis' research on Agnellus' treatment of iconoclasm reveals that he can communicate forthrightly at an implicit level. And it is at this more implicit level that Agnellus communicates his pro-Byzantinism. The prophecy in the Life of Bishop Gratiosus recognises Byzantium as the Roman Empire, describing the Carolingians as false usurpers. When the *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* is then reread with the prophecy in mind, the entire work can be understood in a different light. In fact, the historical narrative asserts Byzantine Romanness and undermines the Frankish claim to the imperial title. The anti-iconoclasm and the associated Byzantine attack on the city point to the importance of orthodoxy as a defining feature of Romanness. But when the empire returns to orthodoxy in the late-eighth century, which is when Agnellus chronologically situates the prophecy, and in the mid-840s, which is when Agnellus wrote the prophecy down, the empire becomes Roman once more. Moreover, the use of the word *commilitones* as a collective term for the Ravennans reveals the city to be connected to the Adrio-Byzantine culture of the ninth century Upper Adriatic.

Chapter Three analyses the *Chronicon Salernitanum* which was written in southern Italy in the late-tenth century by an anonymous author who was likely a lay man and worked as a scribe in the palace bureaucracy of the Lombard Principality of Salerno. He aims to write a eulogistic history of the reigning Dauferid dynasty whilst presenting itself as a continuation of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*. It also offers another perspective on Byzantium. This author follows a similar approach to the silent polemics of the Roman and Ravennan histories but reflects a different political and cultural environment. Indeed, he includes verbatim the famous 871 letter of Louis II to Basil I which sets out explicitly the Western arguments for their claim of the Roman imperial title; of why Byzantium has lost it and why the Franks have gained it. This letter, alongside the presentation of Byzantium as militarily inept and sexually corrupt, has led scholars to understand it as constructing a highly negative image of Byzantium and the Byzantines.

This thesis nuances this understanding significantly. The *Chronicon Salernitanum* presents the Byzantine Empire as the continuation of the Roman Empire. It states this explicitly and, in so doing, argues further for the Romanness of the Byzantine Empire by, *inter alia*, denying the Frankish claim to imperial Romanness in language and phrasing that mirrors Louis II's letter. Indeed, far from evidencing an image of Byzantium that denies its Romanness, the letter functions as a sort of straw man to be dismissed. The letter's arguments are tackled and contradicted throughout the Salernitan history. It is the Franks who are described as falsely claiming the Roman imperial title. Though their leaders may style themselves emperors, it is made very clear that, in fact, they are 'kings of the Gauls'. Moreover, the original Frankish "emperor", Charlemagne, is ridiculed in a fictional story in which he retires to Montecassino, becomes a monk, and is made to look after the monastery's flocks. Whilst out in the fields, he is accosted by a brigand and stripped naked. The author even includes two fake letters that attest

the immense arrogance of this Frankish king, who responds to a gift from the Byzantine emperor of one hundred thousand gold coins with one hundred dogs.

In presenting Byzantium as the Roman Empire, however, the anonymous author makes it clear that his conceptualisation of the empire is limited, thus delegitimising any potential Byzantine claim to lordship over southern Italy and Salerno. Firstly, as mentioned above, the Lombard Principality of Salerno is presented as capable of defeating the Byzantines militarily, which is explicitly linked to divine favour. In a similar vein, the city of Rome itself is presented as separate from East Rome when a Byzantine emperor is killed by an apparition of St. Peter after he claims to be the emperor specifically 'of the Romans'. This leads to the other principal means by which the *Chronicon Salernitanum* limits the Byzantine Empire: it is the Roman Empire, but it is Greeks who inhabit it. The Romans are the individuals who live in the city of Rome and its environs. The anonymous Salernitan author further presents an image of these Greeks as sexually deviant, with stories of incest and adultery affecting the highest echelons of Byzantine society. Byzantines, in this context, are not simply presented as fundamentally separate and illegitimate overlords, but are used as a didactic device by the author to stress good morals as well as display the superior character of Lombard Salernitans over the Greek Byzantines.

In Chapter Four, I address the similarities and differences between these three works. I argue that, although the perceptions and images constructed of Byzantium and the Byzantines in all three works are clearly shaped by unique circumstantial factors, it is notable that the way in which East Rome and its people are framed is broadly the same. They follow the same conceptual framework in which the polity is imperial and the people are Greek. It is remarkable how closely this aligns with George Ostrogorsky's tripartite definition of Byzantium as: 'Roman political concepts, Greek culture and the Christian faith'. In addition, though these works differ substantially in how they approach Byzantium, the Eastern Roman Empire has a substantial presence in all three works. Even when the authors choose not to mention the empire directly, its presence looms all the larger precisely because it is not addressed explicitly. Moreover, I discuss the role that the Western Empire plays in the construction of the image of Byzantium and the Byzantines in each work, and raise questions concerning the minimalist argument in the Byzantine Iconoclasm debate. In each work, iconoclasm plays a fundamental and paradigm shifting role in the perception of Byzantium and the Byzantines; its impact is hardly minimal in these cases.

In the conclusion, I reiterate the findings of the chapters and situate my analysis in the wider field of current research. Furthermore, I recommend future avenues for inquiry. The thesis is rounded off by commenting on the contradictory nature of the diverse images of Byzantium and the Byzantines constructed in these works which, nevertheless, all fit within the same conceptual framework. That is, all three works perceive Byzantium as an imperial state – an imperialness necessarily linked to the historical reality of political Romanness – which is populated by Greek people.

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Abbreviations

Aeneid	Virgil, *Aeneis*, ed. G. B. Conte (Berlin, 2019).
Blaise	A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1975).
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*.
BPCR	Agnellus of Ravenna, *The Book of the Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, trans. D. M. Deliyannis (Washington, D. C., 2004).
BSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*.
Bullettino	*Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo.*
BWO	*Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten. Kongreßakten des Mediävistenverbandes in Köln 1991 aus Anlass des 1000 Todesjahres der Kaiserin Theophanu*, eds. O. Engels and P. Schreiner (Sigmaringen, 1993).
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.
CBI	*A Companion to Byzantine Italy*, ed. S. Cosentino (Leiden, 2021).
CBW	*A Companion to Byzantium and the West, 900-1204*, eds. N. Drocourt and S. Kolditz (Leiden, 2022).
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 233 vols. (Turnhout, 1953-2023).
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis*, 378 vols. (Turnhout, 1966-2024).
CDC	*Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, eds. C. Carlone, S. Leone, M. Morcaldi, L. Morinelli, M. Schiani, S. de Stefano and G. Vitolo, 12 vols. (Naples, 1873-2015).
ChHist	Church History.
CHBE	*The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c.500-1492*, ed. J. Shepard (Cambridge, 2019).
CHMMLW	*The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, eds. A. I. Beach and I. Cochelin (Cambridge, 2020).
CHMPT	*The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350–c.1450*, ed. J. H. Burns (London, 2008).
CoC	*Continuation or Change? Borders and Frontiers in Late Antiquity and Medieval Europe: Landscape of Power Network, Military Organisation and Commerce*, eds. G. Leighton, P. Pranke and L. Rózycki (Abingdon, 2023).
CS	*Chronicon Salernitanum: A Critical Edition with Studies on Literary and Historical Sources and on Language*, ed. U. Westerbergh (Lund, 1956).
CSBC	*Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensis*, MGH, SS rer. Lang., 467-88.
Dialogi	*Gregorii magni: Dialogi Libri IV*, ed. U. Moricca, FStI (Rome, 1924).
DMLBS	*The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, eds. R. K. Ashdowne, D. R. Howlett and R. E. Latham, 3 vols. (Oxford, 2018).
EHR	*The English Historical Review*.
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*.
EMR	*Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. J. M. H. Smith (Leiden, 2000).

Etymologiae	*The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. and eds., S. A. Barney, J. A. Beach, O. Berghof and W. J. Lewis (Cambridge, 2006).
FR	*Felix Ravenna. Rivisti di antichità ravennati, Cristiane e Bizantine*.
FStI	*Fonti per la storia dell'Italia medievale.*
HAM	Hortius Artium Medievalium*: Journal of the International Research Centre for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages.*
HI	*Historiography and Identity*, 6 vols., *Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, XXIV, XXVII, XXIX – XXXII (Turnhout, 2019-2021).
HL	Paul the Deacon, *Pauli historia Langobardorum*, eds. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, MGH, SS rer. Lang., 12-189.
HR	Paul the Deacon, *Pauli Historia Romana*, ed. H. Droysen, MGH, SS rer. Germ., XLIX (1879), 1-135.
HSJ	*Haskins Society Journal*.
IERWMM	*Italy and the East Roman World in the Medieval Mediterranean*, eds. T. J. MacMaster and N. S. M. Matheou (London, 2021).
JLA	*Journal of Late Antiquity*.
JMedHist	*Journal of Medieval History*.
JML	*Journal of Medieval Latin*.
KB	*Knotenpunkt Byzanz: Wissensform und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen*, eds. A. Speer and P. Steinkrüger (Berlin, 2012).
L'héritage	*L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe-XIIe siècle)*, eds. J.-M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot and V. Prigent, 4 vols. (Rome, 2011-2017).
LP	Le *Liber Pontificalis: Texte, Introduction et Commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886-1892).
LPER	*Agnelli Ravennatis: Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis, CCCM, CXCIX (Turnhout, 2006).
Medieval Adriatic	*Byzantium, Venice and the Medieval Adriatic: Spheres of Maritime Power and Influence, c.700-1453*, ed. M. Skoblar (Cambridge, 2021).
MGH, Auct. ant.	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Auctores antiquissimi*, 15 vols. (Berlin, 1877-1919).
MGH, Conc.	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Concilia*, 8 vols. (Hanover, 1893-2014).
MGH, Epist.	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Epistolae (in Quart)*, 9 vols. (Berlin, 1887-1928; Munich, 1985; Hanover, 2018-2022).
MGH, SS rer. Germ.	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, 83 vols. (Hanover and Berlin, 1841-2022).
MGH, SS rer. Lang.	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *scriptores rerum Langobardorum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX*, ed. G Waitz (Hanover, 1878).
MGH, SS rer. Merov.	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, 7 vols. (Hanover, 1885-1951).
MHR	*Mediterranean Historical Review*.
NA	*Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe der Quellenschriften Deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters.*

NCMH	*New Cambridge Medieval History*, eds. D. Abulafia, C. Allmand, P. Fouracre, M. Jones, D. Luscombe, R. McKitterick, T. Reuter and J. Riley-Smith, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 1995-2005).
Néa Rhômè	*Néa Rhômè: Rivista di Ricerche Bizantinistiche.*
Ovid	*Metamorphoses*, trans. and ed. D. E. Hill, 4 vols. (Warminster, 1985-2000).
PG	*Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, *Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migné, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857-1866).
PL	*Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, *Series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migné, 217 vols. (Paris, 1844-1864).
Ravenna	*Ravenna: Its Role in Earlier Medieval Change and Exchange*, eds. J. Herrin and J. Nelson (London, 2016).
Reg. Epist.	*Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum*, *Libri I-VII*, eds. P Ewald and L. M. Hartmann, MGH, Epist., I (1891).
RMR	*Reti Medievali Rivista.*
RQ	*Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte.*
RoP	*The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, eds. C. Gantner, R. McKitterick and S. Meeder (Cambridge, 2015).
Schlüsseldokument	*Das Buch der Päpste* – Liber Pontificalis*: Ein Schlüsseldokument europäischer Geschichte*, eds. K. Herbers and M. Simperl (Freiburg, 2020).
SoI	*Strategies of Identification: Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe*, eds. G. Heydemann and W. Pohl (Turnhout, 2013).
SR	*Storia di Ravenna*, eds. A. Carile, G. Susini and A. Vasina, 5 vols. (Venice, 1990-1996).
ToP	*Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. M. de Jong and F. Theuws, *Transformations of the Roman World*, VI (Leiden, 2001).
ToR	*Transformations of Romanness: Early Medieval Regions and Identities*, eds. C. Gantner, C. Grifoni, W. Pohl, M. Pollheimer-Mohaupt (Berlin, 2018).
VB	*Vita Barbati Episcopi Beneventani*, MGH, SS rer. Lang., 553-563.
YB	*The Little History of the Lombards of Benevento by Erchempert: A Critical Edition and Translation of* 'Ystoriola Longobardorum Beneventum degentium*'*, trans. and ed. L. A. Berto (Abingdon, 2022).
Zbornik	*Zbornik III. Međunarodnog Arheološkog kolokvija: Rimske keramičarske i staklarske radionice. Proizvodnja i trgovina na jadranskom prostoru*, eds. I. Borzić and S. P. Mattioli (Crikvenica, 2017).

In the cases of the *Liber Pontificalis* and the *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, I defer to the excellent translations of Raymond Davis and Deborah Deliyannis respectively. Where I take issue with their translations, I have inserted my own reading in bold. All other translations are my own, unless otherwise stated, as well as any mistakes found in them.



Figure One – Apse Mosaic of Justinian in the Basilica of San Vitale



Figure Two – Apse Mosaic of Theodora in the Basilica of San Vitale

INTRODUCTION – Triangulating Byzantium

In the socially and politically fragmented early medieval West, different social groups and polities, principalities and cities, bishoprics and political dynasties sought to consolidate, legitimise and justify themselves through historical writing. These works provided narratives of the past which promoted a particular understanding of the present. In turn, this understanding supported and upheld the socio-political realities within which they were written.

In such narratives, Byzantium is rarely a leading subject. Understandably, narratives centred upon validating a particular socio-political structure show little desire to focus upon a foreign or rival entity. Yet the historical, cultural, linguistic, political and economic influences of the Byzantine Empire meant that it was simply too great to ignore entirely. All the more so when the very authority of the successor states to the Western Roman Empire was grounded upon the memory of imperial power and the claim to inheritance of it.[1] This memory and inheritance were made problematic by the continued existence of the Roman imperial state governed from Constantinople. Thus, being unable to avoid it, the phenomenon of Byzantium had to be dealt with in these narratives in an intelligent, subtle and often implicit manner.

This subtlety and implicit mode of communication have led to misreadings of both the degree to which East Rome is actually being engaged within the sources and of how that engagement takes place. Foremost among them is the potential for Byzantium to be used as a foil or mirror for representing or defining one's own identity at social, political and institutional

[1] C. Leyser, 'The Memory of Gregory the Great and the Making of Latin Europe, 600-1000', eds. K. Cooper and *idem*, *Making Early Medieval Societies: Conflict and Belonging in the Latin West, 300-1200* (Cambridge, 2016), 181; P. Fouracre, 'Cultural Conformity and Social Conservatism in Early Medieval Europe', *History Workshop Journal*, XXXIII (1992), 152-3.

levels. The active reimagining and reclassifying of the Eastern Roman Empire as "Greek" from the eighth century onwards – only to be once more redesignated as "Byzantine" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – was due in part both to this necessity of having to engage with Byzantium and its potential as a useful mirror.[2]

Intent of Research

This thesis explores the perception and representation of the Eastern Roman Empire in early medieval Italy and, through this, looks to uncover how it was used to achieve certain objectives. It focuses on three primary sources: the *Liber Pontificalis* from Rome (hereafter LP); the *Chronicon Salernitanum* from Salerno (hereafter CS); and the *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* from Ravenna (hereafter LPER).[3] Through analysing these three works, the thesis seeks to uncover the image of Byzantium and the Byzantines that is constructed in each source. It then compares and contrasts pertinent similarities and differences in the perception and use of the image of East Rome across the three works.

In spite of the frequent discussion of diplomatic relations and interactions between Byzantium and the West,[4] analysis of the West's understanding and perception of Byzantium and

[2] Although the term did have precedent in French medieval literature, Z. Černáková, 'The Naming of Byzantium and the Old French *Partonopeus de Blois*', BMGS, XLIII (April 2019), 42-59, and German historiography with Hieronymos Wolf's *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae*. Its widespread adoption in the nineteenth century likely reflects anxieties over Greek irredentism following independence, see A. Kaldellis, 'From "Empire of the Greeks" to "Byzantium": The Politics of a Modern Paradigm Shift', eds. N. Aschenbrenner and J. Ransohoff, *The Invention of Byzantium in Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D. C., 2021), 349-67.

[3] In choosing this tripartite structure for my inquiry, I follow the format of V. West-Harling's, *Rome, Ravenna, Venice, 750-1000: Byzantine Heritage, Imperial Present and the Construction of City Identity* (Oxford, 2020) and W. Pohl's *Werkstätte der Erinnerung. Montecassino und die Gestaltung der langobardischen Vergangenheit* (Vienna, 2001).

[4] For example: *Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten. Kongressakten des 4. Symposions des Mediaevistenverbandes in Köln 1991 aus Anlass des 1000. Todesjahre der Kaiserin Theophanu*, eds. O. Engels and P. Schreiner (Sigmaringen, 1993); E. Kislinger, 'Reisen und Verkehrswege zwischen Byzanz und dem Abendland. Realität und Mentalität, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen', *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine*

the Byzantines remains a relative lacuna in modern scholarship. The main reason for this lacuna is the relative paucity of explicit references to Byzantium in the primary source materials. Thus, guarded conclusions and broad generalisations far outnumber the attempts at close and systematic study of the narrative strategies of texts relate to and engage with Byzantium. By concentrating on just these three narrative histories, the thesis aims to identify the ways in which Byzantium was used and represented in each historical work – ways that have not previously been appreciated. Re-examining the image of Byzantium constructed in each work goes hand in hand with reassessing the nature and purpose of these works, and, thusly, has wide ranging implications.

In addition, by ascertaining how Byzantium was perceived in the Latin West, the present study aims to provide context for Western relations and interactions with East Rome in general. In a similar vein, the thesis attempts to shed light on how early medieval Western societies grappled with the issue of the inheritance of Rome whilst a Greek-speaking Roman Empire continued to exist.[5] Thus, in attempting to understand the reception of classical Rome and what role it played in the medieval West, it is necessary to appreciate the perceptions of the contemporary medieval Roman Empire (*i.e.* Byzantium) and how this shaped Westerners' perception of their own classical Roman inheritance. Although limited to three early medieval Italian sources, this thesis seeks to reveal how institutions like the papacy as well as emerging

Studies. Plenary Papers (Sofia, 2011), 341-88; S. C. Fanning, 'Imperial Diplomacy between Francia and Byzantium: The Letter of Louis II to Basil I in 871', *Cithara*, XXXIV (1994), 3-17; this lack of scholarship has been noted by H.-W. Goetz, 'The Image of the Greeks in Latin Sources', CBW, 85; *idem*, *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen und christlich-abendländisches Selbstverständnis im frühen und hohen Mittelalter (5.-12. Jahrhundert)* (Berlin, 2013), 17, ref. 40.

[5] C. Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London, 2010), 8-9, 562-3.

polities and societies across the Italian peninsula defined themselves in relation to this inheritance, and the role and influence played by the Byzantine Empire in this process.

Following on from this, one can interpret the image of Byzantium constructed in these texts as a narrative strategy of distinction. Byzantium was used by the authors of the analysed works to outline their own distinct socio-cultural identities more sharply. In this thesis, I would like to emphasise that it is inappropriate to invoke concepts of ethnicity here; it is far more relevant and fruitful to speak in terms of identity.[6] The analysed works do not testify to ethnogenesis, although each makes a clear attempt to define an in-group in contrast to, among other things, the Byzantine "Other". The approach taken towards Byzantium and the Byzantines is either to differentiate oneself sharply from the Empire and its Church (as in the case of the LP), associate with it in a qualified manner (as in the case of the LPER) or use it as a means of undermining the political ideology of Western imperial ideology (as in the case of the CS).

In exploring the use made of Byzantium in each source, a further aim of this thesis is to uncover a paradox. On the one hand, there is an implicit and "silent" approach taken towards Byzantium. On the other hand, Byzantium, as represented in the three histories and perceived by all the authors, plays a key role in the self-image or worldview that the sources seek to develop and uphold. Indeed, the more fundamental a role Byzantium plays in the narrative, the more it seems to be put in the background, as we shall attempt to demonstrate in the case of the LP. This point only goes to show the need to understand the indirect representation of Byzantium within these narratives if one is to comprehend fully their assumptions and agendas.

[6] Here I concur with T. F. X. Noble, 'Greek Popes: Yes or No, and Did it Matter?', eds. A. Fischer and I. Wood, *Western Perspectives on the Mediterranea: Cultural Transfer in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, 400-800 AD* (London, 2014), 85-6.

In the process of seeking to achieve these aims, this thesis intends to show that the disappearance of Byzantium from these three sources, and perhaps from historiography in the Latin West more generally, is more illusory than actual. Far from being ignored, Byzantium was too large and inescapable a presence for the writers to disregard or treat casually. The image of the Eastern Roman Empire constitutes a major influence on the crafting of these narratives.

Methodology and Terminology

The perception of Byzantium and the Byzantines in early medieval Italy is a multifaceted topic that reflects the complex nature of identity formation. This was often the product of peculiar and particular political, social, cultural and religious circumstances, coupled with an awareness of the historical reality of the classical Roman Empire – whether through the many still-visible architectural remains or transmitted through histories, myths and legends – and the desire to define oneself and one's social group in relation to the Byzantine "Other".

The varied images constructed in our sources are further complicated and obscured by the agendas of the people conveying their own views through them. In addition, the invariable methodological problem posed by the limited number of sources affects our interpretation of the past. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify a general trend: Byzantium and its people went from being seen as the Roman Empire populated by Roman citizens to the "Greek Empire" populated by the "Greeks". There was a broad negation of Byzantium's Romanness; the inhabitants of this polity were reinterpreted not merely as the "Other" from a Latin and Western "us", but also as not being what they claimed to be, namely Roman. The redefinition of the Eastern Roman

Empire and its inhabitants as "Greek" was a common, though not universal, means of asserting this difference.[7]

The terms laid out in the paragraphs above remain consistent throughout this thesis. Primarily for reasons of historiographical and conceptual consistency, the adjective "Byzantine" is used to refer to the polity and people of the Eastern Roman Empire.[8] The thesis uses the label "Roman" in three distinct ways to mirror the usage of the term in the three primary sources: firstly, in direct relation to the city of Rome itself; secondly, in relation to the papacy; thirdly, to refer to the socio-cultural and political ideals and traditions of the classical Roman Empire.

Moreover, this thesis focuses on interpreting the image of the (Byzantine) "Other". "Othering", or the process by which one is made "Other", denotes the process of excluding and marginalising an outside group from an in-group. Deliberate emphasis is placed by the in-group on certain differences between the two groups. This is done in a manner that seeks to stress a hierarchical relationship between a superior in-group and an inferior outside group. The act of "Othering" aims to 'articulate the desires, fantasies and fears of [the perceivers], and the grids of power between them and their "Others"'.[9]

The methodological choice of a textual approach for this analysis speaks to the fact that texts not only reflect contemporary discourse but also create it. They guide an audience down

[7] The use of the term "Greek" to describe the Eastern Roman Empire has significant precedent, see L. Sarti, 'From Romanus to Graecus: The Identity and Perceptions of the Byzantines in the Frankish West', JMedHist, XLIV (2018), 137; see below, *The "Greek" Question*, 25-9.
[8] This is how it is referred to in current scholarly literature though it remains to be seen if a shift is coming, see A. Kaldellis, *The New Roman Empire: A History of Byzantium* (Oxford, 2024), with his choice to use the term 'east Romans'.
[9] D. Gregory *et al.*, *Routledge Dictionary of Human Geography*, 5th ed. (Oxford, 2009), 369-71; the term 'grids of power' refers to relationships of power, authority and hierarchy that influence interactions between one side of the relationship and the other.

consciously constructed paths of understanding, albeit based on pre-existing and communally intelligible truths.[10] Indeed, texts are created for a specific group, even if they are not limited to consumption by that group alone.[11] This being the case, a narrative must not simply be understood as a straightforward one-way conversation between author and reader that functions only at an explicit level. Rather, it can be fully comprehended only through an appreciation of the implicit or indirect references to things outside of the text, such as contemporaneous events, cultural norms and competing ideologies, whether conveyed through either deliberate allusion or unconscious assumption.[12] Moreover, as Rudolf Schieffer has pointed out,[13] Byzantium was rarely experienced first-hand in the Latin West. Information concerning the Eastern Roman Empire spread primarily via textual, visual and oral media, and was often rooted in or framed by pre-existing assumptions.[14] Interrogating the textual presentations of Byzantium allows for a better understanding of how the Eastern Roman Empire was experienced and perceived in the Latin West.

In order to engage in the analysis of each source fruitfully, it is necessary to establish the contexts and conditions within which the authors were writing.[15] This thesis therefore gives particular attention to the societies in which they lived and to the broader purpose, setting and

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[10] H. Reimitz, 'Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch aus Saint-Amand. Der *Codex Vindobonensis palat. 473*', eds. C. Egger and H. Weigl, *Text – Schrift – Codex. Quellenkundliche Arbeiten aus dem Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (Vienna, 2000), 72-3; see also, W. Pohl, 'Debating Ethnicity in Post-Roman Historiography', HI, II, 56-7.
[11] S. MacLean, *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicles of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester, 2013), 51-3.
[12] W. Pohl, 'History in Fragments: Montecassino's Politics of Memory', EME, X (2001), 351.
[13] R. Schieffer, 'Zum lateinischen Byzanzbild vor 1204', ed. P. Piatti, *The Fourth Crusade Revisited* (Vatican City, 2004), 31.
[14] M. Dubuisson, 'GRAECUS, GRAECULUS, GRAECARI: L'emploi péjoratif du nom des Grecs en Latin', ed. S. Said, Ελληνισμός. *Quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque* (Leiden, 1991), 315-35.
[15] K. Herbers, 'Europa und seine Grenzen im Mittelalter', eds. K. Herbers and N. Jaspert, *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich. Der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropa* (Berlin, 2007), 39-40.

impetus of each work. In a similar vein, each work's depiction of Byzantium is considered against the background of the potentates contending for, or aspiring to, the imperial mantle in the Latin West, namely the Carolingians and the Ottonians. Indeed, they have a direct influence on the manner in which Byzantium is presented in each work. Again, whilst the representation of East Rome remains my primary research focus, the images of the Carolingians and Ottonians are considered by way of comparison to the image of Byzantium and the Byzantines. No other peoples are analysed to the same extent as the Franks and their Saxon successors. No other group interacts so directly with the perception and representation of Byzantium in any of the histories, let alone is present in all of them.[16]

The "Greek" Question

In seeking to achieve the aims of this thesis, one cannot avoid discussing the use of the word "Greek" to label Byzantium or things pertaining to it. Particular attention is paid to how the term was used specifically and consciously to change the perception of Byzantium in the Latin West and craft a new image of the Eastern Roman polity. Certainly, describing Byzantium and the Byzantines as "Greek" was not an innovation of the eighth century. It had long been common throughout the Latin West to do so because of obvious geographical, linguistic and liturgical differences. In such contexts, the label "Greek" was used in a neutral manner to refer to

[16] For a discussion of the image of Saracens in the CS and southern Italian historical sources more broadly, see the first chapter of L. A. Berto, *The 'Other', Identity and Memory in Early Medieval Italy* (Abingdon, 2023), 1-27; *idem*, 'The Muslims as Others in the Chronicles of Early Medieval Southern Italy', *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, XLV, iii (2014), 1-24.

Byzantines – a usage that can be seen in all three sources – albeit, on the basis of the aforementioned differences, as a distinct socio-cultural group.[17]

In the sources under investigation, the use of the label "Greek" was, however, significantly rarer in Italy than in the rest of Latin Christendom and was seldom used in Rome. This reflects the closer relationship of the Italian peninsula and the former imperial capital to the Byzantine Empire through proximity and first-hand exposure.[18] That said, the neutral, though imprecise, usage of the term "Greek" to refer to the origins of multiple popes in the LP suggests that wider, more colloquial usage of the term in Rome was highly likely, even if it is only sparsely reflected in the extant source material.[19]

In rare cases, the label could even be used by the inhabitants of the Eastern Roman Empire to differentiate themselves from Westerners.[20] The best-known example of this is seen in the trial of Maximus the Confessor (*c.*580-662) concerning his alignment with the Roman Church in the Monothelite Controversy.[21] The author of the Greek work recording the trial, the *Relatio Motionis*, later translated into Latin by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in the ninth century, is unknown but he may himself have known Maximus. He claimed to be writing whilst Maximus

[17] For example, Greek liturgy and language in the LP, Paul, 465, c5 and Sergius II, II, 88, c9 respectively; in the LPER, 332, c154 and 148, c1 respectively; CS with language 100, c99; Gantner points to the different educational programmes followed by the elites in the Greek East and Latin West as an example of socio-cultural differences grounded upon a linguistic determinant, C. Gantner, *Freunde Roms und Völker der Finsternis: Die päpstliche Konstruktion von Anderen im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 2014), 90.
[18] Gantner, *Finsternis*, 70; McCormick, 'Imperial Edge', 22; see also A. J. Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, AD 590-752* (Lanham, 2007).
[19] Popes described as having Greek origins (*natione Grecus*) in the LP Anacletus, 125, c1; Evaristus, 126, c1; Telesphorus, 129, c1; Hyginus, 131, c1; Eleutherius, 136, c1; Anterus, 147, c1; Sixtus II, 155, c1; Eusebius, 167, c1; Zosimus, 225, c1; Theodorus, 331, c1; John VI, 383, c1; John VII, 385, c1; Zacharias, 426, c1; for a broader discussion, see Gantner, *Finsternis*, 91-100.
[20] P. Theodoropoulos, 'Did the Byzantines call themselves Byzantines? Elements of Eastern Roman Identity in the Imperial Discourse of the Seventh Century', BMGS, XLV (2021), 25-41, esp. 39, although the focus is more on the use of the label "Byzantine".
[21] For more on the Monothelite Controversy, see J. Tannous, 'In Search of Monothelitism', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, LXVIII (2014), 29-67.

was in exile, suggesting a *terminus ante quem* of 8th September 656. During the trial in Constantinople, Maximus is asked by an imperial official, 'Why do you love the Romans and hate the Greeks?'. Maximus explains that, on the contrary, he loves both, but he loves the Romans for sharing his faith and the Greeks for sharing his language.[22] Indeed, Byzantium did recognise a closer connection to classical Greece in comparison to the Latin West.[23] Byzantium was also aware that its culture had developed, and perhaps moved away from, the classical imperial Roman culture, most clearly seen in the rise of Greek as the official language of the empire. As Constantine VII (945-959) states in *De thematibus*, the reign of Heraclius (610-641) was the time after which Roman rule truly began to diminish and 'indeed [the emperors after Heraclius] adopted Greek and abandoned their ancestral Roman tongue'.[24] This recognition and these developments, however, in no way infringed upon or impaired Byzantium's self-perception as (the continuation of) the Roman Empire.

As such, though the label could carry pejorative connotations, it was also used as a neutral and useful marker of differentiation in the Latin West on the basis of two criteria to which Maximus referred: language and liturgy. That being said, significant differences between the Greek and Latin halves of the Graeco-Roman world had long been recognised in the West and were growing.[25] The Byzantine world did, during the late-sixth, seventh and early-eighth centuries, become increasingly dominated by the Greek language. The promulgation of the

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[22] 'Relatio Motionis', eds. P. Allen and B. Neil, *Scripta saeculii VII: Vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia; una cum Latina interpretatione Anastasii Bibliothecarii*, CCSG, XXXIX, xv (1999), 46: *"Quare diligis Romanos, et Graceos odio habes?" Respondens autem Dei seruus, ait: "Praeceptum habemus ne quenquam odio habeamus. Diligo Romanos ut unam mecum habentes fidem; Graecos autem ut eadem qua ego lingua loquentes."*
[23] L. Sarti, Orbis Romanus*: Byzantium and the Legacy of Rome in the Carolingian World* (Oxford, 2024), 145-6.
[24] Constantine VII, De thematibus*: Introduzione, testo critico e commento*, ed. A. Pertusi (Rome, 1952), 60: μάλιστα ἑλληνίζοντες καὶ τὴν πάτριον καὶ ῥωμαϊκὴν γλῶτταν ἂποβαλόντες; *idem*, *The* De Thematibus *('On the Themes') of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus*, trans. J. F. Haldon (Liverpool, 2021), 25-6, 81.
[25] See the contributions in C. Föller and F. Schulz, *Osten und Westen, 400-600 n. Chr.: Kommunikation, Kooperation und Konflikt* (Stuttgart, 2016).

Ecloga by Leo III (717-741) in 741, a Greek-language condensation and partial update of the Latin-language *Corpus Iuris Civilis*,[26] is a good example of how the linguistic distance between imperial East and West widened over this period.[27] More fundamentally, when the concept of Romanness became intrinsically associated with Christianity,[28] the notion of Byzantium in the West as a wellspring of heresies led to the development of a sense of superiority and real difference.[29] The triple blows of the 638 *Ekthesis* of Heraclius, the 648 *Typos* of Constans II (641-688) and the 691/2 Quinisext Council of Justinian II (685-695/705-711) also implicated the imperial institution in the development of heterodox, and hence un-Roman, theology.[30] Nevertheless, during the reign of Justinian II, the LP records the Byzantine capture of African territories as being '**restored** to the Roman Empire'.[31]

In the mid-eighth century, however, the combination of imperially mandated iconoclasm and the inability to defend Rome from the encroaching Lombard threat saw a shift in attitudes. The once all-powerful Roman Empire, the vehicle for the preaching of Christianity and establishing the definition of Orthodoxy, was unable to defend its ancient home and was now deviating from established sacred doctrine. In addition to the ever-widening perception of difference, this combination of imperial heresy and the empire's inability to perform its

[26] Of course, the *Corpus* was translated into Greek in Justinian's reign, but it was originally composed and primarily distributed in Latin; for more on the *Ecloga* see M. T. G. Humphreys, *Law, Power and Ideology in the Iconoclast Era:* c.*680-850* (Oxford, 2015), esp. 81-129.
[27] Knowledge of Latin in the Byzantine Empire, however, would not be lost until the late-tenth century, Sarti, Orbis Romanus, 134; nevertheless, she notes that in the fourth century, Eastern and Western Roman imperial identities were already forming along linguistic lines, 147.
[28] *Ibid*, 194-6, 248; Kaldellis, 'From Rome to New Rome', 395-6; see also Y. Hen, 'Compelling and Intense: The Christian Transformation of Romanness', ToR, 59-67.
[29] Gantner, *Finsternis*, 77; the perception of Byzantium or the Christian East in general as a source of heresy in the Christian West is attested as early as *c.*500 in the work of Fulgentius of Ruspe, Goetz, 'The Image of the Greeks', 101; Sarti, Orbis Romanus, 159, mentions Bede's explanation in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* that Hadrian of Canterbury accompanied Theodore of Tarsus to England out of concern that Theodore 'should not introduce anything contrary to the true faith to the [English] Church … as is the custom of the Greeks.'
[30] Gantner, *Finsternis*, 77.
[31] John V, 366, c3: *Africa subiugata est Romano imperio atque restaurata*.

traditional function triggered a reckoning, particularly in regard to its degree of Romanness. Whilst Eastern Roman cultural goods retained their attractiveness into the next millennium, it was from this juncture – around the mid-eighth century – that an image of Byzantium began to be reimagined.[32]

An Introduction to the Sources

An analysis that accounts for all the variations in the changing image of Byzantium across the full geographical and chronological extent of the Latin West is beyond the scope of a single thesis. In the Italian peninsula alone, the formidable challenge posed by, and the influence of, the Eastern Roman Empire on its political identities and legitimacy, socio-cultural practices, and economic systems were persistent and profound. It required different answers in different places at different times. This study, by contrast, is limited to three historical works.

The literary and material cultures of the cities of Rome, Ravenna and Salerno each provide valuable insights into the processes of image construction; each city has a unique relationship with Byzantium. Rome was the *caput mundi*, the centre of the Roman world, only to be abandoned by the emperors in the fourth century before gradually becoming the seat of the papacy. The historical and religious importance of the city meant that it loomed large in both Byzantine politics and the Byzantine imagination.[33] The relationship between Byzantium and Rome, however, cut both ways, with Byzantium exerting considerable theological, cultural and

[32] C. Gantner, '*Romana Urbs*: Levels of Roman and Imperial Identity in the City of Rome', *Early Medieval Europe*, XXII, iv (2014), 462; F-R. Erkens, '*Graecisca sublimitas:* Byzanz' Attraktivität und der abendländische Westen', *Europas Mitte um 1000: Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, II (Stuttgart, 2000), 749-53.
[33] F. Dölger, 'Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LVI (1937), 1-42; J. Shepard, 'Knowledge of the West in Byzantine Sources', CBW, 31-84.

political influence over Rome across the period. Indeed, the history of papal Rome in the early Middle Ages is, in part, defined by the fluctuations in its relationship with Byzantium.

The LP is a serial, chronological collection of biographies of popes – generally referred to in scholarship as Lives, a term which is not used explicitly in the work itself. The LP was originally produced in the sixth century and repeatedly added to at inconsistent intervals up to the late-ninth century, ending with the Life of Pope Stephen V (885-891).[34] Its current label stems from the eighteenth century whilst the extant manuscripts use a variety of titles: *liber* or *codex episcopalis*, *acta* or *gesta pontificum urbis Romae*, and *ordo episcoporum Romae.*[35] As the only extant historical narrative from papal Rome for much of this period, it is a unique source for understanding the Roman see and the city in late antiquity and the early medieval period. The work is, above all, a papal production. Therefore, the image it constructs of Byzantium and the Byzantines is shaped by the interactions and tensions, both theological and political, between the papacy and the Eastern Roman Empire, all of which are underpinned by an awareness of the historical, physical and ideological legacy of the ancient Roman city. The LP's authors aim to represent the papacy in an irreproachably orthodox light and as the unchallenged rulers of the Eternal City; the image of Byzantium and the Byzantines within the narrative is purposefully the mirror-opposite. Indeed, the oppositional manner in which Byzantium is represented in the LP is central to the authorial aims. My analysis shows that the arc of the image of Byzantium in the LP

[34] This thesis uses L. M. O. Duchesne's edition, *Le* Liber Pontificalis*: Texte, Introduction et Commentaire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886-1892); for an English translation see the three works by R. Davis, *The Book of the Pontiffs (*Liber Pontificalis*): The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715*, 2nd ed. (Liverpool, 2000); *idem*, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (*Liber Pontificalis*): The Ancient Biographies of Nine Popes from AD 715 to AD 817* (Liverpool, 1992); *idem*, *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (*Liber Pontificalis*): The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from AD 817-891* (Liverpool, 1995).

[35] McKitterick, *Invention*, 7; see ref. 179; see also O. Bertolini's examination of the range of titles that were used to designate this work, 'Il "*Liber Pontificalis*"', *La storiografia altomedievale*, *Settimane di studio del centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, XVII, I (Spoleto, 1970), 396-415.

bends ever more towards negating its Romanness and asserting the religious waywardness of East Rome.

In this thesis, the narrative of the LP is analysed only between the years of 752 and 871, covering the pontificates from Stephen II (752-757) to Hadrian II (867-872). The starting date has been chosen because the pontificate of Stephen II coincides with the collapse of the Byzantine Exarchate and the political shift of the papacy away from the emperors in Constantinople to the more present and regionally capable Frankish kings. The end point of 871 relates to the final chapter of the Life of Hadrian II, the penultimate Life in the LP. The final Life of Stephen V is unfinished and contains nothing relevant to this thesis' analysis, and so has not received attention here.

Ravenna was the final capital of the Western Roman Empire until 476 and of the Byzantine Exarchate until 752. The famous mosaics of Justinian (527-565) and Theodora (527-548), serving almost as a logo for Byzantium today,[36] still decorate the walls of the Ravennan Basilica of San Vitale. This was a topographically and visually Byzantine imperial city and was recognised widely as such in the Latin West. Charlemagne (king, 768-800; emperor, 800-814) despoiled the city of material for his own imperial capital of Aachen in an attempt to translate and appropriate the imperial authority embedded in the Ravennan cityscape.[37] Ravenna itself was all but severed from direct connections with the Eastern Roman Empire following its conquest by the Lombards and then the Franks in the 750s. From this time onward, direct Byzantine influence on the city was less than that experienced by either Rome or Salerno. Its relationship to

[36] See Figures 1 and 2, 17; the front covers of: *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, ed. C. Mango (Oxford, 2002); J. J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries* (London, 1990); K. Rodgers, *The Byzantine Empire: A Society that Shaped the World* (St. Louis, 2012).
[37] West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, 284-5.

Byzantium in the ninth century was thus characterised more by what Joaquin Pizarro terms 'psychological proximity', a disposition palpable both among the city's residents and the territory pertaining to it, as well as visible to medieval Western onlookers.[38]

The LPER was written by Andreas Agnellus, a clergyman of noble stock, in the early to mid-ninth century.[39] His work is modelled on the Roman LP and aims primarily to promote the autonomy of the Ravennan see from Roman pontifical oversight, but also to champion the rights of the local clergy against overbearing bishops. Written by an individual, albeit with the help of a coterie of fellow clerics, the work reflects the factional standpoint on the issues of the day that was held by the author and his associates. Agnellus seeks to construct a narrative of the past that suits his agenda. Necessarily, considering the history of Ravenna, Byzantium plays a critical role in this historical narrative, most explicitly regarding the iconoclast controversy and an apparent clash between Ravennan and Byzantine forces at that time. Ultimately, however, and reflecting a powerful sense of attachment between Ravenna and the Eastern Roman Empire, the LPER constructs a remarkably positive image of Byzantium. In an implicit stance maintained throughout the work, notwithstanding the major issue of the heresy of iconoclasm, the emperor in Constantinople is cast as the Roman emperor and rightful ruler of Ravenna. The 'psychological proximity' of Ravenna to Constantinople is palpable.

Salerno's position in southern Italy meant that the city and its territory were situated in the socio-cultural and geopolitical borderlands between the Greek East and the Latin West. The

[38] J. M. Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna: The* Liber Pontificalis *of Andreas Agnellus* (Michigan, 1995), 13; likely borrowing the terminology of A. Guillou, 'Esarcato e Pentapoli, regione psicologica dell'Italia bizantina', ed. R. Morghen, *Studies on Byzantine Italy* (London, 1970), 297-319.
[39] *Agnelli Ravennatis: Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis, CCCM, CXCIX (2006); for the English translation see *The Book of the Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, trans. D. M. Deliyannis (Washington, D. C., 2004).

history of the Lombards in Italy was, from its origin, defined by conflict with Byzantium but, by the tenth century, the relationship between the Lombard principality of Salerno and Byzantium was far less adversarial. Trade in goods and ideas with the Byzantine centre, as well as a pragmatic diplomatic approach that sought primarily to safeguard the principality's sovereignty, complemented the dealings of Salernitans with 'Italo-Byzantines', that is, Greek speakers from Byzantine-ruled southern Italy.[40] The socio-cultural cross-pollination that this physical proximity entailed produced items that speak to a clear cultural and socio-political overlap.[41] Such connections were further increased by a significant amount of immigration from Byzantine territories into the Lombard principality of Salerno.

The CS is an unfinished text that was written by an anonymous author in the late-960s and 970s. It aimed to glorify the Salernitan principality under the Dauferid dynasty and bolster the dynasty's legitimacy whilst also edifying the next generation of the social elite.[42] Written by a scribe working in the palace, the CS presents itself as a continuation of Paul the Deacon's (*c.*720s-*c.*798) *Historia Langobardorum*. Though the CS was written, at least in part, following the subjugation of the last Dauferid prince in 974, the historical narrative is constructed to fit the aims mentioned above, Byzantium and the Byzantines included. For the CS, the Byzantines are Greeks but Byzantium is Roman. This is, paradoxically, despite its inclusion of the full text of Louis II's (844-875) letter of 871 to Basil I (867-886) in the chronicle. This letter contains a

[40] M. McCormick, 'The Imperial Edge: Italo-Byzantine Identity, Movement and Integration, AD 650-950', eds. H. Ahrweiler and A. E. Laiou, *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D. C., 1998), 17-52; A. Peters-Custot, 'L'identité des Grecs de l'Italie méridionale byzantine', *Nea Rōmi: rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche*, III (2006), 189-206; A. Guillou, 'Italie méridionale byzantine ou Byzantins en Italie méridionale?' *Byzantion*, XLIV, i (1974), 152-90.
[41] K. Leyser, 'The 10th Century in Byzantine-Western Relationships', ed. D. Baker, *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1973), 37.
[42] Chronicon Salernitanum*: A Critical Edition with Studies on Literary and Historical Sources and on Language*, ed. U. Westerbergh (Lund, 1956).

virulent polemic against the Constantinopolitan claim to imperial Romanness which has led to the CS being interpreted as anti-Byzantine. In fact, influenced by the contemporary intellectual environment and geopolitical realities, the CS's image of the Byzantine Empire and the Byzantines, which at first sight seems contradictory and appears to conform to the argument of the letter, in fact presents the empire as Roman – albeit in a peculiarly limited sense – and its people as Greeks.

Why these sources?

The three sources have been chosen for several reasons. Each work is a local work, a label I use in the same sense as Noble applied it to the LP, in that each narrative focuses primarily on the specific context and geography within which it was written.[43] In this way, these sources are not simply general histories: they are written with the intent of conveying the past of a particular place. In a similar vein, they are all origin narratives that seek to establish an understanding of the past that justifies and legitimises the present.[44]

With these narratives being of the same ilk, the fact that each is bound up with the question of Byzantium makes them particularly worthy of comparison. In the cases of the LP and the CS, and despite their different formats – the former being a serial biographical history and the latter a dynastic history – these works were written in part as a direct response to the potentially

[43] T. F. X. Noble, 'Paradoxes and Possibilities in the Sources for Roman Society in the early Middle Ages', ed. J. M. H. Smith, *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000), 57.
[44] A. Plassmann, Origo Gentis. *Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen* (Leiden, 2006), 13; moreover, in the case of the LP, through its B and D manuscript traditions, it is also an origin narrative for Frankish kingship. See the discussion by R. McKitterick, 'The Illusion of Royal Power in the Carolingian Annals', EHR, CXV, cdlx (2000), 1-20.

lethal challenge posed by Byzantium.[45] The LPER copies the format of the LP but does not respond so much to the challenge of Byzantium. On the contrary, the LPER subtly communicates a desire for Byzantium to regain hegemony over Ravenna and the Italian peninsula. More pertinently, Byzantium is not an overtly leading subject in any of these narratives which are primarily focused on justifying a local socio-political structure and ideology. Paradoxically, however, Byzantium is ever-present in each work despite being seldom mentioned. Indeed, Byzantium is used in each work to achieve the very different aims of each author. In this way, the perception and representation of Byzantium in each source constitute a central narrative strategy through which the works' intentions are achieved.

On the other side of the Byzantine conundrum in all of these histories is the spectre of the Western Empire, namely that of the Carolingians for the LP and LPER, and that of the Ottonians for the CS. The image of Byzantium conveyed in each work reflects the broader issue surrounding the medieval contest for the mantle of imperial Romanness. The Franks are convenient allies in the LP, hated overlords in the LPER, while the Ottonians pose an existential threat in the CS. The image of Byzantium constructed in each work is similarly coloured, if not governed, by a wide variety of attitudes towards the contemporary Western Empire. Despite each work having been written in distinct socio-cultural conditions, the context within which the authors wrote are strikingly similar, and this makes comparison worthwhile.

As this thesis shows, the similarities do not end there. With each work produced in reaction to similar outside imperial pressures, it is striking that they all operate within the same broad conceptual framework. A comparative analysis of the three sources brings this into focus

[45] A further connection between the two works is found in the opening chapters of the CS which are lifted directly from the Lives of Zacharias I and Stephen II.

as well as other aspects which are easily overlooked if each were viewed in isolation. Moreover, this approach sheds light on the changing perception of the Byzantine Empire over time.

Other sources are considered wherever they can add nuance, support arguments and provide a fuller understanding of the three histories, but this is a secondary concern. Unfortunately, to examine and investigate other types of sources in depth would be to overextend this doctoral investigation. It would open up questions about comparability and would impede sufficiently close engagement with the three histories which, at times, require line-by-line analysis to draw out the subtleties, hints and loaded subtexts within them. Ideally, the plentiful epigraphic and chartulary evidence from Salerno, papal epistles from Rome, and the rich stock of art and architecture from Ravenna would also be examined, but this will have to be reserved for future research. The thesis is limited in this regard, but this limitation allows room for fuller investigation of the role played by Byzantium in each of the works individually as well as a more thorough comparative analysis.

State of Research

Most of the studies that do exist on the Byzantine image in the Latin West have focused on either the successor kingdoms to the Western Roman Empire or the Crusading period.[46] Others, due to the supposed lack of references to Byzantium in the source material, tend to limit themselves to little more than an outline and deal with a broader time period and geography

[46] Post-Western Roman Empire: H.-W. Goetz, 'Byzanz in der Wahrnehmung fränkischer Geschichtsschreiber des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts', Föller and Schulz, *Osten und Westen, 400-600*, 77-98; J. Drauschke, 'Diplomatie und Wahrnehmung im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert: Konstantinopel und die Merowingischen Könige', ed. M. Altripp, *Byzanz in Europa: Europas östliches Erbe* (Turnhout, 2011), 244-75; Crusading period: M. Carrier, *L'Autre à l'Époque des Croisades: les Byzantins vus par les Chroniqueurs du Monde latin (1096-1261)* (London, 2012); Schieffer, 'Zum lateinischen Byzanzbild', 18-31; B. Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in Westerse Ogen, 1096-1204* (Assen, 1971).

greater than that covered here.[47] In this sub-section, I provide a summary of the general state of research on this topic.

It is generally asserted that Latin Western attitudes towards Byzantium ranged from ignorant to indifferent. This was established in the pioneering work of Fred Hänßler and M. G. Arbagi. Both explored the explicit references to Byzantium in the source material and concluded that, apart from a clear current of cultural respect, that Byzantium was generally regarded with apathy and seen as irrelevant.[48] Hänßler's caveat is that explicit antagonism is apparent following the coronation of Charlemagne in 800, albeit there are Lombard precedents for this more negative perspective. Arbagi also nuanced his conclusions by referring to episodes of antagonism in Lombard sources. These, however, can be linked with specific events that saw clashes between Lombards and Byzantines, and he therefore argued against any systematic hostility.[49] For Arbagi, the only polity that exceptionally and consistently represented East Rome negatively was the papacy. He understood this as a reflection of the unique relationship between papal Rome and imperial Constantinople socio-politically, ecclesiastically and historically.

Clemens Gantner's research closely echoes that of Arbagi.[50] However, because his work focuses on the role the papacy played in propagating a specific image of Byzantium in the early medieval West, Gantner argues more forcefully that there was an active "Othering" of Byzantium in the eighth century. Establishing the pontificate of Stephen II as the key turning point, he

[47] H. Hunger, Graeculus perfidus/Ἰταλὸς ἰταμός*: Il senso dell'alterità nei rapporti greco-romani ed italo-bizantini* (Rome, 1987).
[48] F. Hänßler, *Byzanz und Byzantiner: Ihr Bild im Spiegel der Überlieferung der germanischen Reiche im früheren Mittelalter* (Bern, 1960); M. G. Arbagi, *Byzantium in Latin Eyes, 800-1204* (PhD thesis, Rutgers University, 1969).
[49] For instance, Arbagi sees examples of anti-Byzantine hostility in Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* as responses to episodes such as the Byzantine raid on the shrine of St. Michael on Mt. Gargano, HL, IV, 135, c46, and Constans II's invasion of the Lombard Duchy of Benevento V, 147, c7, *Byzantium in Latin Eyes*, 16-17.
[50] C. Gantner, 'The Label "Greeks" in the Papal Diplomatic Repertoire in the Eighth Century', SoI, 303-49; *idem*, *Finsternis*; *idem*, 'The Eighth-Century Papacy as Cultural Broker', RoP, 245-61.

argues that papal correspondence after this point becomes forthright and hostile, a hostility evident in its adoption of the term "Greek" to describe Byzantium. For Gantner, the use of this label was a means of vilification and of justification of the political separation of Church and Empire. Gantner also notes that the silence of the LP with regard to Byzantium is curiously different from the vociferousness present in the extant papal letters.[51] He nevertheless situates this ambivalence within the same strategy of separation from the Eastern Roman Empire which he deems successful by around 800.

Peter Schreiner takes a somewhat different line in his research on the image of Byzantium in early Western historiography.[52] He points out that the fascination with the Byzantine East expressed in many works of the Latin West was combined with a strange sense of belonging or uncertain familiarity. However, Schreiner further argues that the lack of understanding concerning Byzantium can be explained by the limited access to information about it in the Latin West. Schreiner therefore takes what might be termed as a gradualist position. He posits that the development of the ideological challenge from the Carolingian Empire and the accrual of greater political and ecclesiastical power by the papacy resulted in the ever-greater absence of Byzantium from Latin historiography and ever-greater distance between the Greek East and Latin West.[53]

Klaus Herbers' study of the Photian Schism (863-867) identifies this event as an important juncture after which the "Wir-Gefühl" of Christendom became a Western, Latin "us"

[51] A particularly interesting observation given his recent article on the silence of papal sources in general concerning Pippin of Italy, C. Gantner, 'The Silence of the Popes', eds. G. Albertoni and F. Borri, Spes Italiae. *Il regno di Pipino, I Carolingi e l'Italia (781-81)* (Turnhout, 2023), 377-410.
[52] P. Schreiner, 'Geschichte und Geschichten aus dem Osten. Die frühe westliche Historiographie und Byzanz (6.-9. Jh.)', ed. E. Juhasz, *Byzanz und das Abendland III* (Budapest, 2015), 13-29.
[53] Goetz also notes the relative absence of Byzantium from medieval Latin historiography, *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen*, 692.

versus an Eastern, Greek "them".[54] Herbers, however, argues against any deliberate or conscious political programme or objective, seeing the "Othering" of Byzantium as stemming from more unconscious and diffuse origins. He nevertheless highlights that the schism was critical to the development of certain negative stereotypes, such as manipulative behaviour, which became associated in the Latin West with Byzantium and the Byzantines.[55]

Chris Wickham's research is limited to the Franks and focuses more on the cultural front. He concurs that the Franks clearly admired and held respect for the cultural achievements of the Byzantines. He sees, however, a clear Frankish hostility in the ninth century that produced a relationship which he argues parallels 'the same love-hate relationship' between papal Rome and Byzantium.[56] Like Schreiner, Wickham marks the Carolingian era as the beginning of the development of the idea of the Greeks, that is, the Byzantines, as proud, deceitful and envious.

Both Hans-Werner Goetz and Reka Forrai also identify a "love-hate" relationship. Goetz, focusing on the religious issues, notes the contradictions between the attractiveness of Byzantium's political and social culture in the Latin West and the clashes between the pope and the patriarch.[57] Nevertheless, he points out that the claim of the Roman Church to superiority over the Constantinopolitan Church is one that intrinsically carries a sense of belonging. He posits that this tension may explain the apparent lack of interest in Byzantium in Latin Western historiography and an inability or unwillingness to grapple with this intricate relationship.

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[54] K. Herbers, 'Papst Nikolaus I. und Patriarch Photios. Das Bild des byzantinischen Gegners in lateinischen Quellen', BWO, 51-74.
[55] This conclusion aligns with the contents of the LP. See below, *Author Thirteen (Interpolations in Nicolas I and Hadrian II, 858*-c.*871)*, 103-5.
[56] C. J. Wickham, 'Ninth-Century Byzantium through Western Eyes', ed. L. Brubaker, *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* (Aldershot, 1998), 245-56, quotation on 251.
[57] Goetz, *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen*, 677-772; these arguments are reproduced in English in his contribution to CBW, *idem*, 'Image of the Greeks', 85-107.

Echoing Arbagi and Hänßler's argument for indifference, Goetz argues that the label "Greek" was not pejorative but more of a descriptor that had utility along linguistic or politico-cultural lines.

Forrai analyses the image of Byzantium through a close reading of the translations of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*c.*810-*c.*878).[58] Despite an atmosphere in the 860s and 870s that Forrai describes as 'xenophobic and hostile … fuelled by a rivalry for political and religious supremacy',[59] she argues that there was an implicitly acknowledged and seemingly inconvenient spectrum concerning the perception of Byzantium in the Latin West that included a deep reverence and respect at the positive end of said spectrum. Elaborating on Schreiner's theme of disappearance, Forrai argues that Anastasius' Greek to Latin translations represented the sharp end of an active process of cultural forgetting.[60] His work was, Forrai argues, part of a process of cultural appropriation which "de-Byzantinised" works originally produced in the imperial Christian East. Through this process, they became part of the canon of Latin Christendom.[61]

Around the turn of the millennium, a number of studies focused on the perception of Byzantium specifically in southern Italy, led by the work of Annick Peters-Custot.[62] Her

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[58] R. Forrai, 'The Sacred Nectar of the Deceitful Greeks: Perceptions of Greekness in Ninth-Century Rome', KB, 71-84.
[59] *Ibid*, 75.
[60] *Ibid*, 79, explicitly refers to the work of S. Goldhill and uses his definition from, *Who needs Greeks? Contests in the Cultural History of Hellenism* (Cambridge, 2002), 299: 'the opposite of cultural memory as it were – to sum up how a nexus of social, intellectual, personal and institutional interests work to refashion and to silence authors and passions and comprehensions of the past'.
[61] This dovetails neatly with Noble's argument, which Forrai acknowledges, that the decline of knowledge of Greek in Rome during this period was partly a matter of deliberate policy, 'The Declining Knowledge of Greek in 8th and 9th Century Papal Rome', BZ, LXXVIII (1985), 62.
[62] A. Peters-Custot, 'Le barbare et l'étranger dans l'Italie méridionale pré-normande (IXe-Xe siècles): L'Empire à l'épreuve de l'altérité', eds. D. Nourisson and Y. Perrin, *Le barbare, l'étranger: Images de l'Autre; Actes du colloque organisé par le CERHI* (Saint-Etienne, 2005), 147-64; *eadem*, '*Convivencia* between Christians: The Greek and Latin Communities of Byzantine South Italy (IXth-XIth centuries), eds. B. Crostini and S. la Porta, *Negotiating Co-Existence: Communities, Cultures and 'Convivencia' in Byzantine Society* (Trier, 2013), 203-20; *eadem*, 'L'Autre est le Même: qu'est-ce qu'être "grec" dans les sources latines de l'Italie? (VIIIe-Xie siècles)', eds. P.

contention is that the use of the word "Greek" to describe Byzantium was not originally a ploy to monopolise the Roman heritage for the Latin West. This changed in the late-eighth and ninth centuries in Rome, though in southern Italy it continued primarily as a term of convenience conveying a politico-administrative or linguistic-cultural meaning. This, she argues, can be seen in the CS, in which the label "Greek" retained a limiting meaning as a marker of difference and distance, although not necessarily in a pejorative sense. In this vein, Peters-Custot goes so far as to question whether in southern Italy it is even possible to talk of "Otherness" in regard to Byzantium, preferring to speak more of alterity rather than the more extreme *différance*.[63]

In response, Luigi Andrea Berto argues for a more adversarial perception of Byzantium. With certain exceptions, Berto views southern Italian Lombard sources as constructing an 'extremely negative image of the Greeks'.[64] He reads the image constructed of Byzantium in the CS as particularly negative, thus explaining the history's inclusion of the 871 letter of Louis II to Basil I. The letter emphatically denies Byzantine claims to imperial Romanness whilst the chronicle itself depicts the Byzantines as militarily inept. Jakub Kujawiński is more circumspect, but he, like Berto, sees an ultimately negative image of Byzantium and the Byzantines in southern Italian sources.[65] Deviating from Berto and Kujawiński, Thomas Granier argues that in southern Italy the inherent Romanness of Byzantium was recognised and accepted, albeit more implicitly than explicitly.[66] He notes that many southern Italian sources continued to date events

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Josserand and J. Pysiak, *À la rencontre de l'Autre au Moyen Âge: in memoriam Jacques le Goff* (Rennes, 2017), 53-78.

[63] These ideas stem from post-structuralist thought. Alterity simply means difference and its noticing but *différance*, as opposed to *différence*, refers to the deliberate construction, highlighting and emphasis placed on differences that seeks to make these differences more profound and essential. Ultimately, it constructs what is different as lesser.

[64] L. A. Berto, 'The Image of the Byzantines in Early Medieval Southern Italy: The Viewpoint of the Chroniclers of the Lombards (9th-10th Centuries) and Normans (11th Century)', *Mediterranean Studies*, XXII (2014), 1-37.

[65] J. Kujawiński, 'L'immagini dell' "Altro" nella cronachistica del Mezzogiorno Longobardo', *Rivista Storica Italiana*, CXVIII (January 2006), 767-815.

[66] T. Granier, 'Rome and Romanness in Latin southern Italian Sources, 8th-10th Centuries', ToR, 217-30.

by the reigns of Byzantine emperors and emphasises the cultural authority of Byzantium in southern Italy. However, he argues that the Byzantines were fundamentally perceived as "Greeks" in southern Italy and that the CS is unique among southern Italian sources for separating Byzantium from any conception of Romanness.

Finally, Laury Sarti has focused on the image of Byzantium among the papacy and Franks, concluding that the use of the term "Greek", when applied to the Byzantines, was always a debasing term.[67] Indeed, it was just one of a number of ways in which the Eastern Roman Empire was negatively depicted, though she acknowledges the continued prestige associated with the Greek language and Byzantine culture. However, she argues, in contrast to Goetz, that the pejorative connotations attached to the label "Greek" in the Latin West in the eighth and ninth centuries were informed largely by religious distinctions and were fundamentally associated with heterodoxy and heresy. In turn, the term was a primary means of denying Byzantine Romanness, with Romanness being connected with Christian orthodoxy. Placing the origin of this usage of the label "Greek" in the mid-eighth century, she therefore pushes back against Hänssler's thesis that antagonism began only in the ninth century.

The Argument of the Thesis

Having provided an overview of the current state of research on the perception of Byzantium in the early medieval West, I now lay out the main arguments of this thesis. One of the central premises of this thesis is the need to examine more closely the sources composed in the Latin West and analyse them with the aim of identifying how they conceive of and represent

[67] Sarti, 'From *Romanus* to *Graecus*', 131-50; *eadem*, Orbis Romanus, esp. 153-66.

both the Eastern Roman Empire and its people, including the Byzantine population resident on the Italian peninsula. For in each of the three works that this thesis analyses, Byzantium plays a key role.

Starting with the LP and, more precisely, with the elaborate lists of building works that are appended to all the biographies of popes between 774 to the middle of the ninth century, I argue that these lists are the principal means of castigating Byzantine iconoclastic beliefs. They demonstrate the sanctity of the Roman see and, by extension, implicitly deny the Romanness of Byzantium. This had the additional benefit of bolstering the papal claim to the inheritance of ancient Rome, enabling the bestowal of the imperial title upon the Carolingians. Turning to the LPER, I have closely examined the prophecy in the Life of Bishop Gratiosus and proposed a reinterpretation of the work in light of its contents. My study has unveiled a third principal theme alongside the two already identified by Deborah Deliyannis, namely the glorification of episcopal Ravenna and political support for the clerics against overbearing bishops.[68] I contend that the LPER is a pro-Byzantine narrative. Whilst still condemning Byzantine heterodox beliefs, it advances the argument that Constantinople is the city to which Ravenna should ultimately be subject. The reasons for this are twofold: strong dislike of Ravenna's Frankish overlords and a real sense of shared identity with Byzantium. In my third case study, the CS, I argue that the anonymous Salernitan author presents Byzantium as the Roman Empire, though it is populated by Greeks and is denied the universal quality normally attached to Roman *imperium*. My analysis hinges primarily on a comparison of the text of Louis II's letter of 871 with the remaining narrative. This reinterpretation dovetails comfortably with Peters-Custot's broader picture of early medieval southern Italy and its relationship with Byzantium as outlined above. I

[68] See *Why was the* Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis *Written?*, 136-42.

conclude that the anonymous author's primary purpose in this regard was to challenge the ideological foundations of the imperial pretensions of the Ottonians, who were threatening Salernitan independence in the late-tenth century.

This thesis' reinterpretation of these three principal sources has further implications for the LPER and CS. In regard to the former, the arguments of this thesis are at odds with Deliyannis' position concerning Agnellus' reasons for writing about iconoclasm as well as some general interpretations of the work that are currently prevailing with regard to its perspective on the Byzantine Empire. In addition, the analysis of the LPER points to a link between Ravenna and the Adrio-Byzantine identity present in the Upper Adriatic in the ninth century, a finding that departs from the line of previous research.[69] In a similar vein, the conclusions reached about the CS in this thesis challenge the prevailing views on the Salernitan history. Many scholars, including Granier and Walter Pohl, see the CS as denying the Romanness of Byzantium, often viewing the work through the lens of Louis II's letter, which upholds the Western claim to Roman emperorship, and assuming the author is a Benedictine monk. By instead comparing the letter with the text of the history in its entirety, this thesis shows that, far from affirming the contents of the letter, the Salernitan narrative situates itself against the claims of the Western emperors to imperial legitimacy. These conclusions underscore the need for a robust reinterpretation of both the LEPR and CS.

It is far from true that Byzantium disappears from these sources; in fact, its presence is strongly felt even when it is not explicitly mentioned. These three works offer powerful, albeit silent, polemics aimed at aspects of East Rome and, in the LP's case, at its very claim to

[69] See below, *'my brothers, my comrades, citizens of Ravenna'*, 186-9.

Romanness and religious orthodoxy.[70] These polemics have not been recognised by earlier scholarship. This thesis' investigation unveils the LP as far more actively anti-Byzantine than previously realised, and it fundamentally shifts how the LPER and CS should be approached.

It is thus the contention of this thesis that the authors of the LP, the LPER and the CS construct their respective images of Byzantium with care and deliberation, and that they have clear ideas as to how they want their intended readers to perceive East Rome. These polemics are not simply aimed at Byzantium. They are also vehicles for achieving wider intentions. The image of the Eastern Roman Empire and its people could serve as a mirror to reflect Ravennan opinion about the Franks, Salernitan military ability or papal orthodoxy. Moreover, Byzantium was far too large a presence socio-culturally, economically and historically for the writers of these three sources to ignore or approach in a casual or careless manner. Indeed, the varying levels of tension visible across the three works suggest an apparent paradox: the more central Byzantium is to the key aims of a source, the less direct are the references to it. This is seen in its almost complete absence from the narrative of the LP in comparison to it being mentioned relatively frequently in the CS.

The pervasive – if generally unsuspected – presence of Byzantium in our three texts testifies to the enduring prestige of Constantinople and its imperial court in early medieval Italy. This perception is clearly tinged with a jealousy which stems from its incontestable role in Roman and Christian Roman history and the authority such continuity conferred. This has long been recognised by scholarship. But what this thesis also shows is that each work's image belongs to the same tripartite conceptual framework, even though their specific images of

[70] I thank my supervisor, Jonathan Shepard, for the phrase 'silent polemic'.

Byzantium differ quite substantially, with one being highly negative and the other two more or less positive. In all of them, Byzantium is imperial, a recognition that necessarily acknowledges its Romanness; its people are Greek, though this can be used as a label of convenience than a deliberate attempt at "Othering" and, thus, belittling or denigrating; and that Byzantium is unquestionably a part of Christendom. Although this matches almost exactly Georg Ostrogorsky's definition of Byzantium,[71] it might be argued that the shared conceptual framework simply shows the influence of the LP on the LPER and the CS. However, the fact that this paradigm is sustained across a considerable span of space and time suggests something much deeper than literary conventions. This means that if we want to comprehend the socio-cultural and political development of early medieval Italy – if not of Western Europe in general – along with their underlying conceptions of the classical past and its uses, we must take account of how Byzantium, and most especially Constantinople, was perceived where an animated version of antique Romanness was on contemporary and permanent display.

My analysis of the three works shows that in Italy, the wholesale denial of Byzantium's Romanness does not occur prior to the eleventh century, even if the LP had clearly begun that process. Viewed from this perspective, labelling Byzantium and the Byzantines as "Greek" turns out not to be a universally negative, denialist and pejorative in the years following the mid-eighth century. Indeed, as indicated by Peters-Custot's research in southern Italy and Goetz's studies on the Latin West's perception of Orthodox Christianity, the term "Greek" could be used in a neutral manner as a convenient label in cultural, linguistic or politico-administrative contexts. That said, whilst there are neutral and even positive contexts for the label "Greek" across the sources, the

[71] G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. Hussey (New Brunswick, 1957), 26: 'Roman political concepts, Greek culture and the Christian faith'.

term can also be highly pejorative, ideologically infused and "Othering", as is attested across the LP, LPER and CS.

Sarti, supported by Goetz and Herbers, nevertheless demonstrates that the idea of Byzantium and the Byzantines as heterodox – holding incorrect if not heretical beliefs – is key to understanding how and why the Eastern Roman Empire was "Othered" in the medieval West. In all three histories, the perception of Byzantine heterodoxy – above all, the iconoclast controversy – plays an important role in differentiating between the author's narrative voice, the author's own community and the Byzantine "Other". Indeed, in the LPER, Byzantine iconoclasm is depicted as a 'poison' stemming from the 'Greeks' of East Rome, even as the narrative seeks to frame Byzantium as the rightful overlord of Ravenna.[72] The impact of iconoclasm, as communicated by our three works, is not minimal; rather it is profound and undeniable in shaping the perception of Byzantium.

Byzantium in Italy, c.750 to 1000

Whilst this thesis is largely a work of textual analysis, it is necessary to provide historical context in order to appreciate better how the image of Byzantium and the Byzantines is constructed in each text.[73] In each section, relevant contextual information is provided, but it is

[72] See below *A Moment of* translatio imperii?, 180-3.
[73] In this overview, my sources are J. Shepard, 'Equilibrium to Expansion (886-1025), CHBE, 493-536; *idem*, 'Western Approaches (900-1025)', *ibid*, 537-559; M.-F. Auzépy, 'State of Emergency (700-850)', *ibid*, 249-91; T. S. Brown, 'Byzantine Italy (680-876)', *ibid*, 433-64; G. A. Loud, 'Byzantine and Southern Italy (876-1000)', *ibid*, 560-82; F. Borri, 'L'Adriatico tra Bizantini, Longobardi e Franchi: dalla conquista di Ravenna alla pace di Aquisgrana (751-812)', *Bullettino*, CXII (2010), 1-56; P. Delogu, 'Lombard and Carolingian Italy', ed. R. McKitterick, NCMH, II (1995), 290-319; M. McCormick, 'Byzantium and the West, 700-900', *ibid*, 349-80; A. Nef, 'Byzantium and Islam in Southern Italy (7th to 11th Century), CBI, 200-24; S. Gelichi, 'The *Venetiae*, the Exarchate and the Pentapolis', *ibid*, 360-86; A. Thomas, *Jeux lombards: alliances, parenté et politique en Italie méridionale du la fin du VIIIe siècle à la conquête normande* (Rome, 2016).

also useful to have an awareness of the broader historical picture of Byzantium in Italy as well as the impact of the imperial ambitions of the Carolingians and the Ottonians in the peninsula. The history of this period is highly complex. I provide here a simplified overview with a focus on the cities of Rome, Ravenna and Salerno.

A State of Emergency? Byzantine Italy, *c.*750-*c.*870

Having long served as the capital of the Byzantine Exarchate, Ravenna fell to the Lombard king, Aistulf (749-756), in 751. This was a major blow to imperial authority on the peninsula, which was already suffering reputational damage due to the imperial promulgation of iconoclasm. Belated diplomatic attempts by Constantine V (741-775) to regain Ravenna failed. Subsequently, as part of two campaigns to protect the papacy from the growing Lombard threat, the Franks claimed Ravenna for themselves which, according to the so-called Donation of Pippin, came under the *de jure* administrative authority of the papacy. In the immediate aftermath of the loss of Ravenna and the *de facto* political separation of papal Rome from the empire, Byzantine territory was thus restricted to the extremities of both Calabria (centred on the area around Reggio) and Apulia (predominantly around the Otranto), and the Upper Adriatic around Venice.

These two campaigns undertaken by King Pippin III of the Franks (751-768) were undertaken by papal request. In 752, Pope Stephen II sent a request to Constantinople for aid against the Lombards. Unable to send military assistance due to campaigns against the Arabs and the Bulgars, the Byzantines pushed for negotiation and compromise. Stephen thus turned to a more extreme solution to his predicament. His predecessor, Zacharias I (741-752), had provided Pippin III with the moral backing to claim the Frankish kingship from the nominal Merovingian

kings in 751. In 754, Stephen travelled to Francia, proclaimed Pippin a *patricius Romanorum* and invoked the favour owed from 751. As a result, the Franks, under Pippin, marched into Italy and defeated the Lombards.

That same year, the Council of Hieria, which officially endorsed iconoclasm throughout the Byzantine Empire, was convened.[74] Rome was now split from Constantinople on geopolitical, theological and, hence, ideological grounds.

Papal relations with the Franks steadily improved over the following years. In 756, King Pippin once again came to the aid of the papacy when Aistulf reneged on the previous peace agreements. Pippin's successor, Charlemagne, similarly and decisively protected the papacy from the Lombard threat by taking the capital of Pavia, killing the last Lombard king, Desiderius (757-774), and claiming the Lombard Kingdom of Italy for himself in 774.

In the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Lombard kingdom, Arechis (duke, 758-774; prince, 774-787), the Lombard Duke of Benevento, claimed the title of prince and independence from the Kingdom of Italy. With Byzantine aid, Arechis and his successors largely succeeded in holding off Carolingian attempts to dominate them. Nominal Frankish overlordship was eventually accepted, but the principality maintained its autonomy. In the coming years, Arechis and his heirs would play off the Byzantines against the Franks, and vice versa, and consolidate their possessions in southern Italy.

Despite Byzantine weakness in Italy, the letters of Hadrian I (772-795) attest a fear of an attempt to reassert Byzantine control by military means. In 787, however, the outcome of the

[74] For a full background and history of Byzantine Iconoclasm see the contributions in *A Companion to Byzantine Iconoclasm*, ed. M. T. G. Humphreys (Leiden, 2021).

Second Council of Nicaea saw iconoclasm officially revoked in the Byzantine Empire. Relations appear to have improved between the Byzantine Empire and the papacy whilst Empress Irene (797-802) sought a marriage alliance with the Franks, attempting to wed her son, Constantine VI (780-797), to Charlemagne's daughter, Rotrude (*c.*775-810). However, the bid for a marriage alliance failed and led to war in 788/9. A Byzantine expedition to Calabria, accompanied by Adelchis (*c.*740-788), the son of Desiderius, sought to march northwards and re-establish Lombard rule over the Italian kingdom. With the Byzantines expecting Beneventan aid, Prince Arechis instead allied himself with the Franks. The Byzantine-Lombard expedition was defeated. In turn, the Franks attacked Byzantine-controlled Venetia and Istria in 806 but were unable to take them following the intervention of Byzantine naval forces. This led to the 812 Treaty of Aachen which secured Venice and the Dalmatian coast for the Byzantine Empire in return for acceptance of Charlemagne's imperial status. Future conflict in the region was averted by a border commission in 817.

Theological tensions remained and continued into the ninth century, preventing ecclesiastical unity and contributing to a sense of difference between Latin and Greek Christians: the Council of Frankfurt in 794 and the production of the *Libri Carolini*; the Frankish adoption of *filioque* in the Creed at the Council of Aachen in 809; the revival of Byzantine iconoclasm in 815 running until 843; the Theopaschite controversy of 861; the Photian Schism (863-867); the rivalry between the Roman and Constantinopolitan Churches to control the conversion of the Bulgars (864-870).

Byzantine involvement in Italy between *c.*750 and *c.*870 was defensive and restricted to predominantly diplomatic exchanges and embassies concerning political and theological issues. There appears to have been some hopes on the Byzantines' part that the situation could be fully

recovered until the imperial coronation of Charlemagne in 800 finally made clear to Byzantium that the situation could not be reversed.[75]

The official revival of Byzantine iconoclasm in 815 under Leo V (813-820) in response to military catastrophes against the Bulgars, the Arab conquest of Crete in 826 and raids on Sicily in 827 and the Adriatic in the 830s and 840s, and the failures in the 830s against the Abbasids, pulled Byzantium's attention away from Italy. That said, the Arab threat was increasingly problematic in Italy itself. In 846, Rome was sacked. Responses to this included another failed attempt to forge a marriage alliance between Byzantium and the Carolingians in 842. Saracen raiders were further aided by the decade long civil war in the Principality of Benevento. Muslim mercenaries were called upon by both sides in the conflict, providing them with intimate knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of the fragility of southern Italian defences. This conflict ended in 849 with the partition of the principality and the birth of an independent Salernitan state. For the fledgling Salernitan principality, internal instability and Saracen raids were endemic until Guaifer I (861-880) seized power in 861.

[75] Writing about the imperial coronation of Charlemagne, Theophanes the Confessor states, 'Rome is now in the hands of the Franks', Leyser, 'Byzantine-Western Relationships', 33; *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I (Leipzig, 1883), 472: γενομένης τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου καιροῦ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν Φράγγων.



Figure Three – Political Map of Italy, showing the expansion of Lombard territory, *c.* 752

Byzantium Resurgent: Byzantium in southern Italy, *c.*870-*c.*980

The second half of the ninth century saw a resurgence in Byzantium under Michael III (840-867) and then the Macedonian dynasty. Although haltingly at first, with a number of failed joint initiatives, the Byzantine fleet and Frankish armies had some success countering the Saracen threat. Bari was recaptured in 871 and an Arab fleet was destroyed in 872. The initial inability to cooperate may in part have been a result of poor relations in the wake of the Photian Schism which saw another breakdown in ecclesiastical relations between papal Rome and Constantinople.

Bari was later captured by Byzantine forces in 876, the Franks having pulled out of the city, and Taranto was regained from the Arabs in 880. Subsequently, in the 880s, under the command of Nikephoros Phokas the Elder (fl. 872-895), Latin Calabria, all of Apulia and southern Langobardia were captured by Byzantium. Benevento itself was even taken between 891 and 895. Continued Arab raids, however, afflicted southern Italy and stifled Byzantine momentum. The combination of: the death of Ibrahim II (875-902), Emir of Ifriqiya, in 902; the retaking of Taormina in 912-913; the Garigliano campaign, which removed the last Arab stronghold on mainland Italy in 915, all helped alleviate the situation. The Byzantine territories were consolidated by the creation of the theme of Langobardia and the new dioceses of Calabria in the late-ninth century. Byzantine hegemony in southern Italy is further evidenced by the performance of *proskynesis* by Guaimar I (880-901) of Salerno in 887 and Landulf I (901-943) of Capua-Benevento in 910 in Constantinople to the Byzantine emperor.

Nevertheless, unrest against Byzantine rule led to the killing of the *strategos* of Calabria in 921 and saw the Capuan-Beneventan principality opportunistically attack Byzantine Apulia.

That same year, the *strategos* of Langobardia was killed in fighting at Ascoli. The Beneventan attack was defeated, but a renewed assault in 926, this time with Salernitan aid, appears to have resulted in some territorial losses until an alliance with King Hugh of Italy (926-947) produced a stalemate.

Peace in the empire more widely enabled Byzantine campaigns and displays of force in the southern Italian sphere in 934-935, 938-939 and 955-956, and likely territorial gains in northern Calabria. However, Arab raids remained endemic to the region with attacks on Calabria in the 950s, which even managed to sack Reggio, the Byzantine administrative capital of Calabria, in 952.[76] At the same time, embassies were sent to the new Western hegemon, Otto I (king, 936-962; emperor, 962-973), in 945 and 949.

In 964-965, a disastrous Byzantine expedition to Sicily seems to have encouraged Otto I, having been imperially crowned two years earlier, to attack Byzantine southern Italian possessions. He was aided in this endeavour by Pandulf Ironhead (943-981), the Prince of Capua-Benevento. Two invasions in 968 advanced deep into Apulia and Calabria but did not achieve permanent gains. A Byzantine counter-invasion in 969 had similarly impermanent results though it did lead to the capture of Pandulf at the Battle of Bovino. Peace was secured with the accession of a new emperor, John I Tzimiskes (969-976), the release of Pandulf and a marriage alliance between Otto II (973-983) and the Byzantine princess, Theophanu (973-983, d. 991).

[76] For the 934/5 campaign see, Leyser, 'The Tenth Century', 39; for the 938/9 campaign, see V. Prigent, 'La politique Sicilienne de Romain de I^{er} Lécapène', eds. D. Barthélemy and J.-C. Cheynet, *Guerre et société au Moyen Âge: Byzance – Occident (VIIIe-XIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 2010), 63-84.

CHAPTER ONE

Section One – The Provenance of the *Liber Pontificalis*

In this first section of the thesis, I analyse the image of Byzantium that is constructed in the LP from the biography of Stephen II (752-757) up to and including Hadrian II's (867-872). The Life of Stephen II has been chosen because it was during his pontificate that the Roman see allied itself with the Franks, shifting its political loyalty away from Byzantium.[77] Occasionally, references are made to Lives earlier than Stephen II's one in order to explain the nature and origin of the LP.[78]

In the LP, the image that is constructed of Byzantium and the Byzantines consists of two primary themes: the progressive negation of the Romanness of the East Roman state and its citizens combined with their redefinition as "Greek", and the presentation of Byzantium as religiously wayward. Far from being ignored or treated ambiguously, a silent polemic is continuously constructed against Byzantium, which forms a substantial part of the LP's legitimising function with regard to both the Roman imperialness of the Carolingian emperors and superior papal orthodoxy. Yet the ultimate image constructed is not unremittingly negative or "Othering". In fact, the authors of the LP reveal, in numerous nuanced, subtle and even

[77] Stephen V's uncompleted Life is not analysed as it contains no relevant information for this thesis.
[78] This is in part due to the paucity of manuscripts that extend up to the end of the period under analysis. Of the 54 manuscripts extant containing Lives from the period under analysis only twenty-six manuscripts contain the full text of Lives 95 and 96, eighteen for Life 97, six for Life 98, five for Lives 99-100 and 103-4, four for Lives 102, 105, 107-8, and three for Lives 106 and 112.

accidental ways, that their perception of Byzantium is not actually as alien as they attempt to convey.

What is the* Liber Pontificalis*?

The LP is a history of the papal institution told through a series of biographies of popes, known as Lives, from St. Peter to Stephen V (885-891). Each Life follows a formulaic introduction and conclusion. That said, the contents and length of Lives can differ significantly depending on authorial intent, availability of source material and changing historical contexts.[79] First written in the first half of the sixth century, it is the primary literary source for early medieval Rome. Moreover, it was used as a source for historical facts, aspects of canon law and liturgical developments from the late-sixth century onwards. It was thus a highly influential work in the medieval period.[80]

The LP draws upon a number of established precedents. The first of these is *De viris illustribus* written by St. Jerome (*c.*347/8-*c.*419/20). This was a series of biographies of individuals who had contributed to Christian philosophy. Not only is the serial biographical structure replicated in the LP, but a comparison of the Life of St. Peter in both works suggests that the original author used *De viris illustribus* as a source.[81] Indeed, the original author of the

[79] Introduction: name, regional origin, name of father and length of reign; Conclusion: location of burial, date and number of ordinations, number of priests, deacons and bishops ordained, length of vacancy.
[80] K. Herbers, 'Das Buch der Päpste: Der *Liber Pontificalis*', *Schlüsseldokument*, 32-3; C. V. Franklin, 'Reading the Popes: The *Liber Pontificalis* and its Editors', *Speculum*, XCII (2017), 607; R. McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy: The* Liber Pontificalis (Cambridge, 2020), 171-2; Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SS rer. Merov., X (1951), 526-35, c31.
[81] Jerome, *Gli uomini illustri:* De viris illustribus, ed. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo (Florence, 1988), 72, c1: *Simon Petrus, filius Iohannis, provinciae Galileae, vico Bethsaida, frater Andreae apostoli et princeps apostolorum … Scripsit duas Epistulas quae catholicae nominantur*; St. Peter, 51, c1: *Beatus Petrus, Antiochenus, filius Ioannis, provinciae Gallileae, vico Bethsaida, frate Andreae et princeps apostolorum … hic scripsit duas epistolas quae canonicae/catholicae nominantur*; A and C class manuscripts use *canonicae*, B, D and E use *catholicae*. For manuscript classes, see *Manuscript Classes of the* Liber Pontificalis, 68-9.

LP sought to draw a direct connection with Jerome by prefacing his work with two apocryphal letters purportedly detailing an exchange between the saint and Pope Damasus (366-384).[82] In the first letter, Jerome asks the pope for a history that extends from St. Peter to Damasus' time which would detail the deeds of popes in order to reveal who merits 'to be crowned in martyrdom' and 'who is known to have acted against the canons of the apostles'.[83] Damasus responds that he is sending everything he has found out 'about [the Roman Church's] history' to Jerome.[84]

In Jerome and his *De viris illustribus*, the papacy had not only a great promoter of Christian thought and history, but also a Christian precedent for a serial biographical narrative. This type of narrative structure, however, pre-existed Jerome. Suetonius (*c.*69-*c.*112) is perhaps the best known – Jerome explicitly references him –[85] of the writers of imperial serial biographies.[86] The biographies in these works recount an emperor's career prior to election, the election process and then imperial career. This is appended with details of numerous examples of patronage. It is a narrative framework that, as Rosamond McKitterick has established, is followed by the vast majority of Lives in the LP. The parallels suggest that classical imperial serial biography set a precedent for the LP and point to the attempt to establish popes as

[82] These letters are present in the oldest extant manuscripts, McKitterick, *Invention*, 69; it is not an implausible fiction considering Damasus had commissioned St. Jerome to produce the Vulgate Bible, D. Brown, 'Jerome and the Vulgate', eds. A. J. Hauser and D. F. Watson, *A History of Biblical Interpretation: The Ancient Period*, I (Michigan, 2003), 358.
[83] LP, 117: 'you oblige **to narrate to us in order** a history **of the deeds which were done** in your see from the reign of **the prince of the apostles,** St. Peter, down to your own time, so that in humility I may learn which of the bishops of your see **deserve to be crowned with martyrdom** and which of them is reckoned to have transgressed against the canons of the apostles.'
[84] *Ibid*: '**Rejoicing**, I send you dear friend **the study of our see: that which was done which we were able to discover.'**
[85] Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, 58: 'among the Latins, the one whose example you wish to summon (*provocare*) us to is Tranquillus (*i.e.* Suetonius).'
[86] McKitterick, *Invention*, 9-10.

successors to the Roman emperors, or at least exercising authority in a similar manner to them, in the city of Rome.[87]

Unlike the imperial serial biographies, however, which primarily focus on the lives of the emperors, the contents of the LP's biographies concentrate more on the history of the papal institution during a pope's tenure rather than on the lives of the popes themselves.[88] Deliyannis argues that this stems from a biblical precedent for the LP. In the Books of Kings and of Chronicles, the 'impersonal and formulaic' biographies of the kings of Judah and Israel mirror closely the contents of the LP*,* particularly the earlier Lives.[89] Likewise, the lists of donations and construction projects which are appended to Lives from Sylvester I (314-335) onwards mirror the progressive construction and expansion of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem under Solomon and his successors through their patronage of it.[90] At the very least, in addition to the Christianising influence of Jerome on the pagan genre of serial biography, these records of the deeds of Jewish kings provided a biblical precedent for the LP's use of serial biography.

Finally, the LP draws upon the genre of episcopal lists.[91] An ancient form of historiography, lists detail all the incumbents of a particular position, seeking to convey a sense of venerability and legitimacy by showing unbroken continuity from a historic origin to the

[87] R. McKitterick, 'The Popes as Rulers of Rome in the Aftermath of Empire, 476-769', *Studies in Church History*, LIV (2018), 77-8; *eadem*, *Invention*, 9-10.
[88] D. M. Deliyannis, 'A Biblical Model for Serial Biography: The Book of Kings and the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*', *Revue Bénédictine*, CVII (1997), 15-23.
[89] *Ibid*, 19; Deliyannis compares the Life of King Azariah of Judah (2 Kings, 15:1-7) with that of Pope Callistus (LP, 141).
[90] Asa, Josiah and Joash repairing the temple, respectively, 2 Chron., 14:5-6; 2 Kings, 22:3-7; 2 Chron., 24:1-6.
[91] Davis, *Eighth-Century Popes*, ix; P. Blaudeau, 'Narrating Papal Authority (440-530): The Adaptations of the *Liber Pontificalis* to the Apostolic See's Developing Claims', trans. M. Dal Santo, ed. G. D. Dunn, *The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity* (Farnham, 2015), 129.

present.[92] That early medieval historiography was highly influenced by lists has been shown by research on the origin of Paschal Lists.[93]

Episcopal lists are somewhat unique, however. They do not simply convey a line of continuity from the past to the present but emphasise a direct connection between the contemporary incumbent and the original holder of the office, normally a saint. They establish, therefore, an unbroken connection to a saintly, or preferably apostolic, founder and, hence, to Christ.[94]

Evidence for a direct connection between episcopal lists and the LP is seen in the so-called *Liberian Catalogue* in the *Chronograph of AD 354*.[95] This papal list expanded upon the standard structure of simply recording dates by also detailing martyrdoms, burial sites, construction projects, schismatic events and miracles.[96] The parallels with the contents of the LP are clear. Further evidence for this link with lists is found in the extant manuscripts containing the LP. Several of these manuscripts append to the text of the LP a list of popes that follows on chronologically from whichever point the pontifical narrative contained in the manuscript ends. This attests the perception of and recognition that the internal logic of a list was compatible with, if not the same as that of, the LP.[97] Similarly, when abridged and curtailed, epitomes of the LP all

[92] M. McCormick, *Les Annales du haut Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 1975), 13-14.
[93] *Ibid*, 15-16; H. Grundmann, *Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter: Gattungen – Epochen – Eigenart* (Göttingen, 1965), 25.
[94] M. Sot, *Gesta Episcoporum, Gesta Abbatum* (Turnhout, 1981), 96.
[95] C. Gantner, 'The Lombard Recension of the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*', *Da vescovi di Roma a papi: L'invenzione del* Liber Pontificalis. *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo*, X (2013), 66.
[96] 'Chronographus anni CCCLIII: XIII, Episcopi Romani', ed. T. Mommsen, MGH, Auct. ant., IX, 'Chronica Minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII', I (1892), 73-6; Deliyannis, 'Serial Biography', 10.
[97] For example, the manuscript Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV. A. 8 contains the narrative up to Anastasius (496-498) and is appended by a list up to Conon (686-687); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 39 contains an epitome up to Stephen II with a list of names continuing to Paschal I (817-824), with the omission of Stephen III (768-772).

but take on the form of a text akin to the *Liberian Catalogue*.[98] This all testifies to a fundamental conceptual connection between the LP and episcopal lists.

The LP, however, though clearly influenced by these four historiographical genres, is innovative and the archetype of its own genre known as *gesta episcoporum*.[99] This genre details the history of an ecclesiastical institution via the serial biographies of the incumbents of the highest office.[100] Such a work conveys legitimacy more ably than a simple list by showing and establishing for the present 'how succession unfolded'.[101] At the same time, it retains the benefits of an episcopal list by beginning the historical narrative with an apostolic or saintly founder. Thus, each successor is directly connected with the founder's saintliness. In addition, by detailing the liturgical improvements, miracles, donations or construction projects carried out by each bishop in turn, their collective contributions testify to a steady accrual of piety over time by the ecclesiastical institution. The genre produced texts that presented, preserved and perpetuated the holiness of the institution and its leaders, irrespective of the holiness of any particular incumbent. In essence, the genre is that of an institutional, ecclesiastical genealogy.[102]

To summarise, the LP is a new form of historiography that merges traditions. It is an institutional genealogy that, with biblical, pagan imperial and Christian precedents, presented the

[98] McKitterick, *Invention*, 203; *eadem*, 'Die frühmittelalterliche Verbreitung des *Liber Pontificalis*: Bestandsaufnahme und mögliche Implikationen', *Schlüsseldokument*, 243; e.g. Cologne, Dombibliothek, cod. 212.
[99] T. F. X. Noble, 'A New Look at the *Liber Pontificalis*', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, XXIII (1985), 350.
[100] Deliyannis, 'Serial Biography', 17.
[101] Sot, *Gesta Episcoporum*, 97.
[102] Recently, Sot has returned to the question of the role of the LP as the progenitor of this genre. He nuances his earlier findings, admitting that there is rarely direct mention of the LP in *gesta episcoporum* and that therefore one cannot prove a direct link, only a 'common culture' amongst bishops in the Carolingian and Ottonian domains with Rome. M. Sot, 'Le *Liber Pontificalis* est-il le prototype des *gesta episcoporum*?', *Schlüsseldokument*, 369-80.

papacy in an extolling manner that emphasised its venerable antiquity,[103] orthodox sanctity and unbroken connection to an apostolic founder.

When was the* Liber Pontificalis *written?

The LP presents itself as having been produced in the fourth century through the apocryphal letters that preface the work.[104] In reality, it is a work of the 530s. It was most likely completed originally during the pontificate of Pope Silverius (537-540) with the Life of his predecessor, Pope Agapetus (535-536), being the last to maintains a coherent internal narrative.[105]

Aside from a brief continuation in *c.*540, the LP was not continued until the first half of the seventh century. The text was then continued haphazardly, with Lives increasingly being written in the (relatively) immediate aftermath of a pope's death. By the early-eighth century, pontifical biographies began to be written prior to a pope's death.[106]

[103] The papacy engaged in other practices seeking to stress the institution's unique antiquity such as the continued use of papyri, C. Goodson and B. Savill, 'Papyrus Economies and the Experience of Early Medieval Papal Documents', *Past and Present*, CCLXXI (2026), 1-56, esp. 18-20 and 41.
[104] See refs. 82, 83 and 84.
[105] For a survey of the various arguments surrounding the dating of the origin of the LP see M. Simperl, 'Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zur frühen Redaktionsgeschichte des *Liber Pontificalis*', *Schlüsseldokument*, 52-77; taking their lead from Louis Duchesne, LP, xxxiii-xlviii, many scholars argue that the LP was written in two stages, a first lost version, completed pre-530, and a second version in the late-530s which is the version extant in all the manuscripts today. This argument relies upon two epitomes of the LP, namely the Felician and Cononian, that seemingly attest an earlier redaction of the text. However, Simperl and McKitterick argue convincingly that these texts are actually abridgements of the LP produced in the late-sixth and eighth centuries respectively, Simperl, 'Beobachtungen und Überlegungen', 56-77; *idem*, 'Ein gallischer *Liber Pontificalis*? Bemerkungen zur Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte des sogenannten Catalogue *Felicianus*', RQ, CXI (2016), 272-87, esp. 282-7; R. McKitterick, 'Perceptions of Rome and the Papacy in Late Merovingian Francia: The Cononian Recension of the *Liber Pontificalis*', eds. S. Esders *et al.*, *East and West in the Middle Ages: The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge, 2019), 165-86, esp. 171-onwards.
[106] McKitterick, *Invention*, 12-14.

This custom of beginning production during a pope's lifetime and completing a Life soon after his death appears to constitute a standard practice of production throughout the period under analysis in this chapter. Unless the internal evidence suggests otherwise, Lives were mostly written and completed in the years immediately following their subject's death. Each of these exceptions to this habitual rule are addressed below.

The Lives of Paul (757-767), Stephen III (768-772) and the first part of the Life of Hadrian I appear to have been written by a single author. Paul's biography, lacking contemporary information and containing little more than the necessary features of a Life, reads as a 'rushed introduction' to the pontificate of Stephen III.[107] Indeed, the opening chapter of Stephen's Life continues the narrative of the previous biography, dealing with the aftermath of Paul's death and the violent struggle over Stephen's papal election.[108] Further evidence for a shared author is seen in the reuse of language from Paul's Life in Stephen III's, particularly concerning what religious images are deemed to be appropriate.[109]

Following the Life of Stephen III is that of Hadrian I. In the first instance, Hadrian's Life clearly had two authors, as indicated by an absolute break in the narrative following Chapter Forty-Four. Up to this point, there is a long passage on the aftermath of Stephen III's pontificate followed by an account of the fall of the Lombard Kingdom to Charlemagne, which covers the years 772-4/5.[110] After Chapter Forty-Four, there is simply a list of the donations and

[107] Particularly given the author's failure to adhere to the correct conclusionary formula for Paul's Life, Davis, *Eighth-Century Popes*, 84.
[108] For a discussion of how the author of this life dealt with this politically sensitive topic see *ibid*, 85-6.
[109] Paul, 464, c3: *sacratissimis imaginibus domini Dei et salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi, santaeque eius genetricis atque beatorum apostolorum omniumque sanctorum, prophetarum, martyrum et confessorum*; Stephen III, 476, c23: *de sacris imaginibus domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi sanctaeque et gloriosae eius genetrices semper virginis Mariae dominae nostrae et beatorum apostolorum omniumque sanctorum ac prophetarum et martyrum seu confessorum*.
[110] Hadrian I, 486-99, cc1-44.

construction projects undertaken by Hadrian.[111] Further evidence is found in the change of author halfway through the Life that is evident in the extant manuscripts, eighteen of which manuscripts stop specifically at the juncture of *c.*774 or Chapter Forty-Four to Chapter Forty-Five. At the very least, this indicates a pause in writing and the dissemination of a version of the LP written up to this point. Given the shift in content, as well as the period of time between 774 and Hadrian's death 795 after which his Life was likely completed, a change in authorship seems highly probable.[112]

Thus, following the assumption that Lives are written predominantly in the years immediately after a pope died, the production of the Lives of Stephen III and Paul coincides with the events of the first years of Hadrian's Life (772-774/5).[113] As the manuscript evidence attests, it was not uncommon for authors, once they had completed a Life, to begin the subsequent Life by writing out the formulaic introduction.[114] In this case, it seems that the author of Paul and Stephen III uniquely continued beyond the introductory formula, expanding the Life of Stephen III by recording the aftermath of Stephen's death, the actions of a pro-Lombard cleric who tried to seize the papacy and the collapse of the Lombard kingdom.[115] Given these connections found across the Lives of Paul, Stephen III and the first half of Hadrian I, it is most probable that they share a common author.

The Lives of Benedict III (855-858) and of Nicolas I (858-867) likely also share the same author.[116] As with the earlier Life of Hadrian I, the Life of Nicolas I contains details of the

[111] Hadrian I, 499-514, cc45-97.
[112] Davis, *Eighth-Century Popes*, xviii.
[113] The initial delay in writing Paul's Life is probably a result of the upheaval surrounding the conflict between Constantine II and Stephen III.
[114] For example, the manuscripts, Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, 490 and BAV, Vat. lat. 3764.
[115] Hadrian I, 486-91, cc4-17.
[116] Davis, *Ninth-Century Popes*, 161, 189; Duchesne, LP, II, v.

aftermath of the death of Benedict III. These are not commonly included in Lives.[117] Similarly, the continuity in writing styles, the overly simplified structure of both Lives, the focus placed on each pope's assumption of power, the detailing of their donations and construction projects, and the usage of similar turns of phrase, all suggest a shared hand.[118]

Likewise, the numerous interpolations in the Life of Nicolas I and the unfinished Life of Hadrian II were likely written by the same author. The disjointed narrative of the Life of Nicolas I reveals that two authors worked on it, with the second author doubling the size of the Life. He does this through inserting passages at various junctures throughout the original biography, with Chapter Forty-Three potentially evidencing deliberate editing out of passages that had been written by the first author.[119] The link between the interpolations in the earlier and the latter Life is found in the use of letters as source material which the first author never uses.[120] Moreover, statistical analysis of the language and phraseology has further established that the writer of Hadrian II's Life interpolated and edited the Life of Nicolas I.[121]

Three versions of Stephen II's Life exist: the "Original", the "Frankish" and the "Lombard". The "Original" version was completed in Rome soon after his death in 757. The "Frankish" recension contains the original version with significant interpolations dating from the late-eighth century and is only preserved in transalpine manuscripts. The original author of these

[117] Nicolas I, II, 151-2, cc5-10.
[118] Duchesne points to the repeated claim that the author is unable to write all the good deeds of the pope in each Life, Benedict III, II, 144, c20; Nicolas I, II, 152, c10.
[119] Nicolas I, II, 145-67, cc19-20, 21-35, 38-42, part of 43, 44-50, 55-57, 58-63, 64, 68-76, (possibly) 77-8 and (possibly) part of 83.
[120] *Ibid*, 162, c57; 166, c77; Hadrian II, II, 176, c13.
[121] B. Bon and F. Bougard, 'Le *Liber Pontificalis* et ses auteurs au IXe siècle', *Schlüsseldokument*, 302.

interpolations, however, had access to the documents of the papal *vestiarium*.[122] This means that either the original author was based in Rome or had travelled to Rome to gather information.[123] The third and final version, the so-called "Lombard" recension, carefully emends the contents of the Life which, in the "Original" version, is filled with visceral language aimed at the Lombards.[124] This "Lombard" recension, in which this visceral language is excised, was produced some time in the late-eighth century following Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombard kingdom.[125]

Similarly, there are two versions of the Life of Sergius II (844-847). Recent research has shown that the *Farnesianus* manuscript testifies to an earlier, uncompleted version of this Life.[126] The *Farnesianus* version, preserved solely in an eighteenth-century facsimile,[127] contains detailed topographical information about Rome, a fuller list of donations, a precise account of the Saracen raid of 844 and, more generally, relates information that is either missing or abbreviated from the extant version.[128] Moreover, the uncial script of the *Farnesianus* is a Roman script and the formatting of the manuscript corresponds with other works produced in Rome in the early-ninth century.[129] Thus, not only can a Roman origin be assigned to the *Farnesianus*, but it can

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[122] The *vestiarium* was essentially the papal treasury, and responsible for the daily management and registers of expenditure of the Roman see's finances as well as oversight of the papal wardrobe, Bon and Bougard, 'Auteurs au IXe siècle', 286.
[123] Clemens Gantner suggests the former, 'Lombard Recension', 71; it is known that individuals travelled to Rome to gather information, see below *Audience and Dissemination of the* Liber Pontificalis, 76-80.
[124] For example, omitting *nequissimus* between *Aistulfus … rex*, the Lombard king, LP, Stephen II, 446, c21; King Aistulf (749-756) acting upon evil intentions: *diabolicis eum suasionibus suadens*, 448, c30; in reference to Pippin marching across the Alps in 755 to attack the Lombards, *tunc fisus in omnipotentis Dei misericordia*, 450, c33.
[125] F. Bougard, 'Composition, diffusion et réception des parties tardives du *Liber Pontificalis* romain (VIIIe-IXe siècles), eds. F. Bougard and M. Sot, Liber*,* gesta*, histoire. Écrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes de l'Antiquité au XXIe siècle* (Turnhout, 2009), 139-43.
[126] C. V. Franklin, 'The Lost *Farnesianus* Manuscript: Uncial Capitals for the Bishops of Rome', eds. A. H. Chen and W. V. Harris, *Late Antique Studies in Memory of Alan Cameron* (Leiden, 2021), 134-67.
[127] F. Bianchini, *Anastasii Bibliothecarii. De vitis Romanorum Pontificum, cum praefatione, prolegomenis, variantibus lectionibus, et notis historicis, atque chronologicis Francisci Bianchini, et aliorum notis historicis*, II (Rome, 1718-1735), xxiii, lvii-lix.
[128] Franklin, '*Farnesianus*', 148-9.
[129] *Ibid*, 152-65.

also be identified as an earlier version of the Life of Sergius II than the text in the extant manuscripts.

It is unclear when the current, extant version of the Life of Sergius II was written. This recension notably lacks any comment on the 846 Arab raid on Rome. Since the subsequent Life of Leo IV (847-855) speaks so explicitly about the damage wrought by the Saracen attack, it seems highly unlikely that the writer of Leo IV's Life is also the author of Sergius II's due to the discontinuity in the narrative.[130] It must therefore be supposed that the extant version of the Life of Sergius II was written by someone writing after the author of Leo IV's Life. Statistical analysis of the text indicates that the extant version of Sergius II's Life is linked to the Life of Benedict III, suggesting that this writer is the individual who edited the original Life of Sergius II.[131] This means that the extant version was written *c.*867.

Below is a table marking the timeline of the initial completions of the earliest versions of the Lives of the LP between Stephen II and Hadrian II. After this point, I refer where necessary to an author according to his number (e.g. Author One or Author Seven). I have only included the dates of the production of the original version of each Life as all rewritings of Lives have no bearing on the image of Byzantium:

[130] Leo IV, II, 106-8, cc4-5, 7, 13; 113, c32; 115, c39; 117-120, cc47-54; 123, c68; 125-7, cc77, 84; 131, cc99-100.
[131] Bon and Bougard, 'Auteurs au IXe siècle', 301.

Author	Year of Completion	Years Covered	Pontificates Covered
1	*c.*757	752-757	Stephen II
2	*c.*775	757-774	Paul, Stephen III and the first part of Hadrian I
3	*c.*795	772/4-795	Second part of Hadrian I
4	*c.*816	795-816	Leo III
5	*c.*817	816-817	Stephen IV
6	*c.*824	817-824	Paschal I
7	*c.*827	824-827	Eugene II
8	*c.*827/8	827	Valentine
9	*c.*844	828-844	Gregory IV
10 (*Farnesianus*)	*c.*847	844-*c.*846	Sergius II (incomplete)
11	*c.*855	847-855	Leo IV
12	*c.*867	855-867	Benedict III and Nicolas I (possibly also the extant version of Sergius II)
13	*c.*872	858-*c.*871	Nicolas I (interpolations) and Hadrian II (incomplete)

Table One – Authors of the LP

Ultimately, it is unclear why the LP stopped being continued in the late-ninth century. Perhaps the increasingly literary nature of the pontifical biographies drew the text away from its serial, formulaic origins and, therefore, its purpose as a continuous record.[132] As such, it came to be understood less and less as a list-like work with the imperative to update it continuously weakened. Thus, as a project, it was slowly abandoned. The institutional upheaval in the papacy at the end of the ninth century likely also played a part in its cessation. The fact that the *vestiarium* ceased to function during Hadrian II's pontificate could help to explain why his Life is unfinished.[133]

[132] Bougard, 'Composition', 132-3.
[133] Davis, *Ninth-Century Popes*, ix.

***Manuscript Classes of the* Liber Pontificalis**

In discussing the different versions of Lives, it becomes necessary to raise the issue of the manuscript classes of the Liber Pontificalis. These were established by Duchesne in his critical edition. He identified five principal classes: from A to E.

Class A is the class with the oldest manuscript witnesses. This class carries the narrative up until 715. The oldest manuscript witness for A is the north Italian codex, Lucca, BCF, Cod. 490 (A^1), which was produced in the early-ninth century.[134]

Class B's origin stems from soon after the death of Stephen II in 757 and carries the narrative up to this juncture. B itself can be split into two families and all extant manuscripts in this class were produced north of the Alps.[135] The first family stems from the manuscripts Cologne, Dombibliothek, Cod. 164, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Française, lat. 13729, and Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ. 41, from the end of the ninth century. The second family stems from two manuscripts: the late-ninth, early-tenth century Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 8380 and the Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 473 of the ninth century. The first family extends beyond the Life of Stephen II; the second does not.

Class C is similar to Class B, also containing the narrative up until 757. Indeed, one of the parent texts, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ. 60, from the late-eighth or ninth century, differs from Class B only in its variation of the burial places of popes in the sixth and early-seventh centuries, prior to rejoining the narrative of the other Class C manuscripts in the mid-

[134] LP, clxiv-clxxi.
[135] *Ibid*, clxxv-clxxxix.

seventh century. These manuscripts are ultimately grouped together as they share characteristic omissions from the B text.[136]

Duchesne refers to the D and E classes of manuscripts as mixed. The Class D of manuscripts is tightly linked to group B but shows clear signs of having been corrected or interpolated by manuscripts with a Class A narrative. Like Class B, all D manuscripts are from Frankish territory.[137] The manuscripts of Group E on the other hand are of Italian origin. These two manuscript classes are the only ones to extend into the ninth century.[138]

Why was the* Liber Pontificalis *written?

The central concern of the LP was to assert papal legitimacy and authority, which were being increasingly questioned in the early-sixth century. The Acacian Schism saw a split between the Roman and Constantinopolitan Churches brought about through the promulgation in 482 of the *Henotikon* by Emperor Zeno (474-475, 476-491). This document sought to resolve issues concerning Christology. Responding, in 484, Pope Felix III (483-492) excommunicated the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Acacius (472-489) for supporting the emperor in his unorthodoxy. Increasingly, the issues surrounding the Acacian Schism became centred not just on the nature of Christ but on the question of papal primacy among the other patriarchates and its authority to determine doctrinal correctness.[139] The schism was eventually resolved in 519.

[136] LP, clxxxix-cxciii.
[137] Gantner, 'Lombard Recension', 70.
[138] LP, cxciii-cciii; McKitterick, *Invention*, 179.
[139] Deliyannis, 'Roman *Liber Pontificalis*', 7.

The Laurentian Schism was a split within the Church of Rome over how relations with Constantinople during the Acacian Schism should be handled. In 498, Pope Anastasius II (496-498) died and two men were elected in opposition to each other to succeed him: Laurentius (antipope, 498-506; d.?) and Symmachus (498-514). Laurentius was the candidate of the faction that wanted to reconcile with Constantinople, whilst Symmachus represented the side that wanted to maintain opposition. Several councils failed to resolve the split which saw multiple murders and mob violence in Rome. Laurentius eventually backed down when he lost the support of the Gothic king, Theodoric (471-526), in 506.[140]

The early-sixth century contest between Laurentius and Symmachus saw an intense propaganda war. Much material was produced that served to establish one or the other candidates as the legitimate successor of St. Peter, such as the portraits of popes in St. Pauls-Outside-the-Wall and a list of popes, both of which ended with Laurentius.[141] One key document that is still extant from this period is the Laurentian Fragment preserved in the late-sixth century manuscript Verona XXII (20) (CLA IV, 490).[142] This LP-like fragment contains the end of a Life of Anastasius II and the beginning of the Life of Symmachus written in 514-19. Though lacking the more formulaic structure of the LP, it nevertheless bears a remarkable resemblance and is wholly condemnatory of Symmachus. It accuses him of bribery, celebrating Easter on the wrong date, fornication, fleeing from a court of justice, misspending the papal treasury, breaking canon law, holding a court in contempt, and being involved in organising murders and assassinations.[143]

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[140] J. Moorhead, 'The Laurentian Schism: East and West in the Roman Church', ChHist, XLVII (June 1978), 125-36.
[141] Franklin, 'Reading the Popes', 626; Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, 97; on the other side, the production of the Symmachan Apocrypha, which the *Liber Pontificalis* used see, E. Wirbelauer, 'Der *Liber Pontificalis* und die symmachianisch-laurentianischen Documenta', *Schlüsseldokument*, 101-5.
[142] Davis, *Book of the Pontiffs*, 95; R. McKitterick, 'The Early Medieval Manuscript Dissemination of the *Liber Pontificalis* and its Implications', *Lecture to the BSR* (19th November 2020), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jX9cMOlXfLo.
[143] Davis, *Book of the Pontiffs*, 95-8.

Laurentius, on the other hand, is depicted as acting only with the best intentions for Rome and the church.

The LP responds directly to this fragment in both form and function.[144] In building upon the narrative structure in the fragment, it provides an alternate version of both the Lives of Anastasius II and Symmachus from a pro-Symmachan perspective. Anastasius II, who attempted reconciliation with Byzantium, is condemned and dies 'struck down by God's will'.[145] Similarly, the accusations against Symmachus are described as the product of false witnesses and sponsored by men 'driven by jealousy'.[146] Yet in responding to the Laurentian Fragment, the LP attempts to hide its reactionary nature and to cast itself as more authoritative through the prefatory letters of Damasus and Jerome.[147] It presents itself not as a product of a propaganda war but as part of an older tradition. By pretending to be a creation of the fourth century and not a contemporary, reactionary work, the first author of the LP sought to gain increased legitimacy and authority for this historical narrative, and thereby to establish more authoritatively a "correct" version of the recent past.

This assertion of legitimacy responded not just to the immediate context of the tensions within the Roman Church but also, more broadly, in relation to questions raised in the Acacian Schism. As mentioned above, secular imperial intervention into theological matters and the opposition to the acts confirmed at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 concerning the nature of

[144] Blaudeau, 'Narrating', 130.
[145] Anastasius II, 258, c2.
[146] Symmachus, 260, c3: *zelo ducti … subornaverunt testes falsos.*
[147] Blaudeau, 'Narrating', 130-1.

Christ brought into question both the matter of papal primacy in doctrine and the limits of imperial intrusion into theological matters.[148]

Firstly, in response to the challenge to papal primacy, the LP emphasises papal antiquity and the unbroken succession of orthodox Roman bishops from St. Peter until the present.[149] This connection was a fundamental argument for papal primacy.[150] The apostolic succession of the papacy was a particularly pertinent point given Constantinople's lack of an apostolic founder.[151] Moreover, as the prefatory letters state, all the popes are presented as orthodox and several of them are depicted as particularly active in preserving orthodoxy and rooting out heresy, such as in the cases of Popes Gelasius (492-496), Symmachus and Hormisdas (514-523) in rooting out 'Manicheans'.[152] Again, this was a relevant point to make in regard to the Constantinopolitan patriarchs, several of whom were non-Chalcedonians and therefore heretics in orthodox eyes.[153] If the issue of papal primacy and papal orthodoxy in comparison to Byzantine impiety was not already a clear concern for the author in the 530s, it is notable that in the Life of Boniface II (530-532) the Church of Carthage's acceptance of papal primacy is explicitly mentioned.[154]

In a similar vein, in the Life of Sylvester, the LP depicts this pope not only as instrumental in the Christianisation of the empire through his baptising of Constantine, but also

[148] Moorhead, 'Laurentian Schism', 127-9.
[149] Herbers, 'Buch der Päpste', 32; D. M. Deliyannis, 'The Roman *Liber Pontificalis*, Papal Primacy and the Acacian Schism', *Viator*, XLV (July 2014), 7-12.
[150] See W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), 1-14.
[151] Deliyannis, 'Roman *Liber Pontificalis*', 7-8.
[152] S. Cohen, 'Schism and the Polemic of Heresy: Manichaeism and the Representation of Papal Authority in the *Liber Pontificalis*', JLA, VIII (2015), 195-230; Deliyannis, 'Roman *Liber Pontificalis*', 13.
[153] For the pre-540s: Arians: Eusebius of Nicomedia, Macedonius I, Eudoxius of Antioch, Demophilus; Nestorians: Nestorius; arguably, those who accepted the *Henotikon*: Acacius of Constantinople, Fravitta, Timothy I.
[154] Boniface II, 287, c5; for a questioning of the direct influence of the Laurentian and Acacian Schisms on the LP, see A. Handl, 'Globale Strategie oder Belange lokaler Verwaltung? Anmerkungen zu den bischöflichen Dekreten im vorkonstantinischen Abschnitt des *Liber Pontificalis*', *Schlüsseldokument*, 78-94.

through depicting Sylvester as the convenor of the 325 Council of Nicaea.[155] That neither of these things is true is beside the point. The preservation and establishment of orthodox Christian belief, as defined at the first ecumenical council at Nicaea and expressed primarily through the Nicene Creed, is presented as the project of the papacy, whilst the first Christian emperor is presented as the spiritual son of the pope. The message is clear. Orthodoxy is papal and the emperors are the spiritual children of the popes.[156] More pertinently, the positioning of the papacy as convenors of the council that first established orthodoxy and as spiritual fathers to the empire implicitly establishes the primacy of the Roman see.

As to the issue of imperial intervention in ecclesiastical matters, not only is the pope, Anastasius II, 'struck down' by God but so too is the Byzantine emperor of the same name.[157] It is a clear comment on the fact that the emperor was reaching out beyond his remit. Similarly, popes imposed upon the Roman see by imperial diktat are treated in an especially disdainful manner by the LP's authors. The second half of the Life of Silverius, having been highly dismissive of the pope due to his imposition on the papal chair by the Gothic king, Theodahad (534-536), suddenly resurrects his character.[158] This second half, most likely written following Silverius' death, details how his successor, Vigilius (537-555), conspires with the Empress Theodora to take the papacy.[159] The complete revolution in Silverius' character speaks to the particular papal animosity towards imperial intervention. The highly negative elaboration on the

[155] McKitterick, *Invention*, 100; Sylvester, 170-1, cc2, 4.
[156] It was not uncommon for popes from Leo I onwards to refer to the emperor as a son: Leo I, 'Epistola CLXIV', PL, LIV (Paris, 1846), cols. 1212-14; Gelasius, 'Epistola VIII', PL, LIX (Paris, 1862), col. 41; Simplicius, 'Epistola VIII', PL, LVIII (Paris, 1862), col. 45; Felix III, 'Epistola II', *ibid*, col. 900; such terminology is later used with regard to the Frankish kings and emperors reflecting the shift in loyalty from Byzantium to the Franks, '*Codex Carolinus*', ed. W. Gundlach, MGH, Epist., III (1892), 479: *nostri filii Pippini.*
[157] Hormisdas, 270, c4: 'Then by the will of the Deity the emperor was struck by a divine thunderbolt and died.'
[158] Silverius, 290, c1.
[159] *Ibid*, 291-3, cc6-9.

successful conspiracy of Vigilius and Empress Theodora, in contrast to the more muted disapproval of Silverius' imposition by King Theodahad, underscores to the reader the especially troublesome nature of imperial intervention. The imperial institution was expected to protect and preserve, not command and control, the Roman see.

In this vein of establishing the legitimacy, autonomy and authority of the papacy, the LP further presents the popes as rulers of Rome.[160] This theme that inspired the creation of the LP in the sixth century became increasingly important through the following centuries; it continued to fundamentally inform the authors of the LP into the eighth and ninth centuries.

One vehicle for displaying this legitimacy is seen in the construction lists appended to many Lives, which record the projects undertaken by the popes in Rome. These projects are predominantly restorations of churches, but some are constructions of new ecclesiastical buildings, others art commissions and yet more concern secular structures.[161] This textual display of the wealth and power of the papacy being marshalled for pious purposes as well as civic infrastructure serves to demonstrate the positive qualities of rulership in each of these popes.[162] Moreover, it reveals them to be worthy of the chair of St. Peter and, in adding to the urban topography of Rome, shows them as legitimate successors seeking to shepherd and provide for both the spiritual and temporal needs of the Christian flock of the city.[163]

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[160] R. McKitterick, ''Romanness' and Rome in the Early Middle Ages', ToR, 147; *eadem*, 'The Popes as Rulers of Rome', 71-95.
[161] Restorations: Stephen II, 443-4, c14; 455, c52; Paul, 464-5, c6; Hadrian I, 499-501, cc47, 49-51, 53; 505-12, cc64, 66-80, 82, 85-6, 90; Leo III, 1-3, cc3-5, 9; 9-10, c31; 17, c66; 25, c82; 27-9, cc89-92, 94; 31-3, cc106-7, 111; Paschal I, 53-6, cc5, 8, 11, 14; Gregory IV, 74, cc5, 8; 76, cc14-15; 78, cc24-5; 80-1, cc31, 34, 36; Sergius II, 92-4, cc23, 25/30, 27, 31; Leo IV, 112, c25; 120, c60; 127-8, cc84-5; 133, c108; Benedict III, 144, c21.
[162] C. Goodson, *The Rome of Paschal I: Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817-824* (Cambridge, 2010), 14; A. A. Verardi, 'Tra topografia e memoria della spazio urbano: le strade di Roma nel *Liber Pontificalis*', ed. L. Barelli *et al.*, *Viae Urbis: Le strade a Roma nel medioevo* (Rome, 2023), 201.
[163] McKitterick, *Invention*, 225; T. F. X. Noble, 'Topography, Celebration and Power: The Making of a Papal Rome in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', ToP, 71-2.

The Authorship of the **Liber Pontificalis**

The extant evidence does not enable a conclusion to be reached as to specifically by whom or precisely where the LP was produced.[164] All that can be said is that it was written by persons within the papal administration in Rome. Indeed, it is most likely that the LP had an itinerant production process shared between two offices in the Lateran,[165] that of the *vestiarium* and the *scrinium*, or, at least, the process involved individuals working within and resources belonging to these two offices.[166]

Little is known about the social identity of the authors. It is certain that they were literate, educated clerics, though unlikely to have belonged to the intellectual elite.[167] Beyond that, it can be surmised from the paucity of self-references that the authors may have been of a lower social rank and of a middling hierarchical position within the papal administration. It is not until the second half of the eighth century that the identity of any authors can even be inferred from the internal contents of Lives.[168]

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[164] McKitterick, 'Dissemination of the *Liber Pontificalis*', https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jX9cMOlXfLo.
[165] Maybe the Vatican, V. Unger, 'Der *Liber Pontificalis* in Kanzlei und Archiv der Päpste. Zur Abfassung, Verwendung, und Aufbewahrung des *Liber Pontificalis* im neunten Jahrhundert', *Schlüsseldokument*, 305.
[166] R. McKitterick, 'The Papacy and Byzantium in the Seventh and Early Eighth-Century Sections of the *Liber* Pontificalis', BSR, LXXXIV (2016), 243-6; Bougard, 'Composition', 129-31; the break in the narrative in the Life of Hadrian I around the year 774/775 suggest a physical movement of the production site, Hadrian I, 499, c44; the *scrinium* was the papal secretariat and writing office where copies of letters sent and letters received were made and stored alongside numerous other administrative documents, Bon and Bougard, 'Auteurs au IXe siècle', 286; for the *vestiarium*, see ref. 122.
[167] Handl, 'Globale Strategie', 79.
[168] On the debate on whether John the Deacon (d. 876-9) or Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*c.*810-*c.*878) is the author of the interpolations in the Life of Nicolas I and the unfinished Life of Hadrian II, see F. Bougard, 'Anastase le Bibliothécaire ou Jean Diacre? Qui a récrit la Vie de Nicolas Ier et pourquoi', ed. P. Bagliani, J.-M. Martin and B. Martin-Hisard, *Vaticana et medievalia*. *Études en l'honneur de Louis Duval-Arnould* (Florence, 2008), 27-40; Bon and Bougard, 'Auteurs au IXe siècle', 286-303.

As stated above, the LP was in part written as a means to present the apostolic succession of the bishops of Rome as orderly and orthodox. Despite this, factionalism and internal papal politics are present in the LP. Indeed, not only did the work stem from the difficulties of the Laurentian Schism, but the first author, in the Life of Boniface II, expressed his support for the rival candidate at Boniface's election.[169] In the ninth century, the two versions of the Life of Sergius II attest the presence of factionalism and politics continuing to influence the production of the LP.[170]

It is nevertheless remarkable how consistent the internal narrative of the LP remained through the early-sixth to the late-ninth century.[171] The authors, though influenced by the politics of the day, were uniformly loyal to the Roman Church and the underlying intent of recording papal history in a particular manner and purpose. Authors continuously glossed over problematic information that would serve to undermine the image of the papacy.[172] As such, though the authors of the LP remain obscure, a sense can be gained of their mentality and the context within which they produced the work and within which each Life was written.

The Audience and Dissemination of the **Liber Pontificalis**

In demonstrating this legitimacy and in being originally produced in a schismatic atmosphere, both domestically and in Christendom more widely, it is noteworthy that there are

[169] Boniface II, 286, cc1-2.
[170] M. Betti, 'The Two Versions of the Life of Pope Sergius II in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Anti-Frankish Feeling in Rome after Louis II's Expedition of 844', eds. G. de Angelis and F. Veronese, *Networks of Bishops, Networks of Texts. Manuscripts, Legal Cultures, Tools of Government in Carolingian Italy at the Time of Lothar I* (Florence, 2022), 183.
[171] This reflects the remarkable administrative continuity identified by H. Geertmann, More veterum*: Il* Liber Pontificalis *e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma nella tarda antichità e nell'alto medioevo* (Groningen, 1975).
[172] For example, not mentioning Honorius' engagement with the idea of Monenergism during the Monothelite controversy.

no extant manuscripts of the LP anywhere that were not part of the Roman Church's ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[173] More specifically, they are overwhelmingly to be found in places within the borders of Carolingian territory. Whilst the lack of extant manuscripts makes research on early dissemination and production of the LP difficult, especially with regard to the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, enough can be said that is adequate for this doctoral investigation. Indeed, the dissemination of the pontifical history can reveal something about the intended audience of the LP during this period.

The manuscript evidence suggests that versions of the LP were produced in full up to 715.[174] Subsequently, Lives were predominantly disseminated in *libelli*, that is, small books. The manuscript Lucca 490 testifies to two *libelli*, one covering from Gregory II (715-731) to Stephen II and a subsequent one covering the Lives of Paul to the end of Hadrian I.[175] Bede's *De temporum ratione*, written in 725, even shows that a part of the Life of Gregory II was disseminated during his lifetime as Bede includes information from Gregory's *vita* prior to his death in 731.[176] That *libelli* continued to be produced into the ninth century is inferred from a letter of Archbishop Hincmar of Reims (845-882) who asks, in 866, for Archbishop Egilo of Sens (865-870) to supply him with a version of the LP that began with the Life of Sergius II.[177] Some individuals, such as Flodoard of Reims (893/4-966), even travelled to Rome to gain access and consult the LP.[178]

[173] McKitterick, *Invention*, 173.
[174] McKitterick, 'Verbreitung', 244.
[175] *Ibid*, 236-7.
[176] Bede, 'De temporum ratione', ed. C. W. Jones, *Bedae opera didascalica*, CCSL, CXXIII, B (Turnhout, 1977), 533-4.
[177] McKitterick, *Invention*, 180; Hincmar of Reims, 'Epistola CLXXXVI', MGH, Epist., VIII (1939), 194: may you not forget to procure the *gesta pontificum* (*i.e.* the *Liber Pontificalis*) starting from the deeds of Pope Sergius'.
[178] Herbers, 'Buch der Päpste', 25.

The papacy was active in disseminating the LP and appears to have expected knowledge of its contents. Pope Nicolas I sent a copy to Abbot Theoto of Fulda (856-869) and also sent a letter to the 866 Synod of Soissons referring to the contents of the *codex episcopalis* as supporting evidence for the legality of the dismissal of Archbishop Ebo of Reims (816-835, 840-841).[179] This implies either that the synod possessed a text of the Life of Sergius II that could be referred to on hand, that a copy was realistically accessible or, at the very least, that the contents of the LP, and this life specifically would be well-known enough to simply be referenced and understood as authoritative.[180] Moreover, Camilla Franklin's work on what is often referred to as the "Frankish" recension of the LP, that is Class B manuscripts, has shown that the interpolations contained in these manuscripts are Roman in origin.[181] Although these interpolations were previously thought to show Frankish editing of the narrative,[182] Franklin demonstrates that the manuscript class stems from two Roman exemplars.[183] This finding reaffirms the central role of Rome in the dissemination of the LP, even though all the extant Class B manuscripts were produced in Francia and subsequently disseminated from Frankish centres. In support of Franklin's argument, the opening chapters of the CS use the text of a Class B manuscript of the LP, meaning the "Frankish" recension was available in southern Italy in the late-tenth century.[184]

In addressing the question of dissemination, two things become clear. The first is that the major part of the LP's audience belonged to the Church in one way or another.[185] Bishops in the

[179] Herbers, 'Buch der Päpste', 16.
[180] Again, this would be the *Farnesianus* text.
[181] C. V. Franklin, 'Frankish Redactions or Roman Exemplar? Revisions and Interpolations in the Text of the *Liber Pontificalis*', eds. E. Buchberger and Y. Fox, *Inclusion and Exclusion in Mediterranean Christianities*, *400-800* (Turnhout, 2019), 17-46.
[182] Reimitz, 'Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch', 42-3; McKitterick, *Invention*, 206-23.
[183] Franklin, 'Frankish Redactions or Roman Exemplar?', 36-43.
[184] See Table Six and discussion on 230.
[185] Sot, Gesta Episcoporum, 45-6.

Latin West sought to consult the work and were expected to have knowledge of it. Moreover, the work is mentioned in ninth-century library catalogues of the monasteries of Lorsch, Reichenau and St. Gallen.[186] One side effect of this interaction with the serial biographies of pontiffs was to catalyse the development of the genre of *gesta episcoporum*, discussed above. Many ecclesiastical centres, such as Ravenna, Metz and Auxerre, copied the structure of the LP to produce their own histories. The pontifical history was not, however, limited to a purely ecclesiastical audience. For instance, a copy was received by Charlemagne and the manuscript Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 473 which contains the LP is associated with the coronation of Charles the Bald (king, 843-877; emperor, 875-877) in 869.[187]

In this respect, the LP could have multiple uses for its audience. In the case of Hincmar, it provided legal support for his campaign against his predecessor.[188] The insertion of the Lives of the popes up to Stephen II in ÖNB Cod. 473 amongst the *Liber historiae Francorum*, *Annales regni Francorum* and the *Vita Karoli Magni*, as well as Flodoard's employment of it as a source in his *De triumphis Christi*, speaks to its use as a historical work.[189] Epitomes of the LP, such as the Felician and Cononian, further show how its contents could be abridged and reorientated to support compilations concerning canon law and liturgical developments.[190] The LP was a highly influential work circulating in various forms in a predominantly elite and, often, but not always, ecclesiastical milieu.

Secondly, it is clear from the evidence above that the majority of the audience was situated in Frankish territories. The LP was originally intended for a more local audience.

[186] Bougard, 'Composition', 147.
[187] McKitterick, *Invention*, 194.
[188] Unger, 'Kanzlei und Archiv', 321.
[189] McKitterick, *Invention*, 195; Herbers, 'Buch der Päpste', 25.
[190] McKitterick, 'Verbreitung', 241.

Gregory of Tours' use of the text attests a transalpine dissemination prior to the end of the sixth century but, notwithstanding this exception, there are no extant Frankish manuscripts prior to 700 that contain any portion of the LP.[191] The burgeoning relationship between the papacy and the Frankish realm in the eighth century and their eventual alliance in the 750s, reaffirmed at a fundamental level in 800, explain the transalpine shift in dissemination.[192]

The different versions of the LP attest authorial and editorial awareness of differing audiences with their various needs and expectations. The "Lombard" recension is a clear example of this. The oldest witness of this recension is the Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ. 60, most likely produced in the 790s in St. Amand. The recension was copied from a Roman exemplar that was produced after the fall of the Lombard kingdom.[193] The emendations to the original version of the Life of Stephen II reveal an integrationist intent in this recension.[194] Similarly, the rewriting of the Life of Sergius II and the possible suppression of the earlier *Farnesianus* version speak to editorial decisions not only in line with attempting to adhere to the underlying purpose of the LP, that is to affirm papal legitimacy, but, as mentioned above, also of factional audiences within Rome.[195] This editing attests the deliberate attempt of the authors of the LP to shape the historical and contemporary perceptions of its audience as well as how these authors could shape the LP to fit their intended audience's expectations.

[191] McKitterick, *Invention*, 185-9; as McKitterick posits, this may be due to the LP originally being written on perishable papyrus rather than parchment leading to a lopsided survival rate that over-indexes Frankish dissemination, 176-8.
[192] Gantner, 'Lombard Recension', 67.
[193] *Ibid*, 76-7.
[194] It is striking that when the *Chronicon Salernitanum* uses the LP, drawing on a version that was not the "Lombard" recension, made many similar changes to the text appropriate for a Lombard audience. Again, see Table Six and discussion on 229-30.
[195] See refs. 169 and 170.

The Perception of Byzantium and "Greekness" in Early Medieval Papal Rome

As has already been mentioned, in the first half of the eighth century, whilst it was common throughout the Latin West to call Byzantines "Greeks", this was not the case in Rome and across the Italian peninsula.[196] In the Life of Gregory II, the LP explicitly calls Byzantium the 'Roman Empire' and recognises the papal institution and the city of Rome to be a part of this empire.[197] This recognition notwithstanding, the term "Greek" could, on occasion, be used to denote difference between Rome and the empire to the east.[198]

As is shown in the above example, one use of the label is in relation to language. It must be emphasised that the Greek language was in no way seen in Rome as inferior to Latin in the seventh, eighth and early-ninth centuries. Certainly, the use of the Greek language was not seen as mutually exclusive with Romanness. Numerous individuals recognised as unequivocally Roman used Greek – Anastasius Bibliothecarius foremost among those in the period under analysis – whilst Greek was the original language of the New Testament and the acts of the 649 Lateran Council were originally recorded in it.[199] Indeed, parts of the Roman liturgy were performed in the language.[200] When the Anglo-Saxon monk, St. Wilfrid (*c.*633-709/10), journeyed to Rome, he noted the papal courtiers spoke Latin to him but Greek amongst themselves, attesting a widespread working knowledge of the language in the papal

[196] Gantner, *Finsternis*, 70.
[197] Gregory II, 405-7, cc19-20; 408-9, c23, the second reference is only in the BDE manuscript classes.
[198] E.g. as seen in the trial of Maximus the Confessor, see ref. 22.
[199] Gantner, *Finsternis*, 77.
[200] One might turn to Horace's quip, *Gaecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agrestis Latio*, or the term Graeco-Roman as clear evidence for the synthesis of Greek language and culture into the Roman world; J. M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du Vie s. – fin du IXe s.)*, vols. I-II (Brussels, 1983), 64.

bureaucracy.[201] On the other hand, Greek-speaking Byzantine officials saw no issue with producing documents or inscribing public monuments in Latin as can be seen on the column of the Emperor Phocas (602-610) in the Roman Forum.[202]

The other key aspect of the label "Greek" is its reference to those who did not follow the Roman rite and instead followed a Greek-language order of service or *typikon*. There was not, however, one standardised rite in Byzantium at this time.[203] Thus, the references in the LP to monks 'chanting psalms in the Greek manner' could refer to a number of different *typika*, equally likely to stem from liturgical traditions originating in modern-day Greece, Asia Minor, Syria or Palestine.[204] Certainly, following any Greek-language rite was a sign that one was not following the Roman, Latin-language rite. Interestingly, even Byzantines employed the term Γραικός ('Greek') in this way, though this was not the norm.[205]

Thus, even though linguistic difference was not something that necessarily created "Otherness" or foreignness between Latin-speaking Rome and the majority Greek-speaking parts of the empire, it was an obvious point of differentiation. This point of linguistic difference would, however, prove important in the ninth century in the attempt to separate Byzantium from Romanness.

Ascertaining any sense of socio-cultural difference between Rome and the rest of the empire is more difficult.[206] If anything, the late-sixth, seventh and early-eighth centuries saw

[201] *Vita Wilfridi*, MGH, SS rer. Merov., VI (1913) 247, c53: *inter se graecizantes et subridentes.*
[202] V. von Falkenhausen, 'Greek and Latin in Byzantine Italy (6th to 11th Century)', CBI, 541.
[203] Theodoropoulos, 'Did the Byzantines call themselves Byzantines?', 30-1.
[204] Paul I, c5, 464-5; Paschal, II, c9, 54.
[205] Theodoropoulos, 'Did the Byzantines call themselves Byzantines?', 33; Gantner, 'The Label "Greeks"', 303.
[206] Currently impossible regarding the countryside due to the 'archaeological "invisibility" of the seventh and eighth centuries', A. Molinari, 'Rome and the Roman Duchy', CBI, 398.

increasing cultural influence of the imperial East in Rome.[207] This came variously through migratory movements,[208] the founding of multiple churches by the Byzantine elite and government in Rome,[209] and the fact that eleven of the fifteen popes between 678 and 751 were Greek (that is, either born and raised in regions that were predominantly Greek-speaking or following non-Roman rites or both).[210] Holy sites which developed in the city prior to 750 predominantly promoted the cults of non-local martyrs, reflecting the influence of non-Romans in the city.[211] In the political sphere, lead seals unearthed at the *Crypta Balbi* attest the presence of Byzantine government officials and suggest the replacement of the old, local senatorial elite in the seventh century with a new governing elite originating from the wider empire.[212] In a similar vein, the art-historical evidence suggests a closeness between Rome and Constantinople.[213]

This cultural exchange, however, was not an entirely one-way street. Rome, for instance, provided the prototype for 'The Descent into Limbo' icon as late as the early-eighth century and the papacy of John VII (705-707).[214] This image adorns the walls of Santa Maria Antiqua, a church situated on the Palatine Hill and built inside a portion of the old imperial palace, a location which retained significant political symbolism through a continued sense of *praesentia*

[207] Molinari, 'Rome and the Roman Duchy', 390-1.
[208] Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, 22.
[209] R. Coates-Stephens, 'La committenza edilizia bizantina a Roma dopo la riconquista', ed. A. Augenti, *Le città italiane tra la tarda antichità e l'alto Medioevo: atti del convegno, Ravenna, 26-28 febbraio 2004* (Rome, 2006), 299-316.
[210] Molinari, 'Rome and the Duchy', 391.
[211] J. Osborne, *Rome in the Eighth Century: A History in Art* (Cambridge, 2020), 13.
[212] F. Marazzi, 'Sigilli e Bolle', eds. M. S. Arena *et al.*, *Roma dall'antichità al Medioevo. Archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi* (Rome, 2001), 257-65; this aligns with T. S. Brown's argument in *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554-800* (Rome, 1984), 61-9.
[213] P. J. Nordhagen, 'Constantinople on the Tiber: The Byzantines in Rome and the Iconography of their Images', EMR (Leiden, 2000), 113-34.
[214] *Ibid*, 114-5.

maiestatis.[215] That the church was adorned with numerous frescoes, which appropriated imperial imagery and iconography, and cast the popes as rulers of Rome shows that the papacy communicated via, and thus shared, the same image-language and cultural reference points as Constantinople.[216]

Despite this, there was recognition of cultural divergence with Byzantium that created a sense of alterity within Rome. Paul the Deacon, writing *c.*770, situates this sense of difference as arising in the early-seventh century, describing the Emperor Maurice (582-602) as the first Greek emperor.[217] Certainly, the religious controversies of the seventh century strained the religious unity of the empire along a Latin-West, Greek-East axis.[218] In a more secular capacity, in the eighth century, the Italian tax revolt in the 720s and the promulgation of the Greek-language *Ecloga* to replace the legal body of the Latin-language *Corpus Iuris Civilis* would have further contributed to the developing sense of difference.[219]

This development also reflects demographic changes in Rome in the late-eighth and ninth centuries. Whilst access to persons fluent in Greek was still possible in Rome in the mid-ninth century, their numbers were diminishing even if their cultural influence may have continued.[220] Similarly, from the time of Stephen II onwards, senior positions within the papal bureaucracy

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[215] M. W. A. van Deventer, *The Power of Memory at the* Forum Romanum *and Palatine Hill. Romans and their Cityscape, AD 410-751* (PhD Dissertation, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, 2023), 89-91; see also S. Kostof *et al.*, *Rome: An Urban History from Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge, 2016), 214-21.
[216] It can be extrapolated from this that this was also the case of the secular elite of Rome as well, A. Augenti, 'Continuity and Discontinuity of a Seat of Power: The Palatine Hill from the Fifth to the Tenth Century', EMR, 50-2; A. Weyl-Carr, 'Court Culture and Cult Icons in Middle Byzantine Constantinople', CHMPT, 166.
[217] HL, III, 100, c15: 'Maurice adorned with the purple, …, was confirmed emperor, the first from the line of the Greeks'.
[218] Gantner, *Finsternis*, 77.
[219] *Ibid*, 76-7; Noble situates this separation in the first-half of the eighth century, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State* (Philadelphia, 1984), esp. ch. 2.
[220] Noble, 'The Declining Knowledge of Greek', 60; for relative continuity of cultural influence see V. von Falkenhausen, 'La comunità greca di Roma nella prima metà del IX secolo', eds. S. Ammirati *et al.*, *Grata più delle stelle: Pasquale I (817-824) e la Roma del suo tempo*, I (Rome, 2020), 41-58.

were increasingly held by Latin-speakers and not Greek-speakers or those originating from Greek-speaking regions.[221] As the term primarily defined members of a linguistic and liturgical community,[222] and as this was becoming rarer in Rome and more uniquely a dimension of Byzantine society, its use became increasingly appropriate in labelling difference between Rome and Byzantium.

Nevertheless, there is a reluctance to use the label "Greek" in the LP in the Lives of the seventh and early-eighth centuries that continues into the mid-ninth century. As noted by Gantner, this reticence is not mirrored in papal diplomatic correspondence, at least with regard to correspondence with the transalpine Latin West, although this was a geography, as mentioned above, where the term "Greek" was already used widely to refer to Byzantium.[223] This was likely due to the potential pejorative connotations attached to the label which had both classical and Christian roots, and which can be found in other contemporaneous papal writings.[224] The more public nature of the LP and its broad dissemination as opposed to the more private nature of diplomatic correspondence, as well as the preponderance of clerics from Greek-speaking geographies or families in the papal bureaucracy in the seventh and eighth centuries, likely account for the LP's reticence to use the potentially pejorative label of "Greek".[225]

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[221] Gantner, *Finsternis*, 98.
[222] Herbers, 'Papst Nikolaus', 63-4.
[223] For example, Codex Epistolaris Carolinus*: Letters from the Popes to the Frankish Rulers, 739-791*, trans. and eds. D. van Espelo *et al.* (Liverpool, 2021), 196, c9; 215, c15; 247, c26; 249, c30; 258, c34; 263, c37; 270, c57; 59, 61, 64-5, 80, 86, 90, 92, pp. 196, 215, 247, 249, 258, 263, 270, 317, 321, 327, 330-3, 365, 379, 390, 394-5; Gantner, 'The Label "Greeks"', 318-22.
[224] See refs. 14 and 67; Gantner, *Finsternis*, 108-18; *idem*, '*Romana Urbs*', 469.
[225] Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome*, 245, estimates 3.5 Greek clerics to every 1 Latin cleric. This relies heavily on naming which can be problematic as a measure, J. Western, 'Overlapping Identities and Individual Agency in Byzantine Southern Italy', eds. M. Stewart *et al.*, *The Routledge Handbook on Identity in Byzantium* (London, 2022), 219.

Ultimately, at the beginning of the period under analysis, whilst there were pre-existing pejorative undertones in the label "Greek", it could be used to differentiate neutrally between groups along linguistic and liturgical boundaries within Rome and the Byzantine Empire. Indeed, the very use of the term "Greek" in this neutral manner shows Rome, at least in part, to perceive itself as a part of the empire despite its peculiarities and regionalisms, a perspective borne out by the material evidence. Similarly, there lived in Rome a large body of people who could be called "Greek", either through Greek being their mother tongue or through their practice of Greek-language liturgies, let alone ethnically, but this did not mean these people were not a functioning part of Roman society or even "Other" to it. By the mid-ninth century, however, the Roman LP employs the term pejoratively to describe Byzantium and to emphasise difference and separation, as shown below.[226] Byzantine is redefined and reimagined in the Lives of the LP as a means to justify and legitimise the separation of the papacy from the empire.

Section Two - The Image of Byzantium in the Lives of the *Liber Pontificalis* from Stephen II to Hadrian II

The image of Byzantium that is constructed in the LP in the late-eighth and ninth centuries is a product of the attempt to legitimise the separation of the papacy from the Byzantine Empire. This severing of ties with East Rome needed to be legitimised after the fact. Just before the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680-681), Pope Agatho (678-681) had written to Constantine IV (668-685) that the Church was 'the spiritual mother of the empire', Rome wished 'to serve and

[226] Gantner, 'The Label "Greeks"', 324-9.

obey', and that Byzantium was the 'Christian body politic'.[227] Barely two generations later, Rome, under papal leadership, rejected this state and empire. This separation was brought about primarily through *Realpolitik*: Byzantium, preoccupied with an existential struggle with the Arabs, was unable to protect Rome and the papacy from the encroaching Lombard threat. As such, in the middle of the eighth century, the papacy turned to the Franks for protection, aided the Carolingian dynasty in usurping the Frankish kingship and granted this polity imperial status in 800.

A primary means of legitimising this in the LP was the reimagining and redefining of Byzantium as something "Greek" and "Other" in order to deny its Romanness. Simultaneously, Byzantium is presented as a hotbed of heresy, which is juxtaposed with the religious orthodoxy of the papal see. These two aspects are the overarching themes of the image of Byzantium in the LP: East Rome is heterodox; East Rome is not Roman and, eventually, as the LP progresses, it is defined as Greek. The combination of both aspects left space for imperial status to be legitimately reassigned to the Franks as the new, orthodox protectors of Rome and the papacy.

The representation of Byzantium in the part of the LP under analysis, however, is not framed solely through political necessity or ideology. There are other details which present the Eastern Roman Empire in a more nuanced manner and reveal the broader scope of the image of Byzantium. Such presentations do not just lack negative or pejorative connotations but contain

[227] 'Letter of Pope Agatho read out at Third Council of Constantinople', PL, LXXXVII (Paris, 1863), cols. 1161-1180: *reipublicae Christianae*. *…haec spiritalis mater eorum ac a Deo propagati imperii apostolica Christi Ecclesia credat et praedicat, … omnes nobiscum deprecamur servire et obedire*; P. Delogu, 'Il papato tra l'impero bizantino e l'Occidente nel VII e VIII secolo', eds. D. Cracco and G. de Rosa, *Il Papato e l'Europa* (Soveria Manelli, 2001), 57-8.

positive aspects too. This chapter addresses these details in order to appreciate the full spectrum of the image of Byzantium and the Byzantines in the LP.

Notwithstanding the continued importance of Byzantium to the Roman pontiffs in the late-eighth and ninth centuries, at first glance, the Lives between 752 and the late-ninth century seem broadly to dismiss Byzantium. Excepting a few passing comments made by Authors One and Two, only in the interpolations in the Life of Nicolas I and the unfinished Life of Hadrian II written by Author Thirteen does Byzantium play a leading role. As shall be shown, however, upon closer inspection, the Byzantine spectre haunts every Life written between 752 and the late-ninth century.[228] There exists a silent polemic against Byzantium that only becomes virulently explicit in the final Lives.

Byzantine Religious Waywardness

Following the Christianisation of the empire, the imperial institution had become fundamentally intertwined with orthodox Christianity.[229] In tandem, the Roman Empire became conceptualised as the vehicle through which Christianity was to be disseminated throughout the known world.[230] Despite this, the Greek-speaking East, that is the empire east of Italy, came to be

[228] The exceptions are the two short and unfinished Lives of Eugene II and Stephen V.
[229] Gantner describes it as 'defining', *Finsternis*, 77; Kaldellis is a little more circumspect but recognises its fundamental role in Roman identity in Byzantium, Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic*, 190-3; *idem*, *Romanland*, 106-13.
[230] Eusebius of Caesarea is often cited at this juncture as the progenitor of this thought with his *Tricennial Oration* for the thirtieth anniversary of Constantine the Great's reign, *Eusebius Werke: Über das Leben Constantins, Rede an die heilige Versammlung, Tricennatsrede an Constantin*, ed. Ivar Heikel, I (Leipzig, 1902), 195-259, esp. 200-1; there are reservations over this perspective, Kaldellis, *Byzantine Republic*, 177; C. Bonura, 'Eusebius of Caesarea, the Roman Empire and the Fulfilment of Biblical Prophecy: Reassessing Byzantine Imperial Eschatology in the Age of Constantine', ChHist, XC (September, 2021), 509-36.

known in the Latin West as a place from which challenges to orthodoxy originated.[231] Alongside this was the tension over the question of papal primacy and over imperial intervention in ecclesiastical or theological matters.[232] Indeed, the LP was produced in part out of these tensions.[233] Yet this did not necessarily lead to separatist tendencies within the papacy.[234] The default position of the papacy was to blame the Constantinopolitan Church and patriarch for doctrinal error, and to expect the imperial institution and emperor to help eradicate heresy and preserve orthodoxy.[235]

The LP initially holds to this framework. During the opening phase of the iconoclast controversy, repressive imperial policy is described as being enacted against Rome because of its iconodule stance.[236] In this case of imperial intervention in a theological matter, this led only to the papacy treating the imperial institution '**as if**' it was an enemy, not an actual enemy.[237] The popes ultimately continued to work in what they perceived to be the interests and defence of the empire and wrote letters seeking to persuade the emperor of his errors.[238] They supported the imperial institution even if they needed to arm themselves against a particular emperor.[239] Yet it

[231] The books that cover the emperors of the seventh and eighth centuries in Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana* are little more than a litany of heresies and usurpations, W. Pohl, 'Creating Culture for Carolingian Rule: Historians of the Christian Empire', RoP, 30; Forrai, 'Sacred Nectar', 71; Goetz, 'Image of the Greeks', 101.
[232] Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government*, 61; P. Delogu, 'The Papacy, Rome and the Wider World in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', EMR, 202-6.
[233] See *Why was the* Liber Pontificalis *written?*, 69-74.
[234] For an alternative view see, Noble, *Republic of St. Peter*, 15-60.
[235] Delogu, 'Papacy, Rome and the Wider World', 201; see the visual communication of this idea in the image of the Triclinium of Leo III below, Figure Five, 118.
[236] The Byzantine emperor sends agents to assassinate the pope, Gregory II, 403-4, cc14-7.
[237] *Ibid*, 404, c17: 'now he (Gregory II) armed himself against the emperor **as if** (*quasi*) against an enemy'.
[238] *Ibid*, 409-10, c24; Gregory III, 415-6, cc2, 4; Zacharias, 432-3, c20.
[239] Gregory II, 405, c17, Gregory prevents a rebellion to overthrow the emperor; later in the Life, 407, c20, Gregory appeals to those defending the papacy against the emperor: 'he urged them not to abandon that their love for and loyalty to the Roman Empire.'

became an increasingly untenable position to cast the imperial institution as a bulwark of orthodoxy when the heresy of iconoclasm stemmed directly from the imperial throne.[240]

Following the political separation of the papacy from Byzantium in the mid-750s, iconoclasm was a useful tool to demonstrate the essential impiety of the Byzantine imperial state and its inappropriateness as a sovereign power, particularly when there was a capable Christian replacement in the shape of the Franks.[241] Iconoclasm in the LP performed two parallel functions: it demonstrated papal orthodoxy whilst it exposed Byzantine irreligiousness.

Authors One and Two (Stephen II to the first half of Hadrian I, 752 – 774)

In the Lives written by the first two authors, opposition to iconoclasm is explicitly demonstrated and the heretical theology is linked, both implicitly and explicitly, with Constantinople. This approach is the first strategy employed to contrast Byzantine irreligiousness with papal orthodoxy. In the Life of Stephen II, Author One describes a papal procession along the walls of Rome with an '*acheropsita*' icon when the city was threatened by the Lombard king, Aistulf.[242] This episode may well have sought to recall and mirror the procession of Patriarch Sergius with an ἀχειροποίητον icon during the 626 Siege of Constantinople and the procession of a Hodegetria-type icon during the 717/18 Arab Siege of Constantinople.[243] Potentially by

[240] Delogu, 'Il papato', 70-1.
[241] Noble, *Republic of St. Peter*, 71-94; Delogu, 'Papacy, Rome and the Wider World', 211.
[242] Stephen II, 443, c11; Davis, *Eighth-Century Popes*, 57, ref. 22; '*acheropsita*' is a transliteration of the Greek ἀχειροποίητον, a term for an object not made by human hands.
[243] M. Hurbanič, *The Avar Siege of Constantinople in AD626: History and Legend* (Cham, 2019), for the procession in the 626 siege, 316-7; for the 717/8 siege, 326; as to the use of a Hodgetria-type icon, Hurbanič quotes the prologue of the fourteenth century Feast of the Akathistos though admits this may be a retrospective assertion. That said, a *c.*729 letter of Gregory II to the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Germanos mentions a 'holy image of the Mistress of all and truly pure *Theometor*' which was led to 'the front line of the battle'. This letter, however, has been interpreted as not referring to either an icon or a procession, B. V. Pentcheva, 'The Supernatural Protector of Constantinople: The Virgin and her Icons in the Tradition of the Avar Siege', BMGS, XXVI (2002), 16-20; see also,

evoking these past events, but at the very least through describing the active use of icons in public events of devotion, the narrative demonstrates Stephen II's position on the theological validity of icons as a means of interceding with the divine. Papal orthodoxy is presented with respect to both past and present, aligning itself with the orthodox past whilst juxtaposing both itself and this past with the imperially mandated, iconoclast present.[244] The deviant nature of the current imperial Byzantine position is explicitly presented as contrary to the established precedent and to orthodoxy.

Moreover, King Pippin of the Franks, described as 'Christian' in contrast to the nameless Byzantine emperors mentioned in this Life, is reported as prostrating himself before Stephen II.[245] Meanwhile, Byzantine imperial officials are depicted as trying to bribe Pippin to return the lands of the Exarchate of Ravenna that he had seized from the Lombards to Constantinople and not to the papacy as had been originally agreed. Pippin refuses and is described in the LP as 'loyal to God and devoted to St. Peter'.[246] In the BD manuscripts, immediately following this episode, Stephen II commissions an icon of a Madonna enthroned with Child made out of gold and adorned with precious items.[247]

What is to be made of this seemingly incongruous addition? As seen above, the author of Stephen's Life, like many other authors throughout the LP both before and after him, uses the controversy over icons as a vehicle to demonstrate papal orthodoxy and piety, and to highlight Byzantine heterodoxy. Adding the detail of Stephen piously commissioning an icon following

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M. T. G. Humphreys, 'Introduction: Contexts, Controversies and Developing Perspectives', *Companion to Byzantine Iconoclasm*, 55.
[244] Sarti, Orbis Romanus, 220.
[245] Stephen II, 449, c31; 450, c36; c37; 451, c38 (in the BD manuscripts); 452, c43 (twice); 454, c47; 455, c49: *christianissimus*; 447, c25: *prostratus.*
[246] Stephen II, 452-3, cc44-5: *fidelis Dei et amatoris beati Petri.*
[247] *Ibid*, 453, c45.

'Christian' Pippin's rejection of the temptation of gold to forsake his oath to the pope serves only to emphasise Byzantine impiety, albeit, on this occasion, not only in contrast with the papacy, but also the Franks. The Frankish kings, the new protectors of the papacy, and by extension the Frankish people, are being framed as superior to the Byzantines in devotion to St. Peter, God and orthodoxy. The additional mention of the commissioning of this icon in the BD manuscripts accentuates the original text's framing of impious Byzantium as well as the contrast with both the papacy and the Franks.[248]

Author Two follows the same explicit strategy as Author One. Pope Paul I is described as '**the bravest defender of the orthodox faith**' by sending letters to Constantine V and Leo IV, and petitioning them to 'restore … veneration of the sacred images', a passage that reaffirms the direct link between the imperial court and iconoclasm.[249] It is not surprising that Author Two, likely taking the lead from Author One, also mentions Paul commissioning a gilded statue of Mary, which John Osbourne rightly reads as a clear renunciation of Byzantine iconoclasm.[250] Furthermore, Paul is recorded as founding a Greek-language monastery that followed the Rule of St. Basil and was dedicated to Pope Sylvester.[251] This foundation was potentially built to house iconodule monks seeking sanctuary from imperially mandated iconoclast policies.[252] At the very least, the use of a Greek-language rule in a monastery dedicated to Sylvester – the pope who is associated in the LP with the conversion of Emperor Constantine the Great (306-337) and the Christianisation of the imperial power – conveys a powerful message of theological criticism,

[248] A similar conclusion is reached by A. Melograni, 'Le pitture del VI e VIII secolo nella basilica inferiore di S. Crisogono in Trastevere', *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, ser. III, xiii, (1990), 165-6, concerning wall-paintings mentioned in the Life of Gregory III, 418, c8.
[249] Paul, 464, c3: *Fortissimus enim erat orthodoxe fidei defensor; … missos cum apostlicis …Constantino et Leonis Augustis litteris … direxit, pro restituendis … venerationis … sacratissimis imaginibus.*
[250] Osborne, *Rome in the Eighth Century*, 184-5; Paul, 465, c6.
[251] Paul, 464-5, c5.
[252] Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux*, 127; Gantner, *Finsternis*, 96.

especially when a current emperor, Constantine V, shares the same regnal name.[253] It is a physical comment, although in this instance conveyed textually, on how the contemporary Christian imperial authority based in Constantinople is diverging from its orthodox origins. Origins which the LP directly associates with the papacy.

Author Two continues this explicit anti-iconoclastic theme in the following Life of Stephen III by mentioning the final session in the 769 Lateran Council which saw the complete rejection of the iconoclast position that had been made official at the 754 Council of Hieria.[254] This episode is linked with the Life of Paul by the reuse of a line detailing which types of icons are considered valid, though this passage has little more to say other than to reiterate the clear papal opposition to iconoclasm.[255]

It is noteworthy that the author also specifies that Stephen III requested bishops from the 'Christian kings' of the Franks to participate in the 769 council.[256] This positive framing of the Franks in an anti-iconoclast council, and in not so subtle contrast with Byzantium, is further supported in the first half of Hadrian I's Life when Charlemagne is thrice described as 'God-protected'[257] and thrice described as a 'Christian king'.[258] This pious description of Charlemagne reaches a crescendo in the celebration of the Easter he spent in Rome in 774. Roman crowds are described as chanting, 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord' from Psalms 118:26.[259]

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[253] See ref. 155.
[254] Stephen III, 476, c23.
[255] Paul, 464, c3: *sacratissimis imaginibus domini Dei et salvatoris Iesu Christi, santaeque eius genetrices atque beatorum apostolorum omniumque sanctorum, prophetarum, martyrum et confessorum*; Stephen III, 476, c23: *de sacris imaginibus domini Dei et Salvatoris nostril Iesu Christi santaeque et gloriosae eius genetrices semper virginis Mariae dominae nostrae et beatorum apostolorum omniumque sanctorum ac prophetarum et martyrum sue confessorum*.
[256] Stephen III, 473, c16-17.
[257] Hadrian I, 493, c22; 494, c27; 495, c29: *a Deo protectum.*
[258] *Ibid*, 495, c30; 496, c34; 498, c43: *christianissimus rex.*
[259] *Ibid*, 497, c38: *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*; Psalms, 118:26.

Whilst the 'great **and august** emperors Constantine and Leo' are still treated respectfully, they are in no way compared to Jesus entering Jerusalem.[260]

Both authors reveal how much the gaze of the papacy was fixed on Constantinople, even as their narratives seek to emphasise how the Byzantine imperial authority is deviating from papal Rome by erring from theological orthodoxy and, hence, undermining its legitimacy as a specifically Christian imperial authority. Imperial history is referenced twice, and the popes have direct contact with the emperors. That being said, Byzantium is framed as impious in relation to the new protectors of the papacy, namely the Franks, whose leaders are 'loyal to God and devoted to St. Peter'. The readers of these Lives are presented explicitly with contrasting representations of papal and Frankish orthodoxy versus Byzantine, and particularly imperial, irreligiousness, although a connection with the imperial centre remains.[261]

Authors Three to Twelve (Second half of Hadrian I to the first version of Nicolas I, 772-867)

Authors Three to Twelve employ a different and entirely implicit strategy regarding Byzantine impiety and iconoclasm. Lists which detail construction projects, renovations and other works first appear in the Life of Pope Sylvester and were included as a means of demonstrating papal power, piety and authority over Rome.[262] They broadcast the largess of papal patronage to individuals who would never be in a position to see the recorded items themselves. From the Life of Hadrian I onwards, the lists also served as the principal means of

[260] Hadrian I, 490, c15: *Constantino et Leoni augustis magnisque imperatoribus.*
[261] This connection with the imperial court is particularly problematic for Rome, F. Hartmann, 'Die *Cathedra Petri* zwischen östlichem und westlichem *Imperium*. Legitimationsformern und Widerstände der Emanzipation im 8. Jahrhundert', eds. M. Matheus *et al.*, *Die Päpste. Amt und Herrschaft in Antike, Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Regensburg, 2016), 172.
[262] See refs. 162 and 163.

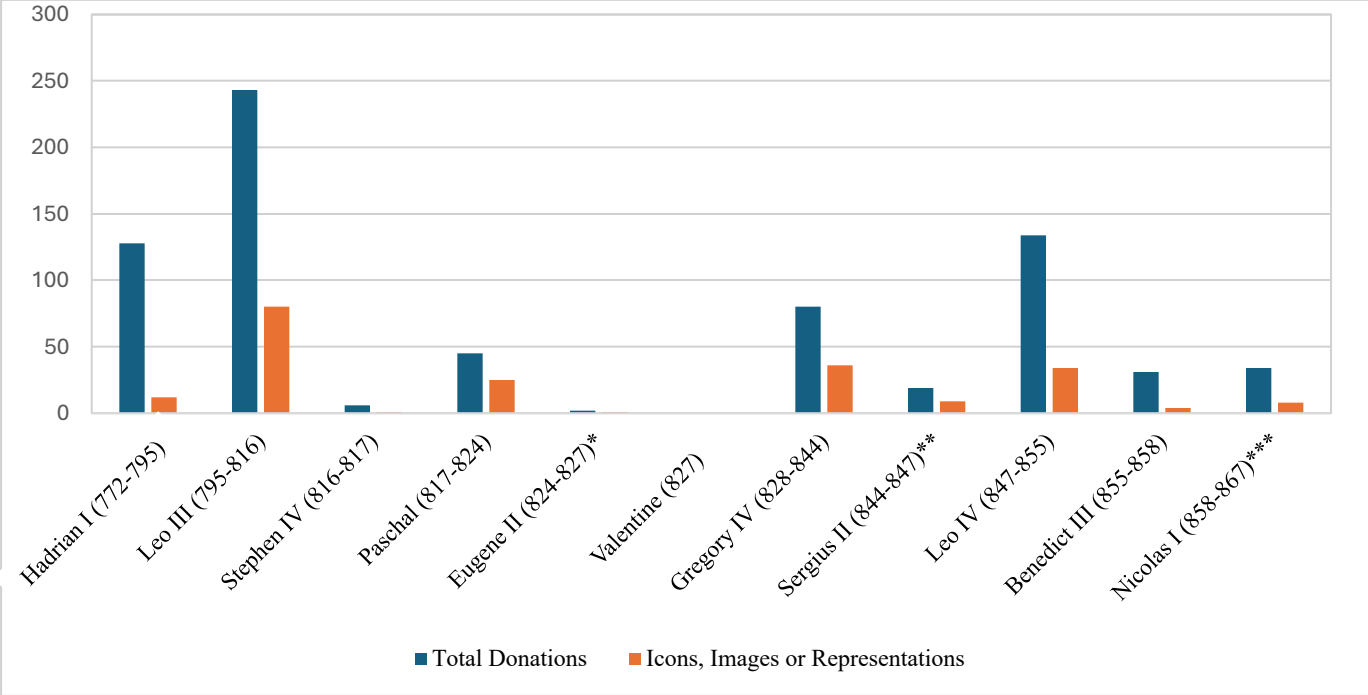
demonstrating the papal position on icon veneration.[263] It is known that these construction lists are not exhaustive. We can therefore infer that the inclusion of each item required a decision to be made.[264] These lists, far from being uninformative, thus reflect the intentions of their compilers.[265] In addition, as shown by the examples above in the Lives of Stephen II and Paul, the mention of commissioning icons, statues or images was an established means of broadcasting papal anti-iconoclasm.[266] It is telling, therefore, that the very first item listed in the second part of Hadrian's Life is an icon bearing an image of St. Peter's miraculous escape from Herod's prison.[267] The precise description of the image on the icon speaks to the deliberateness and significance of the inclusion of icons as a conscious stratagem. In this case, it conjures up an image of the newly independent Roman papal polity escaping the clutches of a tyrannical overlord seeking to subvert the will of God.

Below is a graph showing the total number of papal donations alongside the number of icons or images commissioned by each pope between the second half of the Life of Hadrian I and the first version of Nicolas I that are listed in their respective Lives:[268]

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[263] Author Three does explicitly mention iconoclasm when he writes about the victory over it at Nicaea in 783 but he buries this amidst his long list of Hadrian's donations and construction projects suggesting he is moving away from the explicit strategy of his predecessors, Hadrian I, 511-12, c88.
[264] R. Coates-Stephens, 'Dark-Age Architecture in Rome', PBSR (1997), 180.
[265] M. Costambeys and C. Leyser, 'To be the Neighbour of St. Stephen: Patronage, Martyr Cult and Roman Monasteries, *c.*600 – *c.*900', eds. K. Cooper and J. Hillner, *Religion, Dynasty and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300 – 900* (Cambridge, 2007), 270.
[266] See refs. 245 and 250; other earlier examples of mentioning the commissioning of icons as a means of showing papal anti-iconoclasm include Gregory III, 417-9, cc5, 7-8, 10-11; Zacharias, 432-3, cc18-19.
[267] Hadrian I, 499, c45: '**bearing a representative history how St. Peter broke his chains through** [the help of] **an** angel'; Acts 12:7; A. Carile 'La società ravennate dall'Esarcato agli Ottoni', SR, II, 388.
[268] My methodology is as follows: any reference to an image or an item with a visual representation is taken into account. The Latin terms indicating an image or icon include: *praefigurare*; *habere* followed by a description of an image (*e.g.* Hadrian I, 500, c48: *fecit vestes II … una … habentem adsumptionem sanctae Dei genetricis*); *effigies*; *imago*; *depingere*; *storia.* One donation is understood as the sum of items given to a single church in a single chapter. This aims to reflect the way items were likely donated to churches and how they were registered in the papal records. For example, let us imagine, in one chapter, seventeen items were given to St. Peter's (thus equalling one donation) and three to St. Prassede, and out of those three, two were icons (thus equalling one donation and one instance of a donation of icons). If in the following paragraph more donations are given to the same church, this

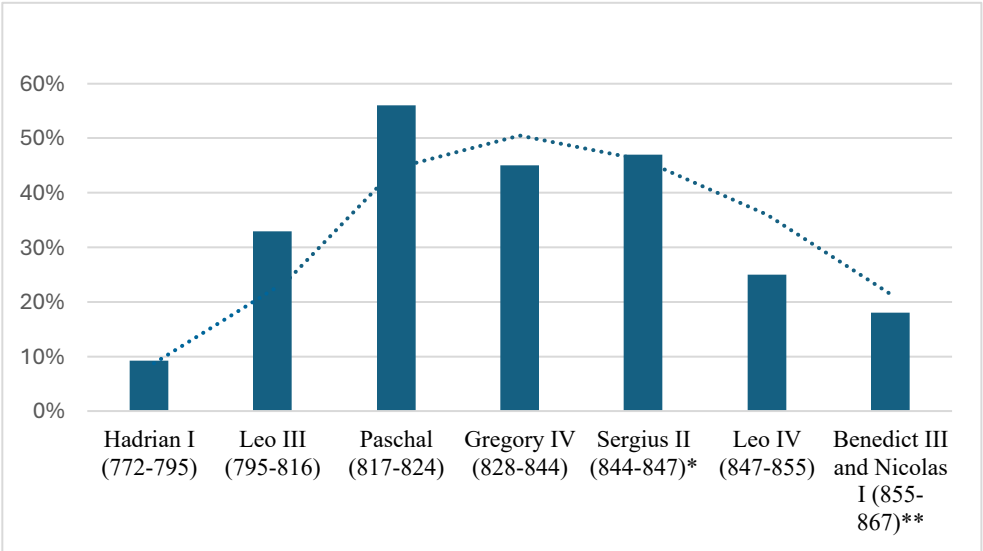
Table Two – Frequency of Icons in the Donation Lists of Late Eighth and Ninth-Century Popes



* Life is unfinished. ** *Farnesianus* Version. *** Without interpolations of Author Thirteen.

The graph below interprets this raw data. It removes the short and statistically insignificant Lives of Stephen IV (816-817), Eugene II (824-827) and Valentine (827), and expresses the number of icons and images as a percentage of the total number of ecclesiastical construction projects and donations. With this done, a clear trend can be seen:

Table Three – Moving Average Trend Line of the Proportion of Icons in the Donation Lists of Late Eighth and Ninth-Century Popes



* The proportion as a percentage in the extant version of the Life of Sergius II is the same as in the *Farnesianus* version.
** These Lives are grouped together as they are written by the same author.

counts as a separate donation. For example, let us say twelve more items were donated to St. Peter's, of which four were an icon, nothing was given to St. Prassede, and one donation was provided to St. John Lateran. This would constitute two more instances of donations: one to St. Peter's, with one instance of icon donation, and one to St. John Lateran.

From the Life of Hadrian onwards, the number of icons mentioned as a proportion of the number of donations rises dramatically through the Lives of Leo III (795-816) and Paschal I (817-824), with this being maintained through the Lives of Gregory IV (827-844) and Sergius II, before dropping to a level similar to that of Hadrian I in the Lives of Leo IV, Benedict III and Nicolas I. All these Lives were written by different authors, excluding the last two Lives which I have therefore grouped together.[269]

The timings of this rise and fall coincide with the chronology of Byzantine Iconoclasm. During Empress Irene's regency (780-790) of Constantine VI, the first phase of iconoclasm officially came to an end at the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. In 813, however, Leo V the Armenian forced Emperor Michael I Rhangabe (811-813) to abdicate after his defeat to the Bulgars at the Battle of Versinikia. Multiple military disasters under Michael I and his predecessor Nikephoros I (802-811) had led to a revival in iconoclast sentiment with the theological argument being associated with the military success of Leo III and Constantine V. As such, as part of a broader policy of military revival and boosting morale, Leo V once more promoted iconoclasm in 814-15.[270] The second phase of Byzantine Iconoclasm came to an end during the Empress Theodora's regency (842-856) for her son Michael III in 843 with the replacement of the iconoclast patriarch, John the Grammarian, and a number of bishops.[271]

With these dates in mind, – 787 and the end of the first phase of iconoclasm, 814-15 and the resurgence of iconoclasm, and 843 and the end of the second phase of iconoclasm – it can be

[269] See *When was the Liber Pontificalis Written?*, 61-7 and esp. Table One, 67.
[270] M.-F. Auzépy, 'The Iconophile Intermission and Second Iconoclasm, 790-843', *Companion to Byzantine Iconoclasm*, 386-9.
[271] *Ibid*, 394.

shown that the trend of the second graph does not simply correlate with the chronology of Byzantine Iconoclasm but is caused by it.

As is seen in the Lives of Stephen II, Stephen III, Paul I and the first part of Hadrian I, iconoclasm was an important issue for Authors One and Two of the LP, and a vehicle through which the papacy presented itself as orthodox in contrast to Constantinople. Table One shows that Author Three, the author of the second part of Hadrian I's Life, was writing in *c.*795 or a little after.[272] Iconoclasm had ended, or so the author believed, in 787. Yet, since iconoclasm was an issue for most of Hadrian's pontificate, and having the same priorities as his predecessors, he deemed it important to present the papacy as behaving in an orthodox manner with regard to icons. Writing in the post-787 environment and located in the *vestiarium*, and with ready access to papal financial documents,[273] the author adopted the approach of demonstrating Hadrian's iconodule stance through the repeated mention of him making donations of icons, evidence for which would have been readily available to him.

We can be certain that Author Three was writing with iconoclasm in mind. Firstly, Author Three only includes five historical facts: two deaths; a flood; a fire; and the Second Council of Nicaea.[274] It is highly notable that the single non-Roman event the author deemed worthy of mentioning between *c.*774 and 795 was the council that officially condemned iconoclasm in Byzantium. Secondly, the author explicitly reveals himself to be continuing to express in the LP papal disapproval of iconoclasm when he reiterates the sending of 'apostolic letters' to the emperor in Constantinople to restore image veneration as part of the involvement of the papacy

[272] Table One, 67.
[273] See ref. 122.
[274] 1) the death of the monk, Leontius, who was once a consul and a duke, Hadrian I, 505, c63; 2) the death of the *primicerius*, 509, c77; 3) Council of Nicaea, 511-12, c88; 4) a great fire, 512-13, c91; 5) Flood of the Tiber, 513, cc94-5.

in the Council of Nicaea.[275] In the earlier Lives of Paul I, Gregory II and Gregory III (731-741), the sending of letters to the emperor is the primary means by which opposition to iconoclasm is shown.[276] Similarly, Author Three copies his predecessors, showing papal opposition to iconoclasm by mentioning papal donations of icons and images. From the Life of Gregory III onwards, all popes are shown to commission works with images.[277] Author Three then is not innovating but merely taking this tactic much further and choosing to focus solely on this already established means of displaying papal orthodoxy concerning icons and images.

Author Four began writing *c.*816, after the revival of iconoclasm in Byzantium. Regardless, he chose to follow the precedent set by Author Three of demonstrating orthodoxy around the issue of iconoclasm by detailing a remarkable number of donations of icons made by Pope Leo III. The dramatic spike in the proportion, from 9% in Hadrian I's Life to 33% in Leo III's, attests not only the renewed salience of the mention of icon donations as a response to imperially sponsored iconoclasm but also the deliberateness of the author's, and by extension authors', choice to mention these icon donations.

This is only furthered, and taken to extremes, by Author Six, the author of Paschal I's Life: over half of the recorded donations (56%) made by Paschal are icons, a higher proportion than in any other Life. This is not surprising. As Caroline Goodson's research has shown, Paschal

[275] Hadrian I, 511-2, c88: '[Hadrian] sent his envoys … to the Emperor Constantine VI and his mother, Irene, **exhorting** them and faithfully preaching through his apostolic **verses** (*suas apostolicas syllabas*) to set up the sacred images … These emperors **revering** and **welcoming** the apostolic letter …'.
[276] Gregory II, 409, c24: *Imperatori quoque suadens salutaria ut a tali execrabili miseria declinaret scriptis commonuit*; Gregory III, 415, c2: *commontoria scripta vigore apostolicae sedis institutionis, …, misit*; 416-17, c4: *… iterum misit scripta commontoria … et iterum faciens adhortatorias litteras … direxit*; Paul I, 464, c3: *suos missos cum apostolicis obsecratoriis atque amonitoriis litteris … direxit*.
[277] E.g. Gregory III, 417, c5; Zacharias, 432, c18; Stephen II, 453, c45 (although only in the Lombard recension. That said, it is detailed that Stephen II processed with an icon which is itself an explicit demonstration of his approval, see ref. 242); Paul, 465, c6; Stephen III, 478, c27; only the first half of the Life of Hadrian lacks this.

consciously embarked upon the construction of a topography of power in the city of Rome that asserted both papal sovereignty and primacy, most prominently with the reconstruction of the Church of Santa Prassede and the (re)burial within it of some two thousand relics of saints recovered from outside the city walls.[278] This was a pope who recognised the importance of visual symbols of power, authority and majesty.[279] Research into the specific mosaics commissioned by Paschal, in particular the apsidal mosaic in the Church of Santa Maria in Domnica, reveals that he was also using images as an explicit means of rejecting iconoclasm.[280] Moreover, Paschal used architecture and art alongside other means of expressing his views and opinions.[281] He maintained correspondence with iconodules in Byzantium, such as Theodore the Stoudite, who praised him for hosting iconodule refugees.[282] He even sent a letter in Greek to the emperor, Leo V. In this letter he raises a number of arguments that reveal a nuanced understanding of the arguments of both sides of the iconoclast debate and even shows awareness of the arguments in favour of the revival of iconoclasm in 815.[283] It is not a surprise, therefore, that studies of specific mosaics Paschal commissioned reveal that they are responding, albeit not exclusively, to the iconoclastic controversy.[284] Far from being silent about iconoclasm, as Thomas Noble claims, the context for the recording of so many donations of icons in the Life of

[278] Davis, *Ninth-Century Popes*, 10-11, ref. 23.
[279] Goodson, *Paschal I*, 101-4, 264; *eadem*, 'L'architettura e l'arredo liturgico della diaconia di Pasquale I', ed. A. Englen, Caelius I*: Santa Maria in Domnica, San Tommaso in Formis e il Clivus Scauri* (Rome, 2003), 205.
[280] F. Dell'Acqua, *Iconophilia: Politics, Religion, Preaching, and the Use of Images in Rome,* c.*680-880* (Abingdon, 2020), 270-80; Goodson, 'L'architettura', 247.
[281] Goodson, *Paschal I*, 278.
[282] F. Dell'Acqua, 'Byzantium beyond Byzantium: What about Greek(s) in Eighth-Century Italy?', eds. L. Brubaker, R. Darley and D. Reynolds (eds), *Global Byzantium: Papers from the Fiftieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (Abingdon, 2022), 40; *Patrologia Graeca* 99, 1155B: 'against the entire heretical tempest, you, undisturbed, banished it from the haven of the universal Church; chosen by God, you are the city of safe refuge.'
[283] For a discussion of the letter's contents see A. Englen, 'La difesa delle immagini intrapresa dalla chiesa di Roma nel IX secolo', Caelius I, 257-84; T. F. X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009), 257-60; questions have been raised over the authorship of the letter to Leo V, see E. Thunø, *Image and Relic: Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome* (Rome, 2002), 135-7.
[284] Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm*, 260; F. Svizzeretto, 'Il mosaico absidale manifesto iconodulo: proposta di interpretazione', Caelius I, 247; A. M. Labatt, *Byzantine Rome* (London, 2022), 103-5.

Paschal speaks to the very deliberate nature of mentioning so many images as part of a broader display of anti-iconoclast papal sentiment.[285]

The Lives of Gregory IV and Sergius II (the *Farnesianus* version) – the work of Authors Nine, in *c.*844, and Ten, in *c.*847, respectively – were written in the immediate aftermath of the Triumph of Orthodoxy in 843 and the end of the second phase of Byzantine Iconoclasm. The papacy's iconodule stance was vindicated with the Council of Constantinople that saw the official denunciation of iconoclasm in the Byzantine Empire. Iconoclasm remained, however, a salient issue in the LP and it is not surprising to see that in the years immediately after its official end that the authors of papal Lives continue to display orthodoxy over the issue through the mention of icons. That these mentions of images were at least in part linked to a wider post-843, pro-icon programme can be seen in the research of Claudia Bolgia on the style and iconography of the mosaics Gregory IV commissioned in San Marco. Even after 843, popes continued to have works produced that explicitly sought to uphold and affirm the orthodoxy of images.[286]

Nevertheless, as the contemporary relevance of iconoclasm fades in the late-840s, the number of icons mentioned as a proportion of total donations diminishes in the Lives of Leo IV, Benedict III and the first version of Nicolas I's. The proportion falls by half and returns to a level similar to that of Hadrian I's biography.[287] Indeed, Author Thirteen's edits in the Life of Nicolas I

[285] Verardi correctly notices this implicitness in her analysis on the Life of Paschal but focuses more on language rather than specific content, 'Insights and Remarks on the Biography of Paschal I (817-824) in the *Liber Pontificalis*', *Summa*, IX (Spring 2017), 245; Noble admits the silence is puzzling, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, 257.
[286] C. Bolgia, 'The Mosaics of Gregory IV at S. Marco, Rome: The Papal Response to Venice, Byzantium and the Carolingians', *Speculum*, LXXXI (2006), 30-4; Labatt argues similarly, *Byzantine Rome*, 107.
[287] The collapse would be even more significant if the Life of Benedict III is separated out from the first version of Nicolas I's Life. However, these were written by the same individual and the updated version contains no mentions of icons donated. It seems to me, therefore, more appropriate to put these two Lives together as they reflect the approach of a single author writing at a particular time.

and the Life of Hadrian II do not mention a single donation of an icon. That said, it is as iconoclasm loses its immediate salience that the impact and weight of this controversy is revealed. In the Life of Benedict III, the brief challenge to his election by Anastasius Bibliothecarius is recorded. Anastasius is framed as carrying out activities that 'even the Saracen horde had not thought to carry out'. These activities include breaking and burning images, destroying a painting of Leo IV's council of 853 and hacking down an icon of Christ and the Virgin that hung above the door of St. Peter's.[288] All of these are iconoclastic.

Similarly, a direct link is established between iconoclasm and the Photian Schism, a controversy surrounding the deposition of Patriarch Ignatios of Constantinople (847-858/867-877) by Emperor Michael III and his replacement by Photios (858-867/877-886), a layman, in late 858.[289] This assertion of a link between iconoclasm and the Photian Schism ostensibly seems out of place. There is no explicit mention of iconoclasm from the Life of Leo III until the interpolations in the Life of Nicolas I.[290] Not even the 843 Council of Constantinople and the official end of iconoclasm are mentioned. However, my analysis has shown that the LP is responding directly to iconoclasm and in an active – in the sense of deeds not words – manner, albeit implicitly. Thus, Author Thirteen's assertion of a link, explored in more detail below, is not a *non sequitur* but instead attests contemporary recognition, alongside Author Twelve's framing of Anastasius as an iconoclast, that iconoclasm was being addressed in the previous Lives through the donation lists.

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[288] Benedict III, 143, c12; Davis, *Ninth-Century Popes*, 172, ref. 24; as Davis points out it is quite remarkable that this story has survived and the manuscripts that contain this Life suggest an attempt at suppression was made, *ibid*, 161.
[289] Dvornik questions whether Ignatios was actually deposed but concedes that at the very least pressure was exerted upon him, F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948), 39-42; see *Author Thirteen (Interpolations in the Life of Nicolas I and Hadrian II, 858-872)*, 103-5.
[290] Nicolas I, II, 155, c19: 'having found an opportunity through the removers of sacred images'.

Far from Byzantium and iconoclasm being ignored, it is clear that a silent polemic was being communicated, and was contemporaneously recognised, by the authors of the LP through the donation lists. Iconoclasm was used as a powerful tool to exemplify Byzantine impiety and, more precisely, demonstrate papal orthodoxy in contrast to imperial heterodoxy and heresy. The visual, non-verbal display of pro-icon papal opinion through the commissioning icons is here translated into words that could be communicated to those who may never see the commissioned icons themselves and thus broadcast papal orthodoxy to a far wider audience.

Author Thirteen (Interpolations in Nicolas I and Hadrian II, 858-c.871)

Author Thirteen does not need to rely on iconoclasm to show the impiety of the Byzantines. Instead, he draws on the struggle over the conversion of the Bulgars and the Photian Schism. Despite Photios' elevation being initially accepted by papal legates in 861, Pope Nicolas I excommunicated him in 863.[291] The schism continued to deepen as Michael III and Nicolas I engaged in their famous exchange of letters, Rome and Constantinople vied for ecclesiastical control over Bulgaria, and Photios condemned the use of the *filioque* clause in the Creed.[292]

Firstly, despite no longer requiring iconoclasm in order to denigrate Byzantium, Author Thirteen still notes that it was 'the removers of sacred images' who had provided the Byzantine emperor with an opportunity to depose Ignatios.[293] Thus, although reusing the explicit strategy of Authors One and Two, the author makes it clear that he is working within a line of continuity that runs throughout the Lives of the popes in the late-eighth and ninth centuries. Through his

[291] Nicolas I, II, 158-9, cc40-1; Davis, *Ninth-Century Popes*, 202.
[292] Herbers, 'Papst Nikolaus', 51.
[293] Nicolas I, II, 155, c19: *imaginum despositoribus … sacrarum.*

signposting of iconoclasm's influence on the origin of the schism, Author Thirteen weaves this episode into a continuing narrative of the Byzantine imperial institution as the cause of heresy.

Having established continuity with the past Lives, Author Thirteen aggressively portrays the impious nature of the Byzantines and contrasts this with the orthodox faith and moral actions of the papacy. For instance, in the struggle to convert the Bulgar khan, papal clerics are described as resorting to reasoned arguments.[294] According to the LP, at first they gain the upper hand but are defeated by the 'Greeks', who employ false arguments.[295] Ultimately, the Greeks win over the Bulgar khan through bribery.[296] As to the schism, Photios is labelled an 'intruder' into the Constantinopolitan Church who, not content with having replaced Ignatios, wants, along with the Emperor Michael III, 'cunningly and jealously' to see him condemned by the papacy as well.[297] The LP states that Photios bribed the two papal legates in Constantinople but was unable to persuade Nicolas I with gifts.[298] When Photios is finally overthrown, it is not just on account of his actions but also due to his being an adulterer.[299] For placing this 'intruder' on the patriarchal throne, Michael III receives 'God's judgement' and is '**killed with a treacherous death**'.[300]

Author Thirteen resumes the explicit strategy of Authors One and Two but takes a significantly more vociferous approach. Establishing the Photian Schism as a continuation of the heresy of iconoclasm that had dominated Byzantium for the past century and linking it with the strategy of implied criticism of Authors Three to Twelve, he presents Byzantium as full of rank

[294] For the reasoned arguments of papal agents, Nicolas I, II, 164-5, cc70-2.
[295] Hadrian II, II, 182-4, cc48-9, 52-4, 57; for the false arguments of the Byzantines in the Life of Hadrian II, II, 183-4, cc50-1, 55-6.
[296] For the bribery by the Byzantines, Hadrian II, II, 185, c63.
[297] Nicolas I, II, 155, c19: *callide per invidiam.*
[298] For the bribery of papal legates, *ibid*, 158-9, c40.
[299] *Ibid*, 165, c76: *ut mechus pellitur.*
[300] *Ibid*: *Sed dum haec agerentur, Dei iudicio, Michaelem, Grecorum imperatorem, ultio Digna perculit et nefanda nece peremit.*

impiety. God actively intervenes in Byzantine imperial affairs, smiting an emperor, and thus judging the papacy to be in the right. This recalls the earlier narrative in which divine judgement is visited upon Emperor Anastasius as part of the Acacian Schism.[301]

The events surrounding the conversion of the Bulgars further serve to show the impiety of Byzantine clerics. This must also be recognised as a development. In the previous Lives, invective in the LP is aimed against the highest echelon of Byzantine society. Author Thirteen's description of Byzantines bribing and cajoling sees the invective begin to broaden. For the first time, an explicit link is established between heterodoxy and heresy on the one hand and the immoral character of Byzantines in general on the other. The denunciation of the Byzantine Church and polity has become more systematic and thorough.

Assessing Byzantine Religious Waywardness

The representation of Byzantium's religious waywardness develops continuously from the Life of Stephen II up to and including the Life of Hadrian II. Two different strategies are employed. The first is an explicit strategy and is taken up by Authors One and Two who use papal opposition to iconoclasm as a means of showing the papacy to be defenders of orthodoxy and Byzantium as purveyors of heterodoxy. They mention explicitly to the reader the papacy's opposition to this heresy through the sending of letters to Constantinople, the veracity of the power of icons and reveal that blame for iconoclasm lies squarely with the emperors. The second strategy is implicit. As has been shown, the authors of the Lives from *c.*774 to *c.*867 were consciously writing in a manner that presented the papacy as firmly in favour of icons. Following

[301] See ref. 157.

the lead of Author Three, papal support for icons is communicated through the lists that are appended to Lives. The contrast with Byzantium is implicit but clearly conveyed. Author Thirteen then revives the explicit strategy. That said, he takes a much more forthright approach to the issue, reflecting the changed geopolitical context of the mid-ninth century in comparison with the mid-eighth century.

All these Lives contribute to the construction of a clear image of Byzantine religious waywardness. The communication of this image was not simply to emphasise the piety of the papacy in contrast to the Byzantine state, but to show East Rome straying from the orthodox Christian faith; to communicate an understanding of Byzantium as heretical and unorthodox, and, therefore, as un-Roman and illegitimate as overlord. At times, Byzantine impiety is also contrasted with Frankish piety, particularly in the writings of Authors One and Two when the political realignment of the papacy was fresh. This direct contrast is not continued by later authors likely reflecting tensions between papal Rome and the Frankish emperors. Nevertheless, and as mentioned above, keeping to the orthodox faith was a criterion of Romanness in this period. Byzantium is depicted as deviating from orthodoxy and, in so doing, thereby turning from Romanness.[302] That iconoclasm stemmed from the imperial court itself made the issue all the more problematic. This narrative of Byzantine religious waywardness affirms the papal separation from the Eastern Roman Empire as well as the broader discourse of denying Byzantine Romanness.

[302] Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana* uses the term 'Roman people' to refer exclusively to the people of Rome when the city's inhabitants do not support the heretical Monothelite Emperor Philippikos Bardanes (711-713), Pohl, 'Creating Culture', 30; for more examples of this association of the term Roman people with Rome in Latin historiography, Sarti, Orbis Romanus, 167-70.

The Gradual Negation of Byzantine Romanness

In the opening chapter of *Romanland*, Anthony Kaldellis situates the creation of an understanding of Byzantium that stripped it of its Romanness in the mid-eighth century.[303] He supports this argument with direct reference to Gantner's work on the use of the term *Graecus* in papal diplomatic writings in the eighth century.[304]

Evidence supporting Kaldellis' argument is also found in the LP. The last mention in the LP that explicitly labels the Byzantine Empire as Roman – in the sense of possessing the qualities that established its socio-cultural, historical and political continuity with the polity founded by Romulus and Remus – is in the Life of Gregory II.[305] After this biography, there is a clear trend of increasing denialism of Byzantine Romanness. As shall be shown below, in the first instance, the understanding of Byzantium as Roman is suppressed. As the narrative of the LP progresses, however, the Roman-shaped hole of Byzantine political identity is filled with the pre-existing but inaccurate descriptor of "Greek".

Suppressing Romanness

As stated above, the last time Byzantium is explicitly labelled Roman is in the Life of Gregory II. This understanding of Byzantium is implicit throughout the Lives of Gregory III and Zacharias. This did not preclude invective against Byzantium. Yet such invective is not against a whole polity or "Other" society but against the person of the emperor.[306] The only sense of

[303] Kaldellis, *Romanland*, 3-37. Quotation on 13.
[304] Gantner, 'The Label "Greeks"', 303-49; Kaldellis also references Forrai, 'Sacred Nectar'.
[305] Gregory II, 405-7, cc19-20; 408-9, c23; the second reference is only in the BDE manuscript classes.
[306] LP, 409-10, cc23-4; in Gregory III, 415, c2, letters are sent to Leo III and Constantine V 'for them to change their minds and quit their error.' Again, it is the personal error of emperors rather than the Byzantine polity.

absolute difference that is expressed in the Lives of Gregory II, Gregory III and Zacharias is that of language between the imperial West and the imperial East.[307]

Authors One and Two

A sense of political difference is first seen in the shift in the usage of the term *respublica*, meaning 'body politic', in the Life of Stephen II.[308] The first two uses of the term in this Life refer to Byzantium. The first is in relation to an imperial mandate sent by the Byzantine emperor, Constantine V, to Aistulf, king of the Lombards, that he should 'restore to their proper dominion the places of the ***respublica*** **usurped by his** plot'.[309] The second comes in Aistulf's response to papal envoys regarding returning land to 'the *respublica*': Aistulf replies that nothing that 'he and his predecessors as kings … had taken over' would be returned.[310] The latter use of the term in this Life is admittedly more ambiguous than the former.[311]

Later in the Life, however, *respublica* is clearly used to designate something different from the two cases above:[312]

> 'There [Ponthion] they [Stephen II and King Pippin III of the Franks] sat together inside the oratory, and there … [Stephen] besought the Christian king in tears to **arrange** peace treaties on behalf of St. Peter and the ***respublica*** of the Romans. … he [Pippin] satisfied the blessed pope with an oath … to restore by every means the … rights and places of the ***respublica***.'

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[307] Gregory III, 415, c1; Zacharias, 435, c29.
[308] Gantner, '*Romana Urbs*', 467-9.
[309] Stephen II, 442, c8: *reipublicae loca … ab eo usurpata ingenio proprio restitueret dominio.*
[310] LP, 446, c21: *quae ipse vel eius praesecessores Langobardorum reges invaserunt.*
[311] I concur with Davis, *Eighth-Century Popes*, 61, ref. 9, that this refers to Byzantium as Aistulf's statement was based on the knowledge that Stephen had received instruction from Constantinople demanding that the territories he had taken be returned to the empire.
[312] Stephen II, 447-8, c26: *Ibique intus oratorium pariter consedentes, mox ibidem beatissimus papa praefatum christianissimum regem lacrimabiliter deprecatus est ut per pacis foedera causam beati Petri et reipublice Romanorum disponeret. Qui de praesenti iureiurando eundem beatissimum papam satisfecit omnibus eius mandatis et ammonitionibus sese totis nisibus oboedire … reipublice iura seu loca reddere modis omnibus*.

This is more than a separatist statement. The use of the term *respublica Romanorum* serves to deny the socio-political identity of Byzantium.[313] Romanness, as a political concept, has been claimed by papal Rome, with Rome under the papacy designating itself the Roman body politic.

This declaration firstly challenges Byzantium by denying it continuity with the classical past. The term *respublica Romanorum* clearly referred to the historic body politic of the Roman people. Yet its use here aligns quite specifically with the people living in Rome and the territory under its direct jurisdiction. These are the real Roman people according to the LP. Indeed, this conception of these people as true Romans, as opposed to the false Romans of the Byzantine Empire, is indicated when Stephen II is described as having entrusted to him by God the 'people of the whole of this province of Italy'.[314] Whilst the language is likely exaggerated in terms of geographic scope, the emphasis on a people who are distinct from the rest of the geographic range of the empire is clearly conveyed. Moreover, as Walter Ullmann has pointed out, there is a difference between *respublica Romana* and *respublica Romanorum*.[315] The former was the formula traditionally used in reference to the Roman Empire or Republic. The use of the latter clearly alludes to the former whilst being more specific and related to a certain people. That this people have already been identified as separate from the wider empire confirms the latter term's denialist intent towards Byzantine Romanness.[316]

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[313] Byzantium of course understood its society to constitute the *respublica*, expressed in Greek as πολιτεια, Kaldellis, *Byzantine Republic*, xiii, 20-31; Falkenhausen, 'Greek and Latin in Byzantine Italy', 548, a gravestone in Rome of a certain Greek-speaking official states, 'Theodore, a most famous man, a Byzantine (*i.e.* Constantinopolitan) Greek (*grecus Vizanteus*) who was loyal and dear to many, judge of the *respublica*.'
[314] Stephen II, 444, c15: *a Deo comissis ... cunctae istius Italiae provinciae populo.*
[315] Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government*, 61.
[316] Delogu, 'Papacy, Rome and the Wider World', 215-6.

As if to demonstrate this assumption of the Roman political mantle by the papacy, Pippin and his sons are referred to by Author Two as *patricii Romanorum* in the Life of Stephen III.[317] It is not made clear in the LP whether this title had been bestowed upon them by Stephen II nor exactly what its constitutional nature might have been. Nevertheless, it is highly notable that they are not simply patricians, an obviously imperial Roman title, but patricians 'of the Romans', echoing the title '*respublica* of the Romans'.[318] This exercise of ennoblement is a demonstration of the appropriation of Romanness by the papacy. It further expresses the idea of a particular Roman people in contrast to the people of the Eastern Roman Empire and affirms the legitimacy of the new political entity. This title had previously only been conferred on individuals by the emperor either as a court title or on foreign dignitaries.[319] Thus, this bestowal, whilst primarily aimed at binding the Frankish royal family to the papacy, was a clear display of papal exercising of *imperium*, that is authority within the imperial political tradition of Romanness.[320] It frames the pope as more than just the ruler of the city of Rome but as a quasi-imperial figure. This is a quality which informs the presentation of the papacy in the LP from Stephen II's Life onwards.[321] Such an action would not have been lost on the contemporary audience and would have further contributed to the diminishing of the unique claim of the Byzantine emperor to political Romanness.

[317] Stephen III, 473, c16.
[318] Noble believes the title to be entirely honorific, *Republic of St. Peter*, 278; P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (London, 1972), 20.
[319] Revived by Constantine I as an honorific title. It had been hereditary in the Roman Republic, A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (Oxford, 1964), 106; Davis, *Eighth-Century Popes*, 94, ref. 39; foreign rulers who received the title include Odoacer, Clovis I, Sigismund of Burgundy, the Ostrogothic kings Ebrimous, Eraric and Vitigis, and Niketas the Persian, R. Mathisen, 'Patricians as Diplomats in Late Antiquity', BZ, LXXIX (1986), 36.
[320] G. Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (London, 1968), 39-40.
[321] McKitterick, *Invention*, 225; *eadem*, '"Romanness" and Rome in the Early Middle Ages', ToR, 147.

Secondly, as hinted at above, there is a territorial aspect to the term *respublica Romanorum* used by Author One.[322] 'Of the Romans' in relation to a political entity implied a geography within which the Roman people lived. Such an understanding is similarly implied in the use of the term *partes Langobardorum* meaning those lands belonging to the Lombard people.[323] As discussed above, this concept of the Roman people necessarily excluded the Romans living in the Byzantine Empire. Moreover, the term *respublica Romanorum* is used in a number of contexts which are directly tied to ownership or rights over a territory. Most often this is in relation to explicit legal rights or to terms established in a treaty.[324] There is also a list of settlements that are described as belonging in perpetuity to the papacy 'for their possession and management'.[325] The overwhelming association of lands that belong to the political entity titled the *respublica Romanorum* shows that there was a clear geographic and territorial aspect to this term. That this polity is outside of imperial domains is made clear in Chapters Forty-Four and Forty-Five when Byzantine envoys fail in their attempt to bribe King Pippin of the Franks to hand over Ravenna and its territory to the empire rather than the papacy.[326]

Author Two concurs with this geographic depiction but in a different manner and does not define the nascent papal state. Stephen III's Life establishes geographical distinction by contrasting the location of two councils: the 769 Lateran Synod and the 754 Iconoclastic Council of Hieria which was 'held in Greek **lands**'.[327] The intended audience of Author Two would likely

[322] Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government*, 63-5.
[323] Stephen II, 452, c43.
[324] Legal rights: *ibid*, 448-449, cc26, 31, 33, 37. Indicated by the use of the word *ius*, meaning in these contexts 'law' or 'right': 448-49, 452-3, cc26, 31, 41, 45; or the noun *proprium*, sometimes in the adjectival form *proprius*, meaning 'possession' or 'property', 449, cc31, 33; treaty: 450-1, c37: '**entering into peace and, in writing, confirming a peace treaty** (*foedera pactum adfirmantes*) between Romans, Franks and Lombards'; the Donation of Pippin, 454, c47.
[325] Stephen II, 454, c47: *possidendas adque disponendas.*
[326] See ref. 246.
[327] Stephen III, 477, c23: *in Grecie partibus.*

have been aware that Hieria was not a location near or in Rome, let alone on the Italian peninsula. Whilst they may not have known the precise location – opposite Constantinople on the other side of the Bosporus Strait – the fact that Author Two specifies that an iconoclastic council took place 'in Greek **lands**' associates this foreign, obviously non-Latin geography with the heresy. It is unremarkable that this locational detail is imprecise and that, instead, it most probably refers to the fact that the council was held in a location where the Greek language and Greek-language liturgies were predominant (*i.e.* Byzantium).[328] Its intent is to supply the reader with a sense of separation from Rome through indeterminate geographic distance, further supported by connotations of linguistic and liturgical difference.[329]

Finally, in the case of these two authors, there is a clear effort to aggrandise the Frankish kings over the Byzantine emperors.[330] As mentioned in the previous section, the piousness of the Frankish kings is contrasted with the iconoclastic Byzantine emperors, particularly by Author One. This is complemented by Author Two with the repeated use of official titles when referring to Frankish kings. Undeniably, the rulers of Byzantium are referred to as 'emperors' and on one occasion 'great emperors',[331] but they are never referred to in such terms as 'their Excellencies Pippin, Charles and Carloman, kings of the Franks and patricians of the Romans'.[332] The use of a superlative and formulaic title for the Frankish kings is clearly juxtaposed with the more sober labelling of Byzantine rulers. This restrained tone casts East Rome's leaders as inferior to those

[328] I adhere more to Davis' translation of a relatively imprecise geography, but Gantner argues that *greciae partes* refers more specifically to the 'heartland of the empire', 'The Label "Greeks"', 335. In either case, my argument holds; the same term is used in the prologue to the *Libri Carolini*, 'Opus Caroli contra synodum (Libri Carolini)', eds. A. Freeman and P. Meyvaert, MGH, Conc., II, ii (1998), 97: *contra synodum, que in partibus graetiae pro adorandis imaginibus stolide sive arroganter gesta est.*
[329] It is possible there is also a deeper significance to this geographic "Othering" if one follows Kaldellis' argument concerning a popularly held territorial understanding of Byzantium, *Romanland*, 83-94.
[330] Noted by Gantner, *Finsternis*, 234.
[331] Paul I, 463, c2; 464, c3; great emperors, Hadrian I, 490, c15.
[332] Stephen III, 473, c16; c17; 477-8, c26; 478, c28; Hadrian I, 488, c6; c9; 493, c22; 494, c26; c27.

of the Frankish polity. It is a presentation of a power relationship that is not compatible with the idea that the Roman imperial power centred in Constantinople is without peer.

In a more practical vein, alongside titulature that affirms and legitimises Frankish rulership, Frankish authority is also shown to be potent. In the Life of Stephen II, an imperial silentiary is described as 'achieving nothing' as he is unable to reach a resolution with the Lombards that safeguards the papacy.[333] In direct contrast, Frankish envoys are able to force Aistulf to allow the pope to travel to France.[334] Subsequently, the narrative relates how the Franks subdue Aistulf twice, protecting the newly formed *respublica Romanorum* and returning to papal control the lands the Lombards had seized from it.[335] The impotence of Byzantium is starkly contrasted with the power of the Franks. Again, the episode of the failed bribery of Pippin serves only to underscore this Byzantine ineffectualness in direct contrast to Frankish strength.[336] Furthermore, this episode neatly conveys the separation of the new papal polity, guaranteed by Frankish protection, from Byzantium. In fact, the latter is now actually undermining papal authority. Separation was a necessity now that the Roman Empire, now hardly even Roman, was unable to protect papal Rome.

Authors Three to Eleven

As stated above, Author Two does not attempt to define the papal state. This silence continues through to Author Eight and the short Life of Valentine (827). Before this, only the metonymic label of 'St. Peter' is employed.[337] There is a clear avoidance of the term *respublica*

[333] Stephen II, 446, c21.
[334] *Ibid*, c22.
[335] *Ibid*, 450-1, cc35-7; 452-3, cc43 and 46.
[336] See ref. 246.
[337] For example, Stephen III, 479, c29: 'they were together discussing St. Peter's lawful rights'.

that is part of a conceptual shift in regard to the issue of separation from Byzantium.[338] The studied avoidance of the term and failure to deal explicitly with the issue of political separation is not, however, tantamount to an unwillingness to address this question. It is part and parcel of the decision to write Byzantium out of this telling of papal history. It sought to present papal independence from the Byzantine Empire as a given. Reading the LP gives the sense that Byzantium has no role in papal affairs. That Byzantium nevertheless remained a powerful influence on the narrative is evident from the way that the LP is still shaped by Byzantium, as shown above.

As such, it is necessary to reappraise the Lives written by Authors Three to Eleven. They are not written in ignorance of Byzantium. On the contrary, they are acutely conscious of it. For during this period of silence, the implicit denial of Byzantine imperial Romanness reaches a natural crescendo with Leo III's crowning of Charlemagne. Just as with the title of patrician given to his father and brother, it is notable that Charlemagne is not referred to as the Roman emperor, or simply as emperor, but 'Emperor of the Romans'.[339] Echoing the language of earlier Lives, it is very clear as to who the Romans are and how this imperial authority conferred on Charlemagne is tied specifically to the *city* of Rome and its people even if, at the same time, it also inevitably claimed continuity with the classical past.

The legitimacy of the imperial authority of Empress Irene is left an open question. Indeed, it is telling that no justification is given for this act of imperial coronation. It is simply presented as unproblematic. Byzantium, in this act, is thus understood as something other than

[338] This conceptual shift is identified by Delogu, 'Il papato', 76-7.
[339] Leo III, II, 7, c23.

that which it claims to be. What it claims to be, that is the Roman Empire, is denied absolutely through Charlemagne's imperial coronation as 'Emperor of the Romans' by the papacy.

In the following Lives, this presentation of Frankish rulers as Emperors of the Romans is continued. In the Life of Sergius, Author Ten records how the pope was requested to swear an oath of loyalty to Louis whilst he was still king. This request is denied as loyalty can only be sworn to the emperor, to whom an oath is duly given by the pope and assembled bishops and local Roman nobles.[340] Author Eleven goes further and emphasises the "true" Roman nature of Frankish emperorship in implicit contrast to Byzantine emperorship. This episode is explored in more detail below, but, whilst adjudicating over a trial concerning a potential traitor, Louis II is described as passing judgement according to the law laid down by Roman emperors of old. [341] Again, Byzantium, or at least recent Byzantine history, and the perception of it as Roman is implicitly presented as illegitimate. The episode presents the emperors in Constantinople of recent years as not acting in a Roman manner and, therefore, not Roman. Louis' exercise of legal authority is instead placed on a continuum with an idealised and more Roman past. This Frankish emperor, in implicit contrast to his Eastern counterpart, is framed as legitimately acting as, and therefore being, a Roman emperor.

In a similar vein of looking back to an idealised, "more Roman" era, Author Eight, writer of the Life of Valentine, reimagines the *respublica Romanorum* as 'the **clergy**, the senate and people of Rome'.[342] This is a reimagining of the classical Roman socio-political construct of SPQR, *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, presented in the updated form of a conveniently Christian-

[340] Sergius II, 90, c15.
[341] See ref. 389.
[342] Valentine, II, 72, c8: *sacrum plebem et senatum populumque Romanum.*

friendly trinity.[343] This title represents a second attempt to entitle the nascent papal Roman polity. The earlier use of the term *respublica*, a more general label which had already been used in the LP itself with direct reference to the Byzantine Empire, was discarded, probably due to this connection with Byzantium.[344] The new title was centred much more closely on the urban Roman people and their connection with the papacy. Indeed, SPQR was part of the urban fabric, inscribed on the surviving monuments of imperial Rome such as the Arch of Septimius Severus (see below, Figure Four). These monuments were physical representations of the classical Roman past. The new title therefore connected this new political entity of people and papacy more closely with classical Roman history in a manner which bypassed the recent Byzantine past and to which the term *respublica* could be applied.[345] In so doing, it directly evoked the prestige of the ancient Roman state and emphasised the new local and exclusive nature of Romanness.



Figure Four – Arch of Septimius Severus

Complementary to this evocation of the physical surroundings of Rome, the authors of this section of the LP record the actions of popes within the secular, urban environment as a

[343] Author Ten actually uses the term uses the term *senatusque populus Romanus*, Sergius II, 91, c18, without referring to the clergy but it is clear that these two aspects of the Roman city are subservient to the papacy as they are described as '**praising** the most holy prelate Sergius as the author of their salvation and the restorer of peace.'
[344] Gregory III, 415, c1; Zacharias, 435, c29; Stephen II, 442, c8.
[345] Kostof, *Rome: An Urban History*, 214.

means of demonstrating papal secular and civil authority. Popes restore aqueducts,[346] provide emergency supplies in times of need,[347] and ensure provision for the needy.[348] Most important to this depiction of the popes as civil authorities is their role in restoring and building the walls and defences of the city.[349] Presenting the papacy as the primary civic benefactor and the military protector framed the institution as the legitimate authority over the city.[350] Crucially, however, this had classical precedents,[351] and this textual topographic display provided by the lists in the LP communicated to readers that the popes were the unequivocal rulers of the city.[352]

Just as with iconoclasm and papal theology discussed above, the emphasis placed in the LP on the built environment to convey papal power and authority independent of Byzantium is remarkable; it reflects how urban space could be used to communicate papal ideology. The mosaic in the Triclinium of Leo III is a good example of this. This mosaic mirrors Christ enthroned, on the left side, gifting a military standard to Constantine the Great and a *pallium* to St. Peter, and, on the other side, St. Peter enthroned gifts a military standard to Charlemagne and a *pallium* to Leo III. The parallels these mirrored images seek to evoke are clear. Charlemagne is the new Constantine, just as Hadrian I addressed him,[353] and the papacy no longer looks to the emperor in Constantinople for protection but to the ruler of the Franks. This image clearly reflects the contents of the LP that have been discussed above. That being said, the mosaic is also

[346] *E.g.* Hadrian I, 503-5, cc59, 61-2, 65; 509-10, c81; Gregory IV, II, 77, c19; Sergius II, II, 91, c21.
[347] *E.g.* Hadrian I, 513, cc94-5; Leo III, II, 9-10, cc31.
[348] *E.g.* Hadrian I, 501-2, c54; 505, c63; Leo III, II, 12, c42; 28, c90; Paschal, II, 57, c18; Gregory IV, II, 80-1, c35.
[349] *E.g.* Hadrian I, 501, c52; 513, c92; Gregory IV, II, 81-2, cc38-40; Leo IV, II, 115, c38; 127, c82.
[350] C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400-1000* (Michigan, 1989), 86-8.
[351] T. Langley, 'A *fundamentis noviter*: The Idea of the Ancient City, the Ninth-Century *Liber Pontificalis* and Civic Thought in Early Medieval Italy', eds. J. M. Jiménez and S. Ottewill-Soulsby, *Remembering and Forgetting the Ancient City* (Oxford, 2022), 49-56; McKitterick, *Invention*, 11, highlights how the LP presents Rome as being built up over the generations as in Cicero's *De re publica*.
[352] McKitterick, *Invention*, 125-7.
[353] J. Osborne, *Rome in the Ninth Century: A History in Art* (Cambridge, 2023), 26; 'Codex Carolinus', LX, 587: *ecce novus christianissimus Dei Constantinus imperator his temporibus surrexit.*

a clear representation of the separation of secular and spiritual authority,[354] perhaps reflecting old anxieties that stem from the imperial overreach on theological matters.

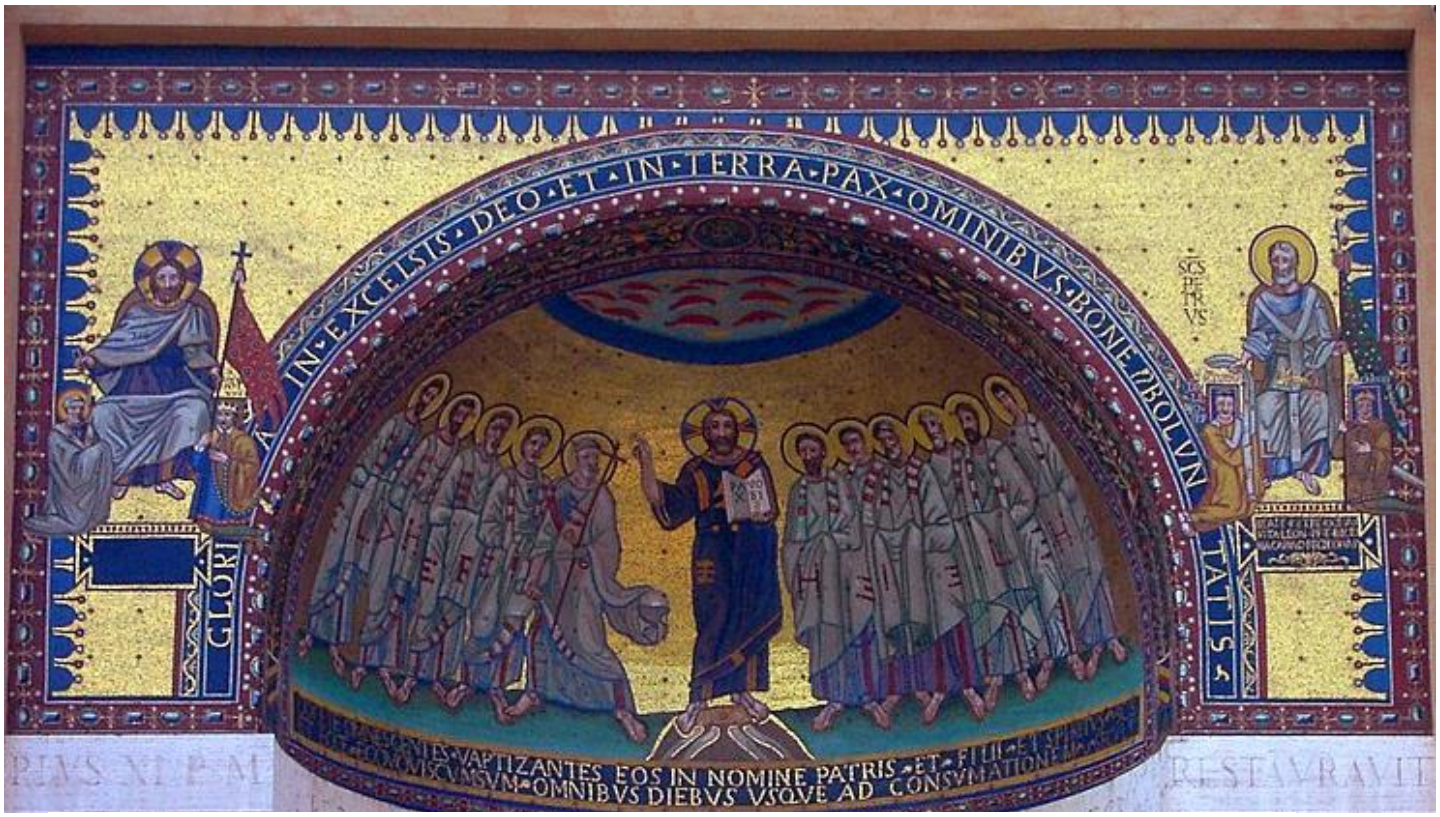


Figure Five – Triclinium of Leo III, *c.* 800

The narrative of the LP, having claimed Roman political authority and trappings for the papacy and the Frankish emperors, sought to associate papal authority and the Western Empire directly with the classical idea of Rome and so bypass recent Byzantine history. Frankish emperors are depicted as authentically Roman, popes are shown to act as authentic rulers of the city, and a new title is given to the nascent papal state that links it with an authentic Roman past that bypasses recent Byzantine history. All this served not simply to emphasise the Romanness of papal rule in Rome and Western emperorship on the one hand, but to separate further any

[354] Goodson, *Paschal I*, 20-2.

connection between papal Rome and Constantinople, and to undermine any legitimate perception of Byzantium as Roman on the other.

Ascribing Greekness

Not once between 752 and 858 is the label "Greek" explicitly used to refer to the Byzantine Empire in the LP. As discussed above, this is likely the result of the pejorative connotations of the term as well as a possible reticence to use it when so many of the Roman clergy were Greek, either linguistically or liturgically.[355] The term was already being employed in papal letters.[356] The LP, however, was a far more public production than a diplomatic epistle and was written with the intention that it would be widely disseminated and be well-known amongst an intended audience.[357] This was a work which was produced to present the history of the papacy in a certain manner to an audience.

The sole exception is the recycled phrase 'in Greek **lands**' in the Life of Hadrian I. As discussed above, this carries more of a geographic meaning than a social, cultural or political one.[358] This geographic definition is the first ascription of Greekness to Byzantium in the LP. The use of "Greek" in the LP had not previously carried any explicitly pejorative connotations; it simply expressed difference.[359] This geographic aspect of the "Othering" of Byzantium is not re-employed until the Life of Hadrian II with the explicit use of 'Greek' in relation to Byzantium.[360]

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[355] Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome*, 245; Gantner, *Finsternis*, 108; Noble, *Republic of St. Peter*, 4.
[356] See refs. 50 and 51.
[357] See *The Audience and Dissemination of the* Liber Pontificalis, 76-80.
[358] And it is thus complementary to the geographic connotations espoused by the term *respublica Romanorum*. See ref. 327 and *Authors One and Two*, 108-13.
[359] Gantner 'The Label "Greeks"', 305; Hadrian I, 493, c15.
[360] Hadrian II, II, 182-4, cc49-52, 55-6; admittedly, referring to these men as 'Easterners' is in part a bureaucratic term relating to the Eastern dioceses. Nevertheless, the emphasis here and the connection of 'Easterners' with 'Greeks' does contribute to creating a contrasting sense of "Wir-Gefühl" in the Latin audience reading this passage,

During Hadrian II's pontificate, the relationship between the papacy and Byzantium had hit a post-iconoclasm low and, as analysed below, the author of this Life is the first to attack explicitly Byzantium for its morals, its "Greekness" and its gluttony.

Author Twelve

In the Life of Benedict III, Author Twelve firstly reiterates the tripartite conception of the Roman state when he describes 'all the clergy … and the whole senate and people' going about the process of electing a new pope.[361] Subsequently, Michael III is humiliatingly referred to as the 'Emperor of the city of Constantinople' only to then be outmatched in piety and generosity by an unnamed 'king of the Saxons' (probably Æthelwulf of Wessex (839-858)[362]) who comes to Rome personally and is presented as having given up his kingdom in order to do so.[363] The Byzantine emperor is not only cast as something other than Roman, but also outmatched in generosity and piety by an unnamed king of a far-off island. An image of how mighty Byzantium had fallen is clearly shown here whilst also reimagining the Eastern Roman imperial state is reduced to something akin to a Greek city-state.

Author Twelve also continues to juxtapose Byzantine and Frankish imperialness by referring to the emperor Louis as 'Caesar'.[364] That this was being done in a consciously exclusionary manner in relation to Byzantine Romanness is revealed when the author states that

instinctively knowing they do not belong to Eastern parishes and are not in any way Greek, Herbers, 'Papst Nikolaus', 64.

[361] Benedict III, II, 140, c4: *Mox enim ut omnis clerus istius Deo Romanae protectae sedis universisque proceres cunctusque senatus hac populus Domini clementiam congregati sunt*; this tripartite concept is also seen in Nicolas I, II, 152, c7: 'Then is the city crowned, the clergy rejoice, the senate are glad and the fullness of the people magnificently rejoice.'

[362] D. Tesoroni, 'The Anglo-Saxons at Rome', *The Archaeological Review*, IV (1889), 41; Benedict III, II, 147, c33.

[363] Compare the quantity and size of gifts between Chapters Thirty-Three and Thirty-Four in Benedict III, II, 147-8.

[364] Nicolas I, II, 151-2, cc5, 7-10.

the 'Saviour's Basilica that is called Constantinian', referred to as such in many previous Lives,[365] 'took its name from Caesar'.[366] Louis II is therefore established as holding the same title as, and thus the direct successor of, Constantine the Great who founded Constantinople and the man who united the Christian Church with the Roman imperial state. Perhaps the author here seeks to clarify that any vestige of Romanness bound up in the invented title of "Emperor of the city of Constantinople" is illusory. It is an updated, textual version of the mosaic in Leo III's triclinium. The Frankish Louis II, not Michael III, rules by the same right and holds the same title as the first Christian Roman emperor.

Author Thirteen

Within the more toxic environment of the Photian Schism, Author Thirteen, who wrote the interpolations in the Life of Nicolas I and the unfinished Life of Hadrian II, is explicit in calling the Byzantine emperors "Greeks". The language of the more private and personal papal diplomatic repertoire now aligns with the more public LP.[367]

This author is vociferous in his treatment of the Byzantines and Byzantium. First, his interpolations, which deal with a number of issues, but most importantly the Photian Schism, make it clear that the 'Emperor of the city of Constantinople' is 'the Emperor of the Greeks'.[368] This title is then repeated four more times in the Life of Nicolas, fundamentally redefining the presentation of the Byzantine emperors in the LP.[369] Author Eleven had sought to assert the legitimacy of the Western claim to Roman emperorship and, in so doing, to strip Byzantium of it.

[365] *E.g.* Hadrian I, 503, c67.
[366] Nicolas I, II, 153, c12: *quae Caesareo sumpsit.*
[367] Forrai, 'Sacred Nectar', 75.
[368] Nicolas I, II, 154-5, cc18-19.
[369] *Ibid*, 158, c38; 159, c41; 165, cc72, 76.

Now, the text not only denies the Romanness of Byzantium but ascribes "Greekness" to the Byzantine imperial title to replace the Romanness that it had relinquished to the Frankish emperors. Similarly, in the Life of Hadrian, Michael III and Basil I are described as Greek emperors that rule over the 'Empire of the Greeks', a statement inserted into direct speech in the mouth of a Byzantine official, indicating that this is how Byzantines understood themselves and their own polity.[370] He goes further in this regard and belittles the Byzantine Empire twice as the 'Kingdom of the Greeks', and again, at least in one case, inserts this term into the speech of a Byzantine envoy.[371] That the author knows he is being deliberately provocative to political Byzantine self-identity is made clear when he wryly states in a passage on the conclusion of the 869/70 Eighth Ecumenical Council that the Greeks 'profoundly resent the imperial name of our Caesar'.[372]

The belittling of Byzantium is not restricted to the state. Heretofore unseen invective is employed in the presentation of Byzantines or 'Greeks'. The legates who accepted Photios' accession are said to have been bribed whilst a Byzantine embassy to Rome bearing gifts for the pope is likewise presented as a bribe, 'cunningly and jealously' aimed at confirming papal acceptance, though Pope Nicolas does not succumb to temptation.[373] It is worth reiterating that the author links this episode with 'removers of sacred images', that is the supporters of iconoclasm.[374] Byzantine immorality is intertwined with Byzantine irreligiousness.

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[370] Hadrian II, II, 177-8, c22; 184, c56.
[371] *Ibid*, 183, cc51-2.
[372] *Ibid*, 181, c43: *nomenque imperiale nostro Cesari penitus invidentibus*.
[373] For bribery of papal legates, see ref. 40; Nicolas I, II, 155, c19: 'the Emperor of the Greeks, … requested by his said envoys that the apostolic see sent its envoys to Constantinople, intent as he was on the matter of Patriarch Ignatios and of Photios the Intruder …. In this way, he wanted – cunningly and jealously as it later appeared – this Ignatios to be condemned by the judgement of the apostolic see, and to replace him in that church with the neophyte Photios.'
[374] See ref. 293.

This theme of Byzantine trickery continues in the Life of Hadrian II. At the Fourth Council of Constantinople, the record of the acts of the council is checked 'in case Greek fickleness should swinishly interpolate something false'. Indeed, an excision of a passage is discovered, proving the 'fickleness' of the Greeks who subsequently act as though it was Roman priests who edited the text.[375] A further attempt is made to edit the acts, but Roman priests are one step ahead of the Constantinopolitan clerics.[376] Finally, Khan Boris I (852-889) of Bulgaria's acceptance of the Constantinopolitan Church over the Roman is explained as the result of his having been 'persuaded with gifts and promises by the Easterners and the Constantinopolitans'.[377]

Assessing the Denial of Byzantine Romanness

Across the Lives under analysis, a clear effort to "Other" Byzantium can be seen. At first, this takes the form of denying Byzantium's Romanness in order to appropriate it for the papacy's own ends, as well as to help legitimise the political separation of the papacy from Byzantium. The first two authors attempt to separate the mental categories of Romanness and the Byzantine Empire, whilst also seeking to emphasise the geographical distance between Rome and the Greek East. Subsequently, Byzantium is deliberately ignored and treated with contemptuous silence, an approach which would suggest to a reader the irrelevance of Byzantium to the papacy. Indeed, an 'Emperor of the Romans' can seemingly be crowned without any need to refer to Byzantium.

[375] Hadrian II, II, 181, c42: *ne quid Greca levitas falsum suatim congesserit.*
[376] *Ibid*, 182, c45.
[377] *Ibid*, 185, c63: *ac postmodum per Orientales Constantinopolitanosque donis ac promissionibus persuasi*.

Nevertheless, Byzantium remains ever-present in the background, and when it rejoins the narrative, it is presented in a different light. Romanness has been wholly claimed by the papacy and the Franks. Byzantium is Greek, ruled by an 'Emperor of the Greeks'. Author Thirteen, however, goes much further than simply ascribing Greekness to Byzantium. He presents Greeks as untrustworthy, duplicitous and deceitful. The explicit pejoratives he uses for the first time in the LP denigrate the Greeks as a group. Such vitriol establishes the Greeks as inferior. The image of Byzantium has been, at least in the LP, completely reimagined since it was described as the 'Roman Empire' to which followers of the pope owe their loyalty in the Life of Gregory II.[378] It is now a foreign land of untrustworthy people.

A More Nuanced Take

The image of Byzantium that is constructed in the Lives under analysis is, however, not uniformly negative or necessarily an attempt to entirely reimagine the polity. Indeed, the label "Greek" has numerous uses, some of which can have positive applications. There is even evidence in the Life of Leo IV that it was still a widely held belief that Rome should be in alliance with Byzantium and not the Franks.

Language

The most obvious use of the term is in relation to language. Whilst this was a clear marker of difference, it is necessary to remember that Greek was the language of the New Testament, the early Church Fathers and the proceedings of the ecumenical councils; it formed

[378] Gregory II, 405-7, cc19-20; 408-9, c23.

part of the Roman liturgy.[379] When it is recorded that Leo III produced two silver shields inscribed with the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, one in Latin and the other in Greek, it is notable that in order to safeguard 'the orthodox faith', Leo used the Greek language just as the Creed was originally written in 381.[380]

Greek, then, was a sacred language.[381] This perception of Greek is reiterated when several popes established institutions specifically for the purpose of performing Greek-language liturgies. Paul I established a monastery where psalms would be chanted 'in the Greek manner';[382] Leo IV installed a community of 'monks of the Greek race' to revere the tombs of SS. Stephen and Cassian;[383] Benedict III instituted readings in 'Greek and Latin' into the liturgical calendar.[384] Such a treatment of the language and the Greek liturgy does not suggest a wholly negative attitude towards all things Greek.

Alongside this sacred aspect of the Greek language is its value as a language of learning and authority. This is seen primarily in the Lives of Sergius II and Leo IV. When Louis II is welcomed to Rome, the LP describes how the various *scholae* sang praises to him. Only the Greek *schola* is singled out as being 'most learned' and chanting 'imperial praises'.[385] In a

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[379] Herbers, 'Papst Nikolaus', 62; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, 64.
[380] Davies, *Ninth-Century Popes*, 219-20, ref. 171; Leo III, II, 26, c84: *Hic vero pro amore cautela ortodoxe fidei fecit.*
[381] Forrai, 'Sacred Nectar', 71; not a surprising perspective when Greek was one of the three sacred languages of alongside Hebrew and Latin, W. Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter. Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Bern, 1980), 32; *Etymologiae*, IX, i, 3.
[382] Paul, 465, c5: *Ubi et monachorum congregationem constituens grece modulationibus psalmodie cynovium esse decrevit.*
[383] Leo IV, II, 113, c30: *monasterium … restaurans … in quo etiam sanctae conversationis plures greco consituit monachos genere.*
[384] Benedict III, II, 147, 32: *in quo grecas et latinas lectiones die sabbato sancto Paschae simulque sabbato Pentecostem subdiaconi legere soliti sunt scriptas adiungi praecepit.*
[385] Sergius II, II, 88, c9: *aliosque militia edoctissimus Grecos, imperatorias laudes decantantes*; interestingly Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches*, 143, has identified the Byzantine titles of αὐτοκράτωρ and βασιλεύς being applied to King Louis III of West Frankia (879-882) in a Carolingian manuscript containing *laudes*, Metz, Bibliothèque municipal, Cod. 351, fol. 78r; Sarti, Orbis Romanus, 154.

similar vein, the author of the Life of Leo IV includes a miraculous tale about Leo IV banishing a monster from the catacombs beneath Rome, 'a serpent called *basilisk* in Greek and *regulus* in Latin'.[386] This almost didactic approach is a display of the author's knowledge of both languages, an aspect praised in several popes' Lives. Knowledge of Greek was a mark of distinction and learning. Perhaps there is even an aspect of superiority to Greek over Latin.[387]

The Trial of Gratian the *superista*

At the end of Leo IV's Life, there is an episode concerning a trial. A certain Gratian the *superista* is accused of having openly spoken about his wish for Rome to return to the Byzantine fold.[388] A certain Daniel claims that Gratian had said to him '"the Franks do no good for us and … violently steal what is ours. Why do we not call on the Greeks, strike a peace treaty with them and expel the king and race of the Franks from our kingdom and lordship?"'. Emperor Louis II 'inflamed with unbounded fury' rushes to Rome with all haste, 'without even sending letters'. After formalities are observed, a trial is held and it is discovered that Gratian has been falsely accused by Daniel. Louis, '[following] what had been laid down by the old *Augusti*, bade them [the Romans] to judge him [Daniel] according to Roman law.'[389]

[386] Leo IV, II, 110, c18: *serpens, qui Basiliscus grece, latine regulus dicitur.*
[387] Forrai, 'Sacred Nectar'.
[388] The rank of *superista* is equivalent to that of a *vicedominus* and oversaw the papal palace, Goodson, *Paschal I*, 15.
[389] Leo IV, II, 134, cc110-12: *quidam Danihel … dicens imperatori: 'Gratiano, Romanae urbis superista, quem erga vos fidelem esse creditis, mihi soli in domo sua nimium super Francos murmurans dixit secrete quia Franci nobis nichil boni faciunt, … sed magis quae nostra sunt violenter tollunt. Quare non advocamus Grecos et cum eis faedus pacis conponentes Francorum regem et gentem de nostro regno et dominatione expellimus?' Quo audito, mox praedictus imperator inmensi furore accensus, sine litteris etiam ad Romanum directis pontificem et senatum, Romam venire velociter procuravit. … ilico clementissimus imperator, nolens contra instituta veterum Augustorum peragere Romanorum, eos secundum Romanam legem instituit iudicare.*

Whilst this episode ostensibly demonstrates the Romanness of Louis' emperorship, it highlights the hollowness of the representation of Byzantium as something other than Roman in the LP.[390] A significant concern is betrayed by the Carolingian leadership that the project of denying Byzantine Romanness and usurping it for themselves was not as effective as hoped; that it was feared to be fragile. Louis rushes to Rome 'without even sending letters', behaving as someone frightened and uncertain of his position. In addition, the depiction of Louis acting according to Roman law is meant to affirm the inherent Romanness of his *imperium*. Yet this should go without saying. The very fact that the author is compelled to assert that this emperor is acting like the 'old *Augusti*' speaks to the insecurity surrounding the Romanness of the Frankish emperorship. Louis' rushing and the author's over-zealousness in depicting Louis as a Roman emperor betray that those who sought to affirm the Romanness of the Western emperorship were anxious about the validity and wider acceptance of this assertion.

In a similar vein, the specific reference to the Greek *schola* singing imperial praises further raises the question of the extent to which Byzantine cultural products were associated with Roman imperialness if the mention of them is meant to enhance the imperial nature of Louis II as a Roman emperor. Clearly, it was still possible to perceive Byzantium and Byzantine culture as possessing aspects of Roman *imperium* in ninth-century, papal Rome.

[390] Certainly, acting according to Roman precedent was a means of legitimising rulership beyond just the medieval Western Empire, see A. Rabin, 'Bede, Æthelberht and the 'example of the Romans' in Early Medieval England', EME (2023), 563-84.

Conclusion

The LP attempts to deny Byzantium's claim to Romanness and to undermine its perception as legitimately Roman. In so doing, it constructs a particular image of Byzantium and the Byzantines which is fundamentally consistent from the Life of Stephen II onwards. At first glance, Byzantium is intentionally made to appear peripheral to papal history. A closer look, however, reveals the silence on the Eastern Roman Empire is only superficial. Thorough examination uncovers a conscious and continuous silent polemic that actively denigrates Byzantium. This denigration makes it possible to reimagine the Eastern Roman Empire as "Greek" and to delegitimise its claim to Romanness. The LP does this primarily in order to justify the papal alliance with the Carolingians as well as the political separation of papal Rome from Byzantium.[391]

This is achieved by emphasising both imagined and real distance and difference between papal Rome and the Eastern Roman Empire. Consistent reference is made to the heretical tendencies of the Byzantine imperial institution. In particular, the emphasis on iconoclasm as an Eastern, "Greek" tendency is fundamental to the "Othering" of Byzantium in the LP and the denial of its claim to Romanness.[392] As Englen has rightly pointed out, iconoclasm fundamentally undermined the perception of Byzantium as the ideal universal Christian Roman Empire.[393] Despite the fact that emperors were not qualified to determine theological issues on their own account, iconoclasm was a distinctly imperially-led heresy.[394] Inextricably intertwined

[391] In so doing, as Rosamond McKitterick has rightly argued, the LP thus presents the popes as rulers of Rome.
[392] Sarti, '*Romanus* to *Graecus*', 143-6.
[393] Englen, 'La difesa delle immagini', 261.
[394] Hartmann, 'Die *Cathedra Petri*', 172.

with orthodox Christianity, Romanness is thus claimed by the papacy and bestowed upon the more pious Frankish emperors. Lacking Romanness, Byzantium and the Byzantines are recast as "Greek".

In achieving this denial, the LP does not limit itself to theological issues. For instance, it presents papal Rome as a territory separate from the Byzantine Empire and attempts to employ labels as such that emphasise the city of Rome's direct connection with the classical past; it bypasses the Byzantine interlude by employing labels that evoke the classical Roman Republic. Moreover, the Byzantines are represented as inferior to the Franks. Initially, Frankish kings are aggrandised and referred to by their full titles, in contrast to the far-away emperors in Constantinople. They are presented as militarily capable in comparison to the ineffective words of Byzantine imperial envoys. Byzantine impiety is even set up to a considerable extent in contrast to Frankish orthodoxy. Later in the LP, authors double down on the contrast between the Franks and Byzantines, albeit less on a religious grounding and, instead, on more of a political one. Charlemagne is crowned specifically as 'Emperor of the Romans' and Louis II is described as acting like an 'ancient Augustus of the Romans', an expression that is also meant to bypass more recent holders of the Roman imperial title (*i.e.* the Byzantines).[395]

Yet not everything that is Byzantine or labelled as "Greek" in the LP is inherently negative. Indeed, there are positive aspects of Greekness as understood by the authors in this pontifical work. Above all, what is most telling and revealing of the extent to which the denialist and denigrating image of Byzantium is being consciously constructed is the evident cognitive dissonance that the final episode in the Life of Leo IV unveils. To a certain extent, this can also

[395] For Charlemagne, see ref. 339; for Louis II, see ref. 389.

be seen inferred from the reference to the Greek *schola* uniquely singing imperial praises. However hard the leading political forces in papal Rome and Francia had tried since the separation of 752 or the crowning of 800 to present the Carolingian emperors as Roman and to deny the Byzantine Empire its claim to the Roman mantle, it was evidently still possible to perceive Byzantium, if not Byzantines, as Roman.

Nevertheless, the LP was to have an extremely powerful influence on Western conceptions of the papacy, and, by extension, of the characters and polities that its narrative relates. Ultimately, whilst there does not appear to be any articulated version or explicit formulation of it, a general ideological programme does seem to have guided the authors down the course they follow in the LP.[396] Lives may deal with the Byzantine question in different ways, yet the image of Byzantium progressively, if haphazardly, moves away from the way it is defined in the Life of Gregory II, as the 'Roman Empire'. By the time of the final Lives, the Byzantine emperor is the 'Emperor of the Greeks', unable to compete in wealth and generosity with an unnamed Saxon king and ruling over a fickle people. It is this image that would come to define Byzantium in the Western imagination in the following centuries.[397]

[396] Noble reached a similar conclusion in his survey of papal art and building programme in the eighth and ninth centuries, 'Topography, Celebration and Power', 45-91.
[397] Kaldellis, *Romanland*, 12.

CHAPTER TWO

Section One - The Provenance of the *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*

In this section of the thesis, I examine the image of Byzantium constructed in the LPER. At an explicit albeit superficial level, the LPER communicates a negative perception of Byzantium. Yet when a number of passages are placed in their historical context and compared with each other, a rather different image emerges. In fact, the LPER attests a Ravennan sense of shared identity with, unspoken loyalty towards and nostalgia for the rule of the Eastern Roman Empire. Though theological differences are important components of the image of the Byzantine Empire constructed in the LPER, three key messages are nevertheless communicated: Byzantium is the Roman Empire; the author is nostalgic for the imperial rule of Constantinople; Ravenna is partly connected with a socio-cultural sphere in the Upper Adriatic which entailed a certain a sense of shared identity with Byzantium.[398]

What is the Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*?*

The LPER is a history of the Ravennan see from its legendary founding in the first century AD by St. Apollinaris, a disciple of St. Peter, to Archbishop George (*c.*837-*c.*846). It is written in the form of serial biographies of the incumbent bishops. Produced in batches of Lives (*i.e.* biographies) over more than a decade of writing between *c.*830 and *c.*846, it is the primary

[398] This is far removed from the understanding that Agnellus' perspective of the Byzantines is limited to 'a few rude phrases about the poisonous words of the Greeks', Wickham, 'Ninth-Century Byzantium', 251; or 'contempt' for Byzantium, Brown, 'Byzantine Italy', 337; or that Agnellus 'had no time whatsoever for Byzantines', *idem*, '*Romanitas* and *Campanilismo*', 109.

literary source for late antique and early medieval Ravenna. The author, Andreas Agnellus, was a clergyman of high social and ecclesiastical rank. Claiming to respond to the lack of a Ravennan history, his work primarily concerns advancing Ravennan archiepiscopal autonomy from the papacy and promoting clerical rights against overbearing bishops.

Who was Agnellus of Ravenna?

Andreas Agnellus was a Church-educated cleric of the Ravennan see, having entered the clergy around the time when he inherited the *monasterium* of St. Mary's *ad Blachernas* during childhood.[399] This clerical education led him into the ranks of notaries of the Ravennan ecclesiastical administration. He certainly seems to have a particular interest in this group as, through the aforementioned letter of Pope Felix IV (526-530), he provides details of the notarial organisation in the Ravennan Church.[400] This would also account for his relatively high level of literacy and access to several documentary sources, discussed below.

Whilst writing the LPER between his late twenties and his forties,[401] he reached the tenth highest rank in the Ravennan see.[402] This position may have involved oversight of construction

[399] LPER, 171, c25, he describes himself as 'raised at the breast of the holy Ursiana Church'; 348, c167: 'he **bestowed** this *monasterium* of St. Mary, which is called *ad Blachernas* on the priest Andrew, who was still a boy.'; *monasterium* will be left untranslated. It is unclear what precisely is meant by this term in the LPER. It could be a monastery, a church, a chapel or an oratory, Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 1, ref. 2; see also the brief discussion of E. Morini, 'Monastic Life and Its Institutions', CBI, 109-10; DMLBS, II, 2185, states a *monasterium* can be, 1) a dwelling of an anchorite, 2) a monastic community, 3) a college or community of secular canons, 4) a church, 5) an aggregate of monastic estates; the second entry under *monasterium* in Blaise also mentions it meaning 'the collection of holdings of a monastery.'

[400] See ref. 435; D. M. Deliyannis, 'The Social Sphere of Writing: Manuscripts, Inscriptions and Papyri', ed. S. Cosentino, *Ravenna and the Traditions of Late Antique and Early Byzantine Craftsmanship: Labour, Culture and the Economy* (Berlin, 2020), 198.

[401] LPER, 219, c54: 'Today it has been thirty-two years and ten months since I came forth from the womb', given that this was written *c.*834, it is possible to estimate his age in the mid-840s.

[402] *Ibid*, 250, c83: 'then [Archbishop Petronax] said to the tenth priest in the order of **his** see, by the name of Agnellus who is called Andreas'.

works. This is inferred from Agnellus detailing his role in the removal of a porphyry sarcophagus for the Emperor Lothar (817-855) in 829/30 and his supervision of workmen in the excavation of the body of St. Maximian, *c.*833.[403] Moreover, a miracle in the Life of Maximian involving an *archiergatus*, a 'master of works',[404] and the use of numerous technical terms imply he had some knowledge of and affinity with construction work.[405]

Alongside the *monasterium* of St. Mary, Agnellus also inherited the *monasterium* of St. Bartholomew from his uncle and possessed a further property in the city.[406] Thus, Agnellus was a *nobilis*, a term used in the LPER to refer to landowners and the social elite, as opposed to *ignobilis* for the unlanded.[407]

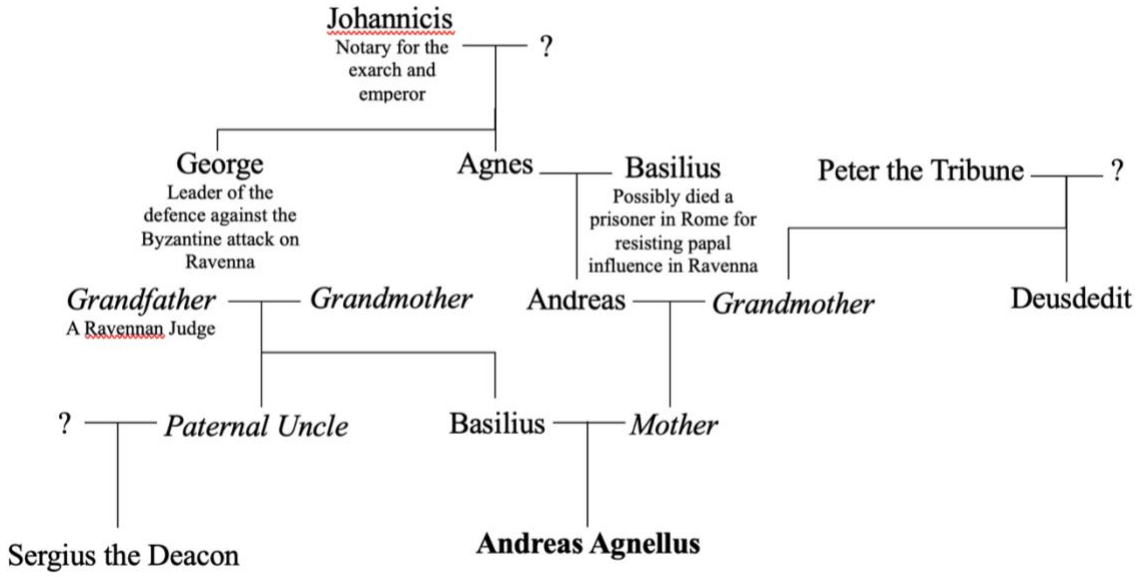
To emphasise his pedigree, Agnellus resorted to the classic medieval trope of interweaving his family's deeds into the LPER.[408] The information provided on his ancestry, however, appears confused. Agnellus seemingly provides two different lineages for himself, likely stemming from a corruption introduced in the textual transmission. In the first instance, Agnellus writes, 'Johannicis bore Agnes, Agnes produced Andrew. From Andrew of Basilius was born Basilius who bore Andreas the priest [the author].' He follows this by saying 'we will set forth what his [Johannicis'] notary … told **about** him to his grandson, the son of his daughter,

[403] LPER, 250, c83 and 284, c113.
[404] A transliteration of the Greek term, ἀρχι-ἐργάτης, S. Lazard, 'De l'origine hellénismes d'Agnello', *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, XL (1976), 290; Deliyannis, BPCR, 312.
[405] LPER, 242, c73; Deliyannis, BPCR, 189, ref. 12.
[406] St. Mary's, LPER, 140; 173, c26; 291, c119; 339, c162; St. Bartholomew's, 281, c110; 312, c136; 327, c149; 336, c158; his house, 196, c39; 245, c77.
[407] E. M. Schoolman, 'Nobility, Aristocracy and Status in Early Medieval Ravenna', *Ravenna*, 220; LPER, 304, c129: *omnes nobiles et ignobiles.*
[408] For example, the story of Johannicis and his son, George, in the conflict between Ravenna and Justinian II, LPER, 291-2, c120; 312-26, cc137-48.

Andrew by name, as we said, my grandfather, the father of my mother'.[409] Clearly, these two sentences do not make sense together.

Elsewhere, Agnellus writes that his paternal cousin was Sergius, who left him St. Bartholomew's *monasterium*, and that the grandfather of his father was a noble Ravennate judge. Crucially, however, we are informed in the Life of John VI (*c.*726-*c.*744) of the death of the uncle of Agnellus' mother, a certain Deusdedit, the son of the tribune, Peter, and that this Deusdedit was the brother-in-law (*cognatus*) of Andrew (Agnellus' grandfather), and that a certain Basilius provided money for the funeral.[410] The closeness of the families and the coincidence in names allow the error in the text to be identified, supported by the assumption that it is easier to make one error than several, which provides the following family tree:

Figure Six – Agnellus of Ravenna's Family Tree



[409] LPER, 324, c146: *Iohanicis Agnem genuit, Agnes Andream procreauit. Ex Andrea Basilii natus est Basilius, qui genuit Andream presbiterum, … sed quae eius notarius, …, ad eius nepotem, filium filiae suae, Andream, ut diximus, nomine, auus meus, pater matris meae, de eo retulit, … proferamus*.
[410] *Ibid*, 340-1, c163; for a discussion of the meaning of *cognatus*, see Deliyannis, BPCR, 7-9.

Agnellus is keen to display his erudition by including numerous epigraphical references and frequent etymologies or translations of Greek names and words into Latin.[411] This is not to say that Agnellus was fluent in Greek or possessed a universal care for art and architecture.[412] But these details do attest prestige associated with the Greek language, and he appears to have taken some intellectual interest in art and architecture.[413] Furthermore, the many "Graecisms" his writing contains reveal something of the Byzantine influence on Ravenna and perhaps a certain nostalgia for the Byzantine Empire. It may also partially explain his idiosyncratic writing style which compares strangely with Latin written around the same time across the Carolingian West.[414] Nonetheless, his learnedness appears impressive within the context of an increasingly peripheral, ninth-century Ravenna.[415]

In summary, Agnellus was a well-educated and relatively skilled antiquarian, descended from a notable line of Ravennans with a not insignificant amount of property. Raised within the Church, he climbed its ranks, eventually becoming an apparent champion of a faction of clerics who opposed episcopal dominance, and an advocate for Ravennan episcopal autonomy from the papacy.

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[411] LPER, c1, c4, c6, c11, c13, c47, c55, c86, c98.
[412] *Ibid*, 196, c39; Lazard, 'De l'Origine', 255-98.
[413] This makes Agnellus an invaluable source for art history, e.g. H. L. Gonin, Excerpta Agnelliana*: The Ravennate* Liber Pontificalis *as a Source for the History of Art* (Utrecht, 1933); C. Nauerth, *Agnellus von Ravenna: Untersuchungen zur archäologischen Methode des ravennatischen Chronisten* (Munich, 1974); F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna: Hauptstadt des Spätantike Abendlandes*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 1969).
[414] Ravenna was connected to Italian writing culture, Deliyannis, 'Social Sphere', 195; for more on Carolingian historical writing see, R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2009); D. Ganz, 'Book Production in the Carolingian Empire and the Spread of Carolingian Miniscule', NCMH, II, 786-808; J. Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture', NCMH, II, 709-25.
[415] Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 24.

Why was the Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis *Written?*

As an ecclesiastical history written in the form of serial biography, the LPER is one of the earliest products of the *gesta episcoporum* genre.[416] The archetype for this genre is the LP. However, the LPER was not consciously created within the confines of a formalised historiographical genre. The LP was the only precedent known to Agnellus.[417] Thus, the LPER must be read considering how it relates to the LP specifically and not as part of the genre as a whole.[418]

At a fundamental level, the LPER adheres to its Roman predecessor: the basic structure of serial biographies of bishops starting with a founding saint; a formulaic structure to individual Lives with the minimum inclusion of a name; the length of reign and the place of burial; mentioning of career within the Church prior to becoming bishop (when the information is known); the inclusion of encomia at the beginning of a Life.[419] Such mirroring of the LP casts the LPER as an equivalent, arguably even derivative, work. [420]

Yet the LPER also differs from the LP in several crucial aspects. It lacks the emphasis on patronage of building works, replacing this with an emphasis on miracles and sermonettes;[421] bishops are judged primarily not on theological orthodoxy but on their treatment of the clergy of

[416] For a definition of *gesta episcoporum*, Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, 32-3.
[417] The LPER was not the only work of the *gesta episcoporum* genre written by the mid-ninth century, the *Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium*, ed. D. G. Waitz, MGH, SS rer. Germ., X (1852), 531-51 and the *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, MGH, SS res. Lang., 398-436; Agnellus is very unlikely to have read either of them but may have been aware of the former, D. M. Deliyannis, 'The *Liber Pontificalis* of the Church of Ravenna: Its Relation with its Roman Model', eds. Bougard and Sot, Liber*,* Gesta*, histoire*, 283.
[418] Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 33.
[419] Deliyannis, BPCR, 20-9.
[420] *Ibid*, 20-1.
[421] I borrow here the term used by Deliyannis to describe the diminutive sermon-like passages interspersed throughout the work, LPER, 22.

Ravenna and their efforts to increase autonomy from the Roman see; lengths of episcopal reigns are placed at the end of a Life rather than at the start; physiognomic descriptions are provided as part of the introductory formula to each Life.[422] The LPER clearly deviates from its archetype.

Thus, the very structure of the LPER reveals its conscious formulation as simultaneously equivalent with and divergent from the LP. This tension between similarity and difference between the LPER and the LP underscores one of the two principal themes of Agnellus' work: promoting Ravennan episcopal autonomy from Roman pontifical oversight whilst maintaining doctrinal uniformity.

Agnellus' work excoriates bishops who fail to protect Ravenna's privileges and status against papal overreach.[423] In turn, it lauds those bishops who do enhance and justly exercise the rights of the Ravennan see.[424] The historic rivalry between the Ravennan and Roman churches as the primary sees in Italy is evidenced from at least the sixth century.[425] By Agnellus' time, however, these tensions had expanded into the secular political sphere with authority contested over the Exarchate of Ravenna, the territory that had been directly under the control of the Byzantine exarch pre-751.[426] In the LPER, this manifests most notably in how Agnellus rewrites the secular political past. Attila the Hun (434-453) marches not on Rome, but Ravenna, only to

[422] This is seen solely in the LP in the Life of Conon, 368, c2; Deliyannis, BPCR, 24.
[423] E.g. Archbishop Theodore, LPER, 288-90, cc117-8; 298-9, c124.
[424] E.g. Bishop Ecclesius, *ibid*, 231, c61.
[425] *Reg. Epist.*, III, liv, 210-4; V, xi, 291-2; xv, 295-6; V. O. West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice: Byzantine Heritage, Imperial Present and the Construction of City Identity* (Oxford, 2020), 78; Ravenna normally remained theologically aligned with Rome such as in the Three Chapters/Istrian Schism, R. A. Markus, 'Rome and Ravenna, 554-604', *Byzantion*, LI (1981), 573, and the Christological issues in the late-sixth and seventh century, T. S. Brown, 'The Church of Ravenna and the Imperial Administration in the Seventh Century', EHR, XCIV (1979), 17.
[426] For territory of the exarchate see G. Fasoli, 'Il dominio territoriale degli arcivescovi di Ravenna fra l'VIII e l'XI secolo', eds. C. G. Mor and H. Schmidinger, *I poteri temporali dei vescovi in Italia e in Germania nel Medioevo* (Bologna, 1979), 87-140, esp. 87, 91-104 for Agnellus' lifetime; West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, 193.

be swayed towards peace by the pious actions of Archbishop John I (477-494).[427] Even more spuriously, Agnellus writes that it was in fact the Ravennan bishop, Leo (*c.*770-778), who first invited the Franks into Italy to attack the Lombards, not Stephen II.[428] Ravenna replaces Rome as the centre around which the great events of the Italian peninsula occur. Indeed, in the Life of John I, Agnellus writes that Valentinian III (425-455) literally 'ordered and decreed Ravenna should be the head of Italy in place of Rome'.[429]

One further aspect in which the LPER differs from the LP, and the *gesta episcoporum* genre more widely, is that it is not an official history.[430] In the prefatory verses attached to the work, likely written contemporaneously by an unknown author who knew Agnellus and refers to himself as 'least of the scholars',[431] it is stated that a 'crowd of Ravennan priests came together, among whom was one called Andreas [Agnellus], whom his brothers, …, besought to write this pontifical book.'[432] Agreeing, Agnellus similarly states that he was 'asked and urged by the brothers of this see'.[433] Agnellus' work clearly did not receive official sanction but instead it did receive the backing of a group of clerics.

Thus, both the primary audience and the second principal theme of the LPER are revealed: clerics and clericalism. That is, a local tension, expressed forthrightly by Agnellus at

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[427] LPER, 189-95, c37; Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 101-19; this rewriting is also an example of the multiple chronological mishaps Agnellus commits throughout the LPER (e.g. Attila invaded Italy in 452, decades before John I's episcopate).
[428] LPER, 338, c160: 'He first showed to the Franks the route into Italy through his deacon, Martin.'
[429] From the forged, mid-seventh century Diploma of Valentinian III, *ibid*, 199, c40: *et iussit atque decreuit ut absque Roma Rauenna esset caput Italiae*; A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantin du VIIe siècle: l'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* (Rome, 1969), 168.
[430] 'Official' defined, in this instance, as bearing institutional sanction; Deliyannis, BPCR, 21, ref. 6; I concur with Pizarro that this is also a further reason why the LPER ought to be interpreted as *sui generis* and having more in common with the LP rather than with other works belonging to the *gesta episcoporum* genre, *Writing Ravenna*, 34-5.
[431] LPER, 139: *minimus scholasticorum*.
[432] *Ibid*, 143: *Fortuitu quondam uenisse presbiterorum/ Turba Rauennatum simul, inter quos fuit unus/ Andreas citus, fratres quem uoce precati/ Demissa scripsisse qui quo Pontificalem.*
[433] *Ibid*, 185, c32: *rogatus et coactus a fratribus ipsius sedis*.

the urging of his like-minded colleagues, between the rights of the Ravennan clergy in opposition to episcopal domination. Throughout the LPER, bishops are either praised or criticised based on their relationship with and treatment of the clergy.[434] As referred to above, Agnellus' inclusion of a letter from Pope Felix IV, the sole document recorded in its entirety in the LPER, which deals with the rights and organisation of the clergy in Ravenna and the pastoral role of the bishop over them, speaks to the importance of this issue trumping even Agnellus' erstwhile anti-papal sentiment.[435] Indeed, when Agnellus lacks historical source material, he often wrote a sermonette or ascribed a miracle that pertains to the issue of what the ideal of a bishop ought to be.[436] Moreover, Agnellus used these sermonettes as a means to communicate the underlying arguments that run through the LPER: Ravennan ecclesiastical autonomy from papal oversight; clerical rights in the face of overbearing bishops; and, as is shown below, anti-Frankish and pro-Byzantine sentiments.

Agnellus' bemoaning of episcopal tyrannising of clerical rights is not just political but personal. Early on in his episcopate, Archbishop George usurped from Agnellus the *monasterium* of St. Bartholomew.[437] Written around the same time as George's elevation, the Lives of Marinian (595-606), John III (606-625) and John IV (625-631) contain precious little

[434] See for example the comparison with contemporary bishops and praising of Ecclesius, LPER, 225, c58; Marinian, 268-9, c100; John III, 275-7, c105; for negative descriptions see George, 351, c171; 357, c175; for positive descriptions, Liberius III praised for his humility amongst the clergy, 168-9, c22; Ursus praised for not committing simony, 169, c23.
[435] *Ibid*, 226-31, c60.
[436] C. Nauerth, *Agnellus.* Liber Pontificalis*, Bischofsbuch*, I (Freiburg, 1996), 25.
[437] Agnellus' uncle was also deprived of property by John VI, LPER, 340, c163.

information concerning the bishops themselves but offer instead a broadside at an unnamed bishop who is a contemporary of Agnellus.[438]

In a similar vein, the particularly strident, anti-papal tone taken by Agnellus may have been directly influenced by Archbishop Petronax (818-837) whose Life is missing from the LPER. A contemporary of Agnellus and bishop during the first stage of writing, Petronax appears to have had a policy of rapprochement with the papacy.[439] Petronax's actions likely reflect the growing authority of the Roman see in the late-eighth and early-ninth centuries, fundamental as it was to the legitimacy of the dominant western power, the Carolingians. Agnellus' writings, in turn, reflect a reaction to this acquiescence in papal overlordship combined with a strong localist strain.[440] Personal, familial enmity may also have influenced Agnellus' attitude towards the papacy. His great-grandfather, who, having been involved in plans to preserve Ravennan independence from Rome, was imprisoned and died in papal custody.[441]

Thus, though encouraged to express these views and writing for an audience that was receptive to these perspectives of clericalism and anti-papalness, Agnellus' own desire to write the LPER must be noted.[442] His voice appears frequently throughout the narrative, at times to reveal his lineage and learning,[443] at others to cast judgements and broadcast his opinions in

[438] LPER, 268-78, cc99-107; P. Kershaw argues that the Life of Gratiosus can also be read as criticism of George, 'Laughter after Babel's Fall: Misunderstanding and Miscommunication in the Ninth-Century West', ed. G. Halsall, *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2009), 188.
[439] T. S. Brown, 'Louis the Pious and the Papacy, A Ravenna Perspective', eds. P. Godman and R. Collins, *Charlemagne's Heir, New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (Oxford, 1990), 304; Deliyannis, 'Roman Model', 286.
[440] T. S. Brown, '*Romanitas* and *Campanilismo*: Agnellus of Ravenna's View of the Past', eds. C. Holdsworth and T. P. Wiseman, *The Inheritance of Historiography, 350-900* (Liverpool, 2014), 110-12.
[441] LPER, 336-7, c158.
[442] Deliyannis, LPER, 9.
[443] For Agnellus and his lineage see Figure Six, 134; translation of Greek to Latin, LPER, 150, c4; 151, c6; 153, c11; 154-5, c13; 167, c18; 253, c86.

sermonettes scattered throughout the work.[444] Agnellus even presents the work as his own idea when he writes, 'because **I finally began** [the work] **by** your urgings**, though not** long ago I **intimated it to** your ears that I ought to produce something from what has been told to me about the [Ravennan] see.'[445]

Accompanying these two main strands of thought is also the fundamental purpose of producing the LP and, by extension, a *gesta episcoporum*: to reinforce and perpetuate the legitimacy of an ecclesiastical institution through demonstrating unbroken succession from an ancient foundation, consistent orthodoxy and divine sanction.[446] Agnellus presents the Ravennan see and bishops, whatever the flaws of their characters, as continuously orthodox.[447] He displays this orthodoxy in a similar manner as the LP. For instance, just as the 325 First Council of Nicaea is centred upon St. Sylvester in the LP, the 451 Council of Chalcedon is centred upon Bishop Peter I Chrysologus (*c.*431-450) in the LPER.[448] To emphasise this connection, St. Euphemia, martyred during Diocletian's persecution and who was connected with the definition of orthodox Christology at the council of 451, is mentioned three times by Agnellus.[449] The LPER also describes the Ravennans casting out heretics using the same euphemistic language as

[444] Sermonettes: LPER, 164-6, c18; 225, c58; 233-5, c64; 237-8, c68; 254-5, c88; 265-6, c97; 268-9, c100; 271-7, c104-5; 279-80, c109; 343-8, c166.
[445] *Ibid*, 146: *quod uobis urguentibus semel incoepi dudum enim auribus uestris intimaui, quam de supradicta sede aliquid facere debeam quod michi narratum fuit.*
[446] For more see *What is the* Liber Pontificalis*?*, 56-61; LPER, 139: 'In Ravenna, for eight hundred years, the inactive pen of the writers long neglected to narrate as a matter of course (passim) how their bishops regulated their kindly lives'.
[447] E.g. LPER, 150, c4: 'He **truly** preached **without error**'; 210, c49, Ravenna is described as 'such an orthodox see'; 253, c86, Arian churches are reconciled to orthodoxy.
[448] *Ibid*, 208-10, c48; Agnellus mistakes Peter II for Peter I, so the chronology of events in the LPER is false.
[449] *Ibid*, 148, c1; 153, c8; 349, c168; there were a further four churches in Ravenna dedicated to Euphemia making her a particularly revered saint in the city, T. S. Brown, 'The 'Political' Use of the Cult of Saints in Early Medieval Ravenna', eds. S. de Gregorio and P. Kershaw, *Cities, Saints and Communities in Early Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Alan Thacker* (Turnhout, 2020), 57; Deichmann, *Ravenna: Hauptstadt*, II, iii, 177.

the LP.[450] The divine favour that blesses Ravenna because of its orthodoxy is shown through the many miracles that Agnellus inserts into the historical narrative even when they do not strictly relate to the relevant bishop. These miracles progressively magnify the holiness of the bishopric by providing an ever-increasing saintly aura around it.

In summary, the LPER emulates the LP, providing a historical narrative of the Ravennan see through a series of biographies of its bishops. Agnellus aims to enhance the reputation of the Ravennan see and, in so doing, crafts an ideal image of what a bishop ought to do and be that reflects his own opinions as well as those of the ones that encouraged him to write the work: to promote and protect Ravennan episcopal autonomy against Roman papal overbearing and to respect the rights of the Ravennan clergy.

On the Question of Writing

An in-depth analysis of Agnellus' writing style falls outside the scope of this study. It is important, however, to note that the LPER is a complex narrative with a unique writing style.[451] The LPER employs several rhetorical and narratological devices, and the narrative contains a powerful authorial presence that enhances the polemical nature of what might otherwise be understood as an objective institutional history of the Ravennan see narrated through the biographies of its incumbent bishops.

[450] Referring to heretics as 'Manicheans', LPER, 247, c79; for analysis of this in the LP, see Cohen, 'Schism', 195-230.
[451] Pizarro uses the term 'odd', *Writing Ravenna*, 23; Giovanni Assorati describes it as containing 'very vulgar language' with 'stylistic lapses', 'Note sull'istruzione superiore nella Ravenna tardoantica e alto medievale', eds. B. Girotti and C. R. Raschle, *Città e capitali nella tarda antichità* (Milan, 2020), 131.

In part, there appears to have been a need for a more literary aspect to this history. In the Life of Exuperantius (*c.*473-477), Agnellus addresses his audience directly and states: 'when I found out what [the bishops] certainly did, these things were brought to your attention … and when I did not discover any history … I constructed their lives; and I believe I have not lied.'[452] Subsequent to this, Agnellus addresses critics who are curious about his sources and who are concerned about the length of the LPER.[453] Clearly, Agnellus felt it necessary to expand the work into something more than just a work of history.[454]

Agnellus' inability to produce a satisfactory historical narrative for his contemporaries is, to a considerable extent, due to the lack of source material available to him. He writes in several biographies that he has discovered very little about the relevant bishop and mentions fires destroying archives during the episcopates of Damian (692-708) and Theodore (677-691).[455] In addition, the sieges of Ravenna by Odoacer in 476, Belisarius' recapture of the city in 539/40 and by the Lombards in 751 likely contributed to losses of documentary materials.[456] Agnellus clearly suffered from a lack of source material and this difficulty explains some of the serious chronological mishaps in the work.[457]

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[452] LPER, 185, c32: *ubi inueni quid illi certius fecerunt, uestris aspectibus allata sunt … ubi historiam non inueni, … illorum uitam composui, et credo non mentitum esse.*

[453] Some clerics for instance question his source material, *ibid*, 195, c38: 'However**, the curious one who** wants **me to reveal from where** I wrote **the** above'; others questioned the length of his work, 219, c54: 'But according to your request that this history does not seem short'.

[454] Agnellus compares these criticisms to being whipped, *ibid*: 'Oh, poor me whipped daily by you with hard questions … I have never suffered such whips.'

[455] Mentioning discovering little, *ibid*, 164, c19; 185, c31; 218-9, c53; cf. A. Moffat, 'The Orient Express: Abbot John's Rapid Trip from Constantinople to Ravenna *c.*AD700', ed. A. R. Brown and B. Neil, *Byzantine Culture in Translation* (Leiden, 2017), 57-8; for fires in LPER: Damian, 311, c134; Theodore, 289, c117; in the Life of George, Agnellus relates how the privileges of the see and other religious texts went with Archbishop George to the defeat at Fontenoy and were lost there. This would only have affected the last chapters of the LPER but suggests that written materials from Ravenna were coveted by locals, 353, c173; 356, c174.

[456] It has also been posited that certain written materials may have been taken from Ravenna by Charlemagne when he despoiled the city, Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 81, ref. 23.

[457] For instance, confusing Peter I Chrysologus with Peter II; Nauerth, *Bischofsbuch*, 25.

Thus, Agnellus responded to the limitations and demands placed upon him and his work. The more literary nature of the LPER is apparent in the powerful authorial presence throughout the narrative. Not only is this expressed through the comments that Agnellus made in defending the writing and methodology of the LPER, but it is also highlighted in the writing style of the work. The LPER presents itself as if it was meant to be spoken. Indeed, there are passages where Agnellus describes himself as being tired of speaking and having to rest.[458] The only other medieval literary genre that does this is the sermon, which was indeed intended to be spoken or performed. Agnellus appears to be conscious of this overlap of genres when he writes in the Life of John I, 'in the future sermons' in reference to subsequent Lives.[459]

However, a closer analysis of the LPER makes it unlikely that the LPER was originally written for sermonising or lecturing purposes. Although the work has been broken down into readings or *lectiones*,[460] the argument that the work was intended as a spoken work can be challenged. For instance, several of the so-called *lectiones* are incredibly brief, and begin and end in the middle of Lives (e.g. between Chapters Fifty-Four and Fifty-Eight) whilst others are remarkably long (between Chapters One Hundred and One Hundred and Thirty-Three). One

[458] LPER, 195, c38-9: 'Let it now suffice for today for you to have heard of the Life of this holy man. For the time is near already, now the sun **multiplies** the shadows, the day darkens, the hour fails. … Yesterday, …, I could not narrate to you all the miracles of the above-mentioned holy man'.
[459] *Ibid*, 207, c45: *in posteris uerbis*; I follow Deliyannis' translation here as *verbum* has more of a spoken rather than written meaning, DMLBS, III, 3983, entry five for *verbum* states: 'talk, discussion, parley. b) to speak with. c) to give an address, preach. d) to have right of address or speech (in *quot.* in manorial court). e) (also pl.) (mere) words, talk (contrasted w. action).'
[460] For the argument for *lectiones*, see R. Benericetti, *Il Pontificale di Ravenna, studio critico* (Faenza, 1994), 65-70, who adds potential dates, 71-93; see also, Nauerth, *Bischofsbuch*, 29; like many medieval authors, Agnellus wrote with the expectation of an oral performance through public reading of the LPER and it is possible the various breaks he makes in the written narrative attest natural junctures in order to pause a reading, see LPER, 164, c17; 195-6, cc38-9; 207, cc45-6; 219, c54; 225, c58; 232, c62; 247, c79; 257, c92; 268-9, c100; 310, c133; 326, c148; 331-2, c154.

would imagine that there would be a rough similarity in length of readings at reasonable beginning and end points (the end of a Life, for instance).[461]

Furthermore, the prefatory verses describe Agnellus as 'the charming **writer** of this pontifical book' whilst he himself refers to the process of writing the work, recalling how he has been '**using** parchment and ink'.[462] That the actual body of the work is not a collection of readings copied down, spoken and then collated is shown by Agnellus' strong authorial voice referencing repeatedly the process and method of writing.[463] Moreover, Agnellus uses vocabulary implying oral delivery surrounding quotations from written works that were not primarily oral texts. For example, he uses verbs of speaking when referencing the Chronicle of Maximian and a letter of Pseudo-Ambrose.[464] The usage of vocabulary implying oral performance as the primary medium of delivery for this work is therefore poetic and not literal.

Writing in this manner is a rhetorical device and its effect is to make the authorial voice front and centre of the narrative. This effect is further enhanced when Agnellus breaks the fourth wall and addresses his audience, admitting the shortcomings of his source material. In addition, the sermonettes that are included in many Lives, most likely to flesh out otherwise meaningless and short biographies, serve to emphasise this direct communication between author and audience. Indeed, this historical narrative of the Ravennan see told through the serial biographies of its bishops is, to a significant extent, framed by the role of the author's voice. This authorial

[461] I agree with F. Borri's reservations, 'Nightfall on Ravenna: Storms and Narrativity in the Work of Andreas Agnellus', *Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft*, IX (2014), 34.
[462] LPER, 140: *Qua lepidus scriptor praefatus Pontificali*; 146: *cartas et atramentum expendo*.
[463] *Ibid*, 171, c25: 'I who wish to write this book of bishops'; 281, c110: 'I will expend parchment and ink'; 289, c117: 'I cannot describe with my tearful pen'.
[464] In relation to the Chronicle of Maximian, he uses the verbs *dicere* and *loqui*, *ibid*, 246, c78; for the letter of Pseudo-Ambrose, he uses the verb *dicere*, 185, c32.

presence and communication with the audience enhances the polemical nature of the work. It is an aspect of the LPER which is fundamental to its nature.

Alongside the rhetorical and polemical effects, the use of such poetic and oral vocabulary reflects the attempt to produce a more literary style of historical writing. Indeed, it seems that Agnellus made a conscious decision part way through the LPER to elaborate creatively on his source material, delving into multiple *ekphraseis*,[465] and to use a number of other literary devices to flesh out a history that would otherwise be quite short.[466] Medieval historians did write, in part, to entertain, but the extent to which Agnellus does this is remarkable. Throughout the LPER, he interweaves numerous miracles and sermonettes into the historical narrative, rewrites historical episodes and even records an extensively reworked epic of Justinian II's return to power in 705 and a Byzantine attack on Ravenna.[467]

One device Agnellus used is *paraphrasis* or *metaphrasis*.[468] It is a common literary device in classical, Byzantine and medieval Latin literature which involves the conscious rewriting of a narrative in a different register or style whilst retaining the same meaning.[469] It is

[465] LPER, 169-70, c23; 171, c24; 174, c27; 175-8, cc28-9; 187-9, c36; 199-201, c41; 202, c42; 213-15, c50; 224-5, c57; 235-7, c66; 241-2, c72; 243-4, c76; 244-6, c77; 248-9, c80; 249, c81; 253-4, c86; 254-5, c88; 256, c89; 258-60, c94; 284-6, cc113-14; 291, c119.
[466] S. Lazard, 'Les Byzantinismes lexicaux de l'Exarchat de Ravenne et de la Pentapole', *Byzantion*, LVI (1986), 413.
[467] The literary nature of the LPER is explored in depth in Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 101-88; Borri concurs that this narrative stems from a lost epic source, 'Coriander Fields', 351-7.
[468] The terms are essentially synonyms, S. Constantinou, '*Metaphrasis*: Mapping Premodern Rewriting', eds. S. Constantinou and C. Høgel, Metaphrasis: *A Byzantine Concept of Rewriting and its Hagiographical Products* (Leiden, 2021), 17; A. P. Alwis *et al.*, 'Introduction', eds. *idem*, Metaphrasis *in Byzantine Literature*, *Studies in Byzantine Literature*, XVII (Turnhout, 2021), 9-10.
[469] There is remarkably little terminological consistency. See M. Vuković, '*Metaphrasis*: A New Chapter of Textual (and Material) Scholarship: Review Essay of Three Volumes on *Metaphrasis*: *Metaphrasis*: A Byzantine Concept of Rewriting and Its Hagiographical Products, eds. Stavroula Constantinou and Christian Høgel; Spoliation as Translation: Medieval Worlds of the Eastern Mediterranean, eds. I. Jevtić and I. Nilsson; and *Metaphrasis* in Byzantine Literature, eds. A. P. Alwis, M. Hinterberger, and E. Schiffer', *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, VIII (2022), 261-83.

often linked with hagiographical works in the Byzantine tradition starting with Bishop John of Sardis who was writing at the turn of the ninth century.[470]

In the Life of Sergius, there is a clear example of this narratological device being used. It entails a rewriting, in this case a gross oversimplification, of the story of the birth of Lamissio, a legendary king of the Lombards. The story is contained in the HL, a work that Agnellus had access to. Lamissio was born to a prostitute, one of seven boys. His mother threw them all into a pond when the Lombard king, Agelmund, happened to ride by. The king thrusts his spear amongst the drowning boys. One of them grabs the spear and the king, impressed by this act, saves this child, raises him and gives him the name of Lamissio. Paul gives this story as an etymological explanation of the name Lamissio which refers to a 'pond', 'pool' or 'fishpond' in the Lombard tongue.[471]

Opening with a Virgilian flourish,[472] Agnellus reproduces this story with far less detail and replaces Lamissio with King Aistulf (749-756).[473] Aistulf is one of five boys all born within the space of an hour. The boys are gathered into a basket and presented to the king who is their father. The king wants to throw the infants on to a pile of manure but thrusts his royal spear in the middle of them, stating that whichever grasps the spear will be allowed to live. The infant Aistulf does this. The reader is then straightforwardly informed that the spear-thrusting father names his son Aistulf, and Agnellus provides no etymological explanation for this name. If one recalls, however, that Lamissio was given his name because he was rescued from a pond, it is clear that Agnellus is comparing Aistulf's name to excrement.

[470] D. Resh, 'The First Metaphrast: John, Bishop of Sardis', Metaphrasis *in Byzantine Literature*, 43-70.
[471] HL, I, 54-5, c15.
[472] Aenied, III, 59, line 39: *Eloquar, an sileam?*
[473] LPER, 333, c156.

HL, I, 54-5, c15	LPER, 333, c156
His temporibus quaedam meretrix ***uno partu septem puerolos*** *enixa, beluis omnibus* ***mater*** *crudelior* ***in piscinam proiecit*** *negandos. … Contigit itaque, ut rex Agelmund, dum iter carperet, ad eandem piscinam deveniret. Qui cum equo retentor miserandos infantulos miraretur* ***hastaque, qua manu gerebat, huc illucque eos inverteret, unus ex illis iniecta manu hastam regiam conprehendit****. Rex misericordia motus factumque altius ammiratus, eum magnum futurum pronuntiat. Moxque eum a piscina levari pracepit, atque nutrici traditum omni cum studio mandat alendum; et quia eum de piscina, quae eorum lingua 'lama' dicitur, abstulit,* ***Lamissio eidem nomen inposuit.***	***Quinque*** *in una hora, in* ***uno partu****, ex uno ventre* ***parvulos*** *sua peperit* ***mater****. Quod cum nunciatum regis fuisset et innotuisset admiranda res, novo inito cunsilio, iussit eos ante se deferri in unum maximum calathum. Et videns, eos voluit* ***proicere in sterquilinium****; orrebat esse pater, qui fuerat genitor. Praecepit deferri* ***regalem cuntum,*** *dicens suis: 'Quincumque ex eis manu cuntum adstrixerit, hic vivat.'* ***Statim ut in medio contus positus est, inter ceteros fratres iste contum tenuit extento brachio. Tunc vocavit eum pater Austulphus.***

Table Four – Comparison of the Latin in the HL and the LPER concerning the naming of Lamissio and Aistulf respectively. The Latin in bold indicates the direct overlaps in language and content

It must be recalled that in 751, during the bishopric of Sergius, Aistulf conquered Ravenna and was responsible for the collapse of the Byzantine Exarchate. Moreover, he attempted to appropriate the authority of Ravenna and rule from the city.[474] It seems most probable that Agnellus had an extremely negative perception of his city's subjugator and is mocking the Lombard king with this comical comparison to his legendary ancestor. By deliberately lowering the register of the Latin, inserting a scatological reference, and oversimplifying and reducing the narrative to an absurd degree, Agnellus ridicules Aistulf and provides a humorous anecdote to his audience. An audience which he expected to be familiar with the story of Lamissio. Most pertinent for this thesis is that here there is a clear example of

[474] N. Jantzen-Lopez, '*Renovatio*, Continuity and Innovation: Ravenna's Role in Legitimation and Collective Memory (eighth to ninth centuries)', IERWMM, 186-8.

Agnellus' willingness to employ literary devices to convey his opinion in an indirect and implicit manner.

A second narratological device that Agnellus employs is *metalepsis*. This is when the extratextual world of the narrator and audience (often referred to as the extra- or metadiegetic universe) intrudes upon the intratextual world of the narrative and its characters (or the diegetic universe).[475] At one time, it was understood to be a device found solely in modernist and postmodernist literature that had a comic and strange effect on the narrative. Irene de Jong's 2009 article, '*Metalepsis* in Ancient Greek Literature', was the first to explore the narratological device in premodern writings. Importantly, she also called into question the necessity of the narratological device being restricted to works of pure fiction, as well as being a device that emphasised the constructed and fictional nature of a work, arguing instead that it can increase the authenticity of a narrative.[476]

An instance of metalepsis can be observed in the Life of John I when Agnellus firstly addresses the audience directly before he switches to directly addressing Peter I Chrysologus:[477]

> 'What now? It is better for me to pass over in silence than to wander among **tangents** and antiquities. Let us return to the abovementioned course and speak of our bishops without delay. For [John I's] successor is worthy of being introduced. But who is sufficient to narrate your deeds, O blessed Peter Chrysologus? Even if my voice were made of adamant and my chest of bronze, and my embellishments were connected in verse, even thus I could not narrate all your deeds.'

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[475] G. Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. J. E. Lewin (Ithaca, 1980), 234-5; *idem*, *Narrative Discourse Revisited*, trans. J. E. Lewin (Ithaca, 1988), 88.
[476] I. de Jong, '*Metalepsis* in Ancient Greek Literature', eds. J. Grethlein and A. Rengakos, *Narratology and Interpretation: The Content of Narrative Form in Ancient Literature*, *Trends in Classics*, IV (Berlin, 2009), 91-2, 96-7.
[477] Agnellus makes the mistake of confusing Peter I Chrysologus with Peter II of Ravenna, LPER, 202, c43: *Quid adhuc? Melius est michi tacendo praeterire quam per auia et antiqua discurrere. Redeamus ad praedictum stadium et de nostris pontificibus sine mora loquamur. Dignus est enim iam suus successor introduci. Sed tua facta, O beate Petre Chrysologe, quis sufficiat narrare? Etiam si uox mea excreuerit adamantia et aereum pectus, et cincinni mei uersus inligati fuerint, sic nec omnium facta uestrorum narrare possim.*

This example of apostrophe as a rhetorical device sees the narrator switch between addressing the audience of the narrative and the characters in the narrative in order to emphasise the encomiastic nature of what is about to follow.[478] Moreover, the eulogistic mode emphasises the immanence of the saint both as a historical reality and a present entity as a saint in heaven looking down on Agnellus as he writes, and with whom he is able to directly converse, and, by extension, the audience as they engage with the narrative. *Metalepsis* is a non-dominant feature of the narrative, but its usage nevertheless speaks to the particularly literary nature of this history.

Agnellus' construction of Lives and production of a more literary history are thus a response to both the demands of his primary audience of clerics involving themselves in his work, although it also speaks to Agnellus' own literary abilities to craft a narrative, as well as the lack of source material. In addition, it enhances the polemical aspect of the LPER. Whilst all histories written in the early medieval period were literary creations, the extent to which Agnellus takes this creative and flexible approach to his historical narrative is remarkable and unique. Beyond the need to expand the work to an appropriate length, a demand that does not always improve the quality of a work, this analysis shows that Agnellus is able to communicate his ideas on a metaphorical and implicit level. As I show below, Agnellus' pro-Byzantine polemic is conveyed primarily at this less-explicit, more literary level.

[478] De Jong's article sees apostrophe as a prominent form of metalepsis in ancient literature with a non-comical, anti-illusionistic function, '*Metalepsis* in Ancient Greek Literature', 93-7.

When was the Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis *Written?*

The LPER is preserved primarily, though incompletely, in an early fifteenth-century manuscript in the *Codex Estensis* (Cod. Lat. 371, X.P.4.9), today kept in Modena's *Archivio di Stato*.[479] This text lacks the Lives of Valerius (*c.*789-810) and Petronax, whilst parts are also missing from a further thirteen Lives.[480] These gaps suggest the possibility that the scribe was working with an incomplete manuscript,[481] potentially an old one of diminished quality that needed recopying, hence the small missing parts of only a few words in several of these Lives. A sixteenth-century manuscript, Vat. Lat. 5834, also contains the LPER up to Chapter Forty-Eight in the Life of Peter II (494-520).[482] This lack of manuscript material prevents its use for either accurately dating the writing of the LPER or identifying the audience, other than to say the paucity itself suggests that the actual audience was limited in number and scope.

Thus, only internal evidence provides any clue as to the date of production. Certainly, it was written in multiple stages between *c.*831 and sometime after 846. It is not possible to be certain when these stages precisely occurred, and I defer in this instance to the convincing conclusions of Deliyannis. The first stage of writing was likely between *c.*831 and 836, and covers the first seventy-nine chapters from St. Apollinaris until part way through the Life of Maximian. His biography was subsequently completed, and the work continued between 837 and 839 up to the Life of John IV (625-631), possibly of Archbishop Bonus (631-642), that is Chapter One Hundred and Seven or One Hundred and Nine. Agnellus resumed writing in the

[479] *Agnelli qui et Andreas: Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH, Lang., 265.
[480] Namely bishops John II, Ecclesius, Maximian, Peter III, John V, Theodore, Felix, John VI, Sergius, Leo I, Gratiosus, Martin, George.
[481] Deliyannis, LPER, 53.
[482] For a full discussion of the manuscript tradition see Deliyannis, LPER, 53-93.

aftermath of the Battle of Fontenoy in 841, steadily continuing the work with Chapters One Hundred and Ten to One Hundred and Thirty-Five written prior to 846 and the rest up to the final chapter in the Life of George, One Hundred and Seventy-Five, written after 846.[483]

Methodology and Source Base of the Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis

The LPER is a bricolage of varied sources. Both the *minimus scholasticus* and Agnellus speak about the different types of sources used: written, oral and personal witness which includes observing art and architecture.[484] I only analyse the sources that Agnellus used for certain.[485] Regardless, the source material that is used in the LPER testifies to the position of Ravenna as a crossroads between the Greek-East and Latin-West.

Written Works

The Liber Pontificalis

Agnellus used the LP not just as a model but also as a source. Each event in the LP concerning Ravennan bishops has a corresponding passage in the LPER.[486] The version of the LP that Agnellus had access to extended to at least the 770s. It has been argued that the text Agnellus possessed reached up to the early-ninth century as he mentions a papal *cubicularius*,

[483] Deliyannis, LPER, 11-19; Nauerth, *Bischofsbuch*, 12-15, 23-4.
[484] LPER, 141; 185, c32.
[485] Sources Agnellus mentions but does not use: Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis*, LPER, 268, c99; biblical commentaries by Eleuchadius, 150, c4; *expositum* of the Day of Judgement by Archbishop Felix of Ravenna, 312, c136; commentaries of the Old Testament, Gospels and Epistles as well as a missal by Archbishop Maximian of Ravenna, 249, c81; a book of antiphons in Greek and Latin by Johannicis, Agnellus' ancestor, 324, c146.
[486] Deliyannis, BPCR, 51.

Chrisafus, in the Life of Martin (810-818) aiding repairs to the Ravennan Church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe. This mirrors an entry in the LP in the Life of Leo III concerning the pope ordering repairs to the same church.[487] That said, Chrisafus' presence and actions in Ravenna occurred within the lifetime of Agnellus and concerned a subject area that he had an interest in (*i.e.* construction and architecture). Moreover, the very fact that he names the individual in charge of the papal aid suggests a familiarity beyond what can be gleaned from reading the LP.[488] Agnellus may simply have remembered Chrisafus' presence, thus calling into question whether the text of the LP he had access to did indeed stretch into the ninth century.

Paul the Deacon

Although Paul the Deacon's own contribution to the *gesta episcoporum* genre is not used by Agnellus, the HL is a key historical source, principally for bishops Peter III (570-578), Marinian, John III and John IV, whose Lives cover the late-sixth and early-seventh centuries and for whom Agnellus appears to have precious little source material.[489] It is most likely that Agnellus accessed this work through his journey to Pavia in *c.*838 to baptise the daughter of Lothar I. Agnellus' use of the work in the writing of these Lives coincides chronologically with his journey to Pavia (late-830s).[490] Here, he may have found or received a copy of the HL as part of Archbishop George's entourage to the Italian kingdom's capital.[491]

[487] Deliyannis, BPCR, 29; LPER, 349, c168; Leo III, II, 31-2, c106.
[488] The papal agent is unnamed in the LP.
[489] LPER, 260-4, c96; 267, c98; 270-1, cc101-2; 278, cc106-7.
[490] Deliyannis, BPCR, 299, ref. 6.
[491] A. Testi-Rasponi, 'Note marginali al '*Liber Pontificalis*' di Agnello ravennate', *Atti e memorie della deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, ser. 3, XXVII (Bologna, 1908/9), 243.

Agnellus' use of the HL is neither limited to these Lives nor simply to historical facts. Firstly, he uses parts of Paul's work as a template, for example, with the description of a penitential liturgy being carried out by Archbishop Damian echoing closely one carried out by Gregory the Great in the HL.[492] More brazenly, Agnellus reuses two stories from the HL and rewrites them to better fit his work. One is the murder of King Alboin (560-572) by his wife, Queen Rosamund (567-572/3), and the other, as discussed above, is the origin story of Lamissio, a legendary ruler of the Lombards, rewritten and applied to Aistulf.[493]

The Lost Sources of the Chronicle of Maximian and the Ravennan Annals

Agnellus refers to the Chronicle of Maximian explicitly. In the first instance, he refers his audience to the *chronicon* if they want to learn more about Galla Placidia and other kings and emperors, whilst in the second instance, he recounts a story of a rebellion in Alexandria that Agnellus states he has copied verbatim from the *chronicon*.[494] As this work is no longer extant it is difficult to judge the accuracy of Agnellus' copying.[495] His limited use of what should have been a highly relevant and useful source suggests that the chronicle was in poor shape in the early-ninth century.

The patchy chronology of the Lives in which Agnellus uses the chronicle further suggests its wretched state. It has nevertheless been argued that beyond the two abovementioned examples, the *chronicon* may have provided Agnellus with annalistic information.[496] Certainly,

[492] Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 155, ref. 103; LPER, 304, c129; HL, III, 105, c24.
[493] Story of Queen Rosamund, 260-4, c96; in the HL, II, 87-9, c28; story of the origin of Lamissio/Aistulf, 333, c156; in the HL, I, 54-5, c15; for a discussion of the story of Rosamund see, Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 119-41.
[494] LPER, 201, c42; 247, c78: *Haec pontificis uerba sunt*.
[495] Deliyannis, BPCR, 49.
[496] S. Muhlberger, *The Fifth Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452* (Leeds, 1981), 23-47.

Agnellus used an annalistic source of information up until *c.*573.[497] Half a folio preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript, Merseburg, Dombibliothek, Cod. 202, confirms that an annal in the form of a consular *fasti* did exist up to at least 454 for Ravenna.[498] An attempt has even been made to reconstruct a hypothetical Ravennan *Annales* using a variety of other documents.[499] Yet without more information it is impossible to conclude much either about these annals or the chronicle other than to state that Agnellus had access to annalistic factoids which he referred his readers to and used a chronicle-type source which he attributed to Archbishop Maximian.[500]

Hagiography

Agnellus relies heavily upon hagiographical sources, though rarely acknowledges them. The *passio* of St. Apollinaris is one of the two works mentioned by Agnellus in the LPER and is the hagiographic work he relies upon most.[501] He uses this source for the Lives of the first five bishops, quoting directly from it.[502] The *passio* itself is likely a work of the mid-seventh century that gathered, incompletely, the tradition of Apollinaris into a singular narrative with an emphasis placed on St. Peter ordaining him and sending him to Ravenna.[503] The work was

[497] Instances of annal-like source material in the LPER, 195, c39; 201, c42; 232, c62; 247, c79; 256, c90; 267, c98.
[498] B. Baldwin and A. Cutler, 'Annals of Ravenna', eds. A. Kazhdan *et al.*, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, I (Oxford, 1991), 105; B. Bischoff and W. R. W. Köhler, 'Eine illustrierte Ausgabe der spätantiken Ravennater Annalen', ed. W. R. W. Köhler, *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter* (Cambridge, MA, 1939), 125-38.
[499] O. Holder-Egger, 'Untersuchungen über einige annalistische Quellen zur Geschichte des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts', NA, I (Hanover, 1876), 347-68.
[500] For a detailed discussion of the existence of the Ravennan Annals see, Deliyannis, LPER, 26-32; Holder-Egger, 'Untersuchungen', 213-346.
[501] *Vita beati Apollinaris martyris achiepiscopi Rauennatis ecclesiae*, ed. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, I (Bologna, 1978), 529-33.
[502] LPER, 150, c4: 'Wherefore in the *passio* of Apollinaris, the athlete of Christ, it is read: 'he made Eleuchadius the Philosopher a deacon.'; 151, c5: 'as is reported in the *passio* of the one who ordained him, where it says: 'He consecrated Marcian the most noble man … as deacon.'
[503] Deliyannis, 'Roman Model', 285; Deichmann, *Ravenna:* Hauptstadt, II, iii, 175.

nevertheless of crucial importance for the perception of the Ravennan Church as having an (almost) apostolic founder and was translated into Greek.[504]

Beyond Ravenna, well-known stories from Western Christendom also seem to influence Agnellus' work such as that of Sulpicius Severus' (*c.*363-*c.*425) *Life of St. Martin* and Cassiodorus' (*c.*485-*c.*585) *Historia tripartita*, specifically the story of St. Epiphanius of Salamis contained therein which informs the Life of Felix.[505] Byzantine precedents can also be identified for the hagiographic motifs in the LPER. Most notably, the flying ship in the Life of Damian that takes Abbot John in one night from Constantinople to Ravenna finds a precedent in the late-eighth, early-ninth century Greek *Life of Saint Leo of Catania*.[506]

Sermons of Peter Chrysologus

Agnellus uses a number of the sermons of Peter Chrysologus. Sermon One Hundred and Sixty-Five is used as a historical source in Chapters Forty-Seven and Fifty-One concerning the bishop's own clerical education and on the naming of Imola.[507] Agnellus may also have used Sermon One Hundred and Forty-Five or, alternatively, Chrysologus' letter to the heretic Eutyches (*c.*380-*c.*456) prior to the Council of Chalcedon.[508] Indeed, he may have had access to

[504] The apostolic founder *topos* is found in other traditions of episcopal sees such as Rome, Cyprus and Alexandria, F. Lanzoni, 'Le fonti della legenda di Sant' Apollinare di Ravenna', *Atti e memorie (Romagna)*, ser. 4. V (Bologna, 1915), 151; M. Re, 'Telling the Sanctity in Byzantine Italy', CBI, 618.
[505] W. Robbins, '*Quid turbate mente uersaris*?: Agnellus of Ravenna and the Story of Apollonius of Tyre', JML, XXXIV (2024), 127-8.
[506] *Ibid*, 122; Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 91-2, where he also notes a Jewish precedent in the *Midrash Rabbah*; Borri, 'Nightfall', 44-5, raises questions on this connection, mentioning instead a biblical precedent for rapid transportation in Ezekiel as well as in Pythagoras and Joseph the Hymnographer.
[507] LPER, 208, c47; 'Sermo CLXV: De ordinatione episcopi Forum Corniliensis nomine Proiecti', *Sancti Petri Chrysologi: Collectio sermonum a Felice episcopo parata sermonibus extravagantibus adiectis*, ed. A. Olivar, CCSL, XXIVb (Turnhout, 1982), 1017-18.
[508] LPER, 208-10, c48; 'Sermo CXLV: De generatione Christi', *Collectio sermonum*, 897; 'Epistola S. Petri Chrysologi ad Eutychem haereticum', PL, LII (1864), col. 71.

both. Nevertheless, it is unsurprising that Agnellus utilised sources pertaining to the most famous Ravennan bishop.

Classics, Epics and Poetry

Agnellus further uses other classical sources. The Life of Damian, for instance, draws significantly upon the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, a work which Agnellus likely approached as a 'biographical narrative about a historical figure'.[509] In a more limited capacity, Agnellus interweaves Virgilian phrases into the narrative, particularly between Chapter One Hundred and Thirty-Six and One Hundred and Fifty-Nine.[510] His use of Virgil (70BC-AD19) is limited to several words at most, as are other works such as Isidore of Seville's (*c.*560-636) *Etymologies*,[511] suggesting the possible use of a *florilegium*.

Between Chapters One Hundred and Thirty-Seven and One Hundred and Fifty-Three, Agnellus interweaves an epic into the historical narrative concerning the conflict between Ravenna and Constantinople centring on Agnellus' ancestor Johannicis and the deposition of Justinian II. No sources for the story are known, but the epic narrative features frequent usage of Virgilian language and its poetic cadence suggests that Agnellus may have synthesised an

[509] Robbins, '*Quid turbate mente uersaris*?', 111-31; *The Story of Apollonius King of Tyre: A Study of its Greek Origin and an Edition of the Two Oldest Latin Recensions*, ed. G. A. A. Kortekaas (Leiden, 2004).
[510] For a full list of potential uses of Virgil in the LPER, see the *index fontium* of LPER, 'Publius Virgilius Maro', 390-1.
[511] LPER, 198, c40 and *Etymologiae*, XVII, vii, 342, c2, on the etymology of *Laureta*; LPER, 224, c55 and *Etymologiae*, VII, x, 170, c1, on the derivation of *Maria* from *illuminatrix*; LPER, 235, c64 and *Etymologiae*, II, 96-7, xix-xxi, on the identification of musical instruments with parts of the body; LPER, 266, c98 and *Etymologiae*, VII, ix, 168-9, c12, on the etymology of *Iohannes*; Holder-Egger, *Agnelli*, 305, ref. 3; 317, ref. 1; 323, ref. 4; 342, ref. 1.

existing work with his own family history and other sources, potentially oral, pertaining to the Byzantine attacks on the city in the early-eighth century.[512]

Evidence for the Use of Documentary and Archival Sources

Despite the perilous state of Ravenna's archival records,[513] Agnellus, perhaps through his connections to the notaries, still had access to a number of archival sources. There appears to be no sense of organisation to these sources such as can be inferred from the LP.[514] What archive existed in Agnellus' own time seems to have been a combination of a treasury and a documentary archive. This supposition is based on a comment in the Life of Maurus that 'sixteen thousand solidi [were sent to] the church archive.'[515] Indeed, Agnellus seems to have accessed an eclectic range of documents which stretched back hundreds of years, including letters and property contracts,[516] diplomas and legal decrees.[517] That the letter of Pope Felix survived some three centuries after its autograph suggests a concern and actual capability on the part of Ravennan clerics to preserve documents over centuries despite the numerous calamities that befell the city and its archives.[518]

[512] Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 187.
[513] See above, *On the Question of Writing*, 142-50.
[514] Nauerth, *Bischofsbuch*, 27-8.
[515] LPER, 281-2, c111.
[516] *Ibid*, charter of property acquisition, 218-9, c53; description of gifts to Archbishop Felix, 322, c143; list of items taken by Stephen II, 337, c158; letter of Maurus, 281, c111; letter of Felix IV, 226-31, c60.
[517] Diplomas: *ibid*, 243, c74; 253, c85; 281, c110; 286-7, c115; legal decree: 331, c154.
[518] Deliyannis, 'Social Sphere', 198-9; see ref. *On the Question of Writing*, 143.

Personal Witness

Epigraphical Observations and Personal Experience

Beyond providing the audience with personal accounts of his (de)construction work in Ravenna,[519] his accompanying of Archbishop George to the baptism of Lothar I's daughter and his memory of the great size of the archbishop's hands from when he was a boy,[520] Agnellus uses personal descriptions of art and images not only as *ekphrasis* but also as source material as to the character of the bishops he wrote about.[521] From the Life of the fourth-century archbishop, Probus II, onwards, physiognomic descriptions constitute some of the few continuous items of information that persist throughout the LPER. In addition, he describes the decorations of many churches and frequently records epitaphs and epigraphs.[522] Such inclusion of visual materials likely helped counterbalance the lack of written source material besides expressing his personal interest in art and architecture.[523] It may also have tied into Agnellus' iconodule stance. Indeed, his justification for his use of this type of source material comes from the letter of Pseudo-Ambrose which was narrated at the anti-iconoclastic Council of Rome in 769.[524] Beyond this justification, Agnellus' use of visual material often involves describing where he found said material; something which he does not do for his literary sources. This suggests that Agnellus

[519] See refs. 403, 404 and 405.
[520] LPER, 348-9, c167.
[521] P. Squatriti, 'Personal Appearance and Physiognomics in Early Medieval Italy', JMedHist, XIV (1988), 196.
[522] Epitaphs, LPER, 257, c92; 271, c103; 311, c134; 328, c150; 331, c153 (lost from the manuscript); Epigraphs, 175, c27; c28; 176-7, c29; 177, c29; 188, c36; 199, c41; 202, c42; 214-5, c50; 225, c57; 231, c61; twice on 236, c66; 237, c66; 237, c67; 241, c72; 242, c72; 243, c75; 245-6, c77; twice on 245, c77; 254, c86; 257, c91; 267, c98; 271, c103; 285-6, c114; 287, c115; 327, c149.
[523] G. Fasoli, 'Rileggendo il "Liber Pontificalis"', *La storiografia altomedievale*, i, 479.
[524] LPER, 185, c32.

really did draw some clear distinction between literary source-material on the one hand and visual source-material such as art and architecture on the other.

Episcopal Lists

On three occasions Agnellus states that 'for this bishop I could find no information'. Yet the very fact that he provides a series of biographies with names and dates of bishops attests to the existence of a list.[525] The list that Agnellus produced and used to order his work was formed through reference to multiple sources.[526] Agnellus himself refers to an altar cloth commissioned by Archbishop Maximian interwoven with the images of all the past bishops.[527] Similarly, the prefatory verses refer to a series of portrait paintings of bishops on the walls of an unknown church. This is likely the source from which Agnellus provided the physiognomic details of bishops.[528] An episcopal list is an unsurprising document to find in the creation of a work of the *gesta episcoporum* genre concerned with producing biographies in a chronological sequence.[529]

Oral Sources

Whilst it is difficult to demonstrate the direct use of oral sources, Agnellus' employment of them is nevertheless proven through his justification for using oral sources. He refers to biblical and historiographical precedents in a remarkably similar manner to the explanation found in Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*.[530] Indeed, Agnellus references Gregory and his

[525] LPER, 164, c19; 185, c31; 218-9, c53; Deliyannis, BPCR, 48.
[526] Benericetti, *Il Pontificale*, 112-3.
[527] LPER, 248, c80.
[528] *Ibid*, 141; 185, c32.
[529] See discussion of episcopal lists and the LP in Chapter One, 159-60.
[530] For oral sources, Deuteronomy 32:7, Job 8:8, the Gospels of Mark and Luke, and Gregory of Tour, *Liber vitae patrum*, MGH, SS rer. Merov., I (1885), 661-744; Deliyannis, BPCR, 58-9; he further justifies his use of witnessing

Dialogues in his justification.[531] He also comments how he learnt of the history of the Bishop Severus not from 'written history' but from what 'some say' about him.[532] Yet unlike many of his contemporaries, Agnellus almost never identifies these oral sources other than occasionally mentioning 'elders' from whom he received the information.[533] This introduces a problem. Although Agnellus may at times be honest in stating that older people did pass stories on to him, this is also a trope of increasing the reliability of dubious historical information.[534] Agnellus himself further complicates this situation when he juxtaposes 'elders' and 'old men' as sources of information,[535] using 'elders' to refer to individuals who are dead, and his presenting of several sources as oral when they are in fact written.

Evidence for oral sources is predominantly found in the miracles that form a large part of Agnellus' narrative and are clustered in the earlier Lives as well as those of Severus, John I, Damian and Felix. For instance, Agnellus' Life of St. Apollinaris contains additional information not seen in the saint's hagiography and thus,[536] along with other anecdotes such as the story of the doves in the Life of Severus, the LPER attests multiple oral traditions likely passed down by local saints' cults.[537]

art and architecture through referring to the letter of Pseudo-Ambrose read out at the anti-iconoclastic 769 Council of Rome, 185, c32; 'Concilium Romanum a. 769', MGH, Conc., II (1904), 90.

[531] LPER, prologue, 145-6: *Nonne Gregorius sedis Romanae ecclesiae antistes in plurimis locis librum Dialogorum retulit dicens: "Narrauit michi ille et ille homo" et reliqua?*

[532] *Ibid*, 157, c15: 'The life of this blessed man is not told to us in the written history (*descripta historia*); but **certain people** say that the Lord performed many miracles and prodigies for the people through him,'.

[533] Of the forty occasions there are three exceptions: *ibid*, 173, c26; 324-6, 146-7; 326, c148.

[534] Deliyannis, BPCR, 60.

[535] A dichotomy used in the Life of Exuperantius between 'elders' and 'old men', LPER, 134, c31: 'Our elders and old men have told me nothing further about [Exuperantius'] life'.

[536] Testi-Rasponi, 'Note marginali', 257-9; Lanzoni, 'Le fonti della leggenda', 158-65, who interestingly notes that the miracles Agnellus inserts are all of body parts melting stone, a miracle *topos* most associated with St. Peter. This could well be another mechanism through which Agnellus is seeking to assert equality between the Ravennan and Roman sees, and therefore the inappropriateness of one dominating the other.

[537] Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 73-4.

Much information, however, appears to stem from Byzantine oral sources. Some of this may have come from the few Greeks living in Ravenna but it is more likely that the information was brought across the sea on the ships of merchants and traders.[538] Some are of a more hagiographical nature. For example, both the miracles analysed below, namely the story of the hermit and the story of the 'Strong Arm' icon, have Byzantine roots. The first derives from a miracle story at the Latomou monastery whilst the latter bears a remarkable similarity to the seventh or eighth-century Byzantine miracle story of the Christ Antiphonetes icon in the Chalkoprateia.[539] The mention of Emperor Zeno's missing kneecaps as wellas the fake nose of gold worn by Justinian II after his mutilation speak to the incoming of secular stories too.[540]

The Intended Audience of the **Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis**

Agnellus' primary intended audience is the clerical faction within Ravenna of which he is an advocate and a member. It is to them that he is principally addressing the LPER and it is they who encouraged him to write it.[541] More than encourage, however, they took an active and critical interest in the contents of the historical narrative, particularly, it seems, in the early stages and it is reasonable to assume they continued their involvement throughout the writing process. Many of them were likely raised alongside Agnellus within the Ravennan Church. What is clear is that they shared Agnellus' clericalist and anti-papal positions, and the content of the LPER

[538] F. Lanzoni addresses several instances of stories within the LPER having Eastern Christendom origins, 'Leggende orientali in Agnello Ravennate', FR, VIII (1913), 318-26; F. Borri, 'The Lagoons as a Distant Mirror: Constantinople, Venice and the Italian Romania', ed. W. Pohl and V. Wieser, *Emerging Powers in Eurasian Comparison, 200-1100* (Leiden, 2022), 211.
[539] Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 74, 97.
[540] LPER, 259, c94; the story of Zeno is found in the *Excerpta Valesiana 40*, Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 85, ref. 32; Nauerth, *Bischofsbuch*, 100-1 believes this stems from written sources rather than oral ones; 312, c137; the story of the golden nose and ears of Justinian II is not recounted in any other extant source, P. Skinner, *Living with Disfigurement in the Early Medieval Europe* (New York, 2017), 112.
[541] For influence of his fellow clergymen see refs. 452, 453, 454 and 455.

likely reflects a degree of common agreement amongst these clerics, albeit filtered through Agnellus' own pen.

Agnellus also wrote with a secondary, broader audience in mind. Firstly, this group includes the bishops of Ravenna. Most often, he addresses them indirectly, such as in the Lives of Marinian, John III and John IV. In the Life of Bonus, however, he does address them directly. Bonus' Life shares a similar brevity with the other aforementioned bishops, containing little more than physiognomic description, a sermonette, the date of his death and the place of his burial.[542] The sermonette of Bonus' Life reads as a culmination of the sermonettes in the previous three Lives, finally addressing the Archbishop of Ravenna and his coterie directly, warning: 'I ask solicitously, overseers of the holy church, although you hold the highest office, you are nevertheless mortal.'[543] As mentioned above, whilst these Lives are primarily a response to the actions of Archbishop George against Agnellus, when it is recalled that in part the LPER serves to provide a model of the ideal bishop, it is clear that Agnellus considered the bishops and episcopal faction of Ravenna as a part of his audience.[544]

The other part of this second broader group is 'the married men'. Agnellus refers to these men following the story of Rosamund.[545] It is possible that some of them were clerics, and thus, perhaps, it refers to the married members of the inner circle mentioned above.[546] Yet it seems more likely to indicate a wider audience that Agnellus is addressing: the (male) citizens of Ravenna. Indeed, this can be inferred from the prophecy contained in the Life of Gratiosus

[542] LPER, 279-80, cc108-9.
[543] *Ibid*, 280, c109: *Recordamini, sollicite rogo, sanctae ecclesiae inspectores, quamuis sublimen teneatis sedem, tamen mortales estis.*
[544] See *Why was the* Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis *written?*, 136-42.
[545] LPER, 264, c97.
[546] The use of *fratres* following the story of Rosamund seems to indicate this, *ibid*, 266, c97.

(*c.*786-789) which opens with the line, 'my brothers, my comrades, citizens of Ravenna'.[547] Whilst this middle circle is ill-defined, it nevertheless shows that Agnellus was consciously addressing an audience broader than just his clerical colleagues and superiors.

Whilst the extant manuscript tradition suggests a very limited circulation of the LPER,[548] it seems logical that Agnellus, at least to some extent, would have intended for this history to be disseminated outside of the exarchate to challenge papal dominance and assert Ravennan episcopal and secular autonomy. It can be inferred that Agnellus envisioned a third group of those that lived beyond Ravenna's borders, seeking to challenge papal narratives. The lack of either external or internal evidence as to Agnellus' intended audience in this regard prevents any further conclusions.

Ravenna and its Relationship with Byzantium in the First Half of the Ninth Century

In the first half of the ninth century, the Ravennan Exarchate was ruled and governed in an awkward compromise between the Carolingians, the papacy and the local archbishop.[549] Ravenna was ultimately controlled by the Carolingians, as Western emperors and kings of Italy, and *de jure* by the papacy.[550] However, *de facto* power in the region appears predominantly to

[547] LPER, 344, c166: *fratres mei, commilitones mei, Rauennenses ciues*; this prophecy is engaged with in depth below.
[548] See ref. 482.
[549] Conceived as a 'double dyarchy' by Noble, *Republic of St. Peter*, 172, 251-3; J. Nelson argues for, and I am more inclined towards, a more trilateral relationship, 'Charlemagne and Ravenna', *Ravenna*, 239-52, esp. 247.
[550] Through numerous Frankish-papal treaties: Donation of Pippin, *Ludovicianum* of 817; *Constitutio Romana* of 824; West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, 78; Brown, 'Louis the Pious', 299.

have been exercised in the vicinity by the archbishop, ruling '**just** like the exarch **used to, as only** the Romans **were** accustomed to do'.[551]

At the time of the LPER's writing, Ravenna was a city in relative decline,[552] but the fact that it was a contested zone speaks to the continued importance of the settlement and region. This importance originated from Emperor Honorius' (393-423) decision in 402 to make the city a new imperial capital. Subsequently, it became the seat of royal power under Odoacer (476-493) and Theodoric, and then the centre of Byzantine imperial authority under the exarch from the late-sixth century until 751.[553] The Ravennan see benefitted greatly from this, gaining metropolitan status sometime prior to 431, receiving a pallium from Justinian I in 545 and autocephaly from Constans II in 666.[554] Whilst autocephaly was short-lived, the consequence was the confirmation of Ravenna as a uniquely privileged see, second only to the papacy in the West.[555]

This development in ecclesiastical status was accompanied by the enhancement of the secular authority of the Ravennan bishopric.[556] In part this was an outcome of the trend of fragmentation and localisation of power in early medieval Italy that saw an increasing role in

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[551] LPER, 337, c159: *ueluti exarchus sic omnia disponebat, ut soliti sunt modo Romani facere.*
[552] *Ibid*, 155, c13: 'unhappy Ravenna, neighbour to destroyed Classe'; 170, c23: 'this holiest man lived in the episcopal residence, which is placed next to the Fossa Amnis, … where now there seems to be a destroyed stable.'
[553] This is reflected in the architecture of the city. For the cityscape of Ravenna and its development from the early-fifth to the ninth century see, E. Cirelli, *Ravenna. Archeologia di una città* (Florence, 2008), 51-104; S. Gelichi, 'Il paesaggio urbano tra V e X secolo', SR, I, 153-66; J. Herrin, *Ravenna: Capital of Empire, Crucible of Europe* (Princeton, 2019), 10-62.
[554] D. M. Deliyannis, 'Episcopal Commemoration in Late Fifth-Century Ravenna', *Ravenna*, 41; V. O. West-Harling, 'The Church of Ravenna, Constantinople and Rome in the Seventh Century', *Ravenna*, 204-6.
[555] In 680, Archbishop Theodore resubmitted the Ravennan church to Rome with the *typos* formally revoked in 682, Deliyannis, BPCR, 5; note the overlap with the Third Council of Constantinople (680-1) and the reestablishment of good relations between Rome and the Byzantine capital contributing towards this development; Ravennan bishops never gave up on the dream of autocephaly, hence Archbishop George's attempt to regain independence through the patronage of Lothar I.
[556] For instance, Bishop Maximian was involved in the construction of military structures in the mid-seventh century, C. E. Mendez, 'Ravenna e Toledo: due modelli di "capitale imperial", RMR, XI (2010), 4.

governance for bishops. Somewhat paradoxically, the Ravennan see was particularly privileged in this regard thanks to its proximity to the exarch, the leader of the Byzantine administration in Italy up to 751.[557]

Unsurprisingly, Ravenna was perceived as a site of imperial authority. When Aistulf, king of the Lombards, conquered the city, he pronounced laws in the name of the 'Romans of Ravenna'.[558] Charlemagne despoiled the city specifically taking items symbolic of Ravenna's imperial status, most notoriously the statue of Theodoric.[559] The express desire of Byzantium to reclaim Ravenna would further have conveyed in the Latin West the importance of this city to whoever was laying claim to imperial power.[560]

Indeed, the very topography of Ravenna mirrors Constantinople.[561] Agnellus orients his readers with references to: St. Mary *ad Blachernas* (the Blachernae Palace in northwest Constantinople); the main entrance to the Ravennan palace named *ad Calci* (the triumphal entrance to the main palatial complex in Constantinople was the Chalke Gate); the palace itself is called *ad Laurum* (a Latin translation of the Greek Δάφνη which the palace built by Justinian the

[557] S. Cosentino, 'Potere e autorità nell'Esarcato in età post-bizantina', *L'héritage*, IV, 287; *idem*, 'Ravenna from Imperial Residence to Episcopal City: Processes of Centrality across Empires', *Rechtsgeschichte*, XXIII (2015), 54-67; D. M. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2010), 287; G. Raccagni, 'A Byzantine Title in a Post-Byzantine World: Local Aspirations and the Theory of *translatio imperii* in the Use of the Exarchal Title by the Archbishops of Ravenna through the Middle Ages', MHR, XXV (2010), 134.
[558] See the centrality of the city for Aistulf's ideological programme of *renovatio*, N. Jantzen-Lopez, '*Renovatio*, Continuity and Innovation: Ravenna's Role in Legitimation and Collective Memory (eighth to ninth centuries)', IERWMM,179-93; there is also the idea of occupying and ruling an imperial capital being a legitimising act in and of itself, see the discussion of N. S. M. Matheou, 'City and Sovereignty in East Roman Thought, *c.*1000-1200: Ioannes Zonaras' Historical Vision of the Roman State', *From Constantinople to the Frontier*, 41-66.
[559] West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, 284-5; Cosentino, 'Imperial Residence to Episcopal City', 61; the imperial perception of Ravenna remained into the Ottonian period, T. S. Brown, 'Culture and Society in Ottonian Ravenna: Imperial Renewal or New Beginnings?', *Ravenna*, 335-44.
[560] McCormick, 'Byzantium and the West', 360.
[561] T. S. Brown, 'Ravenna and Other Early Medieval Rivals of Venice', *Medieval Adriatic*, 180; Borri, 'Nightfall', 36; R. F. Campanati, 'Ravenna, Constantinopoli: aspetti topografico-monumentali e iconografici', 127-58; West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, 430.

Great was called).[562] In a similar vein, Ravennan sculpture, art and architecture derived from Constantinopolitan models.[563] Visually, Ravenna was a strikingly (Byzantine) imperial city and this contributed greatly to how it was perceived and how it understood itself.[564]

Similarly, Ravenna identified itself with the Byzantine imperial past. At an elite level, the aristocratic *nobiles*, who formed a symbiotic relationship with the Ravennan Church in governing the exarchate, maintained this link.[565] Noble families continued to use Byzantine titles, refusing to take up Frankish or Lombard equivalents, whilst the sense of public duty that was associated with them continued into the ninth century.[566] Similarly, naming-practices among the elites show a strong continuity from the Byzantine Exarchate well into the tenth century, again rebuffing Lombard and Frankish influences, and maintaining a striking difference compared to other geographies in northern Italy.[567]

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[562] *ad Calchi*, LPER, 256, c90; 291, c119; *palatium in Lauro* or *ad Laureta*, 196, c39; 198, c40; Deliyannis, BPCR, 76.
[563] R. F. Campanati, 'La scultura architettonica e di arredo liturgico a Ravenna alla fine della tarda conticina: il rapporti con Costantinopoli', SR, II, 249-68.
[564] B. Ward-Perkins, 'Constantinople: A City and its Ideological Territory', eds. G. P. Brogiolo *et al.*, *Towns and their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: The Transformation of the Roman World* (Leiden, 2000), 333-4; both Lambert and Guy of Spoleto would be crowned emperor in Ravenna, Brown, 'A Byzantine Cuckoo in the Frankish Nest? The Exarchate of Ravenna and the Kingdom of Italy in the Long Ninth Century', eds. C. Gantner and W. Pohl, *After Charlemagne: Carolingian Italy and Its Rulers* (Cambridge, 2020), 195.
[565] The very first archbishop of the post-751 era, Sergius, was a *nobiles*, LPER, 331, c154; this elite group stemmed from the military officers and administrative officials that had been drawn to Ravenna as a centre of government and developed into a hereditary aristocracy in the seventh and early-eighth centuries, Schoolman, 'Nobility', 211; P. Galetti, 'Aspetti dell'insediamento nelle campagne Ravennati altomedievali', SR, II, 75; the overlap of the hereditary development with Agnellus' own understanding of the origin of his lineage is noteworthy; power was based primarily on landholding the vast majority of which was held by the *nobiles* in the form of emphyteutic contracts from the Ravennan Church, C. Fiorotto, 'Human Settlement and Environment in the Medieval Bassa Romagna', *Medieval Settlement Research*, XXXIII (2018), 29; Schoolman, 'Nobility', 211.
[566] A. Carile, 'Terre militari, funzioni e titoli bizantini nei 'Breviarum'', ed. A. Vasina, *Ricerche e studi sul Breviarum ecclesiae Ravennatis: Codice Bavaro* (Rome, 1985), 84-92; Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, 140-2, 187-8, 208; Schoolman, 'Nobility', 220.
[567] W. Haubrichs, 'The Early Medieval Naming-World of Ravenna, Eastern Romagna and the Pentapolis', *Ravenna*, 253-96, esp. 270.

The administration of the territory continued along Byzantine lines. Government documents continued to be drawn up by notaries and *tabelliones* following the model established in the Byzantine imperial chancery.[568] Military organisation continued to be based on the Byzantine *numeri* or *bandon* system which Agnellus himself attests.[569] Rural settlement patterns continued to conform to exarchal standards with the *fundus* and *massae fundorum* forming the base structure whilst the *vicus* remained the basic form of administrative unit alongside the large estates administered by lay families that dominated the countryside.[570]

At a wider level, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which Byzantium was identified with in Ravenna. Already in the late-seventh century, Exarch Theodore II (678-687) had trouble finding an individual with adequate Greek-language skills to work for him in Ravenna.[571] It is most likely that knowledge of Greek was even scarcer in the ninth century. Unsurprisingly, Greek-speaking immigrants in Ravenna, both before and after the exarchate, appear to have been few in number. Those who did come appear to have either quickly integrated or arrived as a part of the exarchal court and, therefore, were too few to have an impact on the wider demographic and often left after an exarch's term in office.[572] That said, "Graecisms" permeated the Ravennan vernacular which, much like the naming-patterns, marks the exarchate as linguistically distinct

[568] Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, 79-80; notaries also continued to be educated in curial writing that had Byzantine influences, F. Santoni, 'Ravenna: tabellioni e notai', *L'héritage*, I, 135-6; the last text dated according to Byzantine emperors from Ravenna is, however, only from 767, S. Corcoran, 'Roman Law in Ravenna', *Ravenna*, 190-1.
[569] Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, 97; LPER, 319, c140; J. Ferluga, 'L'organizzazione militare dell'escarto', SR, II, 380, 383.
[570] Galetti, 'Aspetti dell'insediamento', 73; B. Andreolli, 'Il potere signorile tra VIII e X secolo', SR, II, 313.
[571] Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, 77.
[572] Brown, 'Early Medieval Rivals of Venice',176; Cosentino, 'Imperial Residence to Episcopal City', 62.

from the rest of northern Italy.[573] Significantly, many of these Greek terms are associated with ecclesiastical or administrative language, that is the language of power and authority.[574]

Clerical influence from the imperial east appears to have been minimal, particularly in comparison to Rome and Salerno, but such liturgical and cult influences as did stem from the Greek-speaking East in ninth-century Ravenna were ancient and embedded.[575] There was a distinct lack of veneration of Greek saints among the cults of the city, excepting a few military saints. This shortage of saints simultaneously reflects both the relative overall paucity of immigration into Ravenna of their fellow imperial citizens and the predominant characteristics of those who did: soldiers and officers.[576] Some monasteries did survive the fall of the Byzantine Exarchate, but it is difficult to trace how decline occurred. For instance, some monasteries were still called "Greek" as late as the eleventh century though they did not use a Greek-language liturgy.[577] That said, some liturgical differences from Roman rites may have persisted whilst many of the liturgical objects described by Agnellus are clearly Byzantine in origin.[578]

This last point, however, attests more to the exchange of goods than to a direct ecclesiastical influence from Constantinople. Certainly, by the mid-ninth century, the Ravennan

[573] Lazard, 'Les byzantinismes Lexicaux', 416.
[574] Falkenhausen, 'Greek and Latin in Byzantine Italy, 544-5.
[575] E. Morini, 'Santi orientali a Ravenna', SR, II, 296.
[576] Brown, 'The 'Political' Use', 177; *idem*, 'A Byzantine Cuckoo?', 185-6.
[577] J.-M. Sansterre, 'Monaci e monasteri greci a Ravenna', SR, II, 326; Santa Maria in Cosmedin is the only church confirmed to be following a Greek-language rite in the early-ninth century, E. Cirelli, 'Monasteri greci a Ravenna nell'alto Medioevo (VI-X sec.): storia e archeologia', eds. F. Marazzi and C. Raimondo, *Monasteri Italo-Greci (Secoli VII-XI): Una lettura archeologica* (Cerro al Volturno, 2018), 22; this foundation also had a Greek-speaking abbot in 767, Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, 146.
[578] Agnellus himself hints at liturgical difference: talk of the *missa super populum*, LPER, 153, c8; talk of clergy wearing a '*superhumeralis* after the Greek custom', 332, c154; Brown, 'Early Medieval Rivals', 180; Charles the Bald may have written a letter to the 877 synod requesting Ravenna to stop using the liturgies of St. Basil and St. James, A. Jacob, 'Une lettre de Charles le Chauve au clergé du Ravenne?', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, LXVII (Jan 1, 1972), 409-22; a Ravennan *rotulus* also attests to liturgical difference, West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, 322.

economy was recovering from the decline of the late-eighth century. This decline occurred because of the diminishing connection with Byzantium, the rise of the emporiums of Comacchio and Venice, which challenged Ravenna's economic centrality in the Upper Adriatic, and the deleterious state of the Ravennan port of Classe which fully silted over *c.*800.[579] The new Western Empire also brought its own centripetal pressures with trade increasing through Ravenna's participation in a River Po trade network, further pulling Ravenna away from Byzantium but also providing it with new markets.[580] In response, whilst imports outweighed exports, this period did see the development of a local soapstone market and the production of fine ceramics.[581] A substantial continuity in episcopal wealth is attested through the building of a network of baptismal churches, the Church of San Salvatore *ad Calchi*,[582] and the additions of crypts and bell towers alongside restorations of the monumental churches in Ravenna.[583]

Rather than through trading wealth, the episcopal investment required to maintain and expand this infrastructure was sourced through the substantial patrimony of the Ravennan Church of which a large proportion was in Byzantine Sicily, which was yet to be fully occupied by the Arabs.[584] Whilst numismatic evidence for the early-ninth century remains meagre, the

[579] S. Cosentino, 'The Structural Features of Ravenna's Socioeconomic History in Late Antiquity', *Craftsmanship*, 74; Brown, 'Early Medieval Rivals', 177-8; E. Cirelli, 'Bishops and Merchants: The Economy of Ravenna at the Beginning of the Middle Ages', IERWMM, 160; Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 277; the Ravennan archbishops nevertheless partially controlled the lucrative salt production of Comacchio, M. E. Cortes, 'Sui sentieri del sale. Proprietà, risorse e circuiti economici tra Comacchio e Ravenna (secoli IX-X)', RMR, XXIII (2022), 87-96.
[580] Cirelli, 'Bishops and Merchants', 161; Brown, 'Early Medieval Rivals', 179; this in an environment from which Ravenna was increasingly cut off with geohydrological shifts in the river's course moving it further north, S. Malmberg, 'Ravenna: Naval Base, Commercial Hub, Capital City', eds. B. Alroth *et al.*, *Ancient Ports: The Geography of Connections* (Uppsala, 2016), 338.
[581] E. Cirelli, 'Il Ruolo delle città portuali nelle dinamiche del commercio tra Adriatico e Ionio nell'alto medioevo (V-IX sec)', HAM, XXII (2016), 39; *idem*, 'Bishops and Merchants', 164-5; *idem*, 'Settlement and Pottery: Local versus Long-Distance Trade in Mid-Adriatic Italy (4th-8th c.)', *Zbornik*, 307.
[582] Cirelli, 'Monasteri greci a Ravenna', 22.
[583] Brown, 'Early Medieval Rivals', 178.
[584] This patrimony produced 70,000 *solidi* for the bishops *per annum* in the seventh century: Cosentino, 'Imperial Residence to Episcopal City', 59; G. Fasoli, 'Il patrimonio della chiesa ravennate', SR, II, 389-400, esp. 394-9; A. Vasina, 'Possessi ecclesiastici ravennati nella pentapoli durante il medioevo', *Quellen und Forschungen aus*

presence of *solidi* in greater numbers than Carolingian silver denarii suggests that the Byzantine economy continued to exert a significant influence over Ravenna though much of this likely came directly from Sicily.[585] It is unsurprising then that Agnellus frames Constantinople as a place where one goes to make money.[586] These economic connections maintained with the Eastern Roman Empire were not inconsiderable and would have enabled the continued exchange not just of goods but also news, politics and stories from the Greek-speaking world.[587]

In summary, the city of Ravenna maintained a connection with Byzantium but some aspects of this were more mental than tangible. In the early-ninth century, immigration of Greek-speaking Byzantines was insignificant, the Ravennan economy was reorientating to more local and western markets, and the archbishops were actively against the iconoclastic theology promulgated in the Eastern Roman Empire. Ravenna's connection with Constantinople was a historical and ever diminishing one. What connection did exist appears to have existed primarily in the continuation of socio-cultural practices of locals and the perceptions of (Latin Western) outsiders. Through this continuation, Ravenna was understood to, and it understood itself to, have a particularly close and unique relationship with Byzantium.

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italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken (1971) 333-67; Agnellus attests the wealth of Sicily in the Life of Maurus and the production of 31,000 *solidi*, LPER, 281-2, c111.

[585] G. Gorini, 'La zecca di Ravenna: monetazione e circolazione', SR, II, 252; some of these coins are from Syracuse, Cirelli, 'Il Ruolo', 42; large quantities of *solidi* found in Dalmatia, F. Borri, 'A Winter Sea? Exchange and Power at the Ebbing of the Adriactic Connection 600-800', *Medieval Adriatic*, 90, may have a connection to Ravenna; for more on Dalmatian coins see N. Budak, 'One more Renaissance? Dalmatia and the Revival of the European Economy', *Imperial Spheres*, 174-91; T. Vedriš, '*Provincia Iadrensis*: Heir of Roman Dalmatia or a Stillborn Child of Byzantine Early Medieval Adriatic Policy?', *Medieval Adriatic*, 147.

[586] LPER, 180, c30; Brown, 'Early Medieval Rivals', 180.

[587] For an overview of the evidence for Byzantine-Western commerce, see M. McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300-900* (Cambridge, 2002), esp. 351-84, 523-31, 537-47, 618-38; Borri, 'Lagoons as a Distant Mirror', 211.

Section Two – The Image of Byzantium in the *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*

The image of Byzantium constructed in the LPER appears to follow a recognisable trajectory from a benevolent and rightful imperial overlord to a foreign and theologically wayward neighbouring power. This manifests as a progressively changing approach towards the Eastern Roman Empire: at first, Byzantine emperors are the source of Ravennan greatness; later, they are despots seeking to exact bloody revenge on the city. Upon a closer reading, however, Agnellus constructs an image of Byzantium that is ultimately positive, and clearly nostalgic. This stems from two sources: anti-Carolingian sentiment, and a feeling of social, cultural and historical proximity to the Eastern Roman Empire.

Iconoclasm in the Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis

Agnellus' work has long been recognised for its art historical value. He writes with a seemingly genuine interest in art and architecture, and it clearly constitutes a key part of his historical methodology. Accordingly, most mentions of art and architecture in the LPER concern the historical narrative of the Ravennan see. Several, however, appear tangential to this narrative and instead concern Agnellus' theological outlook on iconoclasm.[588]

It is necessary to bear in mind the centrality of Ravenna in the history of this theological controversy in Italy. In the first phase of Byzantine Iconoclasm (*c.*726-787), the imperially mandated theology was transmitted to the Italian peninsula via Ravenna as the exarchal

[588] I owe much here to the study of D. M. Deliyannis, 'Agnellus of Ravenna and Iconoclasm: Theology and Politics in a Ninth-Century Historical Text', *Speculum*, LXXI (1996), 559-76.

capital.[589] The exarchs failed in their mission to enforce this theological directive from Constantinople and resistance in Ravenna itself to the controversy appears to have been considerable.[590] The Ravennan archbishops held consistently to an iconodule position, attending both the 731 and 769 anti-iconoclasm councils at Rome.[591]

The lack of explicit mentions of iconoclasm by Agnellus, however, is particularly striking, not only because of the centrality of Ravenna to this issue but also considering that the majority of the LPER was written during the second phase of Byzantine Iconoclasm (814-843).[592] In fact, as in the LP, there is only a superficial silence concerning iconoclasm and Agnellus emphatically reveals himself, and Ravenna more generally, to be anti-iconoclast and orthodox.[593]

Demonstrating Ravennan orthodoxy was clearly of concern to Agnellus.[594] It is therefore understandable that throughout the LPER, Agnellus inserts several stories concerning the efficacy of icons into the historical narrative.[595] In this regard, whilst employing the same strategy as the LP, he uses a different tactic, lacking access to the same quantity of documentary sources as was available in the papal *vestiarium*. That said, Agnellus is still able to record that

[589] That is until the collapse of the Byzantine Exarchate in 751.
[590] LP, 18, 405: 'There was dispute in the districts of Ravenna. Some agreed with the emperor's iniquity; others sided with the pontiff and those who kept the faith. There was strife between them, and they killed Paul the patrician'; though there was some support in favour of the exarch and iconoclasm, Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, 69.
[591] Deliyannis, 'Agnellus and Iconoclasm', 563.
[592] Agnellus refers to the second wave of Byzantine Iconoclasm on two occasions. Once when describing the 'poison of the Greeks', LPER, 317, c140, in the epic narrative of the Byzantine attack on Ravenna and once in the prophecy in the Life of Gratiosus which is set in the immediate aftermath of the 787 Council of Nicaea which refuted iconoclasm, c166, 343-7.
[593] The similarity in the approach taken towards the topic of Byzantine Iconoclasm with the LP attests, firstly, the recognition of the implicit strategy taken by the papal authors by a relatively contemporaneous reader (*i.e.* Agnellus) and, secondly, reinforces the understanding of the LPER as a work derived in form and function from the LP.
[594] It is necessary to recall that this is one of the fundamental purposes of writing a *gesta epicoporum.*
[595] He even demonstrates his family's own orthodoxy by associating a miracle involving an icon with his ancestor Johannicis, LPER, 324, c146.

many bishops, and other magnates linked with Ravenna, commissioned icons or images.[596] In a similar vein, he uses language that is decidedly iconodule in tone, describing God variously as a *plasmator* (‘**former**’, ‘**fashioner**’ or ‘creator’), *opifex* (‘a craftsman’) and the one who *formasti hominem ex liquido elemento* (‘you made man from **the runny rudiment’** (*i.e.* clay, referring to Genesis 2:7)).[597]

Another means by which Agnellus demonstrates Ravennan orthodoxy is through recording miracles that were associated with icons. Two of these miracle stories are of particular interest to this thesis. The first occurs in the Life of Peter I. A hermit prays to see the incarnation of God. Jesus visits him in his sleep and tells the hermit to visit the *Ecclesia Petriana* in Ravenna: ‘there you will see me depicted **on the limestone of** the wall, as I [Christ] was incarnate in the world.’[598] The hermit travels to the church and, upon seeing the image, he ‘adores it’ and later dies after exclaiming ‘Now I am filled with your holy riches, now I am enriched from the heavenly treasury.’[599]

The second miracle is recorded in the Life of Neon (*c.*450-473). This involves an icon named ‘The Strong Arm’. Two men stand in front of this icon, situated in the Basilica of the Apostles, and one agrees to loan three hundred gold *solidi* to the other. The deal is done in front of the icon which is judged to be the mediator, guarantor and witness of the loan.[600] The debtor subsequently engages in business and begins to make such sizeable profits that he even travels to

[596] Bishops or magnates commissioning icons or images, LPER, Ursus, 169, c23; Peter I, 171, c24; Galla Placidia, 174, c27; Neon, 175-7, cc28-9; Peter II, 214, c50; Ecclesius, 225, c57; Victor, 236, c66; Maximian, 245, c77; 248, c80; Agnellus, 253-4, c86; 254-5, c88; Maurus, 284, c114.
[597] Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 97.
[598] LPER, 171, c25: *“ibi me uidebis depictum in parietis calce qualis ego fui in mundo in carnem.”*
[599] *Ibid*, 172, c25: *“Iam satiatus sum de sanctis diuitiis tuis, iam de thesauro caelesti locupletatus sum.”*
[600] *Ibid*, 179, c30: ‘let Almighty God be a mediator between us, whose image is depicted here, and let this strong and terrible arm of the Saviour be a guarantor, and these two great princes and apostles, namely Peter and Paul, be witnesses between you and me.’

Constantinople. He misses, however, the date upon which he agreed to return the loan. Thus, the lender returns to the icon and berates it for not holding the recipient to account. Subsequently, 'the image of our Saviour appeared to the debtor in his sleep', telling him to return to Ravenna and hand back the money.[601] This is immediately carried out and ends with the recipient and the lender reuniting happily.

Both miracles act as demonstrations confirming the efficacy, sanctity and orthodoxy of icons. Furthermore, they respond directly to iconoclast theology and are both connected with Byzantine sources. In the first instance, the icon that represents God incarnate does not circumscribe Christ but reflects faithfully and wholly his true being on Earth.[602] The very fact that this icon truly represents Christ is noteworthy given that the incarnation, alongside the images people create in their minds to imagine it, was itself an iconodule argument.[603] Moreover, the hermit acts appropriately before the image, which, in being lifelike, makes it an icon of the highest order.[604]

In the case of the 'Strong Arm' icon, firstly, it confirms the divine power of miraculous icons and, secondly, emphasises the efficacy of icons in the iconoclast centre of the imperial capital of Constantinople. Moreover, as Joaquin Pizarro has noted, it can hardly be a coincidence that this miracle story speaks directly against the contents of the 824 letter of Michael II to Louis

[601] LPER, 181, c30: *In ipsa denique nocte apparuit ad ipsum compatrem suum debitorem saluatoris nostri effigies in somnis.*
[602] K. Parry, 'The Theological Argument about Images in the 9th Century', *Companion to Byzantine Iconoclasm*, 426-7.
[603] A. Louth, 'The Theological Argument about Images in the 8th Century', *ibid*, 405.
[604] B. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual and the Senses in Byzantium* (Philadelphia, 2010), 179-80; Parry, 'The Theological Argument', 451.

the Pious in which the Byzantine emperor critiques such use of icons.[605] Whilst Agnellus may not have known of Michael's letter, the fact that the miracle speaks directly against the letter's contents reveals Agnellus' awareness of the substance of the iconoclasm debate. Agnellus likely made a deliberate choice in the inclusion of this miracle story as part of the discourse surrounding iconoclasm.

Iconoclasm plays a further role in two other passages that fundamentally shape the image of Byzantium constructed by Agnellus. In a narrative concerning a Byzantine attack on the city, Agnellus connects this action with Ravennan opposition to iconoclasm.[606] In this narrative, Agnellus' ancestor decries the 'foul poison from the mouth of the serpent' that has come to Ravenna from the 'Byzantine sea'.[607] By the early-ninth century, poison already had a substantial history of being used as a metaphor for heresy. In addition, the particular use of the metonymic adjective 'Byzantine' refers directly to Constantinople, the centre of the iconoclast controversy.[608]

Later in the LPER, a prophecy contained in the Life of Gratiosus states that 'the holy doctrines of my Church will be lessened through evil and ignorant priests' and 'that a most evil time will come in the Church' when 'youths shall deride the doctrines of the elders and the holy Church'.[609] The prophecy as a whole foretells the advent of the End Times in which 'the Empire

[605] Noted by Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 74, ref. 9; 'Michaelis et Theophili imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum epistola ad Hludowicum imperatorem directa. 824. Aprili 10', ed. A. Werminghoff, MGH, Conc., II, ii (1908), 475-80, esp. 478-9; an icon is used similarly in the LPER, 294, c121.
[606] This narrative is explored in greater detail below, *A moment of* translatio imperii?, 180-3.
[607] LPER, 317, c140: *Fateor ex ore serpentis, qui ex Bizantiae ponto hic delatus est, cuncti ex eo tetrum bibimus uenenum.*
[608] *uenenum*, Blaise, 839.
[609] LPER, 345, c166: *doctrina sancta meae ecclesiae per malos et inscios sacerdotes minuetur. Quia ueniet tempus nequissimum in hac ecclesia: antecedent iuuenes senes et doctrinam seniorem et sanctam derident ecclesiam.*

of the Romans will be laid waste'.[610] This too most probably refers to iconoclasm, though in this instance to the second phase of Byzantine Iconoclasm. The prophecy is chronologically placed in the historical narrative immediately after the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, which condemned iconoclasm, whilst the passage was written by Agnellus after the return of iconoclasm in 814 and therefore with hindsight.[611]

Deliyannis has suggested that Agnellus' display of his anti-iconoclasm stems from his anti-papalist views and his desire not to present the Ravennan see as subservient to the papacy.[612] This seems unlikely. As mentioned above, Agnellus, in both demonstrating the orthodoxy of the Ravennan see and its anti-iconoclastic position, employs the exact same tropes as the Roman LP. For instance, the centring of the Council of Chalcedon on Peter Chrysologus' letter in the LPER mirrors exactly the centring of the First Ecumenical Council on St. Sylvester and the papacy in the LP.[613] Additionally, he reuses the euphemistic language of the LP when he refers to the heretics cast out of Ravenna as 'Manicheans'.[614] The refusal to mention iconoclasm explicitly, but nevertheless to demonstrate clearly Ravennan opposition towards it, further mirrors the approach taken towards the theological controversy as in the papal serial biography. Whilst the LPER is clearly concerned with emphasising and demonstrating the right of autonomy of the Ravennan see from the Roman one, this did not reflect a desire to differ dogmatically from the papacy. Anti-papal sentiment, therefore, does not account for Agnellus' presentation of iconoclasm in the LPER.

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[610] LPER, 345, c166: *et quod nunc est Romanorum imperium desolabitur*.
[611] For a deeper exploration of this prophecy see *The Prophecy in the Life of Gratiosus and the Byzantine Influence on Agnellus and Ravenna*, 184-99.
[612] Deliyannis, 'Agnellus and Iconoclasm', 566.
[613] See ref. 155.
[614] LPER, 247, c79; for the use of Manichean to refer to heretics in the LP, Cohen, 'Schism and the Polemic of Heresy', 195-230.

The answer is found in interrogating the actual contents of the two miracle stories detailed above. Firstly, Agnellus shows awareness not just of the centrality of Constantinople as the origin of iconoclasm but of the particulars of arguments surrounding iconoclasm. It is unsurprising, therefore, that when he justifies his usage of images of bishops as source material for the LPER, he quotes from the exact same passage in Pseudo-Ambrose's letter that was quoted during the 769 Council of Rome which condemned iconoclasm. This particular overlap is all the more telling in that, according to a letter of Pope Hadrian I, Pseudo-Ambrose's letter was quoted by the Ravennan archbishop, Sergius I, himself during the council.[615] Indeed, the didactic role of icons was in itself a key iconophile argument.[616] Agnellus' direct and emphatic refutation of iconoclasm serves to demonstrate Ravennan orthodoxy, which is further emphasised by comparison with the heretical source, Byzantium.

Secondly, iconoclasm serves a supplementary role in the two passages that contribute mostly towards constructing the negative aspects of the image of Byzantium in the LPER. In the first instance, the Byzantine attack on Ravenna is implicitly a consequence of the heretical 'poison' of iconoclasm whilst, in the second instance, the 'Roman Empire' (*i.e.* Byzantium) is weakened by deviation from established doctrine.

I disagree with Deliyannis' claim that Agnellus' depiction of Ravennan orthodoxy was motivated by antipathy towards the papacy. However, there is much to be said for her argument that Agnellus was writing with an ulterior motive. As we have already seen, he is a writer who does not always speak directly about a subject.[617] In addition to responding to Byzantine

[615] See refs. 464 and 530; Deliyannis, 'Agnellus and Iconoclasm', 568-9.
[616] T. F. X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2013), 27-8, 103.
[617] See *On the Question of Writing*, 142-50.

iconoclasm, these two miracle stories respond directly to chapters in the *Libri Carolini* (hereafter, LC), produced in the mid-790s.[618] In particular, the miracle of the 'Strong Arm' icon where the miraculous action literally involves the icon as an image directly counters Chapter Twenty-Five of Book Three: '*images are not to be adored for that reason, as they say, that they are thought to have shown certain signs through them, though not all things are adored, through which or in which miracles appear.*'[619] The icon miracle involving the hermit speaks directly against Chapter Twenty-Three in Book One: '*That in what is written: 'The Light of your appearance is signed upon us, Lord', or: 'Your face, Lord, I will seek', there is nothing to understand regarding a man-made image, as they say.*'[620] It appears that Agnellus is producing a silent polemic against Carolingian interference in orthodox doctrine. That the arguments of the LC are being directly repudiated is, moreover, a timely repudiation. Louis the Pious (813-840) and the Paris Synod of 825 reconfirmed the conclusions of the LC and republished them in a *Libellus Synodalis*.[621] The anti-Frankishness expressed in this particular manner likely stems from resistance to secular interference in theological matters. If so, the very criticism raised against the Byzantine imperial institution taking the lead on iconoclasm is now likewise levelled against the Frankish court. The controversy surrounding icons was a live issue in the Christian West, if not to as great an extent as in the Christian East.[622]

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[618] Deliyannis mentions this connection between the *Libri Carolini* in her thesis on the LPER but believes it stems from the influence of the (minimal) immigration into Ravenna of iconodule refugees in the ninth century who would have supported the conclusions of Nicaea rather than any active anti-Frankishness, Deliyannis, 'Commentary', 374-5.
[619] 'Libri Carolini', 452-8: *Quod non ideo adorande sunt imagines, quod per eas, ut illi dicunt, nonulla signa monstrata fuisse putentur, cum tamen non omnes res adorentur, per quas vel in quibus miracula apparent.*
[620] *Ibid*, 209-12: *Quod in eo, quod scriptum est: 'Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine', sive 'vultum tuum, Domine, requiram', nihil manufactę imagin[i]s intellegendum est, ut illi dicunt.*
[621] Deliyannis, 'Iconoclasm', 561.
[622] T. F. X. Noble, 'Iconoclasm, Images and the West', *Companion to Byzantine Iconoclasm*, 538-70.

Iconoclasm is primarily used as a vehicle to produce an upstanding image of the Ravennan Church as well as of Agnellus and his family. Naturally, considering its origins, the particular use of iconoclasm as a vehicle to demonstrate the piety of Ravenna and Agnellus himself reflects poorly upon Byzantium as the source of this theological controversy. It therefore intrinsically casts a negative light on the Eastern Roman Empire. Indeed, for Agnellus, the 'poison' of iconoclasm transforms – and effectively demotes – the inhabitants of Byzantium into 'Greeks' and thus denies their Romanness. In the second instance, iconoclasm is prophetically shown to lead inevitably to the downfall of the empire. Most intriguingly, the additional connection to, and reproach of, Carolingian theology suggests a strain of anti-Western imperialness in this ninth-century author. As this chapter continues, this anti-Frankishness becomes clearer.

A Moment of* translatio imperii*?

Ostensibly, the LPER fully accepts that the Carolingian emperors are the true Roman emperors with the narrative presenting a seamless transfer of authority from the Byzantines.[623] It has therefore been argued that the LPER implicitly accepts that the rule of the Roman Empire had returned to the West from Constantinople.[624] In turn, this would mean that Byzantium implicitly lacks Romanness, a perspective which is seemingly corroborated by the negativity surrounding the Constantinopolitan-promoted iconoclasm.

[623] LPER, 139: 'Emperor Louis holds the sceptre of the empire'; 259, c94: 'Charles king of the Franks … had received the Empire of the Romans'; 349, c168: 'the Emperor Charles'; A. Carile, 'Agnello storico', SR, II, 377.
[624] Brown, '*Romanitas* and *Campanilismo*', 109.

Indeed, there appears to be a particular instance when this transition occurs in the narrative, or at least an instance where the Eastern Roman Empire is explicitly separated from Ravenna and becomes "Greek". It concerns the epic retelling of the Byzantine attack on the city of Ravenna in the first half of the eighth century. This is a very long, chronologically confused and thematically inconsistent narrative that begins when several Ravennans are implicated in the plot that initially overthrew Justinian II.[625] Upon retaking the imperial title, Justinian seeks revenge on Ravenna. By deceit, the 'commander of the Greeks' captures the leading citizens of Ravenna, including the Archbishop Felix and Agnellus' ancestor, Johannicis.[626] Felix is saved miraculously from death but blinded and the rest are put to death.[627] Consequently, Ravenna rises up in rebellion led by Johannicis' son, George, who proclaims 'we have all drunk foul poison from the mouth of the serpent, which was brought from the Byzantine Sea' and encourages the Ravennans 'not to flee from the Greeks'.[628] No immediate invasion arrives but 'the Greeks' raise up 'a new emperor over themselves'.[629] In the following Life of John V (726-44), and some years after the revenge of Justinian, the narrative resumes and Ravenna is attacked by an army of 'Greeks' who are also referred to as 'Byzantines' but the attack is repulsed.[630] The violence in this narrative appears to blend a failed Byzantine expedition to retake Ravenna from the Lombards in the mid-730s with violence in Ravenna that led to the death of the Byzantine exarch, Paul, in 727 over his attempts to assert iconoclasm.[631] Agnellus, or the epic tale, appears to have amalgamated a number of actual historical events into a particular narrative.

[625] Once again, Agnellus frames Ravenna as central to Roman imperial history.
[626] LPER, 312-15, c137.
[627] *Ibid*, 315-16, c138.
[628] See ref. 607.
[629] LPER, 321, c143: *post mortem uero Iustiniani augusti leuauerunt super se Pelasgi nouum imperatorem.*
[630] *Ibid*, 330-1, c153: *Graecorum*; *Bizanteos*.
[631] Brown, 'Byzantine Italy', CHBE, 440-1.

Prior to this long and disjointed story across the Lives of Felix I and John V (covering the years 709-744), the label "Greek" is only used in reference to language. In the Life of St. Apollinaris, the second fact one learns of him is that he was 'educated in Greek and Latin letters'. Agnellus' great ancestor, Johannicis, is also described as 'educated in Greek and Latin letters'.[632]

More pertinently, prior to the attack on Ravenna, Byzantium and the Byzantines have been identified as Roman by Agnellus, a term which also includes Ravennans. In Chapter Thirty-Nine, John I does not just secure peace 'for the citizens of Ravenna' from Attila but 'for all Romans'.[633] In Chapter Ninety-Five, Agnellus bewails that 'from the time of Basilius holding the **consulship** up to Narses **the Patrician**, the Roman provincial citizens [in Italy] were everywhere reduced to nothing', though the imperial reconquest of Italy did also lead to 'the plundering of all the Romans of Italy'.[634] In Chapter One Hundred and Seven, the LPER records that 'Phocas invaded the kingdom of the Romans and held the principate for a period of eight years.' At this time, 'war was stirred up in eastern lands … and [the Sassanids] captured many Roman provinces'. Subsequently, the 608 Heraclian revolt in Africa leads to Heraclius undertaking 'the rule of the Roman republic'.[635]

In the epic narrative, the Byzantine Empire, which was Roman and of which Ravenna was a part, is now separated from Ravenna and described as populated with 'Greeks' who raise

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[632] LPER, 148, c1: *Graecis et Latinis literis eruditus*; 291, c120: *Graecis et Latinis literis qui eruditus est*; the other meaning of the term, "Greek", within the LPER, is in terms of liturgical practice see ref. 578.
[633] *Ibid*, 196, c39: *et pax illa ab eo concessa est, non solum Rauennensibus ciuibus sed etiam omnibus Romanis*.
[634] *Ibid*, 260, c95: *A Basilii namque tempore consulatum agentis usque ad Narsetem patricium prouincales Romani ubique ad nichilum redacti sunt … gessit multas uictorias in Italia cum denudatione omnium Romanorum Italiae.*
[635] *Ibid*, 278, c107: *Igitur … Focas, extincto Mauricio eiusque filiis, Romanorum inuadens regnum, per (octo) annorum curricula principatum tenuit. … Interea exagitatum est bellum in Orientis partibus … multas Romanorum provincias … captauerunt. … Heraclianus … contra hunc Focacem rebellauit… Heraclius, eiusque filius, rem Romanam publicam regendam suscepit.*

their own emperor above themselves. So cataclysmic is this encounter that Ravenna's relationship with the empire seems to have been irrevocably changed. The 'Greeks', that is Byzantines, are treacherous, poisoning Ravenna with heresy and sailing in from the 'Byzantine sea'. The very geography through which Ravenna was connected to the empire has been transformed into a dangerous, foreign entity. This is emphasised by the use of the classicising term, 'Byzantine', which carred pre-Christian and pre-Roman connotations (*i.e.* barbaric ones), and was employed to deliberately juxtapose Latin-speaking Western and Greek-speaking Eastern Romans.[636] In a similarly negative vein, these 'Greeks' are militarily inept and are slaughtered as they flee.[637] Two classic discriminatory tropes are thus deployed against the Byzantines: deviousness and military ineptitude.[638]

There is a potential caveat to this anti-Byzantine discourse. The very renaming of the Byzantines may be a means to disassociate heretical iconoclasm from the Romanness of the empire by identifying it with 'Greeks'. In turn, considering that "Greek" was already an established term for the Byzantines in the Latin West, Agnellus furthers this disassociation by using a number of other classicising terms. He variously refers to Byzantines as 'Pelasgians', 'Myrmidons' and 'Danaoí' as well as to refer to Ravennans, calling them 'Melisenses'.[639] Moreover, the vengeful actions of Justinian II come about because he is described as 'turning Persian' (*i.e.* becoming very angry). Admittedly, the use of such classicising terms may simply be a stylistic decision pertinent to epic narratives, but it seems more apparent that this is a

[636] Theodoropoulos, 'Did the Byzantines call themselves Byzantines?', 25-41.
[637] LPER, 330-1, c153.
[638] F. Borri, 'The Coriander Field: Ideologies and Identities in Post-Roman Ravenna', IMERW, 356.
[639] Pelasgi, 321-2, c143; 331, c153; Myrmidons, 322, c143; Danaoí, 318, c140; Melisenses, 331, c153.

temporary metamorphosis that the Eastern Roman Empire undertakes in Agnellus' historical narrative, particularly when considered in light of the analysis below.[640]

Nevertheless, this violent epic, when read in the context of a broader work that asserts iconodule orthodoxy, appears to present the Carolingian kings as the rightful Roman emperors, and now baptises the Byzantines as "Greeks", constructing an image of Byzantium and the Byzantines that is fundamentally a heretical and negative one. Furthermore, it is an essentially "Othering" narrative with Agnellus writing about a moment when the factions in Ravenna, which plagued the city in his time,[641] unify to fight an external foe, that is the Byzantine Empire. A paradigm shift appears to occur here with the sense of belonging with Byzantium present in Ravenna being lost in this passage.

The Prophecy in the Life of Gratiosus and the Byzantine Influence on Agnellus and Ravenna

Having shown that Ravenna's relationship with Byzantium plays an important role in the LPER, one might think that Agnellus was highly critical of the emperor of Constantinople, his territory and his people. Yet this is not entirely the case. As mentioned above, in the Life of Gratiosus, following a story that speaks of the humbleness and simplicity of the Ravennan bishop winning over Charlemagne in a similar manner to that of Bishop John I with regard to Attila, Agnellus recounts a prophecy. Addressing his clerical brothers and the citizens of

[640] Forrai notes a similar use of archaising labels in the works of Anastasius Bibliothecarius as a means of separation, albeit in his case to separate 'the cultural artefacts of a [cultural and literary] tradition from the heirs of this of this tradition, the Greek-speaking Byzantines.', 'Sacred Nectar', 82.
[641] Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, 100-1.

Ravenna, this prophecy foretells the End Times when war, plague and heresy spread everywhere and cause society and nature to turn upside down.[642]

The source of this prophecy is unclear. Deliyannis has suggested that it is a version or reworking of the *expositum* of Archbishop Felix on the Day of Judgement according to the account of Christ in Matthew, Chapter Twenty-Four.[643] This is based on the use of this chapter from Matthew's Gospel in both the passage where Agnellus mentions that Archbishop Felix wrote this *expositum* and in the prophecy itself.[644] This work is not extant, however, so it is also possible that these words are drawn from some unknown work of Archbishop Gratiosus himself.

It is possible that, like several other sermonettes in the LPER, these are the words of Agnellus himself. 'Because of evil bishops,' the prophecy states, 'for their own honour, they will give away the treasure to the church and scatter bribes, they will consume all the ornaments of the church … and the time will come when they serve at the table of the church with wooden vessels'.[645] In addition, the prophecy makes a number of biblical references, in particular to Chapter Eight of the Book of Amos, which criticises the rich and greedy, and Chapter Three in the Second Letter to Timothy, which criticises sophists who over-intellectualise and begin to deviate from established doctrine (*i.e.* iconoclasm). The contents of the prophecy dovetail almost perfectly with Agnellus' own opinions and his intentions in writing the LPER. This overlap

[642] LPER, 346-7, c166: 'there will be a serious pestilence, … [God] will even dim the fair weather and will hold back the dew at its proper time. … And the moon will lose its light, that means, the holy doctrines of the Church will be lessened through evil and ignorant priests.'
[643] Deliyannis, BPCR, 258, ref. 3; 291, ref. 4.
[644] Matt. 24:15: *cum ergo videritis abominationem desolationis quae dicta est a Danihelo propheta*; LPER, 312, c136: *Cum uideritis abominationem, ipse dictauit*; Matt. 24:29: *et luna non dabit lumen suum*; 345, c166: *et luna minuetur de lumine.*
[645] LPER, 346, c166: *Per malos pontifices ecclesia Rauennatis dehiscens, pro suo honore thesaura ecclesiae tribuent et munera spargent, et postquam omnia consumpserint ornamenta ecclesiae, praedia tribuent. Et ueniet tempus ut ad ecclesiae mensam cum uasculis ligneis ministrent*.

suggests the possibility that Agnellus himself was the original creator (or perhaps a judicious editor) of this prophecy. In any case, the precise origin is a moot point. What matters for this investigation is that Agnellus chose to include the prophecy in his work and to identify what exactly he intended by this inclusion.

Several lines in this prophecy are of particular relevance for this thesis and reveal Agnellus' true understanding of Ravenna, its socio-cultural situation and its geopolitical position in the first half of the ninth century:[646]

> 'But I say to you my brothers, my comrades, citizens of Ravenna, … The head of all is under siege, … And there will come from the West clean-shaven men for her defence, but they will greatly damage her. … And what is now the empire of the Romans will be laid waste, and kings will sit on the imperial throne.'

'my brothers, my comrades, citizens of Ravenna'

That pro-Byzantinism might be a part of Agnellus' identity and the civic identity of Ravenna is implicit from the very first line when the prophecy addresses its audience. The use of the term *commilitones* ('comrades'), followed immediately by Ravennan citizens, speaks to Ravennan society identifying with a label that was shared across the Upper Adriatic in the ninth century which emphasised a connection with Byzantium.

In recent years, research has explored a regional identity that existed in the northern Adriatic of several Latin-speaking peoples who maintained Byzantine socio-political structures

[646] LPER, 344-5, c166: *Sed ego uobis dico, fratres mei, commilitones mei, Rauennenses ciues, … Caput omnium est in obsidione, … Et ueniunt ex occiduis partibus rasi barbas pro defensione eius, sed ipsi maxime laedent. … Et quod nunc est Romanorum imperium desolabitur, et super augustalem solium reges sedebunt.*

and understood themselves as connected to the empire to varying degrees.[647] Evidence for this is seen in the use of "Graecisms" in political and administrative language through the continuation of Byzantine administration,[648] Byzantine influence on regional hagiographies,[649] use of Byzantine military and civil titles,[650] use of Byzantine civic military organisation,[651] and naming-patterns.[652] A clear sense of "Wir-Gefühl" existed between the Po River delta, the Venetian lagoons, the Istrian peninsula and the Dalmatian coast. For instance, the 804 Plea of Rizana records Istrian delegates referring to their Adriatic neighbours as 'relatives and neighbours'. 'Greeks' are also mentioned though are described as previous overlords rather than relatives.[653]

The similarity between this geography and its Adrio-Byzantine identity with Ravenna is striking.[654] The regional geography itself favoured the formation of an interconnected maritime trade network such as can be seen in the marble-trade with the material being used for construction of buildings across the Upper Adriatic. Indeed, this marble appears to have mainly originated from similar Byzantine sources, suggesting that sailors from across the Upper Adriatic

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[647] I. Basić, 'Imperial Legacies and Multiple Borderlands: Was there an "Adrio-Byzantine" Model of Identity in the Upper Adriatic?', CoC, 81-102.
[648] M. Ančić, 'The Treaty of Aachen', *Imperial Spheres*, 29; Lazard, 'Les Byzantinismes Lexicaux', 416.
[649] Vedriš, '*Provincia Iadrensis*', 146; M. Cerno, 'Holding the Aquileian Patriarchate's Title: The Key Role of Local Early Ninth-Century Hagiography', *Imperial Spheres*, 143-4.
[650] F. Borri, 'L'Adriatico tra Bizantini, Longobardi e Franchi: dalla conquista di Ravenna alla pace di Aquisgrana (751-812)', *Bullettino*, CXII (2010), 21-4; *idem*, 'The Waterfront of Istria: Sea and Identity in the post-Roman Adriatic', eds. S. Gasparri and S. Gelichi, *Venice and its Neighbours from the 8th to 11th Century* (Leiden, 2017), 54.
[651] B. Ward-Perkins, 'The Duke of Istria, the Roman Past and the Frankish Present', IERWM, 237.
[652] F. Borri, 'Dalmatian Romans and their Adriatic Friends: Some further remarks', ToR, 251.
[653] F. Borri, 'Neighbours and Relatives: The Plea of Rizana as a Source for Northern Adriatic Elites', MS, XVII (2008), 3-4; *in loco qui dicitur Riziano: Die Versammlung in Rižana/Risano bei Koper/Capodistria im Jahre 804*, ed. H. Krahwinkler (Koper, 2004), 79: *Unde omnes devenimus in paupertatem et derident nostros parentes et convicini nostri Venetias et Dalmatias etiam Greci, sub cuius ante fuimus potestate.*
Basić, '"Adrio-Byzantine"', 95; Borri, 'Waterfront', 56.
[654] See *Ravenna and its Relationship with Byzantium in the First Half of the Ninth Century*, 164-71; connections and similarities have been noticed before but I am unable to find an instance where someone has explored this in any depth beyond a passing comment: Brown, 'Other Early Medieval Rivals', 177; *idem*, 'Byzantine Cuckoo', 191; A. Pazienza, 'Serving Two Masters: Istria between Venice and the Franks in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', eds. M. Betti *et al.*, *Carolingian Frontiers: Italy and Beyond*, RMR, XLVIII (Florence, 2024), 117; Basic, '"Adrio-Byzantine"', 94.

followed the same trading routes and engaged in similar economic patterns and activities.[655] Moreover, it appears as if foreign Latin speaking contemporaries themselves recognised a distinctive identity in the Upper Adriatic and associated it with Byzantium in a similar manner to how Ravenna and its environs were also associated with East Rome.[656]

One further aspect of this Adrio-Byzantine identity is that a civic population is often referred to as an *exercitus* ('army') and individuals as *miles* ('soldier').[657] In the LPER, Agnellus uses the term *commilitones* to refer to the Ravennan people. Bearing in mind the parallels between Ravennan society and this Adrio-Byzantine identity, it becomes apparent that the LPER also bears witness to the connection of the Adrio-Byzantine identity and culture with Ravenna.[658] Agnellus is employing a term to refer to a group of people which is mutually inclusive with his usage of 'brothers' and the 'citizens of Ravenna'. Moreover, it is highly improbable that Agnellus would employ a term to refer to the 'citizens of Ravenna' that they would not recognise. Indeed, when Agnellus employs the classicising term, '*Melisenses*', to refer to the Ravennans, he explains it, as he clearly expects that not all of his audience would be familiar with the label.[659]

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[655] N. Jakšić, 'Scultura e liturgia', eds. C. Bertelli *et al.*, *Bizantini, Croati Carolingi: Alba e tramonto di regni e imperi* (Milan, 2001), 176.
[656] Borri, 'Neighbours and Relatives', 21-3; *idem*, 'Dalmatian Romans', 248-9; Vedriš, '*Provincia Iadrensis*', 144; Basić, '"Adrio-Byzantine"', 81-102, esp. 82-5; for Ravenna being associated with Byzantium in the Latin West, see *Ravenna and its Relationship with Byzantium in the First Half of the Ninth Century*, 164-71.
[657] This may have been a marker of elite identity, Borri, 'Lagoons as a Distant Mirror', 208; S. Gasparri, 'Venezia fra l'Italia bizantina e il regno italico. La civitas e l'assemblea', eds. S. Gasparri *et al.*, *Venezia: Itinerari per la storia della città* (Bologna, 1997), 67-70; documents at Comacchio suggest that it may have applied in a broader sense, Borri, 'Neighbours and Relatives', 19; *idem*, 'Gli Istriani e I loro parenti: Φραγγοι, Romani e Slavi nella periferia di Bizantino', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, LX (2010), 16.
[658] Deliyannis translates this to 'my soldiers [in Christ]' but I am not convinced that this crusading term applies here, BPCR, 292.
[659] LPER, 331, c153: *Melisenses, id est Rauenniani ciues*; this action is also seen when Agnellus uses the term *archiergatus* which he defines as 'master of the work', 242, c73; admittedly, not one extant non-Ravennan source refers to Ravennans in any way as part of this Upper Adriatic, Adrio-Byzantine sphere.

Such an explanation is unnecessary for *commilitones*. This suggests that Ravenna used the same socio-cultural signifier to refer to itself as other populations in the northern Adriatic which maintained connections, in most cases political and mercantile, and in all cases socio-cultural, with Byzantium. This further supports the idea of a shared cultural identity across the Upper Adriatic coast that to some extent included Ravenna.

A regrettable lack of source material makes it impossible to expand on this argument for such a connection between Ravenna and Constantinople as is possible with the wider Upper Adriatic.[660] It is necessary to turn, therefore, to the internal evidence of the LPER to find support for this pro-Byzantine finding. A re-reading of the LPER, in light of the prophecy, shows that Constantinople, and the emperor within it, is presented in a positive and authoritative light. It is twice described as the 'royal city',[661] presented as a site of justice,[662] establishing clerical rights (a particularly important point given this issue is a primary concern of the LPER),[663] and, in contrast to George's failed attempt to gain greater episcopal rights for Ravenna, Constantinople had, during the episcopate of Maurus (642-671),[664] given Ravenna her autocephaly from Rome.

In turn, the LPER records Frankish military weakness in the Life of Marinian when the Frankish king, Theudebert I (533-548), attacks Byzantine Italy and 'his army was severely weakened'.[665] This occurs again when Agnellus describes the victories of Narses' campaign in the Justinian reconquest of Italy (551-554) and how he 'butchered dukes of the Franks with the sword' (likely referring to the 554 Battle of the Volturnus River) and 'the Franks were expelled

[660] Cosentino, 'Potere e Autorità', 292.
[661] LPER, 322-4, cc. 144-5.
[662] *Ibid*, 297-8, c123; 306-7, c131.
[663] *Ibid*, 286-7, c115.
[664] *Ibid*, 280-1, c110.
[665] *Ibid*, 270, c101: *eiusque exercitus uehementer attritus est.*

from Italy'.[666] Such strong language in regard to Frankish defeat when viewed alongside the contents of this prophecy clearly reveals the anti-Carolingian opinion of Agnellus and, if it is accepted that Agnellus was conveying a broader consensus in his work, a section of Ravennan society. Even the spoliation that the Frankish rulers commit upon Ravenna is criticised.[667]

'and kings will sit on the imperial throne'

This line reveals obliquely yet clearly Agnellus' true position on the Carolingian right to *imperium*. Agnellus, far from supporting the Frankish claim to *imperium* via Charlemagne – something which elsewhere both he and the *minimus scholasticus* explicitly mention and support –[668] places in the Life of a bishop 'filled with the grace of God' and who 'obtained, whatever [he] asked from [Charlemagne]' a prophecy that declares seeing a king claim the imperial power is an event that is either a sign of the End Times or a part of the End Times in its own right.[669] '[L]eaders will be born in defilement and they will overthrow the earth', the prophecy continues.[670] It is stated twice that, at a time when 'the sea will rise against its creation' and 'shepherds will kill their sheep', 'kings will sit on the imperial throne'.[671]

[666] LPER, 256, c90: *expulsi sunt Franci de Italia per Narsem patricium. … et duces Francorum ingulauit gladio.*
[667] Agnellus shows himself to be firmly set against spoliation, LPER, 284, c113; 187-9, c36; 254, c87; Deliyannis, BPCR, 79-81; G. V. B. West is not so convinced, *Studies in the Representations and Perceptions of the Carolingians in Italy 774-875* (PhD thesis, King's College London, 1998), 41-2.
[668] LPER, 139: 'and the kindly emperor Louis holds the sceptre of the empire, peaceful descendant of mighty Charlemagne'; it must be reiterated that the *minimus scholasticorum* likely knew the contents of the LPER, at least up to the Life of Archbishop Petronax. Hence, it is very possible that this sentence was written in full knowledge of the prophecy to come.
[669] *Ibid*, 342, c164: *quia gratia Dei perfusus*; 343, c165: *quicquid imperauit ab eo presul, obtinuit.*
[670] *Ibid*, 347, c166: *et ex stupor nascentibus erunt iudices et duces et subuertent terram*; recalling the story of the "etymology" of Aistulf's name, this may also refer to the Lombard king and his capture of Ravenna.
[671] *Ibid*, 345, c166: *et leuabit mare contra creaturam suam … et interficient pastores oues suas … et sedebunt reges super augustalem solium.*

The audience learns that it is at best irreligious, at worst heretical, that these events have come to pass. Logically, it follows that it is against the divine plan that these Franks call themselves emperors, a negative outlook that dovetails with the implicit criticism of Carolingian theology in the miracle stories and pro-Byzantinism discussed above. And, indeed, it is quite clear which king Agnellus has in mind when, immediately prior to the prophecy, Gratiosus interacts with Charlemagne and calls him 'king'.[672]

The disregard held by Agnellus for kings, and especially Charlemagne, is hardly hidden. As mentioned above, prior to the prophecy, Gratiosus and Charlemagne meet, with the former hosting the latter.[673] During the meeting the Frankish king misinterprets a comment from the bishop. Gratiosus, having already been warned by his priests not to speak because of his low register of speech, asks the king 'to eat' in a diminutive sense and in the Ravennan dialect.[674] The word used is '*pappa*', a clear homonym with *papa* or pope.[675] Agnellus describes Charlemagne as having the term explained to him by the other priests as a request to eat, and he responds to all this using the words of John 1:47, 'Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile.'

The meaning of this passage is not immediately obvious. G. V. B. West interprets the story as highly respectful towards Charlemagne. It shows the Frankish king as recognising the

[672] LPER, 342, c165: 'And in those days Charles *rex* of the Franks came to Ravenna. … the bishop began to speak to the king, saying, "*pappa*, my lord king, *pappa*."'
[673] *Ibid*: 'the bishop began to speak to the king, saying, "*pappa*, my lord king, *pappa*." And the king, amazed, asked, "What is this word, which the holy man is saying, *pappa*, *pappa*?" Then some of the priests standing around said to him, "Let our lord king not think that the word might be some injury or irony, but persuasion. This man your servant and orator is of great simplicity; but as a mother, who soothes her sons and persuades them for great love to eat something, thus he, with great clemency, has asked your clemency that you might eat and be merry." Then the king commanded everyone to be silent, and he burst into speech, saying, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile."'
[674] Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 81.
[675] On miscommunication as humour see Kershaw, 'Babel's Fall', 184-90; Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 81.

simplicitas of the unmannered Gratiosus and, moreover, as a story that aims to primarily display the humbleness of the Ravennan archbishop, frames him as a worthy character from whom to receive such praise.[676] Even the use of the words of John 1:47 mirrors Charlemagne with Christ. Such an interpretation is out of step, however, with the following prophecy of Gratiosus and the wider context of anti-Frankishness that has already been shown to be present in the LPER.

As with the story concerning the naming of Aistulf, the meaning is implicit. Agnellus intended to ridicule Charlemagne with this story. Certainly, it is possible to interpret Charlemagne as being made a fool of here as a king is not merely being ordered to eat, but to do so as if a mother is talking to a child.[677] This (not so) subtly asserts a clear power dynamic of a bishop over a king which is emphasised when the bishop is explicitly placed in a parental position over Charlemagne.[678] Indeed, this recalls an episode earlier in the LPER in the Life of Marinian. In a sermonette, Agnellus expands upon why 'a bishop is greater than a king'.[679] He explains that whereas kings are bloodthirsty, concerned only with capturing prisoners and struggle to spend but a night in peace, bishops are concerned with the saving of souls and charity.[680] Given the broader context of the LPER, the brief story detailing Gratiosus' interaction with Charlemagne clearly places the Frankish king as the butt of a subtle, though deniable, farce.[681]

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[676] West, *Representations and Perceptions*, 41.
[677] Kershaw, 'Babel's Fall', 186.
[678] T. S. Brown suggests that the use of *papa*, homonymous with *papa*, that is the pope, may be a comment on Charlemagne's caesaropapist pretensions. I am not fully convinced but, if true, it also constitutes another negative comment made towards the Frankish ruler, '*Romanitas* and *Campanilismo*', 109.
[679] LPER, 269, c100: *episcopus plus est quam rex*.
[680] *Ibid*: 'always **he is considering** death … **always he is thinking about pouring out** blood …. See the contrast between them: the king [thinks] that bodies may be destroyed, the bishop that the soul may be crowned; the king that he might take rebels captive, the bishops that he may purchase, redeem and release captives.'
[681] Agnellus further ridicules Charlemagne's wealth when he is told by a Jewish merchant that he would not be able to afford a bejewelled crown from Ravenna, LPER, 322, c143; Deliyannis, BPCR, 80-1.

'and what is now the Empire of the Romans will be laid waste'

Concomitant with the travesty of kings becoming emperors is the fact that the 'empire of the Romans' will be devastated. In this passage, Agnellus is referring to the Byzantine Empire as the 'Empire of the Romans' and expressing sadness about this event. The prophecy is set decades before Charlemagne's coronation and the use of *nunc* emphasises that this line is referencing the time of Gratiosus (*c.*787-789). Thus, the only empire at the time was the Byzantine Empire.

More pertinently for the thesis, this means that the Byzantine Empire has once more become Roman, shaking off the Greekness it attained through its shameful attacks on Ravenna and iconoclasm. The prophecy itself chronologically follows the 787 Council of Nicaea and the first rejection of iconoclasm in the Eastern Roman Empire. Returning briefly to the epic narrative of the Byzantine attacks on Ravenna, the military assault on Ravenna occurs in the Life of John V, 726-744. This coincides with the beginning of iconoclasm under Leo III. Whilst it cannot be unequivocally asserted due to a lack of corroborating source material, these two important narratives, the epic and the prophecy, are deliberately situated at points within the chronology of the narrative that emphasise their connection with iconoclasm.[682] The "Othering" of the Eastern Empire as "Greek" appears, therefore, to be contingent upon its promotion of heresy. When Orthodoxy is reestablished, Byzantium is "re-Romanised".

Byzantium, then, was ultimately still Roman despite the actions of Justinian II, its theological waywardness and the attack on Ravenna. What this reveals is the complex and layered nature of social, cultural and political identities in the early-ninth century. Even the term

[682] Deliyannis, 'Commentary', 376.

'Roman' is not used in a broad imperial sense throughout the LPER but also to refer to the people living in Rome, the papal church and the Romans of antiquity. What being Roman was, was a complex issue. Yet in the imperial connotation of the word, this line reveals that, for Agnellus, Byzantium was the Roman Empire.

'The head of all is under siege … and there will come from the West clean-shaven men for her defence, but they will greatly damage her.'

Beards have long been recognised as a marker of differentiation within Christendom between the Greek East and Latin West.[683] In 861, in a letter of Patriarch Photios I to Pope Nicolas I, the Constantinopolitan primate remarks on the clean-shaven nature of western clergy.[684] Photios' remark is the first documented mention of shaving customs as a clear marker of difference between Byzantium and the Latin West in the ecclesiastical sphere.[685] This prejudice, however, can only have had developed over time. It is probable that this recognition of difference manifested both at the periphery, where Byzantium bordered Carolingian domains, and at the centre, through encounters with Frankish emissaries or merchants. Indeed, evidence for this is found in eighth-century, southern Italy. When Arechis II of Salerno chose to groom himself according to Byzantine custom, Pope Hadrian I wrote to Charlemagne about the political connotations of such an act of defiance.[686] Arechis even had his coins conform to the contemporary Byzantine type of short, trimmed beards, as well as other aspects. Following

[683] From the seventh to the fifteenth centuries, beards were a clear sign of Byzantineness and Byzantine masculinity, in part because of the increasing role played by eunuchs in government, S. Tougher, 'Bearding Byzantium: Masculinity, Eunuchs and the Byzantine Life Course', ed. B. Neil, *Questions of Gender in Byzantine Society* (London, 2016), 153-66; M. Humphreys, 'Identity, Law, and Beards: Judicial Shaving in Byzantium, *c.*600-900', eds. P. Frankopan and J. Shepard, *Revisiting the Byzantine Commonwealth: Nodes, Networks, and Spheres* (Oxford, 2025), 109-13.
[684] A. E. Siecienski, *Beards, Azymes and Purgatory* (Oxford, 2023), 41-3.
[685] Siecienski, *Beards, Azymes and Purgatory*, 41.
[686] '*Codex Carolinus*', LXXXIII, 617: 'Duke Arechis sent his messengers to the emperor … promising [the emperor] to fulfil (*perfrui*) the customs of the Greeks in hair as in dress'.

Arechis' death, his heir, Grimoald, had to shave his own beard, amongst other stipulations, in order to be released from the Carolingian court where he was being held as a hostage.[687]



Figure Seven - Tremissis of Arechis II, *c.* 774-787



Figure Eight - Solidus of Leo III from the Rome mint, *c.* 721



Figure Nine - Tremissis of Constantine V from the Syracuse mint, *c.* 751-775

Clearly then, grooming customs were a visible sign of cultural and political persuasions, if not identity. In the prophecy, Agnellus, writing twenty years prior to Photios' comment and in a prime contact geography between the Byzantine and Carolingian worlds, distinguishes the clean-shaven Franks, who have attempted to help defend the empire, from the implicitly bearded Byzantines. These clean-shaven men have, however, instead are doing harm.[688]

What is more, Ravenna may have been a city in which elites grew beards. In the Life of Damian, Agnellus mentions the 'filthy beards' of both the landed and unlanded as they perform penance.[689] Ravenna then appears to be a bearded society across social strata, a marker of

[687] He broke this promise, YB, 134, c4: 'but first, [Charlemagne] bound [Grimoald] with an oath in this way, that he would have shaved the beard of the Lombards, and that he would always specifically order to be written the letters of [Charlemagne's] name on charters and coins … For some time, it seemed appropriate to [Grimoald] to write [Charlemagne's] name on his gold coins and for a while he ordered his documents to be written in the same way, but he decided not to fulfil the other promises.'
[688] Borri, 'Lagoons', 208.
[689] LPER, 304, c129: *omnes nobiles et ignobiles … inculta capita squalidaque barba moerendo incedebant.*

distinction between them and the Franks, and a shared cultural practice between them and Byzantium.

Two points are thus made clear. Firstly, Agnellus presents Ravenna bearing greater socio-cultural similarities with Byzantium than Francia. Beards could act as a symbol of political, cultural and liturgical identity. The LPER establishes Ravenna as, like Byzantium, a bearded society in implicit contrast to the clean-shaven Franks. Secondly, it is not just the Frankish kings that the prophecy is referring to but the all the "clean-shaven Westerners", that is all the Franks. In being 'clean-shaven', these Franks are presented as different, if not also effeminate and weak. Indeed, it is not the Frankish power structure to which Agnellus compares the rule of the archbishop over Ravenna, but to the Byzantine one when he states, '[Sergius] ruled everything **just** like the exarch **used to, as only** the Romans **were** accustomed to do'.[690]

In addition to the question of beards, the inappropriateness and the inability of the Franks to defend 'the head of all' are emphasised. Here, Agnellus is referring to Rome. It has been suggested that 'the head of all' may refer to Ravenna itself, as the lines immediately prior to it refer to Ravenna, or to Constantinople, and this would be in line with Agnellus' presentation of Ravenna as equal to, possibly even surpassing, Rome.[691] It seems most likely, however, to be a reference to Rome. Firstly, Rome is frequently referred to as the *caput mundi*, the 'head of the world' in classical, late antique and early medieval writings. Prophetic writing often involves using indirect language and metaphors. This appears to be such an instance. This is supported

[690] See ref. 551.
[691] 'head of all' referring to Ravenna, M. Pierpaoli, *Il libro di Agnello storico: le vicende di Ravenna antica fra storia e realtà* (Ravenna, 1988), 180, ref. 518; referring to Constantinople, Deliyannis, BPCR, 292, ref. 8, who offers this suggestion unsupported and unexplained but seems to pick up on the pro-Byzantine sentiment of Agnellus even though she does not express this.

when one engages with the historical context within which the prophecy and this chapter in the Life of Gratiosus were written, though this carries a double meaning. As mentioned above, Chapter One Hundred and Thirty-Six was written after the death of Archbishop George (*c.*837-*c.*846). In 846, the Arabs sacked Ostia and the Roman militia retreated behind the walls of Rome. The Saracens then sacked the land surrounding Rome including the basilicas of Old St. Peter's and St. Paul's-Outside-the-Walls although they failed to breach the city walls. Returning to the prophecy, Agnellus' description follows this course of events exactly: 'they [the Romans] will rise against their enemies and, seeing them, will return terrified', clearly referring to the retreat of the militia to Rome; 'they [the Arabs] will snatch booty from the neighbouring cities', referring to the failure to defend the settlements surrounding Rome; 'they [the Arabs] will plunder the churches of the saints and apostles', referring to the sacking of the churches outside the walls, particularly those of the apostles St. Paul and St. Peter.

At the same time, this passage recalls the Lombard attacks on the city of Rome in the mid-eighth century. This reference is made clear by the subsequent line: 'the clean-shaven Westerners will come to her defence'. Having established that the 'clean-shaven Westerners' are the Franks, it follows that this must be referring to Rome. It was, after all, the Franks who came to Italy to aid the papacy against the Lombards. Through this, the prophecy reminds the audience that the basis upon which the Franks established hegemony in Italy was to protect Rome, a function that it clearly was now no longer able to carry out.[692]

Having established that Agnellus' prophecy is talking about Rome and the Franks, it is interesting to observe that he is depicting Frankish protection of Rome as actually damaging to

[692] This, at least, seems to me to be the most plausible interpretation of the prophecy though, admittedly, it does not seem to have occurred to earlier investigators.

the city. The Franks have failed to protect the 'head of all' as they had pledged to do so when they came into the Italian peninsula in the mid-eighth century. Agnellus therefore seems to be aligning Ravennan society not just with Byzantine imperial ideology, which ultimately sought to reestablish control over the Eternal City, but also an anti-Frankishness, questioning and insulting the masculinity and capability of the Franks. More than this, however, he is clearly presenting the Frankish claim to the Roman emperorship as illegitimate.

Deciphering the prophecy

As with all prophecies, many different interpretations can be reached. Whilst I believe the meaning of the prophecy in regard to how the image of Byzantium is ultimately constructed in the LPER has been proven through my analysis, the very placement of such ideas within a prophecy increases their plausible deniability. The Franks, after all, were still the ultimate rulers of Ravenna in the mid-ninth century.

Such plausible deniability is seen elsewhere. In the line *ueluti exarchus sic omnia disponebat, ut soliti sunt modo Romani facere*,[693] Agnellus has fashioned a line that can be interpreted in two different ways. The line can very easily be (mistakenly) translated as, 'he ruled everything like the exarch, just as *now* the Romans *are* accustomed to do.'[694] This is subtly wrong and the words in italic highlight where the translation has gone awry. *Modo* does indeed carry the meaning of 'now', 'recently' or 'presently' but it can also be translated as 'just', 'only' or 'simply'. Moreover, the verb *soleo*, *solere*, *solui*, *solitus sum* as a semi-deponent verb, is in

[693] LPER, 337, c159; I would like to thank my supervisor, Ida Toth, for bringing the particular importance of this line to my attention.
[694] Deliyannis, BPCR, 284; the italics are mine to emphasise where Deliyannis' translation differs.

fact the third person plural, active, perfect, indicative, and should be translated as either 'were accustomed' or 'have been accustomed'. The "passive presenting" form of the verb alongside the adverb *modo*, encourages the error of a more present, active understanding. The understanding conveyed in the mistaken interpretation would suggest 'the Romans' is referring to the contemporary inhabitants of the city of Rome and not Byzantium.

Another instance of plausible deniability is seen in the telling of Charlemagne's interaction with Gratiosus. As mentioned above, Agnellus places the words of Christ from John 1:47 in the mouth of Charlemagne. Agnellus could easily argue that he is treating Charlemagne with all due reverence, mirroring him with Jesus, the ultimate archetype, whilst also reinforcing the hierarchical and loyal relationship of Ravenna to the Frankish emperors as if the bishop were a disciple of the emperor. Even the descriptions of the butchering of the Franks earlier in the historical narrative can be brushed off as long past historical fact, hardly problematic in the contemporary environment of the ninth century.

However, a certain line in the prophecy indicates that Agnellus' position, indirect, implicit and deniable as it is, was picked up by his audience. In the text of the LPER contained in the *Codex Estensis*, the line 'and what is now the empire of the Romans will be laid waste' is repeated a second time, but in the second instance the term *Romanorum* is qualified by *Francorum*.[695] It is unclear whether the term is an adjective or a noun. Moreover, as pointed out by Deliyannis, this is an extremely unusual term, and I defer to her supposition that it is an addition to the original text made by a later copyist.[696] Certainly, it does not fit with the

[695] LPER, 346, c166: *peribit Romanorum Francorum imperium*.
[696] Deliyannis, BPCR, 294, ref. 13; a word search on the eMGH finds no other use of these words; West argues that this is Agnellus' term and should be translated as Roman Empire and Frankish Empire but does not explain his reasoning, *Representations and Perceptions*, 54.

chronological setting for the prophecy in the late-eighth century. This line therefore reveals that Agnellus' silent polemic against the Franks and for the Byzantines was recognised by his readership, at least in regard to the prophecy, and that its content was problematic enough for the text to need amending.

Conclusion

Agnellus wrote the LPER for three principal reasons. The first was to provide a narrative that glorified the Ravennan see and the justness of its claim to autocephaly and independence from papal Rome. The second, and more important, reason was to create a narrative that emphasised the orthodoxy and sanctity of the Ravennan see by which he could provide multiple archetypes of ideal bishops so as to counteract increasing episcopal domination of the Ravennan clergy and the declining morality and authority of the see.

The third is Agnellus' presentation of the Romanness of the Byzantine state and of Ravenna possessing a sense of belonging with the Eastern Roman Empire. This explains and influences the subtle but strong strain of anti-Frankishness that pervades the text and that his intended local audience would most likely have recognised.[697] The positive image of Byzantium he constructs is nuanced by the theological controversy of iconoclasm. This cannot be underappreciated as it plays a significant role in the historical narrative. Far from a display of anti-Romanness as Deliyannis has argued, iconoclasm is the 'poison' that leads to the Byzantine

[697] The prophecy itself may have been "Byzantine-coded" in the sense that prophecy, as a genre, was a prominent feature of Byzantine, and especially Byzantino-Slavic, literary culture in the early-ninth century, *The Oracles of the Most Wise Emperor Leo and The Tale of the True Emperor (Amstelodamensis Graceus VI E 8)*, ed. W. G. Brokkar (Amsterdam, 2002), 35; that said, prophecy also played a role in Carolingian literary culture too, with a clear political aspect to it, see A. H. Sorber, *Prophecy and Politics in the Early Carolingian World* (Abingdon, 2024).

attack on Ravenna and the sole instance of "Othering" Byzantium explicitly as "Greek". Whilst iconoclasm is used in Agnellus' narrative to display the orthodoxy of both Ravenna and his family, it also reveals the centrality of Christian orthodoxy to his understanding of imperial Romanness. Indeed, the anti-Carolingian angle to Agnellus' telling of the pro-icon miracle stories does still sabotage the Frankish claim to the Roman imperial mantle. Beyond this, however, Constantinople is presented in a remarkably positive light that frames it as a centre of legitimate hegemony and as the Roman Empire.[698] Indeed, in recounting how the Ravennan see established itself as the leading authority over Ravenna and the former territory of the exarchate in the 750s, Agnellus describes Archbishop Sergius (744-*c.*769) as ruling 'everything **just** like the exarch **used to, as only** the Romans (*i.e.* Byzantines) **were** accustomed to do'.

The more obvious aspects of the Byzantine-Ravennan connection and ambiguity towards the Franks and the popes have been variously explained. Some see it as a 'strategy of resistance' aimed at emphasising independence from the grasping authority of papal Rome. Others believe it is an attempt to maintain cultural difference from the ever more oppressive Carolingian centres through cultural snobbery and clinging to ideas that were more closely associated with, what was still perceived across the Latin West as, the apex of cultural power.[699] Certainly, the LPER carries an undercurrent of anti-Frankishness that is no less powerful for being veiled and opaque. But it is an undercurrent that is far deeper and stronger than has previously been recognised. Far from West's view that Agnellus has a 'bland' attitude when writing about the Carolingians, the Ravennan author ridicules Charlemagne, asserts that the Frankish usurpation of the imperial title

[698] See also the discussion of pro-Byzantine evidence within LPER in *'my brothers, my comrades, citizens of Ravenna'*, 188-9.
[699] Brown, 'Early Medieval Rivals', 182; P. Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval: Le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe à la fin du XIIe siècle*, I (Rome, 1973), 697; Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*, 14.

is a sign of the End Times and critiques Frankish theology on icons.[700] Did this anti-Frankishness stem from a mixture of local pride, anger at Carolingian spoliation of his city and Frankish depredations in northern Italy during the conquest?[701] Perhaps it was a pragmatic hedging of bets. Agnellus may have crafted a narrative, the anti-Frankish parts of which could be denied to his current Carolingian overlords, in the context of a very real fear, or hope, that Byzantium was in a position to reconquer Italy. Byzantium was certainly capable of mounting and maintaining significant operations in the theatre in the ninth century, proven by its defence of the Upper Adriatic.[702]

Such conclusions, however, diminish the agency of Agnellus as a writer and the Ravennan audience for which he primarily wrote, some of whom took an active involvement in the production of the LPER. Whilst it was certainly expedient in the ninth century to profess loyalty to the Carolingians, as can be inferred from the implicit nature of the anti-Frankish and pro-Byzantine passages as well as the supplicatory actions of Archbishop George,[703] Agnellus' narrative reveals that a key aspect of Ravennan social identity was a certain sense of shared identity with Byzantium. This was actively and consciously maintained through the continuation of imperial traditions and institutions.[704] Despite the ever-diminishing contact between Byzantium and Ravenna, the existence of a socio-historical connection with Byzantium alongside a weakening Carolingian empire unable to defend Rome from the growing Arab threat

[700] West, *Representations and Perceptions*, 55; indeed, Brown's 'striking' absence of the LPER's questioning of the legitimacy of Carolingian emperorship is found in the prophecy, '*Romanitas* and *Campanilismo*', 109.
[701] T. F. X. Noble, 'Talking about the Carolingians in Eighth and Ninth-Century Italy', *After Charlemagne*, (Cambridge, 2020), 22, 25; Brown, '*Romanitas* and *Campanilismo*', 108-9; *idem*, 'Byzantine Cuckoo', 193.
[702] Indeed, the LP attests to an upswing in the 840s in support of Byzantium on the Italian peninsula with Louis II's hurried journey to Rome, Ward-Perkins, 'Duke of Istria', 239; see *The Trial of Gratian the* superista, 126-7.
[703] LPER, 351, c171.
[704] Brown, 'Early Medieval Rivals', 175; West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, 504; West, *Representations and Perceptions*, 55.

manifests in the palpable nostalgia that Agnellus evokes. It goes too far to describe Ravenna as a 'Byzantine cuckoo',[705] but the Byzantine Empire was a polity which Ravenna could legitimately imagine itself being a part of and, in the light of the LPER, seemingly wanted to be a part of. It is hardly surprising to see that, soon after the completion of the LPER, Archbishop John VIII of Ravenna (*c.*850-878) was to support Patriarch Photios in the eponymous schism between Constantinople and Rome.[706]

Moreover, this clear but coded pro-Byzantine strain, and its complementary hostility towards the Carolingians, appears to account for the notoriously confused narrative of the LPER. If the historical narrative is read without awareness of Agnellus', and by extension Ravenna's, pro-Byzantine socio-cultural environment, this serial biography of the Ravennan bishops appears to be a confused bricolage of miracle stories and sermonettes, out-of-context annalistic entries and physiognomic descriptions, recorded inscriptions and obvious historical fictions that compares poorly to its Roman model. The two principal reasons already identified by scholars as to why Agnellus wrote the LPER stand. To accompany them, I suggest a third motivation: Ravenna as a psychologically close and visually Byzantine city that ought to return to subservience to the emperor in Constantinople, but finding itself under illegitimate Frankish control, who falsely claim Roman emperorship.

[705] Brown, 'A Byzantine Cuckoo?', 185-97.
[706] West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, 196.

CHAPTER THREE

Section One – The Provenance of the *Chronicon Salernitanum*

In this third and final section, I analyse the image of Byzantium that was constructed in the late-tenth century CS. In this work, an anonymous author forges seemingly dichotomous images of the Byzantines and Byzantium, presenting the former as Greeks and the latter as Roman. This representation ultimately derives from the author's intent to produce a dynastic and didactic history of the Principality of Salerno, presenting the polity under the Dauferid princes as the pre-eminent independent Lombard power in the tenth century. In the CS itself, the primary medium for conveying this is Louis II's letter of 871. Written for the Byzantine emperor, Basil II, the author of the CS reuses and responds to the letter's contents in the narrative, using it as a kind of "straw man" so as to communicate his own view of Byzantium as the legitimate Roman Empire. This is the case even though he understood Byzantines to be Greeks. Moreover, the very fact a letter written by a Frankish emperor is employed as the primary vehicle for the author's own views on Byzantium and the Byzantines suggests a carefully calculated motivation. Salerno sat in the liminal zone between the Latin West, dominated at first by the Carolingians and then by the Ottonians, and the Greek East, dominated by Byzantium. The other side to the discourse on Byzantium and the Byzantines as Roman and Greek respectively is the author's total denial of the Western claim to Roman emperorship.

What is the* Chronicon Salernitanum *and Why was it Written?

Completed in the mid-to-late 970s, the chronicle was written in Salerno by a well-educated and most likely lay scribe working in the princely bureaucracy. It is a critical source for understanding the Lombard world of tenth-century southern Italy.

Despite what the title misleadingly suggests, the CS's narrative is not solely confined to the civic space of Salerno or the territory of its eponymous principality. Its narrative extends beyond both these geographical and chronological limits, encompassing the history of Lombard southern Italy and its interactions with Byzantium, the Muslims of North Africa and Sicily, the papacy, the Carolingian and Ottonian Empires, as well as the Tyrrhenian duchies of Naples, Gaeta and especially Amalfi from *c.*750 up to the 974 Siege of Salerno. Nevertheless, the historical narrative revolves around Salerno and its princes, particularly the Dauferid dynasty (855-978). Byzantium only enters the narrative at junctures where it is relevant to a Salernitan orientated history of southern Italy.

If, then, the CS does not solely focus on Salerno, it is also not, in a strict sense, a chronicle. It is an unfinished history which, though it follows a chronological arc, frequently diverges along tangents leading, in turn, to temporal jumps in the narrative.[707] These tangents can explore etymologies or even instruct the reader on the qualities that a man should look for in a wife.[708] Moreover, the prose frequently provides a dynamic and entertaining element through the

[707] CS, 134-7, c122.
[708] Etymologies: *ibid*, 78-9, c80a; 90, c89; 100-2, cc99-100; 163, c156; 178-9, c175; wifely qualities: 62-5, cc65-7; 96, c96; 121-2, c109; 128, c115.

interweaving of stories and anecdotes containing dialogue, single combat and miracles.[709] Yet these are not qualities solely found in this Salernitan chronicle for it had a model, Paul the Deacon's HL.

A Continuation of Paul the Deacon's Historia Langobardorum

The CS presents itself as a continuation of Paul the Deacon's HL.[710] The CS's narrative chronologically follows on from where the HL ends and does so by copying the same narrative device as Paul used. Between each of the six books of the HL, Paul "bridged" the narrative by providing a link, beginning the reign of a king in one book and finishing it in the next.[711] The author of the CS navigates around the issue of the death of King Liutprand (712-744) in 744 at the end of Book VI by anchoring his opening passage in the pontifical reign of Zacharias who is conveniently mentioned in the latter half of Book VI.[712] By using this pope to bridge the final book of the HL and the CS, the author not only maintains the chronology, but also a continuity in literary structure with the final book of the HL. In addition to this literary device, the author uses other devices, writing patterns and authorial mechanisms, such as non-historical digressions and

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[709] An aspect it has been criticised for. René Poupardin states, for instance, the CS is 'too often drowned out by a host of legends and stories borrowed from popular tradition', *Études sur l'histoire des principautés lombarde de l'Italie méridionale et de leurs rapports avec l'Empire franc* (Paris, 1907), 15; inclusion of dialogue was a common trope in ancient and medieval historiography, YB, 13.

[710] Westerbergh, CS, 197; although not explicitly claimed, this is widely recognised in the historiography, H. Taviani-Carozzi, 'Le dessein politique du *Chronicon Salernitanum*', *L'historiographie en Occident du Ve au XVe siècle: actes du congrès de la société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur; Tours, 10-12 juin 1977* (Tours, 1980), 175; *eadem*, *La principauté Lombarde de Salerne (IX^e – XI^e siècle). Pouvoir et société en Italie lombarde méridionale*, I (Rome, 1991), 5; P. Brown, 'Perceptions of Byzantine *Virtus* in Southern Italy, from the Eighth to Eleventh Centuries', eds. L. Garland and B. Neil, *Question of Gender in Byzantine Society* (London, 2013), 14; W. Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung: Montecassino und die Gestaltung der langobardischen Vergangenheit* (Vienna, 2001), 56.

[711] Alboin (560/5-572) bridges Books I and II, the *interregnum* bridges Books II and III, Agilulf (590-616) bridges Books III and IV, Grimoald (662-671) bridges Books IV and V, Cunincpert (688-700) bridges Books V and VI, W. Goffart, *Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1998), 379; C. Heath, *The Narrative Worlds of Paul the Deacon: Between Empires and Identities* (Amsterdam, 2017), 125.

[712] HL, VI, 179, c40.

etymologies. He was deliberately aiming to write in a manner that evokes Paul's style in the HL.[713]

In a similar vein, the CS establishes thematic continuity with the HL through the author presenting his work explicitly as a history of the Lombards. In a passage where the author has begun to discuss the Byzantine emperor, Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969), he states that it is not correct for the CS to elaborate on the Byzantine emperor as, 'we (the author) are reviewing the exploits of others, namely the Lombards'.[714]

The clear chronological, structural and literary parallels between the two works confirm the CS as a continuation of Paul's HL. By writing a continuation, the author grounded his work in the unrivalled legitimacy and reputation of Paul the Deacon as a Lombard historian. In turn, this not only justified the CS as a serious work of history but also underpinned his presentation of the principal subject matter, the history of the Dauferid princes of Lombard Salerno.[715] Thus, as a continuation of the HL that focuses on the leaders and kings of the Lombard people, the CS implicitly sets itself and its principal subjects as taking up this narrative.

A Dynastic and Didactic History

In being a Lombard narrative, the CS is a specifically Salernitan-Lombard narrative. Events in the chronicle are framed exclusively from a pro-Salernitan perspective. This is clear from the outset as the author presents Salerno as the second capital and leading city of the

[713] For more on the influence of Paul's writings on the author see below, *Historiography*, 224-7.
[714] CS, 176, c173: *hac tempestate imperator Niciforius preerat, …, de quo non est nostrum dicendum, quia ad aliorum facta percurrimus, silicet Langobardorum.*
[715] Paul the Deacon is the '*pater historiae*' of Lombard history, Brown, 'Byzantine *Virtus*', 14.

Principality of Benevento under the princes Arechis II and Grimoald III (788-806), with the city fortified and beautified by them.[716]

Yet it is not simply a national or civic history but the history of 'the princes of our parts' that he is writing.[717] In writing about Lombard Salerno, both city and principality, the author is detailing a dynastic history of the Dauferid princes of Salerno. Prior to the dynasty's actual seizure of power by Guaifer I, the author inserts into the narrative Guaifer's father, Daufer the Mute, and his grandfather, Daufer the Prophet.[718] Though they are rather tangential to the narrative of the CS, the author's inclusion of these particular individuals in the history is done with the purpose of establishing the pre-princely lineage.

Indeed, the very structure of the CS serves to legitimise the Dauferid rule by both connecting them historically to the ancient Lombard kings, through the work being a continuation of the HL, and by creating a narrative that presents a legitimate line of succession from Prince Arechis to the Dauferid princes.[719] The 861 seizure of power is justified as a return to good governance with the toppled Prince Adhemar (863-861), along with his wife, being corrupted by 'avarice and discord', having inflicted suffering on the principality.[720] Dauferid

[716] Arechis: CS, 13-14, c10; 22, c17; Grimoald III: 31, c28; P. Delogu, *Mito di una citta meridionale (Salerno, secoli 8-11)* (Naples, 1977), 50-1, all charters continued to be issued from Benevento.
[717] *Ibid*, 38, c37: *Tantum (de) principibus qui fuerunt in nostris videlicet partibus.*
[718] Daufer the Prophet: *ibid*, 49-52, cc48-50; 54, c54; Daufer the Mute: 75, c77.
[719] Already in a document dated to between March/April 758 and 26th December 760, Arechis used the 'Prince of the Lombard people (*Langobardorum gentis princeps*)', *Chronicon Vulturnense del monaco Giovanni*, ed. V. Federici, FStI, (Rome, 1925), I, 154; also in a document dated to November 774, *princ(eps) gentis Langubardor(um)*, *Chronicon S. Sophiae: (cod. Vat. Lat. 4939)*, ed. J.-M. Martin, FStI, RIS (Rome, 2000), I, 279.
[720] CS, 101, c100: 'Adhemar together with his wife were corrupted by avarice as well as discord and so they were tormenting his subjects with various misfortunes.'; Adhemar is the last in a succession of weak rulers. Prince Siconulf, for instance, is recorded insulting an Arab ally by making a joke about his height leading to the Arab siding with Benevento during the civil war and bringing destruction to Salernitan territory, CS, 81, c81.

legitimacy is therefore grounded in following the better example of earlier princes, and the history of the city and the principality is thus intertwined with the history of this dynasty.

The dynastic history of the CS further functions on a didactic level as a quasi-mirror for princes. The author is insistent, for instance, on the need for men to look for character over beauty in a wife.[721] He provides the archetype of Landelaïke, second wife of Guaifer I, who, despite glaucoma in one eye, has 'characteristics [that] excelled over all other women'.[722] In contrast, several characters, especially foreigners, are undone by their wives' actions such as Louis II's imprisonment in 871 and subsequent exile from Benevento the following year, and the murder of Prince Sicard of Salerno (832-839).[723] In a similar vein, lusting after women only breeds negative consequences: Byzantine Sicily falls to the Arabs due to the jealousy of the Byzantine governor whilst Sicard's murderer is aided by an individual whose wife Sicard had previously raped.[724] This depiction of the duality of women, being either morally upstanding or lascivious, conforms to common medieval literary tropes about femininity.[725] Moreover, much of this educational aspect derives from Paul's works, particularly the HL,[726] but there are also didactic elements to the text that appear unique to the CS. For instance, he places particular importance placed on holding to oaths and the disgrace of perjury.[727]

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[721] CS, 64-5, c67: 'I wish to weave into this history [the question as to] why a man marries a woman, so that they might not look for beauty but character.'
[722] *Ibid*, 95-7, c96: *"... unum oculum habet claucosum." ... et licet unum oculum habuisset fedatum, decoraque facie aspectuque letabile erat, ..., illo in tempore illius moribus sexu femineo transcendebant.*
[723] Expelling and imprisonment of Louis II, *ibid*, 121-2, c109; Sicard's murder, 73-5, c76.
[724] Fall of Byzantine Sicily, *ibid*, 21-22, c16; Sicard and the wife of Nannigonus, 62-3, c65.
[725] For more on the development of the idea of femaleness from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages see, G. Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Lifestyles* (Oxford, 1993).
[726] In just the first book of HL, one finds etymologies, cc5, 8-9; women being treacherous, c20; comparison of Greek and Latin, c27.
[727] CS, 51-2, c50; 57, c56; 66-70, cc69-71; 105-6, c105; 139-140, c126.

Thus, the history is not only dynastic but didactic. Arechis is explicitly presented as the principal archetype in the CS, 'I highlight for the *fideles*, a little amongst the many things which the said prince (Arechis) himself did, so that, for the nobles,[728] they might cleave to his most wise example and, for the subjects, that they might rejoice in all ways'.[729] It is not too surprising therefore that many of the positive characteristics he possesses are seen in the Dauferid princes themselves, particularly Prince Gisulf I of Salerno (952-977). He is described as handsome, divinely endowed with wisdom,[730] and is directly compared with Arechis.[731] Gisulf, as the probable patron of the work, even surpasses Arechis in an encomiastic passage stating that Gisulf commanded the obedience of 'the kingdom of the Greeks, Saracens, Franks and Saxons'.[732]

An origo gentis*?*

Finally, the CS serves as a partial *origo gentis*. Through the inclusion of the *Vita, Inventio et Translatio S. Trophimenis*, an etymological discussion, and research carried out drawing on both oral and archival evidence, the author provides an extensive account of the origins of Amalfi and its relationship with Salerno.[733] So remarkable is this aspect of the CS that it has been

[728] For the translation of *prelatis* as 'for the nobles', see Westerbergh, CS, 286.
[729] *Ibid*, 22, c18: *aliquid inter plura, qualiter sepe dictus princeps gerebat, fidelibus innuam, ut prelatis sepissime exemplum teneant, subiectis omnimodis gaudeant*; G. Zornetta, *Italia Meridionale longobarda: Competizione, conflitto e potere politico a Benevento (secoli VIII-IX)* (Rome, 2020), 117.
[730] CS, 167, c159: 'an elegant body and fiery eyes, a straight and symmetrical nose, and a beautiful face … God endowed him with wisdom'.
[731] Charlemagne upon meeting Arechis, albeit in disguise, *ibid*, 19, c12: 'but now we see more clearly that which we recently heard.'; Pope John XII meeting Gisulf at Terracina, 171, c167: 'now we see more clearly what recently we heard.'; Taviani- Carozzi, 'Le dessein politique', 184.
[732] *Ibid*, 171, c167: *Regnum Grecorum, Agarenorum, Francorum Saxonumque ei nimirum obediebant.*
[733] *Ibid*, 71-3, cc72*-74; for Salerno and Amalfi's intertwined history see, P. Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi and its Diaspora, 800-1250* (Oxford, 2013), 183-96.

suggested that the author had a connection with Amalfi in either a personal or professional capacity, although neither can be proven.[734]

In a similar, though less obvious capacity, through chronicling the development of Salerno under Arechis II and Grimoald III, the CS functions as a partial *origo gentis* for Salerno. The relevant history for the city in the late-tenth century began with the birth of the Lombard principality in southern Italy in the late-eighth century.[735] This chronicle details how Salerno grew from a refounded city and a second capital of the Beneventan principality, to being the centre of an independent power in its own right.[736] Perhaps, then, the CS is not strictly a history of the origin of the Salernitan people, but certainly a history of the origins of the principality.

The Nature of the *Chronicon Salernitanum*

The CS is a multifaceted text seeking to achieve numerous and quite different objectives. In sum, it is a national, civic, dynastic work that covers the history of Lombard southern Italy from a Salernitan, pro-Dauferid perspective. Yet there appears to be a unitary purpose to which each of these different aspects contribute and adhere. It is a history initiated as a means of supporting and burnishing the rule of Gisulf, the contemporaneous prince of Salerno. This is self-evident through the dynastic and encomiastic aspects as they serve to support and legitimise the rule of the Dauferids but it is also apparent in the didactic element of the work.

[734] Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi*, 195-6.
[735] Despite its prosperous history in antiquity, by *c.*700 the anonymous Ravenna geographer did not believe Salerno to be worthy of mention when listing the cities of Italy or even other ports of the Tyrrhenian coast, *Iteneraria Romana: Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica,* ed. J. Schnetz (Leipzig, 1940), 66-75, cc30-6.
[736] Zornetta, *Italia Meridionale longobarda*, 102.

Through reading the CS, treachery, and its inherent sinfulness, emerges as a constant. As detailed below, this history was completed after the events of 974. In that year, a short-lived coup overthrew Gisulf, but he swiftly regained control with the aid of Prince Pandulf Ironhead of Capua-Benevento. In light of this, it becomes clear that the author is exhorting his intended audience not to be treacherous; that they owe their loyalty to Gisulf as *fideles* (meaning 'loyal' or 'faithful ones').[737] Indeed, in the final lines of the CS, the author laments Gisulf's loss of independence in 974.[738] Supporting this indirectly, the very writing and framing of the past in this work aims to provide a shared narrative of the past and through it to inculcate a shared identity in the intended audience. Through this sense of a shared past and identity that is centred on the Dauferid dynasty, the author buttresses the legitimacy of Gisulf's rule for the enlightenment of intended audience.

Thus, an answer can be reached as to both what the CS is and why it was written. It is a historical work primarily intended to support the rule of the reigning Dauferid prince. The anonymous author aimed to achieve this through an all-encompassing narrative, self-legitimised through the very act of presenting his work as a continuation of the HL.[739]

[737] For *fideles* see below, *For Whom was the* Chronicon Salernitanum *Written?*, 241-3.
[738] CS, 177, c174: 'Now simply, although with grief, we hasten to continue the waning narrative by my own pen and so make known to the *fideles* that which happened to the aforementioned kindest Prince Gisulf and to his most serene wife, Gemma.'
[739] I would also cautiously suggest that there may be some Byzantine influence. As Schreiner notes, the *proemia* of Byzantine historiographical works show their aim was to provide moral and ideological formation, and about satisfying a political self-image derived from and made for the educated, political elite. This description aligns well with the CS, 'Geschichte und Geschichten', 28.

When was the Chronicon Salernitanum *Written?*

The only evidence for dating of the CS comes from within the chronicle itself. The manuscript BAV, Vat. Lat. 5001 which contains the CS, alongside several other works, is a product of early fourteenth-century Salerno written by two scribes in a miniscule gothic script.[740] All other extant manuscripts containing the CS derive from this copy.[741] The dating of the manuscript is primarily based on a marginal notation at the bottom of folio 32v referring to a treaty of 1331 between Robert III of Artois and the Kingdom of England. This insertion is written in the same hand and ink as the main body of writing, suggesting that the note's author also wrote the main text.[742] As such, the manuscript provides some information on the time of its own creation but no indication as to the dating of the CS itself. It is therefore necessary to rely on the internal evidence.

When writing about the assassination of Prince Adelchis of Benevento (854-878), the author relates that the grass where Adelchis' body fell miraculously withered away. He explains, however, that a century has passed since then which is why grass now grows in that place.[743] As the assassination occurred in 878, this suggests that the author was writing in the late 970s. Whilst this cannot be taken as a precise dating, it does align with the *terminus post quem* of 974.

[740] Pohl, 'History in Fragments', 354.
[741] There are at least 15 other extant manuscripts: BAV, Vat. Lat. 5000; BAV, Vat. Lat. 7137; BAV, Barb. Lat. 2496; Biblioteca Vallocelliana, C 30; BV, G 49; BAV, Chig. F.VII. 187; Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 1863; Biblioteca Nazionale, Branc. IV F 5; Brussels, BrB, II 638 (7102); Cheltenham, Phillips Collection, 6456; BN. V. G.32; BN, X.D.53; BN. San Martino 370; Biblioteca Oratoriana del Monumento dei Girolamini, cart. 110 (VI, VIII) (7.5.28); Museo Civico Correr, Cicogna 1808.
[742] Taviani-Carozzi, 'Le dessein politique', 176, ref. 4.
[743] CS, 138, c123: 'Where his body fell and blood spilled, from that time never did grass rise there, until up to our current time almost one hundred years have passed, and thus the grass begins to grow again.'

This date is based on the dating of the subject matter of the chronicle's last chapter, the siege of Salerno by Pandulf Ironhead.[744]

The most likely *terminus ante quem* for the final stage of writing is early 978 and the death of Gisulf I. As explained above, the author's primary intent was to reinforce the rule of Gisulf. His death would have dealt a fatal blow to the original purpose of this work. Bearing this in mind, one must then consider the sudden ending of the narrative in the middle of the Siege of Salerno in 974, which suggests an impromptu halt to the writing process. This sudden ending is preceded by the dramatic telescoping of the narrative with the years between *c.*750 and 900 constituting one hundred and sixty-one pages and the years between 900 and 974, constituting twenty-three pages.[745] One can infer from this that the author felt the need to curtail the historical narrative in order to complete his work. In addition, there is evidence that the text was left unfinished: the CS lacks a dedicatory proem; the length of Guaimar II's more than forty-year reign is marked by a blank space in the text. Whilst it is possible that this may be a corruption in the manuscript transmission, it is the only gap in the entire manuscript and, given all the contextual evidence, it seems too coincidental not to be connected. The author rushed and ended the writing suddenly.[746] A logical explanation for this sudden abandonment is the death of Gisulf in 978 after which the need for this history dissipated and the author abandoned the work.[747]

It is also possible that the author himself might have passed away prior to Gisulf's death.[748] On two occasions within the CS, the author mentions his personal desire to write other

[744] CS, 184, c183.
[745] Kujawiński suggests the possibility that this telescoping may reflect writing before and after 974. An argument which I find quite convincing and is not mutually exclusive with my argument, 'L'immagini dell'altro', 802-3.
[746] CS, 167, c159.
[747] Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté*, 64-5.
[748] Pohl raises this possibility, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, 58.

works. In Chapter One Hundred and Sixty-Three, he states that, 'if life permits', he will write the *vita* of Bishop Peter of Salerno;[749] in Chapter One Hundred and Sixty-Five, when he mentions the discovery and translation of the relics of St. Matthew in Lucania to Salerno and writes, 'God preserving, later we will make it known to the *fideles* and we will work to attach it to this history'.[750] On both occasions the author invokes God's will for prolonging his own life. The author appears acutely conscious of his own mortality in these two chapters situated towards the end of the chronicle. One should also note the abrupt ending of the CS as well as the lack of any extant traces of a *vita* of Bishop Peter or an *inventio* of St. Matthew's relics, a particularly striking fact in view of the major copying efforts of Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino only a few decades later.[751] This raises the possibility that the author passed prior to finishing his work. If the work was left unfinished subsequent to the author's death, this may also reflect Gisulf I's own death shortly after. In any case, a date prior to the death of Gisulf I in 978 is the most likely time as to when the author, for whatever reason, stopped writing the CS.

The Author's Identity

Very little can be said for certain about the author's identity and what we do know stems from the text of the CS itself. Certainly, his physical presence in Salerno is confirmed with the transcription of the epitaphs of Arechis, his son Romoald (d. *c.*787) and Grimoald III. Above all,

[749] CS, 169, c163: *Petrus, eratque clericus precipuusque medicus et ab ipso principe valde dilectus, quin eciam postmodum eum in hac sede Salernitana presul constituit; de quo, si vita comes fuerit, postmodum plenius disputavimus.*
[750] *Ibid*, 170, c165: *In ipsius temporibus inventum est sacratissimum corpus beati Mathei apostoli in Lucanie finibus, atque cum debito honore per iussionem iam fati Gisulfi principi Salernum deducitur. Sed quod miracula et signa et quomodo fuit repertus, omnimodis nunc omictimus pandere; postmodum Deo tuente fidelibus innotescimus atque huic ystorie annexere facimus.*
[751] For more on Desiderius' copying, see F. Newton, 'The Desiderian Scriptorium at Monte Cassino: The "Chronicle" and some Surviving Manuscripts', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXX (1976), 35-54.

the use of the demonstrative in a comment that a copy of the 849 Treaty of Division 'remains in this (*in hac*) city of Salerno up until this time' shows his presence in Salerno whilst writing.[752]

Furthermore, it is possible to say the author was working in the palace administration. Firstly, the 836 Pact of Sicard is described as remaining 'in the sacred Salernitan palace up until this time'.[753] This term, 'sacred palace', is not just laudatory but a specific label that refers to both the physical centre of administration and the idea of the administrative institution itself.[754] Elsewhere in the CS, the author mentions or uses as sources a number of documents which suggest access to an archive. In addition, the author twice mentions 'scribes of the palace'.[755] These are two of only three named bureaucrats in the entire work, so it is probable that the author had some connection to this position. Self-evidently, the title suggests a position, perhaps similar to that of a notary, attached directly to a part of the princely administration not unlike a chancery which would account for his access to the palatial archives.[756] In the third case, the bureaucrat is a leading member of the princely administration killed in the coup against Gisulf.[757] The author knows this individual's name, title and how he died. Such a case of personal knowledge supports the argument that the author was closely linked to the bureaucracy.

It can thus be asserted that the author was of some social rank though certainly below the highest social strata.[758] His education, something which he is concerned with demonstrating, speaks to the privileged nature of his upbringing. Many of the references he makes, however, are

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[752] CS, 86, c84b: *et ipsum federi scriptum in hac Salernitana urbe adhuc hactenus manet*.
[753] *Ibid*, 62, c64: *atque ipsum federis scriptum in sacro Salernitano palacio adhuc hactenus manet.*
[754] G. Capriolo and M. Galante, 'Il Sacro Salernitano Palazzo in età longobarda e normanna', ed. G. di Domenico, Opulenta Salernum*: una citta tra mito e storia* (Rome, 2020), 87.
[755] CS, 158-9, c150; 162, c155; the author appears to possess personal knowledge of the second 'scribe of the palace', a certain John the Cleric, being able to state who his father was, a certain Odelpotus.
[756] Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté*, 463-4.
[757] CS, 181, c180: 'they violently strangled Balsamus in that place, the treasurer of [Gisulf].'
[758] Capriolo and Galante, 'Il Sacro Palazzo', 88.

lifted from an intermediary work such as Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* or a *florilegium.*[759] Indeed, it appears that the author is conscious of this reliance on Isidore; with one exception, he only refers euphemistically to the *Etymologiae* as 'the histories' or does not mention them at all.[760] Nonetheless, as is clear from the wide range of sources, the author is well-educated and this suggests a privileged upbringing.[761]

This correlates with the sole mention of a relative by the author of his 'great-great-grandfather', Radoalt, who fled to Naples following political infighting in Benevento during the reign of Sicard.[762] The fact that the author neither expands upon his relative's role in the affair, nor mentions his family anywhere else in the work, speaks to him being from a family outside the highest echelons of Salernitan society. His family's involvement in the affair, however minor, nevertheless speaks to a certain level of social status. It is likely that this status and education were what secured his position in the palace administration.

It is also clear, as is implicit from much of the evidence above, that the author is a Salernitan-Lombard.[763] Moreover, the author's knowledge of the *lingua Todesca*,[764] that is the Germanic language of the Lombards, the influence on his written Latin of the local spoken

[759] Obviously, this is not to say that the author did not have access to the Bible; for more on the use of a *florilegium*, see below *Treatises, Poetry and the Evidence for a* Florilegium, 237-9.
[760] Referring to Isidore as a history, CS, 64, c67: *ystorie*; 90, c89: *sicuti in istoriis legimus*; *sicut in ystoriis peribentur*; he refers to an *ethimologiam* only once, 100, c99; does not mention a source, 89, c88.
[761] Literacy was a mark of social standing in and of itself, Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi*, 6.
[762] CS, 66, c68: 'the young men themselves who were with Abbot Alfanus hastened to that place, …, amongst them was Radoalt … this Radoalt was my great-great-grandfather.'
[763] Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi*, 196, argues the author may have had an Amalfitanan connection in some capacity. This is not unlikely if one were to solely look at the internal narrative of the CS and its constant inclusion of Amalfi, but this cannot be proven.
[764] CS, 38-9, c38: 'Grimoald, son of Ildericus, who in the German tongue (*lingua Todesca*) which once the Lombards spoke, was called *Stoleseyz*.'

vernacular,[765] his reference to 'our parts' when he is writing for a Salernitan audience,[766] and his use of multiple local stories and anecdotes all attest his being a Lombard, and specifically Salernitan-Lombard.[767]

In summary, whilst the exact identity of the author remains unclear, it is possible to conclude several facts. He was an educated Salernitan-Lombard of some social standing, though most likely not a member of the prince's *fideles*. Beyond this, he worked in the Salernitan princely administration as a 'scribe of the palace' and was, probably, a layman.[768]

Was the Anonymous Author an Abbot called Radoalt?

It is commonly stated that the anonymous author of the CS was a Benedictine monk and was connected with the monastery of Montecassino.[769] Huguette Taviani-Carozzi has even identified a certain Abbot Radoalt of the Benedictine monastery in Salerno as the author. Her argument relies on a document from 990 naming a certain Abbot Radoalt. Citing the reference made by the author to his great-great-grandfather who is called Radoalt, she argues that based on local naming patterns, where a grandson is named after their grandfather, it can be deduced that the author is also called Radoalt, and, given the context, most likely the abbot mentioned in the document.[770] Other arguments in favour of the author being a monk – if not Radoalt or an abbot

[765] S. Bertollo and G. Cavallo, 'La ripresa del relative nel *Chronicon Salernitanum* tra erosione morfologica e distribuzione dei tratti', *Quaderni di Lavoro ASIt*, XVI (2013), 75.
[766] See ref. 717.
[767] F. Santovito, 'Il problema dei due Imperi nel giudizio del "*Chronicon Salernitanum*" secondo Lamma e Gay', *Nicolaus*, VII (1979), 399; some analyses on stories in the CS: Borri, 'Dalmatian Romans', 241-52; C. Provesi, 'The *Longue Durée* of a Symbolic System: Mounted Warriors and Horses in the *Chronicon Salernitanum*', HSJ, XXIX (2018), 1-24.
[768] It must be borne in mind that the majority of scribes in southern Italy were lay, V. Ramseyer, *Transformation of a Religious Landscape: Medieval Southern Italy, 850-1150* (New York, 2006), 94.
[769] N. Cilento, *Italia Meridionale Longobarda* (Naples, 1966), 69-70; Westerbergh, CS, xii; Delogu, *Mito*, 70; B. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1996), 95.
[770] Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté*, 87-90.

– include that the claim that he wrote with a 'Benedictine mentality';[771] the author's extolling of the virtues of monks;[772] the narrative's strong sense of divine immanence;[773] the author's knowledge of the Rule of St. Benedict and Paul the Deacon's commentary on it;[774] and the author's desire to write hagiographical works including a *vita* of Archbishop Peter of Salerno and an *inventio* of St. Matthew the Apostle's relics.[775]

Despite Stefano Palmieri, supported by Paolo Delogu, having revealed the shortcomings of this argument in 1994,[776] it continues to be referenced as well as Taviani-Carozzi's thesis of Abbot Radoalt as the author.[777] Not only does the document which Taviani-Carozzi references overshoot the probable death of the author by a decade, but also the argument from naming-patterns – notwithstanding that the name Radoalt is a very common one in Salernitan sources – and the reference to a great-great-grandfather is a difficult one to sustain conclusively.[778] Furthermore, Palmieri argues that southern Italian Lombard naming patterns actually differ from what Taviani-Carozzi claims, tending towards a father-son dynamic rather than grandfather-grandson.[779] More broadly, he persuasively contends that, far from writing from the 'perspective

[771] Delogu, *Mito*, 70-1; for the quotation see W. Pohl, 'Historiography of Disillusion: Erchempert and the History of Ninth-Century Southern Italy', HI, III, 327.
[772] CS, 36, c33: *monachi radix omnium bonorum humiltatem*; Westerbergh suggests that the author was also familiar with the Rule of St. Benedict, CS, xii.
[773] St. Trophimena visits Bishop Peter of Amalfi in a dream and relates a prophecy that is fulfilled, *ibid*, 71-2, c72*-3; Visitation of Virgin Mary to Bishop Bernard of Salerno, 97-8, c97; sudden death of Saracen leader following sacrilegious acts in a church, 124-6, c112; F. Burgarella, 'Bizantini e Longobardi nell'Italia meridionale', *I Longobardi dei ducati di Spoleto e Benevento: atti del XVI Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 2004), 274.
[774] Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, 60; CS, 38, c37.
[775] CS, 169, c163; 170, c165.
[776] S. Palmieri, 'L'identità del cronista salernitano', *Rassegna Storica Salernitana*, XI, i (1994), 225-32, esp. 228-32; P. Delogu, 'La Conquista dell'Italia meridionale come ideologia storiografica', *ibid*, ii, 211-21, esp. 213-14.
[777] Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, x, 58; Provesi, '*Longue Durée*', 5; Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi*, 14; Thomas, *Jeux lombards*, 12-13.
[778] Berto agrees, 'The Muslims as Others in the Chronicles of Early Medieval Southern Italy', *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, XLV, iii (2014), 3, ref. 12.
[779] There are far too many exceptions to the rule of naming-patterns to rely substantially on this as a pillar of the argument, Western, 'Overlapping Identities', 219; Palmieri, 'L'identità', 231.

of … [a] monastery',[780] the author's narrative is ideologically aligned with the Dauferid dynasty.[781] Working from inside the palace administration and with access to palace archives, most likely as a 'scribe of the palace', this author is not writing within the confines of a monastery and for a monastic audience but for a secular elite, the *fideles*.[782]

With his article mainly focused on dismantling the Abbot Radoalt argument, Palmieri leaves open the possibility that the author may have been a monk, although his arguments undermine this position too. The use of the monastery of Montecassino itself as the backdrop for a farcical story is difficult to reconcile with Benedictine authorship. Indeed, the comment that the 'root of all good' is the 'humility of a monk' stems from this derogatory passage and serves as a sarcastic device to pique the absurdity and hilarity of the scene.[783] This story is explored in greater detail below, but the fact that the monastery and its monks are used in such a disparaging and belittling way suggests that the author had no direct connection to, or even any particular reverence for, the monastery, and perhaps even the church in general.

In addition, the author fails to include readily available information pertaining to Montecassino: a passage in the Treaty of Division relating to the confirmation of Montecassino's autonomy from princely rule is not mentioned;[784] the *Ystoriola Langobardorum Beneventum degentium* (hereafter, YB), written by the Benedictine monk, Erchempert, and the most relied-upon source of the Salernitan author, mentions the Church of St. Sophia in Benevento being made a dependency of Montecassino by Arechis II whereas the CS overlooks this detail.[785]

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[780] Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, 166-7.
[781] Palmieri, 'L'identità', 230.
[782] See below, *For whom was the* Chronicon Salernitanum *Written?*, 241-3.
[783] See below, *The Humility of a Monk and the Humiliation of Charlemagne or, the Mirroring of Charlemagne and Otto I*, 261-4.
[784] Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, 70-1; *idem*, 'History in Fragments', 365.
[785] Berto, 'Memory', 91-2; YB, 87, c3.

Presumably the author felt that such information was either not of interest to his audience or irrelevant to the narrative he was writing.

As such, what evidence there is suggests strongly that the author was not a monk, and it appears more probable that he was either a part of the laity or a member of the clergy. As to the possibility of the latter, there is little evidence in favour for this, other than the expressed desire to write hagiographical works pointing towards a particular interest in this subject matter which may reflect his being a churchman. As to lay identity, there is similarly no definitive evidence but the author's emphasis on the practice and importance of oath-taking suggests that he moved within a more secular social sphere.[786] Indeed, he records several individuals as being willing to die if their honour is not avenged and even accidental infractions upon someone's dignity provoke the severest reactions.[787] In addition, the comical story in Montecassino suggests an irreverence for ecclesiastical institutions in general which points towards the author perhaps not being a part of an ecclesiastical institution. Thus, I lean towards the former position, that the author is a layman, but this distinction is ultimately secondary to the larger point. What is important is that the author was not writing from the perspective of Montecassino but rather with an outlook bent on legitimising Salernitan autonomy under Dauferid rule.

Many interpretations of the CS nevertheless continued to depend on identifying the author as an abbot or a monk, and the narrative of the Salernitan chronicle is forced to fit within a interpretive framework that supports this position. Walter Pohl interprets the CS as being part of 'the textual community of Montecassino' and that the author, like all 'the chroniclers of St.

[786] Delogu, *Mito*, 72-4.
[787] Charlemagne in anger at the refusal of Arechis to submit to him, CS, 11, c9; a man accidentally sees the wife of Sicard naked. The wife's attempts to seek satisfaction ultimately lead to the death of Sicard, CS, 73-5, c76: 'If I do not immediately avenge myself, I will fall into death.'; Guaimar I kills his own wife out of the shame of her being raped, CS, 92, c92.

Benedict', 'explained and judged … above all from the perspective of their monastery.'[788] Accordingly, Pohl explains the CS's inclusion of the letter of Louis II, a polemic detailing the rights of the Western claim to Roman emperorship, as reflecting the status of Montecassino as an imperial monastery (*Reichskloster*) and its vested interest in the legitimacy of the Western emperors.[789] As seen below, this interpretation, stemming from the misidentification of the author's identity, overlooks the actual role of the letter within the CS and thus misses why it is important for the Salernitan history.[790]

In a similar vein, the identification of the author as a monk leads Pohl to develop a highly technical argument surrounding the potential source material of the CS which, upon reflection, appears unlikely.[791] Pohl suggests that the author uses the Codex Casinensis 175 (hereafter, Cod. Cas. 175) as a source, or at least that the CS shares the same source base as this codex, which was produced by the monks of Montecassino when they were in exile in Capua. The key argument is that the compilation of the codex shortly after *c.*900 coincides with the telescoping of the CS's narrative after the year 900. Given this chronological coincidence and given that many of the sources that the author uses overlap with and could have been directly lifted from Cod. Cas. 175, Pohl raises the possibility of a connection. However, he finds, and admits that there is, little conclusive evidence.[792] Some of the epitaphs recorded in the CS may possibly have been taken from Cod. Cas. 175 but other epitaph collections existed from which the author could

[788] Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, 166-7; I agree with Luigi Berto that, in a similar vein, Pohl appears to assume that the CS is a Cassinese work because it is used by Leo Marsicanus in his *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis* and its inclusion in the Cassinese compilation of Vat. Lat. 5001, 'Memory and the Use of the Past in Lombard Southern Italy', ed. *idem*, *Ethnic Identity, Memory and the Use of the Past in Italy's "Dark Ages"* (London, 2022), 102.
[789] Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, 72, 172; there may be more misinterpretations in Pohl's arguments that rely on a Benedictine monk being the author if one follows Berto's forthright discussion of Pohl's arguments, 'Memory', 81-113.
[790] See below, 252-61.
[791] Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, 67-76.
[792] *Ibid*, 72.

have copied, and it is equally likely that the author may himself have copied several of these inscriptions down.[793] Certainly, and not surprisingly, there is an overlap in content between the codex and the chronicle, but Pohl's assertion of a direct connection between the CS and Cod. Cas. 175 is predicated upon the author being a monk and cannot be fully substantiated.

Pohl's investigation, however, is far from fruitless. He is correct to stress the importance of intertextual investigations, and he does indeed find connections between the CS and other works, albeit few direct ones. He unravels the textual connections in the region which can be seen through the overlapping source material of the three manuscripts he investigates. What is clear is that the author and the CS belong to a tenth-century intellectual Lombard literary sphere of southern Italy, in which Montecassino was an important centre. This is his narrative world or, as Pohl describes it, his 'textual community'.[794] The CS interweaves multiple works from the Lombard principalities and attests to an active and significant exchange of sources, stories and anecdotes.

***Sources and their Uses in the* Chronicon Salernitanum**

The CS is influenced by and adapts a wide range of sources, explicitly referring to their usage no less than fifty-eight times. These sources and their uses reveal something of both the author's methodology and the intellectual environment within which he lived.

[793] Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, 70; the author does seem to have been itinerant in his research, see refs. 845 and 861.
[794] Pohl, 'History in Fragments', 372.

Historiography

As has already been mentioned, the role of the HL in the CS is fundamental despite the contents of the former having no actual historical relevance to the latter.[795] Wherever possible, the author seeks to include elements of the HL in the CS, constantly drawing parallels between the narratives of both works. The table below details the chapters in the CS that contain phrases drawn directly from the HL. Following this table, the similarities in phraseology and the structure of the CS with the HL are explored. In this table, only words, phrases or passages directly lifted from the HL by the author of the CS are included, specifically in instances where three or more words have been used. I have included words which are different but grammatically or factually necessary to change (e.g. a name) to fit the context of the CS. I have avoided recording more imprecise moments where the author may or may not have made reference or an allusion to another source. There are clearly many instances of this, which I address, but there are too many uncertain possibilities for it to be worth including them in the table.

Chapter	Source	Subject in CS	Subject in HL	Words
9	VI, c17	Paul the Deacon 'flourished in the art of grammar'	Felix the Grammarian 'flourished in the art of grammar'	9
12	V, cc. 2, 3, 21	Description of attendants at Arechis' palace in Salerno	Description of King Grimoald's (662-671) attendants in ostentatious clothing and his generous	27

[795] The author's knowledge of Paul's historiographical works is not restricted to the HL. The HR is also directly referred to when the forcible integration of the Salernitanans and Amalfitanans under Prince Sicard is described using the same language that Paul uses in reference to the Sabines and Romans. This is the only instance it is used but it is a powerful comparison to make, suggesting equivalence between the Romans and Salernitans. CS, 73, c74: *quatenus Salernitanis cum Amalfitanis inter se inirent conubia, ut unum efficerentur populus*; Paul the Deacon, HR, I, 6, c2: *Pepigere tamen Romani cum Sabinis, quorum filias rapuerant, amicitias, adeo ut Sabinorum rex Tatius pariter regnaret cum Romulo Sabinique et Romani unus populus efficerentur.*

			provisioning meant to impress Avar ambassadors	
23	VI, c55	Loyalty of Beneventans to Grimoald III (788-806)	Loyalty of Beneventans to Duke Gisulf of Benevento (689-706)	8
32	IV, c29	Humiliation of Charlemagne	Character of St. Gregory I	20
33	" "	" "	Gregory, being the highest pope, called himself a servant	8
37	VI, c58	Paul's death	Death of King Liutprand	7
" "	IV, c37	Phrase signalling a return to the narrative	Phrase signalling a return to the narrative	6
" "	" "	Death of Bishop Rodpert	" "	4
40	V, c10	Grimoald III defeats the Franks	Romuald, son of King Grimoald, defeats the Byzantines	15
"	V, c8	Death and burial of the *gastald* Rampho	Death and burial of Sesuald, the tutor of Duke Romuald of Benevento (662-687)	6
42	V, c2	Generosity of Grimoald to Sico	King Grimoald's generous provisioning of Avar ambassadors	9
44	I, c24	Sico becomes angry with a rival *gastald*	Gepids become angry with the Lombards	14
"	V, c7	The sons of Sico attack Radechis	Romuald fights bravely during the 663 Siege of Benevento	3
45	"	Sico fights bravely against the *gastald* Radechis	Duke Romuald's men attacking the Byzantines	12
60	V, c13	The invasion of Sicily by the Muslims	The invasion of Sicily by the Muslims	15
61	VI, c51	The development of the conflict between the noble Rofrit and the Abbot Alfanus	Development of strife between the Duke Pemmo of Friuli (*c.*706-739) and the Patriarch Calixtus of Aquileia	9
62	VI, c55	Sico, now prince, approaching death	King Liutprand approaching death	14
"	V5, c33	Brief encomiastic, eulogistic statement for Sico	Brief encomiastic, eulogistic statement for King Grimoald	12
72	VI, c24	Saracens kill many Lombards	Slavs kill many Lombards	23
79	V, c2	Making the guards of Siconulf drunk in order to free him	Generous provisioning by King Grinmoald of Avar ambassadors	11
93	V, c13	Beneventans and Salernitans fleeing before the Saracens	Sicilians fleeing before the Saracens	20
147*	V, c2	Adelferius wines and dines Prince Guaimar I of Salerno (880-901) before betraying him	Generous provisioning by King Grimoald of Avar ambassadors	6
158	V, c10	Guaimar II (901-946) gives the signal to attack Byzantines and gains their surrender and secures Salerno's safety	Instruments of war when Romuald, son of King Grimoald, defeats the Byzantines	57

159	V, c33	Brief encomiastic, eulogistic statement for Guaimar II	Brief encomiastic, eulogistic statement for King Grimoald	4
170	IV, c42	Prince Landulf II of Capua-Benevento dies (*c.*940-961)	Death of King Arioald (626-636)	9
172	V, c2	Prince Gisulf (961-974, 974-977/8) wines and dines the patrician Eugenius.	Generous provisioning by King Grimoald of Avar ambassadors	7
178	V, c36	Rebellion against Gisulf	Rebellion against King Pectarit (661-662, 671-688)	37
179	V, c38	Initial success of the rebellion	Initial success of the rebellion	26
181	"	The leader of Naples allies with the rebellion forgetting his oaths; all grieve especially the clerics	Others help this rebellion forgetting their oaths; all grieve especially the clerics	14
181*	V, c39	Buyer's remorse for some of the rebels	Buyer's remorse for some of the rebels	23

Table Five – Use of the HL in the CS

There is a remarkable consistency throughout the CS of direct copying from the HL. Instances are normally short, providing parallels between the historical events and characters that the CS is writing about with those in the HL. Sometimes these comparisons are made favourably, sometimes negatively and sometimes to place in juxtaposition something in one work with something in the other.[796] These comparisons and their constancy throughout the work reveal how the HL fundamentally informed the CS.[797] The brevity of the references makes it difficult to ascertain what version of the HL the author had access to. It can only be said that the HL he accessed was not from the manuscript classes H to L, as they are too recent, and not from C, D or G based on internal evidence.[798]

[796] Favourable comparison: Paul's death, CS, 38, c37 compared with the death of King Liutprand, HL, VI, 187, c58; unfavourable comparison: a xenophobic comparison between the Spoletan Sico becoming angry with a rival *gastald*, CS, 45,c44 who is, as a foreigner, compared with the Gepids becoming angry with the Lombards, HL, I, 62, c24; juxtaposition: the false humility of Charlemagne, CS, 34, c32 compared with the humility of St. Gregory the Great, HL, IV, 127, c29.
[797] Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, 59.
[798] Westerbergh, CS, 201-2.

Beyond these instances of copying, a number of "Paulicisms" can also be identified in passages where the anonymous author attempts to emulate Paul's writing style.[799] The inclusion of letters verbatim, etymological discussions, the bridging of the HL with the CS shown above, all stem from the emulation of Paul's history. As in the HL, these letters and etymologies, alongside long quotations from theological texts and didactic passages written for the benefit of the readership, often digress from the primary historical narrative of the CS. In returning from these tangents, or occasionally in going down them, the author of the CS signposts his movement away from or back to the main historical narrative by referring to it explicitly in the same manner as Paul in the HL. In referring to the historical narrative, Paul employs terms such as the *narrandi seriem*,[800] *historiae ordinem*,[801] or more generally *historia*,[802] *generali historia* or *generalis historiae*.[803] In the CS, the same concept or similar terms are used: *historiam*,[804] *ordo historiae*,[805] *generalis historiae*,[806] *tramitem*.[807] The Salernitan history uses this mechanism in the same way as Paul's Lombard history and is yet another indication of the author's conscious reproduction and continuation of the HL through the CS.

The only section in which the HL does not play any role in the CS is between Chapters Ninety-Four and One Hundred and Forty-Seven. This segment primarily concerns the political chaos in Capua in the late-ninth century, the Arab attacks on southern Italy culminating in the 871/2 Siege of Salerno, and the brief Byzantine conquest of Benevento. In this section, the

[799] CS, 197-202.
[800] Heath, *Narrative Worlds*, 126; HL, I, 51, c6.
[801] HL, II, 86, c24.
[802] *Ibid*, III, 113, c34.
[803] *Ibid*, IV, 131, c37.
[804] CS, 11, c9; 21, c15; 22, c17; 24, c20; 31, c29; 34, c32; 36, c33; 37, c34; 52, c50; 64, c67; 107, c107; 136, c122; 170, c165.
[805] *Ibid*, 17, c11; 37, c35; 88, c67
[806] *Ibid*, 38, c37.
[807] *Ibid*; 121, c108.

author relies heavily upon the YB. The most used source in the CS, it was written by Erchempert of Benevento (fl. late-ninth century), a Cassinese monk, and focuses on the Beneventan principality, rarely mentioning the Salernitan principality after it split away following the civil war (839-849). The YB is also connected to the HL, albeit in a different manner. In the prologue to the Beneventan history, Erchempert criticises Paul for focusing solely on events that 'are known to increase [the Lombard people's] glorification'. He will instead write about 'their [the Lombard people's] end, … their misery, … their ruin, … how they declined, … how they were conquered by others.'[808] The YB is, like the CS, uniquely preserved in the manuscript, Vat. Lat. 4001.

As mentioned, this source provides the greatest amount of historical material to the CS. At 96.5 words per chapter between Chapters One Hundred and Eleven and One Hundred and Forty-Two*, in comparison to the HL, the larger extent to which the YB is used is clear. Yet it is also the most liberally treated of the author's sources. At points, a few words are excised or have their syntax or grammar adapted to better fit the narrative.[809] At others, Erchempert's history is entirely rewritten.[810] So fundamental are these adaptations, however, that it seems possible to state that the act of rewriting the YB is not simply to fit the CS's narrative. The YB covers much

[808] YB, 132, c1: *mos etenim hystoriographi doctoris est, maxime de sua stirpe disputantis, ea tantummodo retexere que ad laudis cumulum pertinere noscuntur. … ego Erchempert, … ystoriolam condere Longobardorum Beneventum degentium, de quobus, quia his diebus nil dignum ac laudabile repperitur quod veraci valeat stilo exarari, idcirco non regnum eorum, sed excidium, non felicitatem, sed miseriam, non triumphum, sed perniciem, non quemamodum profecerint, sed qualiter defecerint, non quomodo alios superaverint, sed quomodo superati ab aliis ac devicti fuerint.*

[809] Westerbergh, CS, 215-8 provides a full account of these changes.

[810] B. Peters, 'Lombard Independent-Mindedness in the Face of Uncertainty: Coping with the Unpredictable Present Future in Lombard Southern Italian Narratives (9th-10th Centuries)', *On Culture: The Open Journal for the Study of Culture*, XV (2023), 4, 9; for instance, c128 of CS fully rewrites the narrative of c48 in Erchempert's work concerning the death of Guaifer I.

of the same material as the CS, but from a non-Salernitan perspective. In rewriting the YB, the author of the CS is, in effect, actively writing over this narrative and presenting a new one.

What seems to give this argument further grounding is that an Erchempert is in fact mentioned in the CS. In Chapter One Hundred and Twenty-Eight, in the midst of rewriting the YB, the author reveals that a certain cleric called Erchempert was part of the successful plot to assassinate Prince Adelchis of Benevento in 878. This is discovered when as part of Prince Guaifer of Benevento's (878-881) entourage, this Erchempert, in a moment of divine intervention or madness, confesses his part in the plot and is subsequently mutilated. The CS finishes with the comment that 'he lived miserably for a long time'.[811] The physical mutilation of Erchempert corresponds with the author's own literal mutilation of the YB. This action is justified as Erchempert was a murderer and suffered divine punishment. This event may be entirely fictitious, certainly the dating of Guaifer's reign precedes that of the final episode in the YB (January, 889),[812] but it functions as a vehicle to justify the YB's rewriting.[813]

Finally, the author relies heavily on the LP, specifically the Lives of Zacharias and Stephen II, for his opening chapters, primarily due to the lack of Lombard texts dealing with the reigns of Aistulf and Desiderius.[814] Out of two thousand two hundred and seventy-one words, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine (86.7%) are lifted from the LP in the first eight

[811] CS, 142, c128: '[A group of] Beneventans were walking through the woods with the Prince Gaideris; when they arrived at the place where Prince Adelchis died, at once a cleric called, Erchempert, gave up these words, "In this place we killed the most treacherous prince with not a few wounds." On the spot, divine judgement struck him; soon Gaideris' followers took him, and they cut off his arms; that being done, he lived miserably for a long time.'
[812] Berto, YB, 10.
[813] Paul the Deacon also indulges in 'fiction of fact', C. Heath, 'Narrative Structures in the Works of Paul the Deacon' (PhD thesis, The University of Manchester, 2012), 20-1.
[814] CS, 3-10, cc1-8; Zacharias, 431, c17; 433, cc21, 23; Stephen II, 444-55, cc15-26, 29-33, 35-7, 39, 41-6, 48-51; S. Gasparri, 'The fall of the Lombard kingdom: facts, memory and propaganda', *774, ipotesi su una transizione*, ed. S. Gasparri (Turnhout, 2008), 41-3; W. Pohl, 'Das Papsttum und die Langobarden', ed. M. Becher, *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751: Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung* (Munster, 2004), 145-6.

chapters of the CS. Use of the LP is not, however, limited to these opening chapters or these Lives. A sentence is reused from the Life of Gregory II concerning the arrival of the Saracens.[815] Moreover, certain elements of the CS seem to draw on models from the LP. For instance, at the death of Guaimar II, the CS relates a number of gifts he had given to the episcopal church of Salerno in a manner that evokes the gift lists contained in the LP.[816]

Chapter	Life	Principal Events	Words
1	Zacharias (cc17, 21, 23)	King Ratchis becomes a monk; Carloman (King Pepin's brother) becomes a monk	197
2	Stephen II (c15)	Stephen II gives tribute to Aistulf; Letters sent to King Pippin to intervene against Aistulf	72
3	Stephen II (cc16-24)	Aistulf continues to attack papal territory; Pippin responds via a messenger; Aistulf backs down and the pope goes to Francia	334
4	Stephen II (cc24-26)	Pippin meets the pope; Alliance between the papacy and the Franks	221
5	Stephen II (c29-33, 35-37)	Aistulf breaks his oath; Pippin advances; Aistulf attacks Franks but loses; Treaty between the Franks, Romans and Lombards	579
6	Stephen II (cc39, 41-45)	Aistulf seeks better terms aggressively and besieges Rome; Byzantine agents arrive but fail to achieve intervention; Pippin advances a second time	266
7	Stephen II (c46)	Victory of Pippin over Aistulf	68
8	Stephen II (c48-51)	Desiderius becomes king.	232

Table Six - CS's Use of the LP in the First Eight Chapters

In using only certain Lives from the LP, it is likely that the author had access to them via *libelli.*[817] What is more interesting, however, is how the author edits the LP in a strikingly similar way to the Lombard Recension found in the AC manuscript classes.[818] Highly critical and pejorative epithets applied to the Lombards or their kings in the Lives of Stephen II and

[815] CS, 70, 72.
[816] *Ibid*, 167, c159.
[817] Literally small books or pamphlets for more on *libelli* and the LP see McKitterick, *Invention*, 180-2.
[818] For more on the Lombard recension see Gantner, 'The Lombard Recension', 65-114.

Zacharias are removed whilst positive or supportive phrases or adjectives are inserted.[819] Strikingly, the version of the LP that the author uses is closest to B^3, the Cologne, Dombibliothek, Cod. 164 and therefore not of the AC classes. This would make the CS the sole extant medieval witness to a Class B manuscript south of the Alps. This has important implications for the status of the so-called 'Frankish' recensions and circumstantially supports Franklin's argument that Class B manuscripts are not Frankish in origin but Roman.[820]

Hagiography

Two hagiographies are also included in the CS. The *Historia inventionis ac translationis sanctae Trophimenae* (hereafter, HT) is primarily used in Chapters Seventy-Two* to Seventy-Four as a means of narrating the story of how Amalfi and Salerno developed, as the CS puts it, how 'Amalfitanan people were forcefully brought to Salerno'.[821] A martyr of the third-century persecutions, St. Trophimena's *vita* details the events that led to the intertwining of the people of Salerno and Amalfi through forced displacement by the Beneventan prince, Sicard, as part of the narrative explaining the translation of Trophimena's relics.[822] The HT further features prominently in the CS as a source for certain phrases. The author has a particular liking for one phrase describing an individual when they are asleep: 'in the midst of night, when the tired body is oppressed by a deep sleep'.[823]

[819] Westerbergh, CS, 211-13.
[820] See ref. 181.
[821] CS, 71-3, cc72*-4.
[822] *Historia inventionis ac translationis sanctae Trophimenae*, eds. C. Ianningo *et al.*, *Acta Sanctorum*, XXIX, July, ii (Paris, 1867), 231-40.
[823] CS, 21, c16; 151, c145; 181, c180: *In tempesta noctis quando sopore corpora fexa premuntur.*

The author also uses the ninth-century *Vita Barbati* (hereafter, VB) of St. Barbatus of Benevento (610-682), who put an end to persistent pagan practices among the Lombards and predicted the failure of the 663 Siege of Benevento by the emperor, Constans II.[824] This source is referenced in the passage concerning the 871/2 Arab Siege of Salerno, an event that similarly threatened to overwhelm Salerno as Constans had threatened Benevento. Its inclusion in the CS speaks to the shared Lombard history of Benevento and Salerno as well as the fluidity of identity between Salernitan principality and Lombard people. A locally produced chronicle written for a late-tenth century Salernitan elite and educated audience could allude to events that had occurred in mid-seventh century Benevento with no apparent sense of unfamiliarity or cognitive dissonance. Below is a table outlining the use of the HT and the VB in the CS:

Chapter	**Source**	**Event in CS**	**Words**
16	HT	(Repeated phrase) Description of Arechis asleep	8
51	VB	(Scene setting) Grimoald III ruling	11
72*	HT	Fear over the relics of Trophimena after the relics of St. Bartholomew are taken to Benevento; the translation of the relics of St. Trophimena from Regino to Amalfi	234
73	HT	Beneventan attack on Amalfi	138
74	HT	Amalfitanans move to Salerno	50
76	HT	(Repeated phrase but at this point also historical) Prince Sicard pursues sporting activities	25
78	HT	After hearing of the death of Sicard, the Amalfitanans take back their treasures and many return to Amalfi.	25
82	HT	(Repeated phrase) Siconulf hears about the arrival of the Saracens	6
88	HT/VB	(Scene setting) Constantine the Great, 'emperor of the Romans', ruling	26
92	HT	(Repeated phrase) Siconulf pursues sporting activities	10
99	HT	Bishop Bernardus of Salerno angered that a Saracen diplomat is housed in his quarters	12

[824] CS, 124-5, c112, and *Vita Barbati*, 558, c4; CS, 128, c115 and *Vita Barbati*, 559, c5.

112	VB	Description of the Siege of Salerno	75
115	VB	" "	38
145	HT	(Repeated phrase) Description of Georgios the patrician asleep	8
157	HT	(Scene setting) Guaimar II ruling	19
180	HT	(Repeated phrase) Description of Gisulf asleep	9

Table Seven - Use of the HT and VB in the *Chronicon Salernitanum*

Theology

Two of St. Augustine's sermons, Three Hundred and Seven and Three Hundred and Eight, are included with clear didactic intent.[825] The manuscript tradition is unclear, but they are likely connected to a group of African texts preserved in Campania which were copied in Montecassino during the abbacy of Desiderius (1058-1087).[826] They provide copious material for the author in Chapter Seventy, constituting the majority of the passage. Both focus on the seriousness and severity of the sin of perjury, a key theme of the author. This follows an extended part of the narrative detailing the treachery of Sicard and a manipulative *gastald* named Rofrit who break an oath of safe passage they make to an abbot whom they kill brutally.[827] If the audience does not take onboard the lesson the author is attempting to impart, Prince Sicard is described as being permanently crippled in one leg upon seeing the hung body of the abbot.[828]

Similarly, the author copies from Book Two of the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory on St. Benedict of Nursia, namely Chapters Three, concerning a glass containing poison shattering under the sign of the cross, and Thirty-Seven, concerning Benedict's death and resting place.[829]

[825] CS, 68-9, c70.
[826] F. Newton, 'Beneventan (Southern Italian/Langobardic) Script', *Oxford Handbook of Latin Palaeography*, eds. R. C. Babcock and F. T. Coulson (Oxford, 2020), 128.
[827] CS, 67, c69.
[828] *Ibid*, 70, c71: 'When the prince himself had done such a thing (*i.e.* seen the body of the abbot), at once one of his calves seized up, and hence from that time he was rarely healthy.'
[829] *Dialogi*, II, 80-6, c3; CS, 92, c91; *Dialogi*, II, 132-3, c37 and CS, 92, c92; 179, c176; Westerbergh posits that the author also knew Gregory's *Moralia* though this cannot be proven, CS, 191.

In the first instance, Guaifer, prior to his enthronement as the first Dauferid prince, is compared to St. Benedict when he leaves Salerno during the rule of Siconulf (839-851), who is described elsewhere as naïve and offensive. In the second, Siconulf is disparagingly compared with the saint when he dies in a hunting accident. The passages are not substantial enough to allow for any conclusions as to the manuscript tradition from which the author drew. The exclusive focus, however, on passages concerning Benedict suggests the central role played by the founder of Montecassino in the local textual community.[830]

The Bible

The Bible provides inspiration for multiple passages throughout the CS, with the author variously quoting directly, aping the phraseology or making metaphorical references.[831] Of the biblical references, eighty are from the Old Testament and thirty-three from the New Testament. There are more than ten references to the following books: Genesis, the First Book of Kings and the Gospel of Matthew, the erstwhile patron saint of Salerno;[832] more than five to each of Deuteronomy, Psalms, First Maccabees, the Gospel of Luke, Acts of the Apostles and the Letter to the Romans. Of particular note are the thirteen references to the Gospel of Matthew, highlighting St. Matthew's centrality to Salerno, and further underscoring the Salernitan identity of the author.

[830] Cf. Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*.
[831] CS, 135, c122: *dicente Domino: "Nemo scit hominum que sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est?"*; 1 Corinthians 2:11: *quis enim scit hominum quae sint hominis nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est ita et quae Dei sunt nemo cognovit nisi Spiritus Dei*; CS, 99, c98: *dicentes quia, "Respexit Dominus humilitatem, servi sui."*; Luke, 1:48: *quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes.*
[832] There is no clear reason as to why the author particularly used Genesis and 1 Kings.

Letters, Treaties and Archives

A range of documents and letters can be identified in the chronicle: the *Pactum Sicardi*,[833] the Treaty of Division,[834] the 871 letter of Louis II to Basil I,[835] and two letters from Charlemagne to an unnamed Byzantine emperor.[836] The latter are of spurious origin, although they also occur in the manuscript, Cod. Cas. 175, archived in the Biblioteca Monastica at Montecassino. Discrepancies between the wording of the letters in the two manuscripts suggest that the anonymous author copied from a different manuscript to Cod. Cas. 175.[837] Nevertheless, it suggests these letters were circulating in southern Italy and likely form part of the textual community of Lombard southern Italy in the tenth century.

Written in 871 following a breakdown in relations after the initial failure of the combined Frankish-Byzantine forces to capture Bari from the Arabs, Louis' letter to Basil I is a response to an earlier, non-extant letter from Basil.[838] Uniquely contained within the CS – indeed, the letter is the most common means by which scholars come across the CS – it primarily concerns the Frankish use of the imperial Roman title.[839]

It is entirely unclear how the letter was available for the author's use. Based on the vociferousness of the internal contents, Philip Grierson's suggestion that the so-called "letter"

[833] CS, 62, c64.
[834] *Ibid*, 85-6, c84.
[835] *Ibid*, 107, c107.
[836] *Ibid*, 36, c34.
[837] Westerbergh, CS, 218-19. She also believes that the author may have had access to 'an older transcript, even the spurious original' based on the internal coherence of the text of the letter in the CS in comparison to that in the Cod. Cas. 175.
[838] Kreutz, *Before the Normans,* 46; J. Gay, *L'Italie Méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867-1071)* (Paris, 1904), 88.
[839] For more see, W. Ohnsorge, *Das Zweikaiserproblem im früheren Mittelalter: Die Bedeutung des byzantinischen Reiches für die Entwicklung der Staatsidee in Europa* (Hildesheim, 1947).

may never have been sent to Byzantium and was instead sent to Salerno by Louis as a piece of Frankish imperial propaganda seems possible.[840] The probable author of the letter, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, was a militant opponent of Byzantium which may account for the particularly strong contents. Moreover, he is unlikely to have countenanced a letter written merely as a 'show of force' for locals.[841] More substantively, the letter's concluding passage hints at the possibility of future joint operations such as partially occurred in the case of Bari and even a resumption of the marriage negotiations between Louis' daughter and Basil's son. Sebastian Kolditz has therefore argued that the letter was indeed exchanged with Byzantine envoys after the fall of Bari in 871 but prior to Louis II's imprisonment in Benevento.[842]

Whatever the case, the letter plays two key roles in the CS. The first is a didactic one, as it functions as a clear summary of the Western claim to the Roman imperial title.[843] Its key role, however, is the one it plays in providing a foil for the representation of Roman imperialness in the Salernitan history. Far from advocating the arguments within the letter, as I show below, the anonymous author uses the very language of the letter to deny the Ottonian claim to the Frankish imperial title.

In addition, the content of the CS suggests that the author had access to documents which are now no longer extant. For instance, there is evidence of an episcopal list in which a number

[840] P. Grierson, 'The Carolingian Empire in the Eyes of Byzantium', *Settimane*, XXVII (1981), 887, 891.
[841] G. Co, *Vescovi, re, imperatori: Anastasio Bibliothecario tra Occidente e Oriente* (PhD thesis, University of Trento, 2015), 89-96; G. Arnaldi, 'Impero d'occidente e impero d'oriente nella lettera di Ludovico II a Basilio I', eds. G. Barone *et al.*, *Girolamo Arnaldi: Il papato e Roma da Gregorio magno ai Papi Forestieri* (Rome, 2020), 422; for Anastasius being anti-East Roman, see Forrai, 'Sacred Nectar', 75-6.
[842] I would like to thank Professor Kolditz for helping me access his article, 'Gesandtschaften, Briefe und Konzilien in den Beziehungen Ludwigs II. Von Italien zu Byzanz', eds. S. Röbert *et al.*, *Von der Ostsee zum Mittelmeer: Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte für Wolfgang Huschner* (Leipzig, 2019), 296-304.
[843] A timely lesson considering the renewal of the Western Empire under Otto I in 962.

of bishops of Salerno are mentioned in turn and a reference to an annalistic source.[844] Such documents were likely found in the palatial archives. Indeed, the author is explicit about undertaking archival research. After providing a list of the rulers of Amalfi, he states, 'these are the counts whom I discovered written in their archives.'[845] Salernitan palatial archives no longer exist but many of the documents are to be found copied in the *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*. This contains the documents from the archive of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity of Cava dei Tirreni founded in the eleventh century.[846]

Treatises, Poetry and the Evidence for a *Florilegium*

The CS contains many instances of short allusions to other writings or lines taken from classical works. Like Paul the Deacon, the CS quotes from Virgil's *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid (43BC-AD17/18).[847] Further echoing Paul, the author also habitually delves into etymology, often lifting items from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, namely from Book Nine. Unsurprisingly, the extracts used from the *Etymologiae* suggest the author drew used

[844] CS, 97-8, c97; 94, c94; what exactly this annalistic source was, is unclear. See, Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, 64.
[845] CS, 91, c90: *isti sunt comites quos in archibis illorum repperivi scriptos.*
[846] For a discussion of these archives, Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté*, xxii-xxxiii.
[847] CS, 65, c67; 55, c54 and Aeneid, I, c3 line 250: *Accipite ergo animis atque hec mea figite dicta*; Virgil's *Aeneid* is an unsurprising addition considering that Paul's HL quotes Virgil by c6 of Book I; CS, 60, c62 and Ovid, II, vi, 38, line 30 and III, ix, 32, line 559: *Est mihi libertas tecum secreta loquendi; consilium ne sperne meum, tibi.* The bold words are added by the author; further allusions to Ovidian imagery can be seen: CS, 95, c94 and 167, c159: *micantibus oculis*; Ovid, IV, xv, 114, line 674: *constitit atque oculos circumtulit igne micantes*; CS, 105, c105: *eruerentur oculos*; Ovid, III, xii, 116, line 269: *eruiturque oculos.*

a text from the Italic group of manuscripts.[848] Similarly, he inserts two extracts from Bede's (*c.*673-735) *De orthographia*.[849]

The author is also acquainted with poetry. Three epitaphs, at least one of which was written by Paul the Deacon whom the author compares favourably to Ovid and Cato, suggesting familiarity with these classical authors,[850] and a poem of Ildericus, a student of Paul the Deacon,[851] all of which are inserted verbatim, attest the author's interest in poetry.[852] Philological analysis has further identified numerous examples of poetic language interwoven into the narrative.[853]

Upon closer inspection, the author's access to these texts appears to be indirect. His knowledge of the Aeneid comes in one instance by quoting Isidore and in another seemingly parsed through an intermediary medieval poet.[854] In a similar vein, the author claims to use Lucan when actually he is drawing from the text of Isidore's *Etymologiae* concerning place names.[855] Even the Ovidian imagery consists of little more than two or three words.

As Isidore's *magnum opus* and Bede's *De orthographia* cannot account for all the etymologies and classical references the author makes, it is believed that he had access to these

[848] CS, 64, c67 and *Etymologiae*, IX, vii, 211-12, cc27-30 on why a man should marry a woman and what to look for; CS, 90, c89 and *Etymologiae*, IX, ii, 197, c94 and c98; CS, 100, c99 and *Etymologiae*, IX, ii, 194-5, c46 and c67; Westerbergh, CS, 195.
[849] CS, 78, c80a; Bede, 'De orthographia', ed. C. W. Jones, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera: Pars I, Opera Didascalia*, CCSL (Turnhout, 1975), 31; CS, 101-2, c100; Bede, 'De orthographia', 31.
[850] Comparison to both Cato and Ovid, CS, 38, c37.
[851] G. Vocino, 'Between the Palace, the School and the Forum: Rhetoric and Court Culture in Late Lombard and Carolingian Italy', *After Charlemagne*, 261, ref. 53.
[852] Epitaphs: Arechis, CS, 24-5, c20; Romoald, Arechis' eldest son who predeceased him, 26, c21; Grimoald III, 31-3, c29.
[853] Westerbergh, CS, 194-5.
[854] *Ibid*, 193; Cilento, *Italia Meridionale Longobarda*, 70; use of Virgil out of Isidore, CS, 65, c67.
[855] CS, 89, c88; for mislabelling, see ref. 760.

works through a *florilegium*.[856] Taking the example of BnF, Lat. 7530, a *florilegium* from Montecassino written in Beneventan script from the late-eighth century, and therefore a product of the same intellectual geography as that of the author, it quickly becomes apparent that the use of a *florilegium* is highly likely. This item contains extracts from various works concerning poetry, grammar, the *Etymologiae*,[857] *De orthographia*,[858] and from an anonymous author discussing, amongst others, Charisius.[859] The parallels between the sources that the author uses and how he has used them with the contents of the BnF, Lat. 7530 sufficiently indicate the use of a *florilegium* by the author of the CS.

Oral Sources

Oral testimony is indicated throughout the *Chronicon* through typical medieval historiographical tropes: '*ut aiunt*', '*ferunt alii ut*', or '*ut ferunt plurimi*'.[860] More explicitly, the author states that he has gained information through oral testimony.[861] By recounting, however, not just the (deemed) reliable statements of upstanding individuals but the stories that Salernitans told each other, the author reveals himself to be grounded in a Lombard social space. As both Santovito and Provesi have shown to considerable effect, several of the stories and anecdotal evidence that populate the chronicle testify to a rich oral culture.[862]

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[856] Cilento, *Italia Meridionale Longobarda*, 89.
[857] Paris, BnF Lat. 7530, 123v30-125v12; 138v35-140v14 (explores etymologies); 154vb1-155vb11; f. 266r1-272r24.
[858] 290v10-301v36.
[859] 80v12-123v29; Westerbergh, CS, 196-7; S. Meeder, 'Monte Cassino's Network of Knowledge: The Earliest Manuscript Evidence', *Writing the Early Medieval West*, eds. E. Screen and C. West (Cambridge, 2018), 138.
[860] Respectively, CS, 11, c9; 22, c17; 61, c64; similar references occur twenty-four in the CS.
[861] CS, 87-8, c87: 'At last, allow me to attach to this history the origin of the Amalfitanans, told in part to me by our elders, partly that which is freely heard from their old men …'.
[862] Provesi, 'Longue Durée', 5-6; Santovito, 'Il problema', 399; M. Oldoni, *Anonimo salernitano del X secolo* (Naples, 1972), 214.

Yet there is evidence that the author was not limited to just Lombard oral sources. Stories concerning the collapse of Byzantine Sicily, an unnamed, incestuous Constantinopolitan patriarch and the death of Emperor Alexander (912-913) testify to a transmission, almost certainly oral, from the Byzantine world into the pages of the CS. For instance, the passages concerning the death of Emperor Alexander bear remarkable similarities with both the *Vita Euthymii*, written by a member of the Byzantine court sometime between 920 and 935, and the passage concerning Alexander in Ioannes Skylitzes' (*c.*1040-post-1101) *Synopsis of Histories*, itself an expansion of the narrative of Alexander's death from Michael Psellos' (*c.*1018-*c.*1096) *Historia Syntomos*.[863] Similarly, parallels can be found between this story of Alexander taking treasures (statues) from Rome and the case of Antipope Boniface VII who took the treasury of Rome to Constantinople in 974. This parallel would likely not have been lost on the contemporary audience, though the story may also evoke the looting of Rome by Constans II in 663 after his unsuccessful siege of Benevento which is recorded in, and therefore referenced by the CS, the *Vita Barbati*.

For Whom was the* Chronicon Salernitanum *Written?

The intended audience of the CS was the *fideles* of the Salernitan principality.[864] The *fideles*, according to Lombard law, are males who owed their loyalty directly to the king or

[863] *Vita Euthymii patriarchae*, ed. P. Karlin-Hayter (Brussels, 1970), cc20-1; I. Skylitzes, *Full Synopsis of Histories*, ed. and trans. J. Wortley (Cambridge, 2010), 189-90; Michael Psellos', *Michaelis Pselli Historia Syntomos: Editio princeps*, ed. and trans. W. J. Aerts (Berlin, 1990), 93-4, c101, by including a story concerning Alexander's idolatry. This suggests that stories of Alexander's idolatry were percolating and it is this theme that had spread to Salerno by the late-tenth century.

[864] CS, 21, c15: 'We therefore include this in our history so that *fideles* might beware…'; 170, c165: 'later, God preserving, we are to make it known to the *fideles* and attach it to this history.'; the term *fideles* can also be used as a metonym to refer to all the fighting men of the Lombard people and is used as such in the CS. At the 836 Siege of Brindisi, Sicard refers to 70, c72 'an immense multitude of Lombards' as 'my *fideles*'; K. F. Drew, *The Lombard*

prince as part of his *gasindium.*[865] The prologue to Prince Adelchis of Benevento's 866 legal promulgation provides a more precise indication as to who the *fideles* were in post-774 Lombard society: his brother, the bishops, the counts, the abbots and the other great men.[866] The 'other great men' are almost certainly *gastalds*. These men were holders of what had at first been salaried administrative positions under the Lombard kings but, as part of the phenomenon of the privatisation of power in Italy in the early Middle Ages, had become effectively hereditary titles linked to specific lands by the turn of the tenth century.[867] Retaining some role as functionaries in the palace through presiding over gift-giving and some judicial obligations, they made up the noble class of the Salernitan principality.[868]

It is this lay group of *gastalds* and their family members, particularly the younger, unmarried members, that constituted the dominant fraction of the author's intended audience. That the CS was aimed at men is confirmed by several comments when the author provides specifically male advice. As mentioned above, the author advises his audience to beware the breath of women and that, when looking for a wife, to place character over beauty.[869] To support his arguments, the author provides anecdotes and reimagines the story of David and Bathsheba.[870]

Laws (Philadelphia, 1994), 186, *a.*728, law 96 refers to both the Lombard people as well as his sworn followers as *fideles*.

[865] Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, 24; E. Fabbro, *Warfare and the Making of Early Medieval Italy (568-652)* (Abingdon, 2020), 174-6.

[866] Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté*, 685-6; this is how the term is primarily used in the CS, 92-3, c92; 167, c159.

[867] Loud, 'Southern Italy in the Tenth Century', 637; V. Loré, 'Sculdasci e gastaldi. Note sugli ufficiali minori nel principato di Salerno nei secoli IX-XI', RMR, XVIII (2017), 126-7.

[868] Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, 107; they retained much more judicial power in the outer reaches of the principality such as the Cilento, Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté*, 573.

[869] CS, 21, c15: 'Therefore we add this [story] that the *fideles* might beware in every way foreign women and most cautiously fear divine judgement.'; also see ref. 721.

[870] *Ibid*, 62-3, c65: here, the author relates the story of Sico and the wife of Nanigonus, which mirrors that of David and Bathsheba, 2 Samuel 11.

Similarly, the consistent emphasis on holding to oaths and the crime of perjury leads to the inference that the CS was aimed at this audience of *fideles*.[871] The author both explains why it is wrong by quoting long extracts from two of St. Augustine's sermons and provides examples of the consequences both political and divine of breaking an oath.[872] Given the historical context, this is highly pertinent. With some of the history being written after the 974 coup when certain *gastalds* rebelled with Amalfitanan help and overthrew Gisulf 'having forgotten the oath that [they] had sworn',[873] it is not surprising that in a pro-Dauferid work this aspect constitutes a major theme of the narrative. It is an indirect but explicit indication as for whom the chronicle was written.

In light of the author's status, both social and official, as well as the contents of the CS with its focus on the Dauferid dynasty, it seems most probable that the author was patronised by or wrote with the consent of Gisulf I. Certainly, the author's detailed description of the ceremony for receiving important emissaries suggests personal knowledge of court procedure.[874] His explicit comments on the personal pain he went through upon experiencing the tragedy of the 974 coup against Gisulf suggest even a personal connection with the prince.[875] At the very least, his precise knowledge of the events that took place – how the conspirators broke in, the names of those who died, and where they took Gisulf and his wife captive – supports the argument for the author having a close connection with the princely court.[876] It is impossible to prove the

[871] *Ibid*, 105-6, c105.
[872] See ref. 825; the victory of Saracens over Salernitans is even legitimised through the explanation that the Salernitans had broken a peace treaty with them and therefore God was punishing the Salernitans, CS, 140, c126: 'But the righteous judge, the Lord, did not at all give victory to the Christians, they that had forgotten the oath that they had sworn with the Saracens.'
[873] CS, 182, c181: *oblitus eciam iusiurandum quod iuraverat.*
[874] *Ibid*, 18-19, c12.
[875] *Ibid*, 179-82, cc176-80.
[876] See refs. 757 and 880; CS, 181-2, c180.

arguments based on our current evidence. However, the balance of probabilities points towards Gisulf I directly supporting the anonymous author.

The Relationship between the Principality of Salerno and Byzantium in the Second Half of the Tenth Century

In the late-tenth century, the Salernitan principality was situated at the crossroads of the three dominant socio-political entities of the early medieval Mediterranean: the Greek-speaking Byzantine Empire, the Latin West dominated by the Ottonian Empire, and the Islamic states of North Africa and the Near East. The principality's relationship with Byzantium was necessarily mediated by this liminal environment. The narrative of the CS and its portrayal of Byzantium reflect the balancing act that Salerno engaged in for its continued survival, variously fighting with or against each of these entities. When it comes specifically to Byzantium, however, its influence over Salerno cannot be fully appreciated through engagement with the CS alone.

The resurgence of Byzantium in southern Italy in the late-ninth century under the emperorship of Basil I and the command of *monostrategos* Nikephoros Phokas the Elder led to the decline of Lombard power and, by extension, of Salernitan autonomy.[877] Yet, even in previous decades when Byzantine territory in the region was limited to the fringes of Calabria and Apulia, Byzantium dominated southern Italy culturally and the value-system of local power-politics maintained Constantinople at its apex.[878] The Byzantine emperors were perceived as a source of legitimation for political authority.[879] Such an understanding is evident from the CS

[877] Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, 155.
[878] Burgarella, 'Bizantini e Longobardi', 195.
[879] S. Cosentino and E. Zanini, 'Introduction: Mapping the Memory of Byzantine Italy', CBI, 14; T. Granier, 'Local or Regional Identity in Early Medieval Latin Southern Italy?', ed. B. Lancaster, *An Agenda for Regional History* (Newcastle, 2007), 106-7.

alone: during the palace coup that overthrew Gisulf, the chronicler despairs that his wife who had worn 'purple' clothes was now in prison;[880] the building of the Church of Santa Sophia in Benevento by Arechis emulates the *Hagia Sophia* in Constantinople;[881] the description of the ceremony in the Salernitan palace and *proskynesis* being performed by various characters;[882] the wielding of *baculorum*;[883] Guaimar I's visit to Constantinople and being made a patrician;[884] a Byzantine *strategos* is revealed to be the godfather of one of Guaimar II's sons in a case of diplomatic *compaternitas*.[885] Clearly, emulation of the Byzantine image of power and proximity to this source of authority were employed by Lombard princes as a means of displaying and bolstering their own authority.

Further influence of Byzantine society and culture on Salerno came through immigration. This would have come from different sources at different times. The two sources for significant immigration would likely have been the Arab threat, specifically following the conquest of Sicily as well as the constant raiding in Calabria and Apulia, and seeking refuge from theological dispute, most notably iconoclasm.[886] It appears that the intermingling of people from the Byzantine and Lombard worlds meant that linguistic barriers were not insurmountable. Indeed,

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[880] CS, 182, c180: 'she who before was accustomed to walk through the palace dressed in purple and wearing clothes made of gold and gems, afterwards was wearing lowly coverings.'
[881] *Ibid*, 18-20, cc12-13.
[882] *Ibid*, 61, c62 where a monk prostrates himself before Sicard and *ibid*, 28, c26 where Arechis prostrates himself before the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Benevento; Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté*, 184.
[883] *Ibid*, 18, c12; *baculum*, often referring to a rod or staff that a bishop wields, in this instance it relates to sceptres. Though staffs were also a symbol of Germanic authority, *Annales Nazariani*, a. 787, 43, sceptres were symbols of Roman imperial authority deriving from consular vestments. In the section on reception in the Magnaura in The Book of Ceremonies, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *The Book of Ceremonies: With the Greek Edition of the* Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae *(Bonn, 1829)*, trans. A. Moffat and M. Tall, *Byzantina Australiensia*, II (Canberra, 2012), 566-98, c15, esp. 568, 74-5, 85, 91, rods are wielded by attendants of the emperor for certain ceremonial occasions. In this instance in the CS, this is what is mirrored.
[884] CS, 144, c133.
[885] *Ibid*, 166, c158; Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, 98; *compaternitas* was a common tool of Byzantine diplomacy, Leyser, 'Byzantine-Western Relationships', 31.
[886] V. Ramseyer, 'Questions of Monastic Identity in Medieval Southern Italy and Sicily, (*c.*500-1200)', CHMMLW, 408; A. Peters-Custot, 'Monastic Travel between Byzantium and the West: The Italo-Greek *Brokers*, 10th-13th Century', CBW, 450.

there were so many Greeks in the principality that a 'Judge of the Greeks' and a *chôrepiskopos* (a rank immediately under a bishop most often administering to rural populations) was established in the city of Salerno to administer to this community.[887] Moreover, it was possible for a Greek monastery, namely St. Nicolas of Gallocanta, to be founded in the late-tenth century by a Latin layman, namely a Salernitan prince.[888] The Salernitan principality was a zone with a large bilingual population that were able to move between cultures.[889]

Indeed, this latter example shows that not only were linguistic barriers surmountable but also that religious differences were not considered particularly problematic. Saints 'transcended frontiers'.[890] For example, St. Neilos of Rossano (910-1005) received the habit at the monastery of St. Nazario in Salernitan territory, having been forced to flee by the Byzantine governor of Calabria.[891] In addition, communication with the Byzantine East was not limited to the southern Italian sphere; Montecassino kept in contact with Constantinople.[892] So significant was this contact and exchange that, coupled with weak episcopal authority in Salerno in the tenth century,[893] the overlapping of liturgical practices blended and this makes a clear demarcation between "Greek" and "Latin" in terms of liturgy difficult.[894] A product of this blending was the

[887] Peters-Custot, '*Convivencia*', 211.
[888] *Ibid*, 212, 217.
[889] K. N. Ciggar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople, The West and Byzantium, 962-1204: Cultural and Political Relations* (Leiden, 1996), 248.
[890] E. Tounta, 'Saints, Rulers and Communities in Southern Italy', JMedHist, XLII (2016), 444-5; Loud, 'Southern Italy', 631.
[891] S. Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne* (Naples, 1963), 57.
[892] Ciggar, *Western Travellers*, 248.
[893] G. Vitolo, 'Caratteri del monachesimo nel mezzogiorno meridionale', ed. F. Avagliano, *Montecassino. Dalla prima alla seconda distruzione. Momenti e aspetti di storia cassinese secc. VI-IX* (Montecassino, 1987), 51-2.
[894] Ramseyer, 'Questions', 399, 408; *eadem*, *Transformation*, 85-92.

southern Italian Exultet rolls complete with depictions of Byzantine emperors showing the direct influence of Byzantine material culture on southern Italian Latin Christian practices.[895]

Salerno's economy benefited significantly from the 'symbiotic connection' to Amalfi and the city's role in trade between Arab North Africa, southern Italy and Byzantium, particularly Constantinople.[896] This connection via Amalfi gave Salerno a wide market that enabled its economy to grow beyond its domestic limits.[897] Without Amalfi, the large numbers of cash crops such as chestnuts and wine would not have found consumers, nor would luxury goods have made their way back into Salerno in such quantity.[898] Indeed, after 950, the documents preserved at La Cava show that large institutions were increasingly requiring coin rents, suggesting the volume of trade was leading to an increase in the availability of monies in the principality and, thus, the increasing monetisation of the economy.[899]

Some caveats are required, however. The main market for Salernitan goods appears to have been North Africa, based on the fact that the *tari*, an imitation of the gold quarter-*dinar* coin, was the main medium of exchange in tenth-century Salerno.[900] Byzantine *solidi* only began to become a frequent medium of exchange following the fall of the Dauferids, *c.*980.[901] It is

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[895] Exultet rolls are illuminated scrolls containing the sung liturgy for the paschal vigil; G. Cavallo, 'Between Byzantium and Rome: Manuscripts from southern Italy', ed. O. Z. Pevny, *Perceptions of Byzantium and its Neighbours: (843-1261)* (New York, 2000), 145; admittedly T. F. Kelly expresses doubt on this development, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (Oxford, 1996), 20-1.
[896] A. di Muro, *Mezzogiorno longobardo. Insediamenti, economia e istituzioni tra Salerno e il Sele (secolo VII-XI)* (Bari, 2008), 119; Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, xxvii; Nef, 'Byzantium and Islam', 218.
[897] Ciggar, *Western Travellers*, 279; G. G. Cicco, 'La Longobardia meridionale e le relazioni commerciali nell'area mediterranea: il caso di Salerno', RMR, X (2009), 59-60.
[898] Loud, 'Southern Italy', 641-2.
[899] P. Squatriti, *Landscape and Change in Early Medieval Italy: Chestnuts, Economy and Culture* (Cambridge, 2013), 156.
[900] W. Day, 'The Fatimid quarter-dinar in southern Italy and the Imitation *Tari* of Salerno and Amalfi (unpublished manuscript, Leeds, 1995), 3-4.
[901] Cicco, 'La Longobardia meridionale', 76; admittedly, the Byzantine copper *follis* did continue to be used as a means of everyday exchange but this perhaps reveals the importance of local connections across cultures but within southern Italy rather than between Salerno and Constantinople, P. Grierson, 'The Salernitan Coinage of Gisulf II and Robert Guiscard', BSR, XXIV (1956), 37.

perhaps not surprising, therefore, that of the two merchants the CS mentions, one is from Amalfi and the other is an Arab.[902] Moreover, the Byzantines that did move to Salernitan territory lived in a limited number of locales, broadly practised endogamy and continued to be ruled according to their own law.[903] Laws regarding the status of women do reveal that mixing occurred but also the separation of legal cultures.[904]

In a similar vein, many of the individuals who moved into Salernitan territories are referred to by historians as Italo-Byzantines. A telling term that aimed to convey a distinctive regional identity that existed among the Greek-speaking citizens of the Byzantine Empire in southern Italy.[905] Tenth-century Byzantine southern Italy was somewhat isolated from the rest of the empire. This mentality of isolation is reflected in local saints' lives which contain a real sense of association with the homeland of Calabria and Apulia, and distance from the wider empire.[906] Though it does not necessarily follow from this regionalism that these individuals did not also feel themselves absolutely to be part of the empire.[907]

This economic exchange via the Tyrrhenian cities of Naples, Gaeta and, particularly, Amalfi also resulted in cultural exchange between Byzantium and Salerno. These cities were centres for Greek-to-Latin translation from historical fiction, such as the story of Barlaam and Jehoshaphat and the Alexander Romance, to hymns.[908] Moreover, dozens of Lives of Desert

[902] CS, 122-3, cc110-11.
[903] Peters-Custot, '*Convivencia*', 211.
[904] *Ibid*, 213.
[905] Ciggar, *Western Travellers*, 248.
[906] J. Shepard, 'Byzantium: Sources', eds. C. Holmes *et al*., *Political Culture in the Latin West, Byzantium and the Islamic World,* c.*700*-c.*1500: A Framework for Comparing Three Spheres* (Cambridge, MA, 2021), 98; Cavallo, 'Between Byzantium and Rome', 144-5; Peters-Custot, 'Le barbare et l'étranger', 151.
[907] A. Kaldellis, 'Provincial Identities in Byzantium', *Routledge Handbook on Identity*, 249-51.
[908] C. Leonardi, 'Intellectual Life', NCMH, III, 192; Falkenhausen, 'Greek and Latin in Byzantine Italy', 567-8.

Fathers and martyrs such as St. Mary of Egypt became available in Salerno with the city itself playing a prominent role in Greek-to-Latin translation of medical texts.[909]

This likely accounts for but a fraction of the actual exchange that occurred. As mentioned above, traders and diplomats, monks and refugees, soldiers and travellers, from all over the Byzantine world would have exchanged stories and information orally in Salerno.[910] Thus, whilst Salerno was certainly not Constantinople on the Irno, the influence of Byzantium on the principality was nonetheless ever-present and considerable. Byzantine culture was seen as worthy of emulation though there remained a distinct sense of difference between Lombard Salerno and both Byzantium's centre and Byzantium's southern Italian periphery.

[909] J. Howe, 'Eastern Influences on Western Monasticism, 850-1050', CHMMLW, 633; Cilento, *Italia Meridionale Longobarda*, 57; for Salerno and the origins of its medical school, see L. Ferre, 'The Multi-Cultural Origins of the Salernitan Medical School: A Historiographical Debate', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, XXVII (2018), 1-18.
[910] See above *Oral Sources*, 239-40.



Figure Ten – Approximate Geopolitical Map of Southern Italy, *c.*970

Section Two – The Image of Byzantium and the Byzantines in the *Chronicon Salernitanum*

The CS's treatment of the subject of Byzantium at first appears contradictory. The author constructs an image of the Byzantines as sexually degenerate, impious and militarily inept 'Greeks'. Simultaneously, he affirms the political self-identification of Byzantium as the continuation of the Roman Empire, albeit principally by negating the Romanness of Western emperorship. I interrogate these two strands of thought and elaborate on why the author constructs Byzantium and the Byzantines in this apparently dichotomous and mutually exclusive manner. Indeed, what at first appears contradictory is really, when viewed within the framework of the narrative structure and historical context, two sides of the same Byzantine coin. This image of Byzantium and the Byzantines that the author constructs is coherent, fitting neatly and effectively with the CS's basic aims.

I first discuss the chronicle's depiction of Byzantium as Roman. Somewhat counterintuitively, this primarily involves exploring the relationship between the letter of Louis II to Basil I and the CS, and thus focus on the tension over the Western use of the imperial title. I show that far from taking up the arguments of the letter 'literally',[911] the author uses the letter as a foil in order to demonstrate the falseness of the Western claim to Roman imperialness, particularly in regard to Otto I whose claiming of the imperial mantle led directly to his expansion into Italy which threatened Salernitan autonomy.[912]

[911] Goetz, *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen*, 696.
[912] G. A. Loud, 'Byzantium and Southern Italy (876-1000)', CHBE, 565-6; Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, 102-106; for the ideological importance of Italy for Otto's imperial project see D. Nerlich, *Diplomatische Gesandtschaften zwischen Ost- und Westkaisern 756-1002* (Bern, 1999), 52-6.

Thus, Byzantium is presented by the author as the true bearer of the mantle of imperial Romanness. Yet the manner in which the Byzantine state is presented as Roman is peculiarly limited. It is Roman, but the universality of its Roman imperialness is restrained. This limited representation of Byzantium as Roman is a constituent part of an attempt to construct a worldview that perpetuates the autonomy of the Salernitan principality under the Dauferids. Byzantium rightfully held the Roman political mantle, but it is presented in a framework that denies its claim to overlordship over southern Italy in general and Salerno in particular. The author certainly does not want to assert autonomy from one overlord only for it to lead to submission to another.[913]

A critical aspect of the curtailing of the Romanness of Byzantium is the presentation of Byzantines as Greeks. Throughout the chronicle, with one exception,[914] Byzantine individuals are always referred to as Greeks. Even Byzantine emperors are called emperors 'of the Greeks' or 'of Constantinople'.[915] First, I ascertain what is meant by the label "Greek" before analysing the way these "Greeks" are depicted. This follows a mild discourse of "Othering" aimed at establishing difference and a sense of Lombard superiority over the Eastern Roman Empire. Furthermore, this representation of Byzantines complements the author's conception of the Byzantine state by emphasising certain aspects that limit the extent of the Romanness of Byzantium. The idea that an 'extremely negative image of the Greeks' is constructed in this work is countered.[916]

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[913] Byzantium perceived itself as the rightful overlord of southern Italy, *De administrando imperio*, ed. G. Moravscik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins (Budapest, 1949), 113, c27.
[914] This exception is referencing the last exarch of Ravenna, Euthicius, so may be to do with his official role in relation to the Romans, CS, 4, c2: 'At this time Euthicius, Patrician of the Romans, handed himself over to Aistulf,'; patricians are not otherwise referred to as "of the Romans" in the chronicle, 144, c133; 151, c145.
[915] CS, 107, c107: 'Emperor Basil of the Greeks'; 153, c147: 'the emperors of Constantinople'.
[916] For arguments against see, Berto, 'Image of the Byzantines', 25; Kujawiński, 'Le immagini dell' "altro"', 811.

The ultimate purpose of the CS was to glorify and perpetuate the independence of the Salernitan principality under Gisulf and, in doing so, legitimise his rule. The way Byzantium and the Byzantines are constructed in this history is consistent with this objective. The depiction of Byzantium as Roman is more than just a passive manifestation of the author's environment, but a key part of his attempt to form a worldview that affirmed Salernitan autonomy under the Dauferid dynasty; the conception of Byzantines as Greeks is not a form of aggressive "Othering", but a strategy through which the author reaffirms separateness and the limitations placed on the Romanness of the Byzantine polity.

Presenting Byzantium as Roman – The 871 Letter of Louis II to Basil I

The quasi-manifesto of Western imperial ideology that is contained in the letter of Louis II to Basil I forthrightly details the arguments of the Carolingian emperors, which would be picked up later by the Ottonians,[917] for using the Roman imperial title. Indeed, the revival of the Western empire under Otto I and his attempts to annex southern Italy to his dominion necessarily led to a clash with the emperors of Constantinople both ideologically and geopolitically. Its inclusion in the CS must be understood in this context. Despite being a product of the ninth century, the letter speaks to the same tensions and carries the same arguments over the memory and exercise of the Roman imperial title in the West that existed in the late-tenth century.

[917] For Carolingian influence on Ottonian ideas of emperorship a substantial bibliography exists but perhaps the first to seriously analyse this connection was R. Folz, *Le Souvenir et la Légende de Charlemagne dans L'Empire Germanique Médiéval* (Paris, 1950), esp. 47-68; for more on Ottonian imperial ideology see D. Audronis, 'Un-Roman Empires, Post-Roman Worlds: Rome and Imperial Ideology in a Comparative European Context, 800-1000' (PhD thesis, The University of Manchester, 2021), esp. 147-181.

The author's inclusion of this letter is, at the very least, a decision to instruct his audience in Western imperial ideology. Analysis of the text of the letter in comparison with the wider narrative, however, reveal that the author systematically denies its contents throughout the CS.

In Chapter Eleven of the CS, following two chapters focusing on the (fictitious) attempted assassination of Charlemagne by Paul the Deacon, his subsequent exile to and arrival in Benevento, and the resistance of Arechis II of Benevento against Charlemagne's forces pushing into southern Italy, the author of the CS signals that the Roman imperial title belongs to the Byzantine emperors. In the middle of a passage concerning peace negotiations between Charlemagne and the bishops of the Principality of Benevento, the author breaks off from the 'order of history' and states explicitly that Byzantium is the Roman Empire:

> 'One cannot be called emperor in any way, except the one who rules the Roman Kingdom, that is he who rules Constantinople. The Kings of the Gauls have now usurped so great a title for themselves; for they were not called this in any way in the past.'[918]
>
> *Imperator quippe omnimodis non dici potest, nisi qui regnum Romanum preest, hoc est Constantinopolitanum. Reges Gallorum nunc usurparent sibi talem nomen; nam antiquitus omnimodis sic non vocitati (sunt).*

Usurpation

As mentioned in the discussion of the CS's sources, the letter was written as a response to a non-extant Byzantine missive, the contents of which can be inferred. Basil accused Louis II, or more precisely his great-grandfather Charlemagne, of, among other things, usurping the imperial title. In reply, Louis writes, 'it was not usurped (*usurpatum est*) by our great-grandfather, as you

[918] CS, 17, c11.

assert'.[919] Indeed, Louis retorts that it is in fact Basil who is 'usurping' (*usurpare*) the imperial title for himself.[920]

In the Chapter Eleven statement, the author is responding to the precise language used in Louis' letter, in this case focusing on the word *usurpare*. The author is indicating to the *fideles*, and emphasising this point through breaking the flow of the narrative, that what they will read later in the CS is false. As such, the CS does not refer to Charlemagne as an emperor except in direct speech.[921] This is to the extent that in a passage recounting a conversation between Grimoald III and Charlemagne, the author writes, 'He [Grimoald], as he was wise and evidently quick, gave a response in this manner to the king [Charlemagne], "Most pious Lord and emperor"'.[922] The juxtaposition between the direct speech and the text of the narrative proper demonstrates to the audience that, though many called him emperor, he was not actually one. It is a false title that was usurped.

Constantinople

Table Eight – Comparison of the contents of Louis II's letter of 871 with the statement in Chapter Eleven

CS, 109, c107	**CS, 17, c11**
Numquam tamen invenimus terminos positos vel formas aut precepta prolata, neminem appellandum basilea ***nisi eum, quem*** *in urbe Constantinopolitana imperii tenere gubernacula contigisset, …*	*Imperator quippe omnimodis non dici potest,* ***nisi qui*** *regnum Romanum preest, hoc est Constantinopolitanum.*

[919] CS, 111, c107: *quod iam (ab) abavo nostro non usurpatum est, ut perhibes.*
[920] *Ibid*, 109, c107: 'And do not either begrudge us what we are called or usurp singularly for yourself what you have not only with us but with many … other peoples.'
[921] There is one exception to this, *ibid*, 15, c11: *Imperator interea cum se sagaci racione superatum cerneret, ….*
[922] *Ibid*, 27, c23: *Ipse ut sacax nempe strenuusque, in hunc modum regi responsum dedit, "Domne piissimeque imperator, …".*

Similarly, the author clearly states that it is impossible to be called a Roman emperor unless that emperor controls Constantinople. Again, this assertion corresponds directly to the language and arguments of the letter. Louis explains that his scholars cannot find it written anywhere that no one should be called emperor 'except the one who' (*nisi eum quem*) governs Constantinople.[923] The author uses the same phraseology to express the exact opposite opinion with a conjunction (*nisi*) followed by an indefinite relative pronoun (*qui*).

In a similar vein, Louis' letter asserts that protection and control over Rome entitle him to use the Roman imperial title. He accuses Basil and his predecessors of 'evidently deserting … the city and seat of the empire (*i.e.* Rome)' and that the Frankish claim to Roman emperorship comes specifically through protection of the city and the papacy within it.[924]

Not only is this wrong according to the Chapter Eleven statement, but, later in the CS, Constantinople is referred to as the 'royal city' several times whereas Rome is only ever referred to as Rome.[925] The sole exception being in the spurious letter in Chapter Thirty-Four. 'Rome is the head of the world', the forgery states, as Charlemagne arrogantly and inappropriately responds to a gift from an unnamed Byzantine emperor of a 'hundred thousand gold coins' with a gift of 'one hundred dogs'.[926] As shall be explored below, these forged letters are part of a discourse aimed at ridiculing and undermining Charlemagne's memory.[927] By uniquely having

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[923] CS, 109, c107: 'Truly, among us many things have been read, and many indeed are being tirelessly read; and yet never have we discovered the ordained definitions of forms or even the uttered precepts that no one must be called the Basileus except him whom has happened to hold the rudder of the empire in Constantinople.'
[924] *Ibid*, 114, c107: *deserentes videlicet … urbem et sedes imperii*; 112: 'We assumed this name and dignity from the Romans, …, whose people and city we took up divinely the elevation and the governance of, and the defence of the mother of all the churches of God.'
[925] *Ibid*, 142, c129; 150-1, c144: *regiam urbem*.
[926] *Ibid*, 36-7, c34: *Scias quia dirigo tibi aureos centum milia … tamen capud mundi Roma est, quam teneo. … et scias, quoniam dirigo tibi centum canes*; on the negative connotations of dogs see S. Menachem, 'Dogs: God's Worst Enemies?', *Society and Animals*, V (1991), 23-44, esp. 31-4.
[927] Westerbergh, CS, 218.

Rome referred to with an aggrandising name in this context, the author implicitly emphasises the legitimate Roman imperial power of Constantinople in contrast to the arrogant claim of a usurper.

Moreover, the author later emphasises that a transfer of Roman imperial power (*translatio imperii*) has occurred from Rome to Constantinople. In Chapter Eighty-Eight, the author provides an *origo gentis* of the Amalfitanans and situates their origin in the time of Constantine the Great. The narrative continues stating that, encouraged by 'divine inspiration', Constantine left Rome and founded Constantinople, bringing all his followers and every noble to a place 'which before was called *Vizzans*'.[928] The author thus relates the bedrock of Byzantium's claim to the inheritance of Roman *imperium*, that the empire was re-centred on the city of Constantinople and that the centre of imperial power moved from Old Rome to New Rome.[929] Bearing in mind that the CS refers to Constantinople as the 'reigning' or 'royal city', it follows, therefore, that the author is acknowledging this transfer and emphasising that the empire centred on the city of Constantine is the continuation of the empire that Constantine ruled; the locus of Roman imperial authority had moved and remains there.[930]

A New and Recent Title

The 871 letter is also eager to demonstrate that the Roman imperial title the Franks claim is 'neither a new nor a recent title', and that it is the same title borne by the 'first Roman princes

[928] CS, 88, c88: *per inspiracionem divinam propria civitas linquens, cum usore et natos, [cum] suis proceribus cum cunctisque optimatibus necnon militesque Constantinopolim venit, …, que antea fuit a Vizzans quodam rege Vizantia appellata.*
[929] *De administrando imperio*, 113, c27.
[930] Shepard, 'Byzantium and the West', 612.

when they began to rule'. Indeed, the Frankish emperors are the 'successors of the ancient emperors'.[931]

This claim to continuity with the past is absolutely denied by the author in Chapter Eleven. Whilst in this instance, the wording and phraseology of the letter is not copied, the sentiment is clearly present when the author states that the Western emperors 'were not called this (*i.e.* Roman emperors) in any way in the past'.[932] Any claim to ancient inheritance of the title is therefore made false and, by inference, the use of the Roman imperial title must be a usurpation and the use of an imperial title at all must therefore be a "new" creation.

The Kings of the Gauls

In Chapter Eleven, the author instructs his audience that it is the 'Kings of the Gauls' who are usurping this title. The Western emperors are not only framed as not Roman emperors but, in truth, even less than emperors. In addition, they are not rulers over a vast number of peoples but only over one single people, the Gauls, which should be taken as a classicising name for the Franks and potentially bearing derogatory connotations of barbarism that implicitly separate them from a conception of Romanness.

The CS thus mirrors the tenth-century Byzantine understanding, which was already expressed in the late-ninth century as can be inferred from Louis' letter, that the heirs of the Carolingians had returned to the level of kings over a particular people. An emperor ought to rule over numerous peoples, particularly a Roman one.[933] Complementary to this is the noteworthy

[931] CS, 110-11, c107: *non sit novum vel recens … cum primi Romani principes [habeat] imperare ceperunt.*
[932] *Ibid*, 17, c11: *nam antiquitus omnimodis sic non vocitati (sunt).*
[933] *Ibid*, 111-12, 117, c107: 'one is free to ridicule that which you said about the imperial name that it is neither hereditary nor appropriate for a people … about what you said, that we do not ourselves rule all of Francia, … We

reference made in the CS to the Byzantine emperor, Nikephoros II Phokas, as a 'conqueror of diverse peoples'.[934] The chronicler is drawing on one of the key aspects to the Byzantine political worldview that asserted a hierarchy of which it was at the apex, an imperial power that ruled many peoples.[935]

The plural use of 'kings' further builds the conceptual nature of what the Salernitan author is asserting. He is not specifically denying Charlemagne's claim to the Roman emperorship but generally all subsequent 'kings of Gauls'. They are just kings of a particular people and unable to claim imperialness, let alone imperial Romanness. This idea is reiterated no less than three times in a geographic context when the imperial domains of Louis II, Guy III of Spoleto (891-894) and Otto I are referred to as 'Gaul'.[936] It is a consciously euphemistic title as, in the first two cases, it refers to emperors whose *de facto* jurisdictions were limited predominantly to the north of the Italian peninsula, whilst Otto, described as 'king of the Saxons and Germans' elsewhere in the CS, had his domains centred east of the Rhine.[937] It is clear that the term 'Gaul' as a label applied by the author to the geography of the Western empire at all points between 800 and *c.*974 has been chosen deliberately and pejoratively. It is less a precise

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surely rule all Francia…'; it is interesting in the first case that this mirrors the language in the *Book of Ceremonies,* II, 689, c48:

[934] CS, 176, c173: *diversorum gencium preliator.* I choose to translate *preliator* as a 'conqueror' and not a 'warrior'. I believe the author is implying military victory in juxtaposition to other rulers who might claim the imperial title. Even if this particular argument is not persuasive, the overall argument of the CS in regard to western rulers as kings, not Roman emperors, holds.

[935] G. Ostrogorsky, 'The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Worder', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XXXV (1956), 1-14; for a more recent analysis on both this idea in primary source material and modern historiography, see A. Angelov, 'In Search of God's Only Emperor: *basileus* in Byzantine and Modern Historiography', JMedHist, XL (2014), 123-41.

[936] Following Louis' imprisonment, CS, 122, c109: 'On which account he gave an oath, … [that] he would set out without delay to Gaul … and at once … he set out to Gaul.'; concerning Guy III of Spoleto, 150, c142*: 'he left to rule Gaul.'; concerning Otto I, 177, c174: 'he left Apulia and set out to Gaul.'; it could possibly be a classicism by the author in referring to Cisalpine Gaul but considering the usage of the term 'Kings of the Gauls' in Chapter Eleven, its use here is surely intertwined with the idea of denying Romanness to the Western imperial title; Pohl argues that this does not work in the case of Otto as the Ottonians were no longer seen as Gauls in the late-tenth century, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, 63.

[937] CS, 171, c169: *rex Saxonum Allemanorumque.*

geographic descriptor than a means to reiterate that the titles these individuals claim are not legitimate for them to use.

Unction

Finally, in the letter Louis focuses on the role of anointing or unction in legitimising his and his ancestors' use of the Roman imperial title. Moreover, he juxtaposes this specifically with how Byzantine emperors become emperors.[938] The author adheres to this dichotomy throughout the CS. Each time a passage describes the coronation of a Western emperor, the author states that unction was a key means by which the individual was made emperor. Both Louis II and Otto I are 'anointed with the oil of unction'.[939] On the other hand, Byzantine emperors are 'elected' or 'received' the emperorship.[940]

Whilst Granier argues to the contrary, it becomes apparent that the author of the CS is neither emphasising the legitimacy of the Western emperors nor, in adhering to this dichotomy, passively recognising different ceremonial practices. He is, in fact, directly responding to the contents of the letter.[941] This is most clear in the case of the imperial coronation of Louis II. The chapter containing this event begins, 'at that time Emperor Basil ruled Constantinople'.[942] When

[938] CS, 110-1, c107: 'but beholding the unction and sacrament, by which, through the placing of the hand and prayer of the highest pontiff, we have been divinely advanced to this culmination, and to the principate of the Roman Empire … it was not usurped by our great-grandfather … he obtained it … through … unction … For the princes of the Franks, were called at first kings, then, emperors, insofar as they were anointed by the Roman pontiff with holy oil'; in reference to Byzantine emperors, 112-3: '… put forward alone by the senate and people, without caring of these things; several were not even put forward in this way, but were acclaimed only by the soldiers and made secure in imperial rule, and even certain ones of them were acclaimed by women, whilst certain ones by this or that means were raised to the sceptre of Roman imperial rule.'
[939] *Ibid*, 104, c103; 172, c169: *oleo uncionis est unctus.*
[940] *Ibid*, 143, c131, both Leo VI (886-912) and Alexander (912-913): *electi sunt*; 177, c174, John Tzimiskes (969-976): *excepit.*
[941] Granier sees the repetition as indicative of continuous legitimacy and highlights the dignity of these occasions, 'Rome and Romanness', 222.
[942] CS, 104, c103: *Hac tempestate imperator Constantinopolim preerat Basilius.*

we recall the Chapter Eleven statement that no one can be called an emperor unless they rule Constantinople, by specifically beginning these passages by writing that there was an individual ruling Constantinople at that time, any claim to the coronation legitimately bestowing upon Louis Roman emperorship is immediately negated. The author adds that following the coronation Louis 'was surely called Emperor Augustus (*i.e.* the Roman emperor) by all' even though he did not become a Roman emperor.[943] The repetition of the exact description of ceremonial unction and this coy, superficially tautologous phrase in connection with Otto's coronation similarly presents it in a manner that denies its ability to bestow legitimately the Roman imperial title upon him.[944]

The Letter's Role in the *Chronicon Salernitanum*

The 871 letter of Louis II to Basil I is perhaps the strangest and most fascinating source that the CS utilises. The author includes and uses this document not only as a means of showing Western imperial ideology on the use of the Roman imperial title but as a tool through which he can present his own perspective. By regurgitating the text and anticipating the arguments of the letter, the author presents the Western empire as completely un-Roman. Indeed, it is euphemistically described as Gallic, an opinion that can be found in other local works such as the YB which refers to a 'Gallic Kingdom', a 'Gallic army' and 'Gallic *augusti*'.[945] The letter provided a powerful foil against which the author can construct his own worldview. The image of Byzantium in the CS is fundamentally informed by the contents of the letter and the author's

[943] CS, 104, c103: *et ab omnibus imperator augustus est nimirum vocatus*; this echoes the aforementioned description of Charlemagne as a king in the narrative but was called emperor by people and is thus so entitled in direct speech.
[944] *Ibid*, 172, c169: *et ab omnibus imperator augustus est nimirum vocatus.*
[945] YB, 141, c19: 'Gallic Kingdom'; 133, c2: 'Gallic army'; 169, c78: 'Gallic *augusti*'.

response to it. The letter was not included in the CS as a vehicle to legitimise the Western claim to Roman emperorship.[946] The very opposite is the case.

Presenting Byzantium as Roman – Other Instances

The primary means by which the author promotes the Romanness of Byzantium beyond addressing the contents of the letter continues to be by denying the Romanness of the Western imperial title.

A Precious Crown

Alongside the negating of the Romanness of the coronations of Louis II and Otto I, the non-Romanness of the Western emperors is also asserted through the very mentioning of a coronation.[947] In the passages preceding the Chapter Eleven statement, the author relates the resistance of Arechis to Charlemagne: 'Duke Arechis of Benevento alone ignored his [Charlemagne's] orders, since he had obtained a precious crown for his head.'[948] The 'precious crown' is thus framed as a symbol of princehood and political autonomy.

The CS continues stating: 'all were calling him [Charlemagne] in this way [emperor] who were in his family, as truly he was wearing a precious crown on his own head.'[949] Having just established a crown as a symbol of princely authority and autonomy, the emphasis placed on

[946] As is claimed by, amongst others, Pohl, 'History in Fragments', 365-6.
[947] Granier, 'Rome and Romanness', 223, notes this but argues it asserts the dignity and Christian aspect of Western emperorship.
[948] CS, 11, c9: *solus dux Arechis Beneventi iussa eius contempnens, pro eo quod capiti suo preciosam deportaret coronam.*
[949] *Ibid*, 17, c11. *Nam sic vocitabant omnes qui aderant in familia sua quia preciosam coronam in suo prorsum capite gerebat*.

Charlemagne's wearing of it, and his family and followers calling him emperor because of it, serves to ridicule this claim to emperorship.[950] It begs the question, if Charlemagne can become an emperor because of a 'precious crown', then why not Arechis?

Later in the CS, both depictions of the imperial coronations of Louis II and Otto I, the author ends the list of actions that constituted the accession ceremony with the placing of a crown on their heads, presenting this as the culminating act.[951] In both these instances, the line 'and he was surely called Emperor Augustus by everyone' follows the crowning.[952] The implication is clear. They may be called emperors, but they are not truly Roman emperors.

The Humility of a Monk and the Humiliation of Charlemagne or, the Mirroring of Charlemagne and Otto I

The most unclear passage in the CS concerns the fictitious depiction of Charlemagne retiring to Montecassino to live as a monk. The author blends the historical reality of Carloman (713-754), Charlemagne's uncle, who retired to this monastery in the late-740s, with Charlemagne and tells a story about his time there.[953] The narrative details that whilst shepherding, Charlemagne 'happened upon a brigand'. Subsequently, he is robbed and stripped naked, and returns to the monastery only to be ridiculed by the abbot for his impunctuality in front of the other monks whilst seemingly still nude.[954] Ostensibly, these stories are included in

[950] Granier, 'Rome and Romanness', 223, though Granier argues that this is not just simply to stress difference but emphasise a level of dignity on the Western emperors.
[951] Louis II's coronation 104, c103; Otto I's coronation, 172, c169.
[952] See refs. 943 and 944.
[953] The author may not have believed that these stories were fictitious, Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, 61-2; the author calls Carloman, *Karolum Magnum*, CS, 6, c5; for an argument that these stories are a positive reflection on Charlemagne, Kujawiński, 'Le immagini dell' "altro"', 799.
[954] CS, 34, c32: 'one day he happened upon a brigand … when he had surely returned to the monastery nude, the swifter brothers rushed to him and so began to vigorously inquire about what had happened. Seeing as he had laid

the text 'for no other reason' than that the author wanted to depict the humility of Charlemagne and reveal to his audience that 'pride is the root of all evil'.[955] Subsequent to this, the author inserts the two spurious letters detailing the exchange between Charlemagne and an unnamed Byzantine emperor with the Frankish leader, responding to a gift of 'one hundred thousand gold coins' with a gift of 'one hundred dogs'.[956] The author then assures the reader that he has included these letters as a means to show Charlemagne's humility. 'Surely,' the author concludes, 'it is possible to call him what the emperor personally designated himself?'[957]

The sarcasm is palpable and the whole scene is comedic. The fictitious story set in Montecassino is not one of humility but of humiliation. The founder of the medieval Western empire is tonsured, humbled and ridiculed whilst nude. The letters do not evidence modesty but extreme haughtiness by replying to a generous gift with an outrageous insult.[958] The apotheosis of this arrogance arrives in the form of Charlemagne supposedly having given himself the imperial title, which the author says is "justified" because of his obvious humility.

Yet why is Charlemagne's memory ridiculed in these passages? It is necessary to recall the historical context within which the CS was written. Following the imperial coronation in 962 in Rome, Otto I sought greater control of the Italian peninsula. The author details the destructiveness of Otto's campaigns against Byzantine territories in the south, arriving in Calabria 'with fire', besieging Bari and 'plundering and forcibly imposing deprivation' on

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out the order of things, [the brothers] rushed to announce it to the abbot himself. The abbot when he had heard the extraordinary thing, at once came to him and violently berated him.'

[955] CS, 36-7, cc33-4: 'Which we ourselves include in this history for no other reason… For just as the root of all evil is pride, … so that we may show for all his evident humility,'.

[956] See ref. 926.

[957] CS, 37, c34: *Numquid non poterat illum vocitare, sicuti ipse imperator proposuit ipsum?*

[958] For an alternative view see, Pohl, 'History in Fragments', 365-6 whose reading, to reiterate, stems from the argument that the CS was written by a Benedictine abbot.

Apulia.[959] More pertinently for Salerno, Otto's ambitions in southern Italy upset the balance of power in the region. Pandulf Ironhead, Prince of Capua-Benevento, had, in return for the Margravate of Camerino and the Duchy of Spoleto, become Otto's chief lieutenant in the south. Thus, during the time of writing, Salerno had essentially become a *de facto* vassal of the Western empire. The heirless Gisulf had resumed his princehood following the defeat of the 974 coup through the intervention of Pandulf who, in return, had his son confirmed as Gisulf's heir. Such a political development was clearly at odds with the intentions behind the CS to bolster the rule of Gisulf.[960]

Ottonian overlordship was not a desirable outcome, yet given the contemporary political situation in the 970s, this could not be written explicitly. Instead, the author employs a more subtle method, mirroring narrative strategies seen in the LP and LPER. We have already seen how the Romanness of Otto's imperial coronation is undermined by mirroring it with Louis II's. More pertinently, however, the author mirrors the characters of Charlemagne and Otto I. Both Otto and Charlemagne are said to have been 'secretly invited by the Lombards' to save them, in the former case from the 'many severities' of Berengarius and in the latter case from the 'tyrant Desiderius';[961] both are described as 'kings of the Saxons and Germans';[962] both wear crowns on their heads as symbols of their imperialness.[963] The direct denigration of Charlemagne becomes

[959] CS, 173, c170: 'Then the emperor himself came to the borders of Apulia and that is to say he forcefully plundered it, and briefly besieged the city of Bari … Then he came to the borders of Calabria, with fire, and forcefully imposed deprivation on it'.
[960] Loud, 'Byzantium and Southern Italy', 565.
[961] CS, 11, c9: *enim e proceribus Langobardis clam legacionem mittunt Karoli, Francorum regi, quatenus veniret … et regnum Italie sub sua dittione optinere*; 171, c169: *clam legacionem Langobardi … Octoni regi miserunt, quatenus venire et regnum Italie sub sua diccione optineret.*
[962] *Ibid*, 13, c10: *Rex de quo iam diximus Karolus Gallorum, Saxonum, Allemmanorum*; 171, c169: *rex Saxonum Allemanorumque*;
[963] *Ibid*, 17, c11; Otto I's coronation, 172, c169; Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté*, 76-7.

the indirect belittling of Otto. He is framed as just another northern oppressor, lacking any legitimate claim to overlordship of Salerno.

Limiting Byzantine Romanness

In denying the Western Empire's claim to imperial Romanness and ascribing this quality to Byzantium, the understanding of Byzantium as Roman is, in turn, limited. The author places boundaries on it, denying its implicit claim to universality, and restricting it to a certain space.

In the opening paragraphs of the chronicle, the author lifts freely from the Life of Pope Stephen II.[964] Here, the chronicler reaffirms the LP's claim that the Exarchate of Ravenna had been entrusted to the papacy by God, though he edits out that this also included the whole 'province of Italy', and thus Salerno.[965] Later, the pope negotiates with King Pippin on behalf of 'St. Peter and the *res publica* of the Romans'.[966] This term, '*res publica* of the Romans' is repeated twice more and the Lombard attacks on Rome are framed as, like they are in the LP, as between Lombards and Romans.[967] It is notable that this understanding is laid out before the Chapter Eleven statement, thus establishing 'the state of the Romans' prior even to defining the 'Roman kingdom'. As Granier has rightly argued, these are two separate polities for the author.[968]

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[964] See Table Six, 230.
[965] CS, 4, c2: 'Therefore the same Pope Stephen many times sought the King of the Lombards to beg for the flocks and the suffered sheep God had entrusted to him, just as the whole of the Exarchate of Ravenna'; Stephen II, 444, c15: 'the most holy man besought the pestilential king of the Lombards … that he might protect with prayer the flocks and the suffered sheep God had entrusted to him, and the entire Exarchate of Ravenna and the people of the whole of this province of Italy'.
[966] CS, 6, c4; Stephen II, 447, c26.
[967] *Ibid*, 6-7, c5.
[968] Granier, 'Rome and Romanness', 219-23; see also the discussion above on the geographic and territorial aspects of the term *respublica Romanorum* in 'Authors One and Two' in Chapter One, 108-113; see also ref. 971.

This conception of two types of Romanness, one civic and papal, the other imperial, is seen in the story of the origins of Amalfi. After Constantine's move to Constantinople and the assertion of *translatio imperii*, the author writes that 'Rome was left by law to the saints Peter and Paul'.[969] Subsequently, the author demonstrates the veracity of this through a story about the death of Emperor Alexander in 913. Alexander is described as immensely arrogant and, having taken seventy statues from the Capitoline Hill that represented the different peoples the Romans had conquered, he dresses these statues with silks stating that when these statues had been venerated the 'emperors of the Romans were glorious'. Subsequently, at night he is visited by an apparition that loudly declares, 'I am Peter, Prince of the Romans' and strikes Alexander in the chest. Waking up, Alexander vomits forth blood and dies.[970]

Rome, its territory and its people are presented as entrusted to the papacy by God and protected by his saints with lethal effect.[971] Alexander had violated the divine 'law' by which Rome was given to the Roman bishop.[972] Evidently, the rulers of Byzantium are not the rulers of the '*res publica* of the Romans'. Indeed, it is worth noting that Alexander is killed because he is

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[969] CS, 88, c88.

[970] *Ibid*, 143, c131: 'Once Alexander himself had seen the funeral of his brother, he was elevated in great pride, and he tried to throw himself not so much in sight of men but even against God. For seventy statues, that were once consecrated in honour of all the peoples on the Roman Capitol, which were bearing the written names of the people on their chests whose image they held … so that when a people were trying to rise up in rebellion against the Roman Empire, the statue of those people were shaken, and a bell on its neck would ring, so that … without delay they might direct an army to reprimand said people. And when the abovementioned statues had been taken away to Constantinople, the emperor Alexander himself produced such words, 'When these statues were being venerated, thereupon in that time the emperors of the Romans were glorious.' Whence at once he ordered silken clothing to come and gave a piece to each one. Therefore, at night when he had himself succumbed to a deep sleep, a most famous man appeared to him, and he came over him threateningly and hit him strongly on the chest … "I am Peter," it said, "Prince of the Romans!" And at once when he had arisen out of great weariness, he began to vomit his blood and thus was finished by fatal death.'

[971] Borders are even applied to Rome when the author himself writes within text lifted from the LP that Aistulf 'carried off many saints bodies out of the Roman borders,' *ibid*, 9, c7; Peters-Custot, 'Le barbare et l'étranger', 152.

[972] There are similarities with parts of the *Constitutum Constantini* concerning the specific reference of leaving Rome to SS. Paul and Peter and the importance of the movement of Constantine eastwards. For more see, J. Freid, *Donation of Constantine and* Constitutum Constantini*: The Misinterpretation of a Fiction and its Original Meaning* (Berlin, 2007); comparisons in ideas and language can be found in CS, 134, c13; 136, cc17-18.

specifically trying to imitate the 'emperors of the Romans', not the "Roman emperors", for that is what he already is. Romans are presented not as members of the Roman Empire (that is Byzantium) but citizens of the Roman city and its territory, ruled over by the pope. This understanding is reiterated when the author details Gisulf's aid to Pandulf, stopping an attack on Capua by 'Romans, Spoletans and Tuscans' and the subsequent peace established at Terracina where the pope came to meet him 'with not a few Romans'.[973]

Ultimately, this narrative of Alexander's actions is neither a depiction of Byzantium attempting to usurp imperial Romanness for itself nor revealing of an understanding that the popes are the only true successors of the Roman emperors nor an attempt to separate the emperors in Constantinople from their Roman origins (notwithstanding the arguments of various scholars).[974] It is a story that defines, in the author's understanding, the limits of the domain of Byzantium territorially, theologically and in terms of what people the emperor rules over. The story has been carefully chosen to convey a vital message in a tragicomic guise. The author constructs and presents separation between Rome as a world-historical idea and Rome as the physical reality of city and people.

The author presents to the audience a fundamentally Roman essence possessed by the Byzantine polity, conceived as being the continuation of the antique Roman Empire into the present day. Yet, in contrast to antiquity, it is limited and it no longer has rightful jurisdiction over all Italy, the city of Rome or, by extension, the Salernitan principality. It is the Roman *respublica* and no longer the '*res publica* of the Romans'. So why does the author choose to

[973] CS, 170-1, cc166-7.
[974] Respectively, Kujawiński, 'Le immagini dell' "altro"', 801; Peters-Custot, 'L'identité des Grecs de l'Italie', 199; Granier, 'Rome and Romanness', 224.

construct Byzantium in this limited conception of imperial Romanness whilst denying it wholesale to the Western emperors?

The author's attitude reflects the environment within which he was writing in two ways. Following the capture of Bari in 876 and Taranto in 880 from the Arabs, the conquest of most of northern Calabria and Basilicata in the 880s from the Lombards, and the establishment of the theme of Longobardia *c.*891, the Byzantine presence in southern Italy in the tenth century was secured and the boundaries broadly remained static over the next half century.[975] This equilibrium was upset by Otto I. The Western emperor's forces were fairly successful at first, besieging Bari in 968 and ranging far into Calabria the following year. However, the Byzantine victory at Bovino in 969 and the capture of Pandulf Ironhead confirmed the strength of and interest in southern Italy held by Constantinople under Nikephoros II Phokas. Indeed, Nikephoros further reformed the military and governmental structure in southern Italy, creating the Catepanate, and invested in local defences.[976] Thus, Byzantium remained a powerful and present force in southern Italy. The very real threat it posed influences the CS's limited conception of the Byzantine Empire. It was Roman, and thus indisputably legitimate as an imperial power, but the author does not grant Byzantium the right to untrammelled, universal dominion. The author, after all, was also trying to legitimise and uphold Salernitan autonomy under the Dauferids. Having delegitimised one potential overlord, it did not want to replace it with another.

[975] Though Sicily was completely lost with the fall of Taormina in 902, G. A. Loud, 'Southern Italy and the Eastern and Western Empires, *c.*900-1050', JMedHist, XXXVIII (March 2012), 4; S. Tougher, 'After Iconoclasm (850-886)', CHBE, 298.
[976] Vera von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 51-3, 63-5; A. Jacob, 'La reconstruction de Tarente par les byzantines aux IXe et Xe siècles. À propos de deux inscriptions perdues', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, LXVIII (1988), 1-19.

The second way the author's attitude reflects the environment within which he lived can be seen in the perspectives held on Byzantium and the Western emperors in southern Italy, at least by the educated elite. The LP has already been mentioned as an influence. The author's image of Byzantium also appears to have been significantly influenced by the writings of Paul the Deacon in the HL. As Maya Maskarinec has noted,[977] Paul presents a Roman Empire that changes over time. Justinian I (527-565) is depicted as ruling the Roman Empire only for the emperors from the reign of Phocas (602-610) onwards to be ruling the 'kingdom of the Romans'.[978] As part of this development, Paul increasingly begins to use the label "Greek" to refer to Byzantines, particularly after the reign of Emperor Maurice (582-610) who is described as the first Greek emperor.[979] Paul's history thus establishes a shift from a universal Roman Empire ruling over many peoples to a 'kingdom' populated by a single people, the 'Greeks'. It must be added that the two words are not combined in the HL.[980] This is foreshadowed in Book II, when Paul introduces the idea of the 'Romans' inhabiting the city of Rome in contrast to the 'Greeks' who populate the eastern half of the Roman Empire.[981] This particular aspect of the Romans belonging to the city is later substantiated. For example, Paul details the coming of Constans II to Rome with the 'Greeks' greeted by the 'Roman people' only for the city to be looted by Constans' soldiers.[982] Another example is the reaction of 'the Roman people' in regard

[977] M. Maskarinec, 'Who were the Romans? Shifting Scripts of Romanness in Early Medieval Italy', ed. W. Pohl and G. Heydemann, *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, *Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, XIV (2013), 297-363, esp. 323-35.
[978] HL, I, 62, c25: IV, 128, c36: 'kingdom of the Romans'.
[979] *Ibid*, III, 100, c15: 'first of the Greek *gens* who was made emperor.'
[980] Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire', ed. J. H. Burns, CHMPT, 211-51.
[981] HL, II, 75, c5: 'It would be advantageous for the Romans to serve the Goths rather than the Greeks where the eunuch Narses rules and places us in servitude; and this our most pious prince ignores. Either free us from his hand or we will surely hand over both the city of Rome and ourselves to those people.'
[982] HL, V, 149, c11: 'he (Constans, having led 'an army of Greeks', c10, against the Lombards) turned back. On departing from Naples he set out for Rome. The Pope Vitalian went out to him with his priests and the Roman people when he was six miles from the city.'

to the accession of the Monothelite heretic, Emperor Philippicus (711-713).[983] The Salernitan author reproduces and develops the paradigm established by Paul, understanding the Romans to be those who belong to the city while the actual Roman Empire in the East is merely the 'kingdom of the Greeks'.[984]

It is also worth turning to the anonymous continuation of Paul the Deacon's HR, the so-called Seventeenth Book, which was written just prior to 900 and is essentially an epitome of the HL.[985] It continues the narrative of the HR, which ends in 552, up to 730. Maskarinec's research has shown how the anonymous author of this work constructs the Eastern Roman Empire in a similar way to the CS. The judgement of the anonymous author as to which passages to reproduce is very suggestive. For instance, references made by Paul in the HL to the 'Romans' in Italy, outside of Rome itself, that are made by Paul in the HL, are not included in the Seventeenth Book.[986] Byzantium is the Roman Empire but now territorially and politically restricted to the lands east of Italy.

The perspective of the CS is found in other works besides the writings of Paul the Deacon and his continuator.[987] Landolf Sagax's *Historia Romana*, written in Benevento in the decades following the CS, continues Paul's HR up to the Byzantine Emperor Leo V (813-820) and contains a list of emperors up to Constantine VIII (1025-1028), thus going beyond Charlemagne

[983] HL, VI, 176, c34: 'The Roman people decided they should not acknowledge the name nor likeness upon their coins of the heretical emperor.'
[984] CS, 171, c167.
[985] 'Liber XVII', ed. A. Crivellucci, *Pauli Diaconi Historia Romana*, FStI (Rome, 1914), 239-68.
[986] The overlap with the CS's depiction of Byzantium is remarkable. A direct connection between the two is, however, unlikely as the Seventeenth Book is likely of northern Italian origin, Maskarinec, 'Who were the Romans?', 336-49; Maskarinec suggests that the Seventeenth Book may be 'a reaction against Frankish attempts to use Romanness and the Empire' and points towards negative reactions to Frankish taking of *spolia* but does not expand on this idea, *ibid*, 350-1.
[987] Cilento, *Italia Meridionale Longobarda*, 68; Leonardi, 'Intellectual Life', 192.

and the Western claiming of the imperial mantle.[988] Landolf twice mentions Charlemagne's coronation but on each occasion asserts that the contemporaneous Byzantine empress, Irene, was the actual Roman emperor.[989] Such a strategy echoes the passages in the CS describing the coronations of Louis II and Otto I. That being said, Charlemagne is never referred to as a Roman emperor, and only once as an *imperator Francorum*.[990]

This partial acceptance of Western imperialness, if not Romanness, does seem to have been widespread. Both Erchempert's YB and the *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum* refer to the leaders of Byzantium and the Western empire with their respective imperial titles. But they avoid specifying these titles with definitions such as "of the Greeks" or "of the Franks" except when necessary for clarity's sake.[991] The Salernitan author takes a similar approach in calling both Louis II and Otto I emperors. Since these leaders styled themselves as emperors, it would be misleading to refer to them differently. That said, the CS, as mentioned above, has a sardonic tone when it refers to Western emperors and ultimately denies them this rank.[992]

In a similar vein, the perception of the Romans being the individuals who lived in the city and territory of Rome is not confined to the CS and Paul the Deacon in the Latin milieu of

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[988] Landolf Sagax, *Landolfi Sagacis: Historia Romana*, ed. A. Crivellucci, FStI, 2 vols. (Rome, 1912/3); these histories are not unique in this regard and multiple texts from southern Italy in the late-ninth and tenth century date events according to Byzantine emperors, for example: CSBC*,* 484-6, a list of rulers entitled 'Roman emperors'; John the Deacon, *Translatio Sancti Severini*, MGH, SS rer. Lang., 452: 'Therefore in the 24th year of the emperors Leo and Alexander'.

[989] Landolf Sagax, HR, XXV, c40: 'repaying Charles [for support against internal political opponents], he [Leo III] crowned him emperor … Following this, Irene ruled the Romans again for five years.'; c45: 'In the fourth year of the imperial rule of Irene, Charles, King of the Franks was crowned by Pope Leo'.

[990] *Ibid*, XXVI, c31; M. Gabriele notes similar 'fluidity' in the entitling of Charlemagne as a *rex* or *imperator*, albeit more in the context of his legendary pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the tenth-century, Italian chronicler Benedict of Monte Saracte's *Chronicon*, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford, 2011), 98-9.

[991] YB, 134, c5: '*Augusti* of the Argives'; 169, c78: 'and each of the *Augusti* of the Gauls'; note here the use of the term "Gaul" in relation to the Franks in a manner evocative of how the term is used in the CS; *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, MGH, SS rer. Lang., 429, c54: 'the Constantinopolitan Emperor Leo'.

[992] For instance, recall the statement after Louis' coronation, CS, 104, c103: 'by all he was evidently called august emperor.'; and after Otto's coronation, 172, c169: 'by all he was evidently called august emperor.'

southern Italy. For example, John the Deacon of Naples, in his *Translation of St. Severinus*, remarks on the Emir Ibrahim ibn Ahmad's (875-902) hatred of the 'city of Peter' and his plans to attack the city. He is stopped before he can achieve this, however, being killed by an apparition of St. Peter in his sleep – a story that bears remarkable similarity to Emperor Alexander's death in the chronicle.[993] One can also turn to the *vita* of St. Elias the Younger in which Leo VI is described as governing the *basileia* of the Romans whilst Pope Stephen V holds 'the tiller of the Roman Church'.[994] Obviously, the comparison is not exact and it must be borne in mind that St. Elias' *vita* was written in Byzantine southern Italy and therefore in Greek. Nevertheless, as Annick Peters-Custot rightly notes, a division between the Roman city and the Roman Empire is made here.[995]

Assessing Byzantine Romanness in the *Chronicon Salernitanum*

In confirming that Byzantium is Roman, as well as the illegitimacy of the Western imperial claim to Roman emperorship, the author takes pains to clarify that the Byzantine Empire is the Roman Empire and not the Empire of the Romans; that Byzantine emperors are Roman emperors but not 'emperors of the Romans'. It is made clear to the audience that this separation is divinely mandated.[996] In espousing such a view, the author was influenced by a textual community that included: Paul the Deacon, the LP, Landolf Sagax, Erchempert, John the Deacon of Naples, the Seventeenth Book continuation of Paul's HR and Italo-Greek

[993] John the Deacon, *Translatio sancti Severini*, 294; the worth of this story as a source for southern Italian understanding of Rome and Romanness is identified by Granier, 'Rome and Romanness', 221, but he does not make a connection to the story in the CS.
[994] Peters-Custot, 'Between Rome and Constantinople', 237; the term *basileia* can mean refer either to the empire or the personal imperial majesty of the emperor, Shepard, 'Byzantium: Sources', 79.
[995] Peters-Custot, 'Between Rome and Constantinople', 237.
[996] See ref. 970.

hagiography.[997] Moreover, there was also a clear impetus in portraying the Romanness of the Byzantine state as limited when it potentially threatened Salernitan autonomy, even as confirming it as Roman served as a safeguard Salerno from the threat of the revived Western empire.

Yet, to limit the author's perspective to just these two factors would be overly simplistic. The author treats the Chapter Eleven statement separately from his historical narrative, stating after his confirmation of Byzantium's innate political identity that he will now return 'to the course of history'.[998] He clearly felt it necessary to pause the narrative and inform the audience that the claims of the Western emperors to the Roman imperial title are false; that the Byzantine emperors are the Roman emperors. The pause serves to signal the conscious and deliberate nature of the author's presentation of the Romanness of Byzantium. This presentation is not simply derived from other works or a reaction to contemporary geopolitical tensions but, as seen by the conceptual consistency and repeated references across the narrative, it is deliberately constructed as a means of presenting the past and present with respect to the basic aims of the CS. That is to strengthen a shared sense of political and socio-cultural identity through offering the *fideles* a collective past that legitimised Salernitan autonomy under the Dauferids.

Yet, in his portrayal of the conceptual limits of the Romanness of the Byzantine Empire, the main vehicle had been to portray the people of the city of Rome as Romans and the papal city itself as separate from the Byzantine Empire. Thus, Salerno had not yet been clearly placed outside of the legitimate boundaries of Byzantium. In part, the author was being careful not to suggest that his principality should be subservient to the papacy. Indeed, amongst many other

[997] See refs. 971 and 972.
[998] CS, 17, c11.

judicious excisions when copying several chapters from the Life of Stephen II, the anonymous author removes the line that 'the whole province of Italy' belonged to the papacy.[999] Thus, as shall be explored below, the author had to demonstrate Salernitan separation from the Roman Empire in another way. This is seen in the image constructed of the Byzantines as Greeks.

Presenting Byzantines as Greeks

In the CS, Roman Byzantium is also the 'kingdom of the Greeks' and the Roman emperors who rule Byzantium are the Roman emperors of these 'Greeks'.[1000] But what is meant by the label, "Greek", in what contexts is it applied to Byzantines and how is the image of them constructed in the chronicle?

Within the chronicle, 'Greek' carries several different aspects one of which is language. When the author talks of the etymologies of *pavimentum* (a floor of small stones) and *incole* (inhabitants), the equivalent word in 'Greek' is given.[1001] This meaning is further conveyed in the letter of Louis II. Here, an explicit comparison is drawn between 'Latin books' and 'Greek books' and their differing uses of the title *basileus*; this word is itself written in Greek letters.[1002] Thus, at one level, what separated a "Greek" or "Greekness" from the author's sense of "us" was language, although it is not used in the CS as a vehicle for "Othering".[1003]

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[999] See ref. 965.
[1000] CS, 171, c167; 107, c107: 'Emperor Basil of the Greeks'; occasionally other terms are used, 'Argives', CS, 22, c18; 'Greculus', 59-60, c60.
[1001] Albeit using Latin letters, *ibid*, 100, c99: 'For they call a piece of pottery an *ostracon* in Greek.'; 78, c80a: 'that, which according to the Greek term, is *parikos*'.
[1002] CS, 109, c107: 'Indeed, passing over Latin books for now, if you should consider even the recently produced Greek books, you will undoubtedly discover … that the leaders not only of the Greeks but also … of other peoples were revered with the title Βασιλεον.'
[1003] For a discussion on the reception of Greek in southern Italy see, V. von Falkenhausen, 'The Display of Byzantium in Italy. Wie stellte sich Byzanz, seinen Untertanen in Italien, deren Nachbarn und den Eroberern dar?', ed. E. Jeffreys, *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Aldershot, 2006), 70-4; in the

The term "Greek" is not, however, restricted to linguistic applications. Lombards living in Apulia, practising Latin-rite liturgy and beholden to Lombard law are included within the label.[1004] In contrast, individuals in northern Italy remain Lombards despite this territory having been outside of independent Lombard control for a longer period of time than parts of southern Italy.[1005] Perhaps the continuity of the kingdom of Italy may play some part in explaining this.

Regarding Byzantine-controlled southern Italy, this understanding may reflect a reaction of the author to the integration of Lombard and Byzantine society in the theme of Langobardia. Families that had once been *gastalds* became *tourmarchoi*, with the Lombard way of life broadly being allowed to continue under the eye of the Byzantine official. There appears to have been little resistance to Constantinopolitan overlordship.[1006] It is likely that this surrender of autonomy is precisely what deprives the Lombards living in Byzantine southern Italy of their Lombardness in the eyes of an author seeking to promote the autonomy of a Lombard principality. All the same, the label "Greek" is clearly not just a linguistic term but also a political one in the CS.

One final expression of a sense of difference in the CS concerns the treatment of women. This is expressed most clearly in two stories revolving around the lust of Byzantine men for women and the calamitous consequences of this. Certainly, one of the differences between Lombard and Byzantine law was in the treatment of women who had legal agency under the

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CS, the letter notwithstanding, language does not seem to be an axiom on which "Otherness" is built and not just a point of difference. For a further example of language used as a form of "Othering" between Byzantium and the West see, Herbers, 'Papst Nikolaus', 51-74.

[1004] Granier, 'Rome and Romanness', 224; this understanding is seen explicitly in the HL and the CSBC, Kujawiński, 'L'immagini dell' "Altro"', 774.

[1005] CS, 171, c169: 'and so he [Berengarius, King of Italy] punished them for various reasons, so, without his knowledge, the Lombards and the Romans sent a messenger to Otto'.

[1006] A. Peters-Custot, 'Between Rome and Constantinople: The Romanness of Byzantine Southern Italy, 9th-11th centuries', ToR, 231-40, esp. 233; this would be despite an apparently weak sense of political identification with the empire at large in residents of Byzantine southern Italy, Peters-Custot, 'Le barbare et l'étranger', 10-11.

latter system; the author and his audience would have been aware of this fact.[1007] Yet it is notable that the stories aimed at ridiculing Byzantines revolve primarily around women, or, more precisely, around men's lust for them. As such, the role of women within 'Greek' society is made out to be an implicit marker of its difference from Salernitan society.

Having established what 'Greek' means and refers to in the CS, its image of the Byzantines must now be considered. This image contains several layers and is tied into the author's limiting conception of the Romanness of Byzantium. The chronicler engages in a mild discourse of "Othering" the 'Greeks' as another means of delegitimising any possible Byzantine claim to overlordship. Critically, the 'Greeks' are presented as inferior to the Lombards.

The predominant vehicle for "Othering" of Greeks is through depicting the immorality and impiety of Byzantine society. The first example of this concerns the incestuous relationship between a patriarch and his niece. The patriarch, described as a 'good and just man', is fallen to 'carnal sin', keeping his niece in his living quarters, pretending that she is a eunuch. Upon realising he is dying, he commends her to all whom he meets and subsequently, after his death, the niece is elected patriarch without the electors knowing she is a woman. For this, God sends a plague to punish Byzantium. Byzantium is only saved by the intervention of Duke Arechis of Benevento who has been visited by a 'devil' in his dreams. The devil tells him it has manipulated the Constantinopolitan Church into electing a woman. Arechis immediately sends a messenger to rectify the problem and so brings the plague to an end. [1008]

[1007] Lombard women were by law 'perpetually subject' to men, Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, 118; A. Peters-Custot, 'L'identité d'une communauté minoritaire au Moyen Âge: La population grecque de la principauté lombarde de Salerne, IXe-XIIe siècles', ME, CXXI (2009), 91-5.

[1008] CS, 21, c16: 'In that time a certain patriarch ruled Constantinople, a good and just man, but this man was clearly corrupted by carnal sin, to such an extent that he kept in his house his own niece like a eunuch … As the patriarch approached death, he commended his niece to all who he saw. When he had died, they all elected her bishop, none

Similar themes are evoked in the next example. This concerns the fall of Byzantine Sicily. Here, the reader is introduced to Euthimius, a rich man who is betrothed to a beautiful girl named Homoniza. At that time, Sicily is governed by a 'Greekling' who is bribed into abducting Homoniza on account of another man's lust for her. The aggrieved Euthimius declares, 'You defiled my wife; may I perish in a year, if I do not corrupt the wives of many [other] men!' Following this declaration, he heads to Africa and asks the local emir for aid to ravage Sicily. 'Without delay [the emir] ordered the whole navy to gather as one' and they set off for Sicily. The 'Greekling' is killed, his actions having led to the Saracens capture of Sicily.[1009]

Both stories revolve around the effects women have on 'Greek' men and their susceptibility of Byzantine men to lust, a characteristic the author clearly wants to highlight.[1010] This exemplary tale serves to instruct the *fideles* why they must not give in to lust: murders, plagues and destruction result from men succumbing to this vice. Yet this story is not just another device to advise young men how to behave. It contributes to the image of 'Greeks' as sexually degenerate and, in contrast to the Salernitan princes, there are no redeeming examples like that of

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of them knowing she was a woman. … In the throes of night … an evil spirit appeared before the bed where Arechis was sleeping at asserting by a voice he said, 'How do you do, Arechis?'. … the devil again spoke, 'I will reveal to you, what I did. There is no doubt that the Constantinopolitans have a woman [for a patriarch] and for that reason the people of its land suffer the Saviour's anger.' And saying this he left. At once the prince directed his messengers to Constantinople and he explained the devil had appeared to him. They looked into this quite curious thing, and they discovered it was just as Arechis stated, and then the plague receded.'

[1009] CS, 59, c60: 'At that time, the tribe of the Saracens invaded Sicily. … There was a man … called Euthimius. He betrothed a girl of beautiful appearance, bearing the name Homoniza. Then, at that time, a certain Greekling (*Greculus*) ruled Sicily. Having accepted money from another man, taking away the betrothed of Euthimius, he then handed her over to that man. When this came out into the open and so was reported to Euthimius, and he immediately said this, 'You defiled my wife; may I perish in a year, if I do not corrupt the wives of many [other] men!' Wherefore he climbed on a ship with his servants and hastened to Africa, and thus he said to the king of that land, 'Send many ships with me, so I may unite vast lands to your power.' When the barbarian king heard such things, he rejoiced a great deal, and so without delay ordered the whole navy together into one. … When indeed they had set out to Sicily, to wit they invaded her immediately, … and there they killed the Greekling himself and his other followers, and so from that time they began to dominate Sicily. … And so, for one girl many other women were widowed. And those who before were themselves celebrating and feasting as one, thereafter, on account of this one Greekling were shedding innumerable tears.'

[1010] See above, *For Whom was the* Chronicon Salernitanum *Written?*, 241-3.

Prince Guaimar and his wife, Landelaïke.[1011] Byzantine society, and the broader course of its history, is in part made out to be defined by this vice which features as a core quality of 'Greeks'. The adulteress empress, the 'most cruel' Theophano (*c.*941-991), is 'a flame of lust' who, together with her lover, John Tzimiskes, murders her husband, the 'good and just … practitioner of government by law' Nikephoros, so that John may become emperor.[1012] An adulterous wife murdering her husband in a fit of lust, a man engaged in sexual relations with his niece (presented as the work of the devil), and the abduction and rape of a betrothed woman are tales that not only spark disgust but also emphasise the immorality of 'Greeks'.

These stories of immorality conjure up a specifically impious image of Byzantines, particularly the first tale. A 'devil' comes to Arechis to explain what he has done, not to Arechis' people, but to others. A sense of spiritual superiority, a more pious Christian "us" saving the corrupted "Other" is thus conveyed. That a degenerate followed by a woman were made patriarchs of Constantinople further demonstrates the institutional corruption and fundamental impiety of the 'Greek' at the very centre of their empire. The Sicilian tale involved the coveting of another man's wife, in contravention of the Ten Commandments, and the way a simple bribe leads to a wife's abduction points to this impiety, and more generally corruption, being present even at the Byzantine periphery. Furthermore, the letter of Louis reinforces this understanding of Greek impiety and, indeed, is one of the main thrusts of Louis' claim to specifically Roman

[1011] See ref. 722.
[1012] CS, 176-7, cc173-4: *Hac tempestate Niciforius preerat, vir bonus et iustus … iure legis servator, Theophana crudelissima sua uxor propter sue cupiditatis ardorem una cum Iohanne Similchi, …, crudeliter illum, …, necaverunt.*

imperium.[1013] Whilst the author does not accept Louis' conclusions as to Greek impiety, the image of impious Greeks permeates the letter.

It is pertinent to recall the story of the Emperor Alexander at this juncture. Underlying it is a theological element, evoking ideas of Byzantine religious waywardness. That a Byzantine emperor, the embodiment of the Roman imperial polity, should be worshiping and adorning idols in contravention of the second commandment is clearly heretical. When the author depicts Prince Guaimar II of Salerno, Emperor Alexander's contemporary, as piously wrapping an altar in silver and having it installed before an image of God, the allusion to Byzantine iconoclasm is very hard to deny.[1014] Moreover, given that the story of Alexander immediately follows mention of the Photian Schism,[1015] one may conclude that the CS is quite insistent on presenting Byzantium as impious and as a foil for displaying the inherent piety of the Dauferids.[1016]

Unsurprisingly, the roots for this impious image of the Greeks can also be found in Paul's Lombard history. When Constans II aims to reconquer Italy, for instance, John the Baptist intercedes on behalf of the Lombards.[1017] The author mirrors this with his own account of the intercession of the Virgin Mary on behalf of Guaimar II (901-946) when fighting 'Greeks'.[1018]

Setting aside theological matters, military weakness is another defining feature of Greeks in the CS. This is primarily expressed through demonstrations of Salernitan victories against the

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[1013] CS, 114, c107: 'and so on account of our good belief, orthodoxy, we assumed the rule of the Roman Empire, while the Greeks on account of cacodoxy, that is bad belief, ceased to be the Emperors of the Romans'.
[1014] *Ibid*, 167, c159: 'In the same church, he had a cross with an image of Christ on it made of purest silver, and he also covered the most sacred altar of the church with purest silver, … he had this altar constructed in the honour of the Lord and Saviour, and he covered it completely with silver and he ordered it to be put before his image. Do you know before whose sight? Of God. As the image of the Son of God is undoubtedly depicted there.'
[1015] *Ibid*, 143, c131: 'having thrown out Photios, who had formerly been punished with perpetual anathema by Nicolas, pontiff of the first see, on account of the invasion of the bishopric while Ignatios was still alive'.
[1016] Berto, 'Image of the Byzantines', 9.
[1017] HL, V, 146-7, c6: 'Saint John himself interceded on behalf of the whole Lombard people.'
[1018] See ref. 1022.

'Greeks'. Indeed, the audience is presented solely with stories of Salernitan victories over Byzantines: the defeat of the Byzantine siege of Salerno, which fails explicitly due to Byzantine cowardice;[1019] the 895 Spoletan-Salernitan siege of Benevento;[1020] the campaigns of the Lombard principalities of Benevento and Salerno in the 920s where Guaimar II 'together with Landulf, Prince of Benevento, had subjected all the cities of Apulia and Calabria to his rule';[1021] the Thermopylae-like defence of these conquests accompanied by the aforementioned vision of the Virgin Mary assuring victory to Guaimar II against an arrogant Byzantine army.[1022]

In tandem, historical examples of Byzantine military superiority over Salerno are excluded from this text: Byzantine leadership in the 915 Garigliano campaign; the military display with foreign troops of Romanos I Lekapenos (920-944) in 934; an attempted invasion of Sicily in 938/9; the expedition of Marianos Argyros in 955/6.[1023] This representation of constant victory of the Salernitans over the Byzantines establishes a sense of superiority and separateness, as well as demonstrating the physical limitation to the Romanness of Byzantium.[1024] The vision of Mary on the eve of battle only serves to confirm the divinely ordained nature of this superiority, separateness and curbing of Byzantine territorial rights much as St. Peter did with respect to Rome.[1025]

[1019] CS, 151-2, c145; Berto, 'Image of the Byzantines', 8-9.
[1020] *Ibid*, 153-4, c147.
[1021] *Ibid*, 163, c158: *Cum pene omnes civitates Apulie simulque et Calabrie suis iuris actrivisset una cum Landulfo.*
[1022] *Ibid*, 164-5, c158: 'And there were no fighters with him except three-hundred men and his brother, … In that night the most excelling Prince Guaimar saw a vision. Mary the virgin mother of God appeared to him'.
[1023] Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, 97; S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign: A Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1963), 184, 193; for the attempted invasion of Sicily, Prigent, 'La politique Sicilienne', 73; Loud, 'Southern Italy', 628; *idem*, 'Southern Italy and the Eastern and Western Empires', 6.
[1024] Kujawiński, 'Le immagini dell' "Altro"', 9.
[1025] This is possibly also a snide remark against the particularly Byzantine reverence for Mary on which subject see, M. B. Cunningham, *The Virgin Mary in Byzantium,* c.*400-1000* (Cambridge, 2021).

In summary, the author constructs an image of 'Greeks' as ultimately weak, succumbing to lust, impiety and cowardice. Yet the author does not attempt to form a uniquely prejudiced image of 'Greeks', though it cannot be described strictly as 'neutral' either (as has been argued).[1026] The Byzantines are neither depicted deformed like the Saracens are nor as uniquely impious; both the Beneventans and the Saracens also have similar terms applied to them.[1027] In a similar vein, Byzantine political ideology and identity is not undermined to the same extent as that of the Carolingians and Ottonians. Indeed, it is in contrast to the figures of Charlemagne and Otto that Arechis and Gisulf, as the embodiments of Salernitan princely ideals, are depicted. Moreover, it is Charlemagne, and by extension Otto, who is so thoroughly ridiculed. No Byzantine leader is treated in a comparable way and, even when they are fundamentally flawed, they can still be 'good and just' individuals. There are even a few unequivocally positive depictions of Byzantines. For instance, Basil I is 'the most serene augustus'.[1028] The Greek engagement against Pandulf Ironhead in the late-960s is also viewed positively by the author with the Byzantine soldier who captured Pandulf in 969 at the Battle of Bovino described as 'a Greek with great courage'.[1029] One must also bear in mind the positive intellectual quality of the Greek language. Throughout the CS, the author confirms his erudition and appropriateness for writing the historical narrative by displaying his knowledge of the Greek language.[1030]

The 'Greeks' are thus cast as "Other", but no more so than other Christian peoples are. The 'Greeks' are separate and different from the Salernitans but complete aliens. The author is not concerned with stating that Guaimar I received the title 'patrician' in Constantinople,

[1026] Peters-Custot, 'L'Autre est le même', 60.
[1027] CS, 129, c117: 'faithless Beneventans'; 132, c118: Saracens are 'pagans'.
[1028] *Ibid*, 176, c173; 143, c131.
[1029] *Ibid*, 174, c171.
[1030] See ref. 1001.

referring to Byzantine-influenced symbols of authority, or that a Byzantine general was a godfather of one of Guaimar II's sons.[1031] Instead, like the stories of Charlemagne and Louis' wife, these stories couched in Byzantine historical circumstances are used by the author to both undermine the validity of the universal authority of the 'Roman kingdom' and thus limit it to a geography beyond Salernitan borders,[1032] and to teach moral lessons to the *fideles* with the aid of examples of the "Other".

Conclusion

Walter Pohl was correct to label the CS a 'text of identity'.[1033] The identity which the author of the CS was writing for was not, however, the community of Montecassino but the Salernitan principality and specifically the *fideles*. The CS was written with the intention of providing this audience with a certain view of the past and a shared framework through which they could understand the present. This view and framework were ultimately intended to glorify and perpetuate the autonomy of the Principality of Salerno under Prince Gisulf and the Dauferid dynasty.

The constructed image of Byzantium and the Byzantines fits in with this objective. Byzantium is Roman, but in a limited, almost regionalised form, both conceptually and territorially, curtailing its right to dominion over southern Italy.[1034] Such a presentation had the

[1031] CS, 144, c133; 166, c158
[1032] Sarti finds similar geographic connotations to the application of the label "Greek" in Frankish sources, Orbis Romanus, 163.
[1033] Pohl, 'History in Fragments', 361.
[1034] I thus broadly agree with Granier's interpretation of the CS presenting the locus of empire having moved eastwards, that its people were predominantly Greeks and that the author is clearly influenced by the revival of the Western Empire by Otto I which made the imperial question highly pertinent. Where I diverge markedly is Granier's argument that Byzantium, in the author's time, had lost its Romanness with this quality having returned to the West. Granier, 'Rome and Romanness', 225: '[Byzantium] was clearly Roman no more.'

additional benefit of making Byzantium a safe, non-threatening repository from which symbols of power could be appropriated without undermining the legitimacy of Lombard power structures.[1035] Byzantium is nevertheless regarded as the continuation of the imperial Roman state.

A key feature of the assertion of Byzantine political Romanness is the ridiculing and denial of the Western claim to emperorship and the derogatory image that is conveyed of the Franks. This explains the inclusion of the letter of Louis II which serves as a straw man and shows up the hollowness of the Frankish claim to Romanness. Far from taking up the arguments of Louis II's letter, it denies them explicitly, reusing the same words in order to do so.[1036] The critical passage in Chapter Eleven draws on Louis' arguments in favour of the Western claim to Roman emperorship and turns them on their head. Ruling from Constantinople is the criterion of true Roman emperorship; in comparison, the rulers of the Franks are merely jumped-up kings sporting recently minted titles. So far as the derogatory image of the Franks is concerned, Charlemagne, the "ur-emperor" of the Latin West is humiliated and shown to be arrogant. The mirroring of Charlemagne with Otto I reveals that this ridicule bears on contemporary affairs and that, in part, the image of the Franks, and in turn of the Byzantines, is coloured by the geopolitical threats of the author's own day.

The limited nature of Byzantine imperial Romanness is nevertheless communicated, and most prominently through evidence of divine sanction. In the opening of the CS, the author copies the LP, although with judicious additions and excisions, and writes that 'God had

[1035] Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté*, 184; in 899, Guaimar I uses his title of *imperialis patricius* to justify his installing of a 'servant of the sacred palace' under the care of the church of St. Maximus in Salerno. CDC, I, n111, 139-140; that said there is a studied avoidance of Guaimar II's use of the title of patrician in the CS whereas it is present in the chartulary record between 917-923, Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, 97.
[1036] Goetz, *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen*, 695-6.

entrusted the whole Exarchate of Ravenna and the province of Italy' to the pope.[1037] It is not surprising then when the Byzantines seek to increase their Italian domains, they are divinely rebuffed: Emperor Alexander is killed by St. Peter himself;[1038] the Virgin Mary appears to a Salernitan army before it defeats the Byzantines;[1039] constant Salernitan military victory against the Byzantines reads as implicit proof of divine favour.[1040]

In tandem, the Byzantines themselves are 'Greeks' and are certainly presented as lesser. They are prone to impiety, weakness and sexual immorality, different from a more Christian and martial Lombard "us". This representation reinforces the delineation and separation between the Lombard Principality of Salerno and any imperial claims from the 'Roman kingdom' of Byzantium to overlordship of the Italian peninsula. In addition, as Peters-Custot has rightly argued, the term can be used in a neutral manner but it clearly contributes to the construction of the distance the author seeks to highlight between Salerno and Byzantium.[1041] The importance of "Greekness" as a means of limiting Byzantium is even tied into the death of Emperor Alexander who refers to himself as 'emperor of the Romans' and is killed for being so bold as to make this claim. The anonymous author very clearly shows that the *respublica Romanorum* is not a part of the *regnum Romanus*, the rulers of which rule Constantinople and can rightly be called emperor.[1042]

The origin of this distinction drawn between people and polity in the image of Byzantium reflects the author's personal interaction with both entities. Socio-culturally Byzantine

[1037] See ref. 965.
[1038] See ref. 970.
[1039] See ref. 1022.
[1040] Burgarella, 'Bizantini e Longobardi', 274.
[1041] Peters-Custot, 'L'Autre est le même', 60.
[1042] CS, 17, c11: 'It is not possible to be called emperor in any way, except the one who rules the Roman kingdom, that is Constantinople.'

individuals – what the author referred to as ‘Greeks’ – were encountered face-to-face in tenth-century Salerno, perhaps even on a daily basis. Meanwhile, far away Constantinople was an unparalleled source of riches, power and culture, and worthy of emulation. The author is also influenced by the images of Byzantium constructed in the LP and the HL. These also accept the imperialness of the Byzantine polity whilst labelling its people as “Greek”. Nevertheless, although the author adheres to an inherited framework for perceiving the Byzantine Empire, his primary concern is to glorify Salerno under the Dauferid dynasty and to present a plausible, vivid and instructive version of the past that affirms Salernitan autonomy. The image of Byzantium and the Byzantines within the CS, and by extension the Western empire, is designed to further these two fundamental aims.

CHAPTER FOUR

Similarities and Differences between the Three Sources

Perceptions of Greeks and Greekness

All three works of history distinguish, implicitly or explicitly, between the prestige of Byzantine culture – especially with respect to language – and the pejorative use of "Greek" as an ethnopolitical label. The authors of both the LPER and the CS signal their erudition to the audience through a display of knowledge of the Greek language. Whether a literary trope or evidence of actual mastery of Greek, the language held significant prestige amongst the educated of their societies.[1043] In a more subtle manner, the importance of Greek is indirectly acknowledged in the LP too. When Pope Leo III produces the two shields inscribed with the Creed, one with it in Latin and the other in Greek, and when Benedict III institutes readings of the liturgy in both Greek and Latin, the Greek language is shown to be at least the equivalent of Latin and appropriate for sacred contexts.[1044] The prominence given to the Greek *schola* singing imperial praises in the Life of Sergius II – in contrast to the other unnamed *scholae*, presumably of the Lombards, Saxons, Frisians and Franks mentioned elsewhere in the Life – suggests that Greek could even be considered superior to Latin.[1045]

[1043] Wickham, 'Ninth-Century Byzantium', 248.
[1044] Leo III, II, 26, c84; Benedict III, II, 147, 32.
[1045] Sergius II, II, 88, c9; it is a surprising conclusion given that it nuances the understanding that Latin was recognised as a constitutive aspect of Romanness in both the Byzantine East and Latin West, cf. Sarti, Orbis Romanus, 136-9. Latin certainly remains a constitutive aspect, but the role played by Greek here suggests it is more suitable in certain (imperial Roman) contexts.

Only the CS contains a further, explicitly positive use of the term 'Greek' other than in relation to language or liturgy. This is in relation to the character of Greeks. A Byzantine emperor and patriarch are described as 'good and just' men, whilst the Byzantine soldier who captured Pandulf Ironhead at the Battle of Bovino in 969 is 'a Greek with great courage'.[1046]

Outside of these instances, the label "Greek" in all three works is mostly pejorative and negative, though sometimes neutral uses of the term can be seen in the CS even if it nevertheless retains some measure of implicit, pejorative connotation on these occasions.[1047] This is particularly the case in the LPER. Indeed, the otherwise pro-Byzantine LPER shows just how derogatory, negating and "Othering" the label "Greek" could be when applied to the Eastern Roman Empire.[1048] Agnellus uses "Greek" solely in relation to Byzantium and the Byzantines at the nadir of Ravennan-Constantinopolitan relations. That is when the Byzantine emperor attacks and slaughters the Ravennan elite, and the heretical 'poison' of iconoclasm is spreading from Constantinople across the sea.[1049] Agnellus' 'Greeks' are juxtaposed with the Ravennans, implicitly framing them as an illegitimate or parasitic part of the imperial Roman polity. This perspective of separation and difference is made explicit when Agnellus states that, after the events in the epic tale, 'the Greeks raised up an emperor over themselves.'[1050] Indeed, a supporting argument for the pro-Byzantinist slant of the LPER is how Agnellus specifically uses the "Othering" label of "Greek". His studied avoidance of the label except in this moment of

[1046] Though even this might just reflect Salernitan opinion post-974 following its loss of autonomy to Pandulf, CS, 174, c171; clear implicit admiration of Byzantine culture is seen in the emulation of Byzantine court ceremony, 18-19, c12; a reference to purple clothes of the princess, 182, c180.
[1047] See above, *Presenting Byzantines as Greeks*, 274-82.
[1048] Sarti, '*Romanus* to *Graecus*', 146-8.
[1049] See ref. 607.
[1050] LPER, 321, c143.

crisis speaks to his belief and desire to present Byzantium and the Byzantines as a group to which Ravenna and the Ravennans could also belong.

What aspects constitute the negative image of the Byzantines as Greeks? To begin with, both the LPER and the CS construct an image of Greek military ineptitude. In the CS, this trope is used multiple times, and primarily in juxtaposition to the military capability of the Salernitans. An exemplary case would be the reference made to Thermopylae, in which the Salernitans play the role of the Spartans and the Byzantines that of the Persians.[1051] In the LPER, the defeat of the East Roman forces draws on similar tropes, with Byzantines turning tail and running only to be slaughtered.[1052]

The second negative aspect of the label "Greek" is treachery. The LP places the strongest emphasis on this quality of Greekness which manifests most clearly in the Life of Hadrian II. The Greeks cannot be trusted at all. They lie, deceive and bribe as in the case of the conversion of the Bulgars.[1053] Greek treachery is also seen in the LPER when the 'commander of the Greeks' tricks the Ravennan elite and captures them as part of Justinian's revenge for their involvement in the 695 coup against him. Similarly, in the CS, the devious aspect of the Greek character is implicit in the stories surrounding the 'Greekling' governor of Sicily and the abduction of Homoniza, and the murder of Nikephoros by his wife, Theophano, and her lover, John Tzimiskes.[1054]

Treachery, however, is not the primary negative aspect of the Byzantines in the CS. The Salernitan history focuses more on constructing a wanton image of the sexual degeneracy of

[1051] CS, 164-5, c158.
[1052] Borri, 'Coriander Field', 355-7; LPER, 330-1, c153.
[1053] Hadrian II, II, 183-5, cc50-1, 55-6, 63.
[1054] CS, 59, c60; 177, c174.

Greeks.[1055] The patriarch of Constantinople has an incestuous relationship with his niece; the governor of Sicily abducts a woman on account of her beauty; the 'good and just' Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas is slain by adulterers.[1056] As with the military weakness, this is in part a didactic trope employed by the anonymous author of the CS to instruct his predominantly young male audience. Saracens, Salernitans and the Byzantines can all succumb to lust; the upstanding Dauferid princes do not. Nevertheless, it is the Byzantines more than any others who are depicted as sexually deviant.

Byzantine Impiety

One final aspect of the negative image of Byzantines is that of the impious Greek, a particularly important axiom of difference given that Christianity had been such a unifying factor across the empire.[1057] All three works place a strong emphasis on the heterodoxy of the Byzantines as a marker of difference, with a particular focus on the influence of the imperial institution itself. For the LPER and the LP, the key manifestation of this is iconoclasm. As demonstrated in the analysis of the documentary materials in the Life of Hadrian I up to and including the first part of the Life of Nicolas I, the connection between Byzantine Greekness and Christian impiety is not made explicit, but it is obvious for those looking for it. Only in the later Lives is the LP explicit about Greek heresy, forthrightly challenging the sinfulness of Greek clerics who persuade the Bulgarians with bribery.[1058] The LPER also opts for the oblique and implicit approach, lacking the wealth of archival sources available to the authors of the LP.

[1055] LPER, 312-15, c137; CS, 21, c16; 59, c60; 176-7, cc173-4.
[1056] CS, 21, c16; 59, c60; 176-7, cc173-4.
[1057] Gantner, *Finsternis*, 77; moreover, this aligns with a widespread perception of Byzantium as a source of heresy in the Christian West that has been identified as early as *c.*500 in the work of Fulgentius of Ruspe, Goetz, 'Image of the Greeks', 101.
[1058] Hadrian II, II, 185, c63.

Agnellus links Greekness to the 'poison' of heresy and makes clear that,[1059] more generally, Ravenna was orthodox and that his own family were devoted to icons.[1060]

The CS does not ignore theological differences. One can hardly mistake Byzantine sexual immorality as anything other than a clear sign of their impious behaviour and character. The irreligious link is also made explicit in the story of the incestuous patriarch, the divine punishment his actions led to and the devil's confession of his crime to Arechis II.[1061] This confession is emblematic of how the CS approaches this topic, emphasising the piety and orthodoxy of the Salernitan principality and contrasting this with Byzantine impiety. One can also point to the episode of Emperor Alexander clothing pagan statues and being struck down by St. Peter.[1062] This can hardly be construed as anything other than a clear declaration of support for papal primacy. Moreover, in contrast to the impious actions of Byzantine emperors, Salernitan princes donate to churches and show reverence towards icons. It is little wonder then that the Virgin Mary intercedes on behalf of Salernitan troops when fighting the 'Greeks'.[1063]

Byzantine Impiety and the Romanness of Byzantium

What is striking about the presentation of Byzantine impiety in all three works is its role in negating Byzantine Romanness, though the CS does so in a somewhat unique manner. This is not surprising. A key criterion of Romanness in Late Antiquity and the Early Medieval Period is orthodox Christianity. This is expressed most clearly in the LPER. In the epic narrative, Agnellus

[1059] LPER, 317, c140.
[1060] *Ibid*, 324, c146.
[1061] CS, 21, c16.
[1062] *Ibid*, 143, c131.
[1063] *Ibid*, 167, c159; 164-5, c158.

refers to the Byzantines as Greeks, having previously only referred to them as Romans. He connects this transformation directly with the heretical 'poison' of iconoclasm that is coming from across the 'Byzantine sea'.[1064] In the prophecy later in the narrative, the Byzantine imperial court and the Byzantines are once again Roman as they are no longer promoting iconoclasm and have returned to orthodox practice. For the LPER, orthodoxy is an intrinsic part of Romanness.

In the LP, the treachery of the Greeks is associated directly with the conversion of the Bulgars and the Photian schism, an ecclesiastical conflict which the LP informs us was precipitated by 'the removers of sacred images'.[1065] Theological differences are also reflected in the very real geopolitical separation and perceived foreignness in the LP. The 'Greek lands' of Byzantium, where the heretical Council of Hieria takes place, are separated and made distinct from the *respublica Romanorum* and the 'clergy, senate and people of Rome'.[1066] This may reflect the priorities of the papacy as a religious institution, but the political content and discriminatory attitude towards the Byzantines in the Lives from Stephen II to Hadrian II is always connected with Byzantine heterodoxy.

Interestingly, the CS takes a somewhat different approach. It reiterates the premise of the LP post-752, copying from the Life of Stephen II that papal Rome is the *respublica Romanorum* and is a polity separate from the wider Byzantine Empire.[1067] This separation is not so much connected to Byzantine impiety as it is presented as divinely sanctioned. Rome, or the *respublica Romanorum*, is 'by law' separate from the Byzantine Empire, or the '*regnum Romanum*'.[1068] The immanence of this is again seen when the Emperor Alexander, after he refers to himself as an

[1064] LPER, 317, c140.
[1065] Nicolas I, II, 155, c19: *imaginum despositoribus occasione sacrarum.*
[1066] Stephen II, 447-8, cc25-6; Valentine, II, 72, c8; Stephen III, 477, c23.
[1067] CS, 6, c4; 7, c5: *rei publice Romanorum*.
[1068] *Ibid*, 88, c88; 17, c11.

'Emperor of the Romans' and engages in overtly pagan behaviour, is killed by St. Peter himself, the true 'Prince of the Romans'. The papacy and the popes, divinely manifested in the apparition of St. Peter, are the true rulers of Rome. Whilst the Eastern Roman Empire retains its claim to the imperial Roman mantle, its claim to, what might be termed as, civic Roman identity is gone; theirs is not the Empire of the Romans. The divine judgement passed upon a Byzantine emperor for claiming otherwise viscerally communicates that Roman identity, both at an individual as well as a political level, was perceived to be linked to orthodox Christianity.

The Impact of Iconoclasm

In his introduction to *A Companion to Byzantine Iconoclasm*, Michael Humphreys notes that 'considerable doubt [has been] cast on the scale and saliency of iconoclasm in Byzantium at the time when the dispute was traditionally thought to be raging in the eighth and early-ninth centuries.'[1069] Whatever the reality of iconoclasm in the Eastern Roman Empire was, the LP and the LPER clearly show that the controversy was salient and, moreover, that its impact was closely connected with the perception of Byzantium in the Italian peninsula.

For the LP, iconoclasm is an essential theme that runs throughout the Lives analysed here. The papal history promotes both the orthodoxy and piety of the papacy in comparison to the impiety and heresy of the Eastern Roman Empire, which lead to the severing of the connection between Romanness and Byzantium. Even for Author Thirteen, writing around 872, nearly thirty years after the end of iconoclasm as an official theological position in East Rome, the heretical theology is still explicitly linked to ongoing dogmatic differences between the patriarchates of

[1069] Humphreys, 'Introduction', 2.

Constantinople and Rome.[1070] Similarly, the LPER, an ostensibly pro-Byzantine historical narrative, sees iconoclasm as 'poison' that transforms the Byzantines from Romans into Greeks.

It has been argued that the reaction in the Latin West to the second phase of Byzantine Iconoclasm was somewhat delayed.[1071] The analysis of the LP suggests that, on the contrary, the reaction was in the first place immediate and clear,[1072] and in the second place continuous, at least with respect to papal Rome. Outside of evidence within the LP, such as the letters and 731 synod in St. Peter's which are both mentioned in the Life of Gregory II, epigraphic evidence from the Lombard royal capital of Pavia dated to *c.*730 or a little earlier – with one epigraph analysed by Clemens Gantner and Francesca Dell'Acqua, which describes the Byzantine emperor, Leo III, falling into schism,[1073] and another Greek verse inscription, analysed by Marc Lauxtermann, that was likely set up within the monastery of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro and conveys a message of papal primacy through explicitly pro-icon language –[1074] reveal that the papacy was not alone in its immediate reaction on the Italian peninsula.

To the second point, whilst the LP is implicit in this regard and makes no explicit mention of it from *c.*774 until after 843, it has been shown above that authors writing over a period of half a century consistently engage in a silent polemic against Byzantine iconoclasm. Moreover, the manner in which it primarily does this, by listing the commissioning of icons by the popes of Rome, functions not only as criticism of iconoclasm but also as an affirmation of papal

[1070] Nicolas I, II, 155, c19.
[1071] Humphreys, 'Introduction', 101.
[1072] Here I concur with Osborne whose approach stems from material rather than textual evidence, *Rome in the Eighth Century*, 90.
[1073] F. Dell'Acqua and C. Gantner, 'Resenting Byzantine Iconoclasm. Its Early Reception in Italy through an Inscription from Corteolona', *Medieval Worlds*, IX (2019), 160-86.
[1074] M. D. Lauxtermann, 'A Lombard Epigram in Greek', eds. M. D. Lauxtermann and I. Toth, *Inscribing Texts in Byzantium: Continuities and Transformations* (Abingdon, 2020), 365-76.

orthodoxy and a textual display of the largess of papal patronage through the sheer quantity of items mentioned as well as the other construction works of both a secular and religious nature.

In light of these findings, the thesis that iconoclasm had a minimal impact – as expressed in L. Brubaker and J. Haldon's *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era,* c.*680-850* – may need to be nuanced or even challenged, at least with regard to its ideological and political consequences in medieval Latin Italy. Certainly, the extant primary source material for image destruction in Byzantium is limited and relies on textual material written by iconophiles which portray the controversy as more extreme than the remaining evidence presents. The findings of this thesis do not question this conclusion but argue that this urge to portray iconoclasm as cataclysmic reveals, at the very least, a quite visceral reaction. Something fundamental really did occur, albeit perhaps at a more ideological level rather than a physical one. In the sources I have analysed, iconoclasm is used not simply as a tool to represent papal and Ravennan orthodoxy and piety but as a justification and explanation for Byzantium's loss of Romanness. It is even partially seen in the CS in the story of Emperor Alexander.[1075] The implications of this are profound. Iconoclasm led directly to a paradigm shift in the perception of Byzantium. Moreover, it provided a moral and intellectual justification for the papal separation from East Rome and the assumption of imperial Romanness in the West. This can hardly be regarded as minimal. Indeed, as Florian Hartmann has written, even if Byzantine iconoclasm was not as physically destructive as once thought, this instance of Byzantium erring theologically and being led into this error so clearly by its emperors, had a radical effect on the perception of East Rome in the Latin West.[1076]

[1075] See ref. 970.
[1076] Hartmann, 'Die *Cathedra Petri*', 169.

Roman Byzantium and Greek Byzantines

The CS constructs an image that seems to combine the perspectives found in both the LP and the LPER. Like the LP, it accepts the Greekness of the Byzantines, but also, like the LPER, it acknowledges the innate imperial Romanness of Byzantium. The author directly links the Roman imperial title with 'he who rules Constantinople' and derides Western claims as being made by jumped-up 'Kings of the Gauls'.[1077] Whilst the CS does refer in specific contexts to Western rulers as 'emperors', particular care is taken to deny the Roman aspect of their imperial titles and to make clear that these emperors are really kings.[1078] In tandem, the Roman emperors in Constantinople are emperors 'of the Greeks'.[1079] The 'Romans' are the inhabitants of Rome.[1080]

The chapter on the LP discusses the use of the term *respublica Romanorum* ('the republic of the Romans') to denote the nascent papal state and the claiming of the Roman emperorship by the Franks.[1081] The LP nevertheless still acknowledges the imperial status of the Byzantine Empire and its rulers.[1082] It denies the Byzantine claim to Romanness in order to legitimise the political separation from the Eastern Roman Empire. Yet this begs the question of how Byzantium could be imperial without the recognition of its Roman inheritance? This question is all but rhetorical in that the use of imperial terminology implicitly acknowledges, however, begrudgingly, continuation with the Roman past. Indeed, this unresolved tension is present in the LP, especially in the trial of Gratian and in the description of the Greek *schola* uniquely singing

[1077] CS, 17, c11.
[1078] For how Charlemagne is understood as a king but referred to in speech as an emperor, see ref. 922.
[1079] CS, 107, c107.
[1080] See above, *Limiting Byzantine Romanness*, 265-72.
[1081] See above, *Authors One and Two*, 108-13; *Authors Three to Eleven*, 113-19.
[1082] See ref. 362.

imperial praises.[1083] The purpose of these passages was to demonstrate and affirm the Romanness of Frankish emperorship. Instead, the passage on the Greek *schola* serves to further attest a certain imperial Roman quality attached to Byzantine cultural products. More tellingly, the trial shows Louis acting desperately and in a manner not befitting a Roman emperor, with this desperation revealing a real anxiety not only over the legitimacy of the Byzantine claim to Roman emperorship but also over the potential for Byzantine rule over Rome and its people.[1084] Protection of the Eternal City was, after all, a key aspect of the Frankish claim to the Roman imperial title. In doing all this, the LP inadvertently acknowledges a Roman quality to the Byzantine Empire, as well as evidencing that a number of people in Rome and beyond still perceived Byzantium as Roman, even as it asserts the Greekness of the Byzantine citizenry.[1085]

Similarly, the LPER conforms to the conceptual framework of Greek Byzantines and Roman Byzantium. It is clear from the statement that 'the Greeks raised up an emperor over themselves' that a population labelled "Greek" inhabited the Byzantine Empire.[1086] Moreover, such a framework is a necessary for the prophecy in the Life of Gratiosus to make sense. Unless the prophecy is indeed non-sensical, which is highly unlikely considering how its contents relate to the rest of the LPER, an inherent Romanness is clearly perceived as intrinsic to the Byzantine state even when it is populated by "Greeks". It could, however, seemingly only be Roman when the Adrio-Byzantine societies of the Upper Adriatic could also identify with and be legitimately governed from Constantinople.

[1083] Leo IV, II, 134, cc110-12; Sergius II, II, 88, c9.
[1084] See *The Trial of Gratian the* superista, 126-7.
[1085] See *Ascribing Greekness*, 119-23.
[1086] See ref. 1050.

The similarity in the perception of Byzantium and the Byzantines across these three works is remarkable. In the LP, the explicit use of the label "Greek" excludes the use of the term "Roman" even in relation to the imperialness of the Byzantine Empire, a feature which nevertheless implies an aspect of Romanness. The LPER, accepts the Romanness of the Byzantine state even when it is populated by the "Greeks". The Roman Byzantium and Greek Byzantine of the CS are merely a more conceptually developed version of the LPER's framework which itself is derived from the LP.

It seems that Granier's observation that in southern Italy there existed an understanding of Byzantium as Roman and of the Byzantines as Greeks can be extended to Ravenna and Rome, albeit in a more limited capacity.[1087] Of further note is how this perception of Roman Byzantium and Greek Byzantine mirrors so closely Ostrogorsky's tripartite definition of Byzantium: 'Roman political concepts, Greek culture and the Christian faith'.[1088] Finally, the very presence of Byzantium and the Byzantines in each of these works attests a limited level of shared Christian identity. The very narratives of separation, difference and belonging testify in each work that the authors did in part conceive of a connection, however limited and diminishing between their worlds and the Byzantine world.

[1087] Granier, on the other hand, argues that the CS is an exception, 'Rome and Romanness', 217-30, esp. 220 and 223.
[1088] Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 27.

The Byzantine Elephant in the Medieval Latin West's Historiographical Room

It has been argued that any attempt to write about the image of Byzantium is hampered by its disappearance from Western historiography from the eighth century onwards.[1089] This thesis has shown that, in fact, whilst it may not always have been the main subject, Byzantium looms over each of the historical narratives analysed, even when it is not explicitly mentioned. Indeed, paradoxically, the more pivotal Byzantium is to the intentions and aims of the narrative, the more implicit and indirect the references to it are. The almost complete silence of the LP in comparison to the relative explicitness of the CS speaks to this tension arising from dealing with the complex subject of Byzantium. Nevertheless, each work develops its own silent polemic concerning the Eastern Roman Empire; each consciously constructs a particular image of Byzantium and the Byzantines.

In the LP, the silence between the Life of Hadrian I and Valentine is merely superficial. This "gap" in mentioning Byzantium is just an interim phase of a continuous and extended discourse aimed at "Othering" Byzantium. Indeed, this superficial silence reveals how important the role of iconoclasm was in the papal construction of the Byzantine subject. From the Life of Stephen II onwards, the papal history denies any political association with Byzantium whilst at the same time clearly signalling via the commissioning of icons that the Roman see stood squarely against the imperially mandated heresy of Constantinople.

[1089] Goetz, *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen*, 692; Schreiner, 'Geschichte und Geschichten', 28-9; Sarti, Orbis Romanus, 141; it is also implicit in Forrai's study of Anastasius Bibliothecarius' translation of Greek-language works as a means of cultural forgetting of Byzantium, 'Sacred Nectar', esp. 79-84.

The LPER, necessarily forced to communicate in a coded manner with the city under Frankish domination, implicitly expresses Ravennan loyalty to, and nostalgia for, imperial Byzantine rule. Whilst Agnellus acknowledges Byzantine religious waywardness and the gravity of this fact, he presents it more as an aberration than a rule. It can hardly be said that Agnellus' treatment of Byzantium is limited to 'a few rude phrases about the poisonous words of the Greeks'.[1090] Instead, the LPER, long identified for its *campanilismo* and concern for the ecclesiastical status of the Ravennan see and its clergy, contains a third aspect of pro-Byzantinist sentiment.[1091] The code that Agnellus chooses is the medium of a prophecy. When the prophecy is understood, the meaning of other passages in the LPER becomes clearer.

In the CS, and not unlike in the LPER, the anonymous author subtly undermines Ottonian claims to imperial Romanness and consciously constructs a cohesive image of Byzantium across his historical narrative. The Chronicle of Salerno by no means perceives Byzantine dominion, as does Agnellus, as a favourable state of affairs, but explicitly recognises the inherent Romanness of the Byzantine polity. At the same time, this Romanness is limited. Having delegitimised Ottonian imperial expansionism, the author had no intention to legitimise potential Byzantine domination. Yet the awareness that is shown concerning imperial Romanness is remarkable and suffuses the text, revealing Byzantium to play a bigger role in the shaping of the narrative than being simply a geopolitical counterbalance. For instance, the author only needs to make the Chapter Eleven statement to signal the falseness of Western imperialness and its un-Roman nature. Instead, he systematically deconstructs each of the arguments contained in Louis II's letter of 871 and goes even further by undermining and humiliating Western imperial leaders.

[1090] Wickham, 'Ninth-Century Byzantium', 251.
[1091] Brown, '*Romanitas* and *Campanilismo*', 107-14.

Moreover, as already argued, the underlying logic of each work is complementary with the others and appears to reveal a conceptual development. In the LP, Byzantium is imperial, albeit euphemistically and for political reasons labelled as "Greek", and its citizens are Greeks. In the LPER, Byzantium is also imperial but quintessentially Roman, as long as it remains orthodox in its Christianity. When it deviates from established doctrine, it becomes "Other", Romanless, with its Greek population dominating, even if this label to some extent separates Agnellus and Ravenna from their historical compatriots and the contemporary imperial subjects whom they hope to join one day. The CS also conforms to the framing of Byzantium seen in both of the *gesta episcoporum*. The Byzantine Empire is politically Roman, but it lacks a universalist aspect, whilst the citizens of the empire are Greeks. It is highly noteworthy that even though each of these chronicles produce such a variety of images of Byzantium and the Byzantines, they still adhere to a broadly common framework. Whether these works actually evidence a conceptual development over time would require wider studies to confirm.

This overlap speaks to the pre-eminent position of the papacy and the LP in shaping the perception of Byzantium in the Latin West.[1092] The pontifical serial biography was by far the most widely disseminated and influential of the three works. It is possible that the conceptual overlap stems from the fact that both the LPER and the CS draw on the LP as a source and model. Indeed, the LPER's archetype was the LP and the implicit strategy taken by Agnellus with regard to his opposition to iconoclasm mirrors the strategy of Authors Three to Eleven in the LP. Moreover, the reticence to use the label "Greek" to describe Byzantium or the Byzantines suggests recognition of the pejorative connotations that the papacy assigns to it, with the LP being one means by which these new negative undertones were transmitted. In a similar vein, the

[1092] Gantner, *Finsternis*, 51.

first eight chapters of the CS provide a verbatim narrative taken from the Lives of Zacharias and Stephen II. The passages of the Life of Stephen II in the CS exclude any reference to the wider Byzantine Empire as the *respublica*, only applying this term, qualified by *Romanorum*, to the papal state.[1093] As outlined above, the CS is clear that the Romans are those who live in the city and territory of Rome.

The Other Empire

In all three of these historical works, the constructed image of Byzantium is clearly influenced by and related to that of the contemporary Western Empire: that of the Carolingians for the LP and the LPER; the Ottonians in the CS. In the LP, the Franks are framed as both more capable and orthodox than the Byzantines. In essence, they are presented as superior to the impotent and impious Eastern Roman Empire. If the contrast was not already clear, the aggrandization of the Frankish kings by referring to them through their full titles, particularly in the earlier Lives, emphasised the difference between the polities and situates East Rome as hierarchically lower than the new papal ally and guarantor.

In the LPER, the positive image of Byzantium is related to the anti-Frankish vein that runs throughout Agnellus' writing. Even Ravennan orthodoxy with respect to the iconoclast controversy – a stance otherwise detrimental to the perception of Byzantium as Roman – is framed in the LPER in a way that also critiques Frankish theology. Similarly, the emphatic presentation of Frankish military weakness serves to undermine the legitimacy of the Western emperors when their own claim to authority rested on their capability to protect Rome and the

[1093] CS, 6, c4; Stephen II, 447-8, c26.

papacy. In turn, this bolsters Agnellus' subtle promotion and affirmation of Byzantium's Romanness, a point that becomes clearer in the prophecy. It is the kings who sit on an imperial throne who are bringing about the end times; it is the clean-shaven men from the West who, despite claiming to protect papal Rome, are actually harming her.[1094]

The CS asserts the Romanness of the Byzantine state. This is done to an even greater extent than in the LPER by diminishing the Carolingians and the Ottonians. The anonymous author achieves this primarily by drawing on the arguments implicit within the letter of Louis II and inverting and dismantling them. In addition, a number of other minor episodes convey a certain image of the Franks, such as the arrogance of Charlemagne which is contrasted with the generosity of an unnamed Byzantine emperor. The image of Byzantium in the CS can in some ways be perceived as one side of a coin, on whose other side is the image of the Western Empire. The denial of the Frankish claim to imperial Romanness is a principal means by which the author of the CS affirms that the Byzantine Empire is Roman.

This direct comparison between the Eastern Roman Empire and the Western empires of the Carolingians and the Ottonians should not be a surprise. The denial, or the necessity to affirm, the Romanness of Byzantium necessarily required an adversarial entity that could potentially claim this Romanness. The image of Byzantium constructed in each of these works is tied to the contemporary geopolitical situation, within which the authors wrote, and, in each case, the two empires were present as the main competitors. Thus, the image of Byzantium is substantially contingent upon the authors' perception of the Carolingians or Ottonians.

[1094] See above, *The Prophecy in the Life of Gratiosus and the Byzantine Influence on Agnellus and Ravenna*, 184-200.

The Image of Byzantium in Space and Time

In comparing these three works, it must also be noted that together they span almost 250 years of history (752-974) and a distance of roughly two hundred and ninety miles. These works are different and distinct. Just as it has been important to highlight their similarities, it is worth indicating aspects that set them apart.

The LP is a work that was intended to be disseminated across a vastly wider geographical space than either the CS or the LPER. Indeed, it is not, strictly speaking, a civic history but a specifically institutional history. The LP is not concerned with the history of Rome as such but the history of an institution with a exalted spiritual and universal quality. The LP itself aims to portray the Roman see as first amongst equals. To a considerable extent, the image of Byzantium that it constructs is contingent upon this aim of establishing the papacy as the preeminent ecclesiastical institution in the Christian world.

It is therefore not surprising to see that the LP sidelines the Byzantine Empire, denies its Romanness and presents it as theologically wayward. Between 752 and the late-ninth century, the Roman papacy was undergoing a process of political and socio-cultural separation from the Eastern Roman Empire in a development that was intertwined with significant theological tensions. All thirteen authors examined here seek, in one way or another, to present a narrative of the past that promotes papal independence and its rule over the city of Rome itself. This intention, reflective of the contemporary context within which they were writing, aligns with the original internal logic and scope of the LP, promoting and enhancing the orthodoxy and authority of the papacy.

The LPER, although to a significant extent consciously modelled upon the LP, is much more of a civic history, in the sense that the narrative revolves geographically around a single settlement, Ravenna, and rarely ventures beyond its boundaries. Whilst the content of the LPER is, technically speaking, that of a *gesta episcoporum*, the work can hardly be described as a history of the Ravennan see limited to promoting and enhancing its orthodoxy and authority within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Certainly, Agnellus is keen to promote the cause of Ravennan autocephaly and to praise ecclesiastical autonomy from Roman pontifical oversight, but this, as Brown puts it, is more a reflection of *campanilismo* and Agnellus' local pride than of concern solely of a theological nature.[1095] Indeed, Agnellus hardly promotes the Ravennan episcopal institution as a paragon of virtue. Bishops are depicted as tyrannising – if not terrorising – the clergy of the city.

In the LPER, Byzantium is neither portrayed in light of the hierarchical tensions between the Roman and Ravennan sees nor is its image contingent upon clerical relations with the local bishop. Instead, the image of Byzantium is, in part, derived from antagonism surrounding Frankish overlordship, but it is more prominently a reflection of the inherited historical link with Constantinople. Agnellus' representation of the Byzantine Empire reflects the psychological proximity of Ravenna to East Rome as well as the cultural, economic and political links that the Upper Adriatic in the first half of the ninth century still shared and maintained with Byzantium.

The CS's primary aim is to laud the rule of the Dauferid dynasty, particularly Prince Gisulf, the likely patron of the work. In doing this, the CS constructs a narrative of the past that presents the Salernitan principality as the preeminent Lombard power and places it on a

[1095] Brown, '*Romanitas* and *Campanilismo*', 107-14.

continuum with the old Lombard kingdom, thereby legitimising the autonomy of Salerno. Furthermore, it explicitly seeks to influence the *fideles* and provide a shared story of their past that they can learn from. More than a dynastic history, the CS is also a didactic one. The *fideles* are instructed on history relevant to Salerno, such as the origin for the close relationship with Amalfi, as well as on morals. Yet it is a patriotic history as well, with Salernitans depicted as able warriors and pious protectors of their lands. Thus, the CS communicates Salernitan military ability and power. Where historical realities intrude upon this idealised view of the past, the CS, as far as possible, ignores the unwanted truth. When unable to gloss over awkward events, it represents these as divine punishments.[1096]

It is these guiding principles of dynasticism and didacticism which shape the entire historical narrative of the CS and everything in it, Byzantium included. Byzantium is used as a foil to demonstrate Lombard Salernitan capability, particularly in the military sphere, and provide an example of sexual deviancy and the calamities this can cause. It is also used as a bulwark against the ideology of Ottonian expansionism and its claim to imperialness and *imperium*. The inclusion of Louis II's letter must be understood in this context. The letter functions primarily as a didactic device from which the audience learns of Western imperial ideology, but to teach what? My analysis has shown that the CS denies the Western claim to imperial Romanness and does this principally by countering the arguments made in the letter.

In bringing these three works together, the very differences, particularities and unique qualities that each composition possesses make for a more fruitful comparative analysis. To have

[1096] The reason for the Saracen siege of Salerno, CS, 128, c114: 'O incomprehensible judgement of God! He chastises and he saves! … His people offending, he chastises them, for according to the crimes he dishes out (*tradidit*) to the unjust and the scorned ones, so that he may inflict them with various torments, that they might reflect upon and understand that they are nothing without him. And when they shall have reflected upon such things, immediately he removes from them his wrath and will grind to bits the profane.'

added more works would have necessarily diluted the opportunity to delve as deeply into these histories, whilst the relative breadth chronologically, geographically and socio-culturally still provides a rough barometer by which to judge the developing perception of Byzantium in early medieval Italy. All three narratives overlap conceptually and chronologically whilst constructing images of Byzantium that are discrete and reflective of unique circumstances. Moreover, they collectively provide traceable tidemarks that one can use to measure the ebb and flow of the cultural, military and administrative presence of the Eastern Roman Empire in the Italian peninsula over the time period under analysis.

CONCLUSION – The Images of Byzantium and the Byzantines in Three Early Medieval Italian Chronicles

This study and comparative analysis of the *Liber Pontificalis*, the *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* and the *Chronicon Salernitanum* sheds significant light on how Byzantium was perceived in early medieval Italy and its potential for use as a vehicle in historical narratives to achieve a text's intentions. These works cannot speak for the whole of medieval Italy, let alone the Latin West, but they do go to show that a reappraisal of how the images of Byzantium and its people are constructed in medieval Latin historiography is worthy of further investigation. They also show that understanding how Byzantium was viewed is crucial to understanding the sources themselves and the societies in which they were written. The image of Byzantium and the Byzantines functioned as a narrative strategy through which these texts of identity could assert, mediate and validate their worldview, and thereby legitimise their respective institutions or polities.

Far from simply ignoring Byzantium, the Lives from Stephen II to Hadrian II in the LP are consistently and wholly conscious of the Eastern Roman Empire. This is most notable in the separation of papal Rome from Byzantium's heretical and unorthodox actions, and in the denial of its Romanness. At first, this separation is explicit. A people and a geography are defined in opposition to Byzantium using the term *respublica Romanorum*, a 'republic of the Romans', and the heresy of Byzantine iconoclasm is openly mentioned. The strategy then becomes implicit. The LP appears to ignore Byzantium, seeking to communicate its irrelevance to the historical narrative of the papacy and, by extension, papal Rome's separation from it. However, this thesis

has shown how the detailing of papal patronage of icons is directly related to Byzantine iconoclasm, which shows that Authors Three through to Twelve were writing with Byzantium in mind. Unveiling this consciousness calls for a degree of reassessment of the material otherwise contained in the Lives written by these authors. For example, the recording of the imperial crowning of Charlemagne gains another layer of meaning, when reread in light of this unveiling, as an action speaking directly to the lack of imperial Romanness possessed by the Constantinopolitan court. Finally, the explicit strategy is taken up once more, albeit in a more refined and vicious form, especially during the particularly hostile atmosphere of the Photian Schism identified by Herbers.[1097]

However, Gratian the *superista*'s trial calls into question how far the LP really does reflect a broader spectrum of opinion. Louis II's actions, and his very real concern with pro-Byzantine attitudes in Rome, suggest that we should not take the image constructed by the LP – a product of the papacy itself rather than of papal Rome – as reflective of consensus opinion in the city, and even within the papal institution. There was undoubtedly a palpable sense of pro-Byzantine sentiment within the city. Nevertheless, the trial still attests how consciously the LP, sought to construct a derogatory and negative image of Byzantium and the Byzantines. The consistency across the authors who wrote the Lives of Stephen II to Hadrian II is remarkable.

The LP was disseminated widely and was highly influential, not least on both other works under consideration in this thesis. It was thus a powerful vehicle for the negation of Byzantium's Romanness. Most scholars have noted how stridently the papacy denied Byzantine Romanness,

[1097] Herbers, 'Papst Nikolaus', 51-74.

instead constructing it as something "Greek".[1098] Yet the LP has been overlooked as a key medium for propagating this aspect of the papal programme of separating itself from and "Othering" Byzantium.[1099] This thesis shows how unambivalent the LP is in its presentation of Byzantium, complementing in its own fashion the negation of Byzantine Romanness and the pejorative reimagining of the Eastern Roman Empire as "Greek" that is found in our extant papal diplomatic correspondence.

Agnellus' history has previously been dismissed for being limited to 'a few rude phrases about the poisonous words of the Greeks'.[1100] The LPER's words specifically about "Greeks" are, indeed, few in number and highly negative. Yet building on Deborah Deliyannis' pioneering work on iconoclasm in the LPER,[1101] which shows how Agnellus' gaze was fixed eastwards and how his work is much more substantive and complex than once thought,[1102] my analysis suggests that his history's presentation of Byzantium and the Byzantines is subtle but profound. Although Agnellus shares with the LP the opinion that deviating from orthodoxy is antithetical to Romanness, he clearly centres the Roman Empire on Constantinople; his anti-Frankishness is implicit and veiled, being limited to passages which allow for differing interpretations and plausible deniability. Yet Agnellus' political viewpoint, advanced most forthrightly in the prophecy from the Life of Gratiosus, appears to have been recognised by his intended audience. The insertion by a later copyist of '*Romanorum Francorum*' in an attempt to amend the text's meaning confirms this.[1103] Agnellus' pro-Byzantine perspective, whilst in part influenced by

[1098] For example, Gantner's juxtaposition between the LP and papal correspondence with the Carolingian court in 'The Label "Greeks"', 318-39.
[1099] This programme can also be seen in the built environment, see Figures Four, 116, and Five, 118.
[1100] Wickham, 'Ninth-Century Byzantium', 251.
[1101] See ref. 588.
[1102] The brief discussion of the narratological devices of *metaphrasis* and *metalepsis* in Chapter Four further emphasise the need to approach Agnellus' work as a more particularly literary work of history.
[1103] LPER, 346, c166.

Carolingian misdemeanours such as the spoliation of Ravenna, stems principally from a sense of affinity with Byzantium. Whilst Ravenna had a unique relationship with Byzantium, this sense was shared across the contemporary cultural geography of the Upper Adriatic.[1104] Whilst it can be inferred from the considerable number of similarities between Ravenna and other cities in this region, Agnellus' use of, and lack of need to clarify, the term *commilitones* – a signifier for the shared identity of this particular region – suggests strongly that Ravenna was to some extent a constituent, if somewhat peripheral and distinct, part of this regional identification with East Rome.

The CS contains a more explicitly developed image of Byzantium and the Byzantines than our other two works. Although it accepts the fundamental premise of the LP, that Rome is the *respublica Romanorum* and that the Byzantine emperors are not its rulers, it differs markedly from the papal model. For the anonymous author, describing the people of Byzantium as "Greeks" does not preclude the socio-political identity of the empire as Roman. That said, the CS denies the universalist dimension of political Romanness. Instead, the empire is conceived as being limited and bordered, in part through divine sanction. As for Louis II's letter, far from being a marker of the chronicle's denial of Byzantine Romanness as has often been argued,[1105] it serves as a foil for the anonymous author to present the Byzantine Empire as truly Roman and deny the Carolingian and Ottonian claims to imperial Romanness.

Each of our case studies challenge the existing interpretations of them by highlighting the influence that the Eastern Roman Empire bears upon each of the narratives and how the authors

[1104] Both Tom Brown and Annamaria Pazienza have previously commented on this connection: Brown, 'Early Medieval Rivals', 182-3; Pazienza, 'Serving Two Masters', 117.
[1105] Goetz, *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen*, 696.

constructed an image of Byzantium and the Byzantines to achieve their respective agendas. All three works – written at different times, in different places and with different motivations – function within a broadly shared conceptual framework which frames how they produce their own silent polemics concerning East Rome. But attempting to triangulate an image of Byzantium and the Byzantines between them is not straightforward. Although always informed by their shared awareness of a vast historical inheritance, this perception was contested and multifaceted, and it fluctuated in accordance with contemporary contexts.

We can nevertheless draw two conclusions. Firstly, that whilst its citizens appear to have been perceived as Greeks, and despite the stridently denialist polemic of the LP – by far the most influential of our three works – it was still possible in the ninth and tenth centuries to regard the Byzantine polity as Roman. Secondly, far from disappearing from the historical narratives in the medieval Italian peninsula, these works show Byzantium to have been an ever-present, if not always completely visible, spectre; it loomed over and influenced the ways in which the past and present were conceived and understood. And indeed, as our three texts of identity show, it shaped how these societies viewed themselves. Each text sought to craft a narrative that justified and legitimised the present. In order to achieve this, each work of history needed to grapple with the considerable influence of the contemporary Eastern Roman Empire and its legacy.

Further investigations into works which have not yet been specifically analysed with an eye to how they construct an image of Byzantium would be most interesting and could shed much light on this complex issue.[1106] The three histories considered in this thesis cannot be fully

[1106] For instance, the continuations of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana* by Landolf Sagax and the Seventeenth Book; the *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*; the *Chronicon Venetum et Gradense*; the *Ystoriola Longobardorum Beneventum degentium*; Benedict of Monte Soracte's *De imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma libellus.*

understood without appreciating the silent polemic each contains regarding East Rome. I doubt they are alone in this regard.

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