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Ravenna

its role in earlier medieval change and exchange

Edited by Judith Herrin and Jinty Nelson



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JH and JN

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famiglia teodosiana (395–455). I linguaggi dell'impero, le identità dei barbari, together with I. Baldini (Bari, 2013).

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Introduction

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Abbreviations

<i>ABSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>AA</i>	<i>Antichità Altoadriatiche</i>
<i>AT</i>	<i>Antiquité Tardive</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correpondance Hellénique</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CARB</i>	<i>Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantine</i>
<i>CCCM</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis</i>
<i>CCSL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i>
<i>ChLA</i>	<i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i>
<i>CLA</i>	<i>Codices Latinae Antiquiores</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Codex Justinianus (Corpus Iuris Civilis)</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Le carte ravennati</i>
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
<i>CTh</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EME</i>	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
<i>FIRA</i> ²	S. Riccobono and others, <i>Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani</i> (2nd edn., 3 vols., Florence, 1940–3)
<i>HBI</i>	<i>L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe–XIIe siècle)</i> , i: <i>La fabrique documentaire</i> , and ii: <i>Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques</i> , ed. J.-M. Martin and others (CEFR, cdxlix, cdlxi, Rome, 2011–12)
<i>ICVR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae</i> , ed. G. de Rossi (2 vols., Rome, 1857, 1888)
<i>JEcCH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JLA</i>	<i>Journal of Late Antiquity</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>LP</i>	<i>Liber Pontificalis (Le 'Liber Pontificalis': Texte, introduction et commentaire</i> , ed L. Duchesne (2 vols., Paris, 1886, 1892))

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<i>LPER</i>	<i>Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis</i>
<i>MEFR</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Antiquité</i> – <i>Moyen Âge</i>
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>AA</i>	<i>Auctores Antiquissimi</i>
<i>BdK</i>	<i>Briefe der deutscher Kaiserzeit</i>
<i>DD</i>	<i>Diplomata</i>
<i>DD LK</i>	<i>Diplomata Ludwigs des Kinds</i>
<i>O I</i>	<i>Diplomata Ottonis I</i>
<i>O II</i>	<i>Diplomata Ottonis II</i>
<i>O III</i>	<i>Diplomata Ottonis III Epistolae</i>
<i>Leges</i>	
<i>LdL</i>	<i>Libelli de Lite</i>
<i>SSRL</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX</i>
<i>SRG</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum</i>
<i>NCMH</i>	<i>The New Cambridge Medieval History</i> , ii, ed. R. McKitterick (1995) <i>The New Cambridge Medieval History</i> , iii, ed. T. Reuter (1999) <i>The New Cambridge Medieval History</i> , iv, pt. 1, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (2004)
<i>P. Ital.</i>	Jan-Olof Tjäder, <i>Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700</i> , 3 vols. (Lund, 1954–82)
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , ed J. P. Migne (161 vols., Paris, 1857–66)
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed J. P. Migne (217 vols., Paris, 1841–55)
<i>PLRE</i>	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Rivista di Archaeologia Cristiana</i>
<i>SM</i>	<i>Studi Medievali</i>
<i>Settimane</i>	<i>Settimana di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo</i>
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et Mémoires de l'École française de Rome</i>

Introduction

Judith Herrin and Jinty Nelson

In the long-debated transition from late antiquity to the early middle ages, the city of Ravenna presents a story rich and strange. From the fourth century onwards, like all urban centres in the western half of the Roman Empire, its economic capacity altered with the dramatic shifts of authority. Yet its geographical position, its status as an imperial capital, and above all its role as a connecting-point between East and West, ensured that it remained an intermittent attraction for early medieval kings and emperors throughout the period from the late fifth to the eleventh century. Its connective role persisted, and long after it ceased to function as an imperial base it remained a political centre at regional level, its elites still capable of exercising significant influence as patrons and allies. Ravenna's story is all the more interesting because it was complicated and unpredictable: discontinuous and continuous, sometimes obscure, sometimes including bursts of energetic activity. Throughout the early medieval centuries its flame sometimes flared, sometimes flickered, but never went out.

A key factor in the earlier part of this story was the relationship between Ravenna and Constantinople. From the early fifth century the city formed a meeting point of eastern influence from the Byzantine capital and local western pressures. Communication with the East Mediterranean was secured through its port of Classis, where the harbour originally constructed by Julius Caesar could shelter 250 ships, and trading networks preserved extensive links to Egypt, Palestine, Syria and the islands and coastal ports on the Adriatic as well as Aegean shores. The creation of an imperial capital at Ravenna, following Emperor Honorius's decision to move the court from Milan in 402, brought the eastern coast of northern Italy into closer contact with Constantinople, and made the expanded city the entry point into Europe for much subsequent communication. Generals with their attendant troops, government officials, expert craftsmen, visiting entertainers and con-men from the East all used the port of Classis, to which came supplies of grain, building materials, artistic devices and writing material (papyrus from Egypt). Knowledge of Greek, legal regulations, philosophical arguments and theological debates also arrived at Ravenna by the same route and circulated among the city's educated elite.

At the same time, local preoccupations with the military pressures of non-Roman forces (regularly identified as ‘barbarian’) persisted and resulted in the fortification of Ravenna against attack as well as the growth of an indigenous sense of identity, often manifested through the local church under its bishop. From 493, when the Ostrogothic ruler Theoderic settled in Ravenna, an Arian Christian presence added Gothic elements to local traditions. Almost immediately after the reconquest of Italy by imperial forces from the east sixty years later, the Lombards broke through the Alpine passes to occupy large areas of the north and exerted severe pressure on the city. The combination of these military threats, Ravenna’s religious divisions and regional interests and Constantinopolitan ambitions created a fertile tension, visible particularly in the architecture and art of the city’s key monuments and installations, but also clearly manifested in a political development of resistance and accommodation.

To all these forces, tending in their separate ways, the church of Rome – whose bishops claimed leadership over all the Christians of the West and a special status of honour – superimposed an overarching spiritual authority. Its effects often jarred with the interests of local bishops, as well as those of the patriarch of Constantinople. During the period from A.D. 400 to 800 ecclesiastical relations between East and West were disturbed both by imperial edicts from Constantinople on theological matters, often enforced by military power, and by the growth of papal authority. A pattern of papal resistance to an emperor’s definition resulted in serious conflicts, as when Pope Vigilius was humiliated by Justinian, or, a century later, Pope Martin I was summoned to Constantinople, tried and condemned to death for treason (a sentence later commuted). Meanwhile, the development of papal decrees on legal issues created a novel source of authority often at odds with canonical legislation. The exarch, based at Ravenna as the imperial representative in Italy, was responsible for carrying out policies determined in the East, such as Monotheletism, that proved unpopular in the West. The bishop of Ravenna, however, being the exarch’s close neighbour, was often obliged to observe the edicts. In this way, a triangular relationship developed between three sources of power – the emperor and patriarch in Constantinople, the exarch and bishop of Ravenna, and the duke and pope in Rome – which complicated all other contacts.

The position of Ravenna within the network of naval communication across the Adriatic and south and east into the Mediterranean linked the city with many other ports. Alexandria was the major hub through which products from further east, such as spices and silk, found their way to the West. Ivory from Africa was used notably for the construction of elaborately decorated episcopal thrones, and one of these, associated with

Bishop Maximian (546–56), survives in the Archiepiscopal Museum. North Africa also supplied ceramic tableware and grain, while contacts with Sicily remained close. This extended web of contacts persisted through the earlier part of the period considered here.

In the centuries between 800 and 1100, however, the Mediterranean world was transformed and so, inevitably, was Ravenna's place in it. The most obvious changes were sea-changes: the acquisition of maritime power by Muslim rulers and Muslim fleets, and the withdrawal of Byzantine naval power to the East. Ravenna's activity in the Adriatic was also challenged by the island settlement of Comacchio to the north, which flourished for a brief but significant period, documented by spectacular archaeological finds. The elites and denizens of Ravenna and its environs, like those of many other places, reorientated their city landwards and northwards, in response to the consolidation of the Abbasid caliphate's power and the resultant difficult readjustments for Byzantium, as well as the re-creation of the Roman Empire's transalpine axis in the form of the Carolingian Empire, especially in the reign of Charlemagne. In Ravenna, as elsewhere, social and political relationships were reconstructed to suit new conditions: charters on parchment, for example, were produced in increasing numbers from the later eighth century through to the eleventh century to satisfy the needs of elites and lesser land-holders in Ravenna and its region. From new types of evidence, it is proving possible to confront new questions as well as to find new answers to old ones. How and why, to what extent, and to what tempo, did Ravenna change politically and socially during the period from Charlemagne to Conrad II? The explanations lay deeper than the sea-change the city experienced with the silting of its harbour, important though a certain landward reorientation was: *that* change resulted from, and then contributed to, new forms of change – that is, of economic and cultural exchange, of contacts and transactions – in and around the Mediterranean.

The search for such explanations lies behind this book. Its genesis took place at an interdisciplinary conference. Bringing disciplines within hailing distance of one another, sharing different kinds of data, has at once unsettled scholars, for instance by conjuring up new periodizations, and empowered them with new insights and a broader vision. In the chapters of this volume, readers will encounter the inhabitants of earlier medieval Ravenna evincing new responses to changing conditions synchronically (at moments in time), and living out change diversely diachronically (over time). The available evidence has grown exponentially in recent decades, thanks to the greater amounts of material data and the development of more refined techniques for handling it, the application of new interpretative techniques to texts, and resultant new possibilities for the examining of both data and texts

synoptically. The lived experience of Ravennates, whether in the city itself or in the region, varied greatly as between, say, ecclesiastical cadres and families of tenants with leases on church land, or between descendants of indigenous Latin-speaking inhabitants and incomers linguistically different, or between generations, or between genders, or between paradigmatic fifth- and sixth-century 'glory-days' and tenth–eleventh-century 'social dynamism'. Old imperial military and ecclesiastical institutions, large as they loom in texts, did not simply atrophy over time in some organic or predestined way. They were reshaped by regional agents with local agendas and new possibilities of agency, new landscapes of social relations, new focuses of religious loyalty, new names. These are the realities underlying paradigms that are always at risk of becoming idealizations.

The stories traced in this collaborative volume are as various as their evidential bases; and those bases are as different as the contrast between a papyrus document of a land-grant and an elaborately-carved marble capital, for instance, or between a scratched pot and a small coin. How and where and why (*cui bono?*) these things have survived are questions that must always be asked. The aim of this volume is therefore to seize new opportunities to get to grips with new evidence and/or apply new methods to interpret evidence old as well as new. In short, the participants' shared ambition is to reflect and represent in more varied, better-informed and subtler ways change and exchange in Ravenna.

While Ravenna has never lacked attention, previous studies of its development through late antiquity and into the middle ages tended to be clearly delineated, and often compartmentalized, by disciplinary affiliation and linguistic competence: Italian experts dealt with the local environment, Byzantine specialists more often looked telescopically at Ravenna's position on the western periphery of the empire. Much excellent work has been published in Italian in journals not very familiar to anglophone readers, and thus seldom fully digested by scholars outside Italy. The sources for different aspects of the city's history have always demanded different and highly specialized skills, in early medieval Latin papyrology and palaeography, medieval Greek historiography and theology, art history and legal studies. In recent decades, the pioneering works of Giuseppe Bovini, Stewart Oost and André Guillou have been updated and greatly enriched by archaeological discoveries, and the restoration of churches and mosaics. The entirely welcome results can be seen in better-informed as well as more detailed economic, social and political analyses. Though the tower of Babel still stands, those engaged in Ravenna's history these days are a growing and increasingly multilingual and international cast of specialists who are alive to the essential elements of interdisciplinarity, including

the need to consider the *longue durée*. Their commitment to collaborative understanding of Ravenna's evolving impact, across 700 years, as a centre of change and exchange defies Babel, proclaims the complementarity of eastern and western research interests, and invites a wider public to share the labours' fruits.

To connect and co-ordinate all these growth-points of research, Judith Herrin planned a workshop, held in June 2013 at the Institute of Historical Research (IHR), University of London. She met with the deputy mayor of Ravenna, Signor Mingozzi, and the city's chief administrator, Signor Cassani, who greatly encouraged her idea. With the most helpful intervention of Professor Cosentino, these contacts led to financial assistance from the Fondazione Flaminia, Ravenna, to which the British Academy added a Small Research Grant, and the Centre for Hellenic Studies and the department of history at King's College London provided further support. At the IHR, the director Professor Miles Taylor gave the meeting a warm welcome and Professor Jane Winters, head of digital history and of publications, transformed the text into a book. The editors are most grateful to all these sponsors and patrons.

The workshop's original plans were to identify the specificity of a well-defined set of artefacts, in terms of innovative re-uses of the past, and responses to and exploitation of dramatic changes in the political and social landscape between the sixth century and the tenth. With Ravenna's varied monuments as a focus, the workshop succeeded in bringing disciplinary methodologies into dialogue through a wide range of experts, who reconsidered the problems, as well as the benefits, of juxtaposing artefactual and textual evidence. They also investigated strategies of distinction deployed by local secular and ecclesiastical elites and more distant powers based north of the Alps. Through invitations to established experts in the field, as well as younger scholars working on particular elements, a most fruitful exchange of ideas took place. All the participants agreed that a volume planned on the papers as given would help to make a timely correction to this situation. Several additional papers on topics not covered in London were also proposed and Jinty Nelson kindly agreed to assist in their commissioning. We are particularly grateful to those who could not participate in the workshop but who have contributed chapters on new topics with speed and with grace.

We have not tried to cover all aspects of Ravenna's role, particularly its economic activity, in change and exchange. This is partly due to the impact of another workshop held at Columbia University in New York in March 2013. Under the direction of Salvatore Cosentino, it was devoted to 'Ravenna and the tradition of late antique and early Byzantine craftsmanship:

culture, labor and economy'. A volume of its proceedings is expected and we hope this book will enhance its impact. We have brought together our complementary skills, so that early medieval western and eastern sources, in Latin and Greek, can be compared and their particular agendas confronted. The well-known biases of both Byzantine and local Italian histories have been examined and transcended in a project that differentiates while connecting the many strands that constructed the city's past.

Some of the papers bring to bear a number of lines of vision to focus on a particular moment or period. Others trace a single, centrally important theme across the time-span from the fourth to the eleventh century. Both approaches offer new ways to chart the intertwinings of change and exchange, and both make it possible to pick out the quintessentially political threads of regional and imperial power: power located in Ravenna and projected outwards from it, yet connected and competing with the powers of Old Rome and New Rome. Peter Heather, a political historian with deep and long-standing interests in late antiquity and the early middle ages, gives our book a firm starting-point 'in the closing decades of the western Roman empire' and, crucially, before Justinian, whose reign, billed so strongly in terms of continuity, actually brought so much change. Valentinian III (d. 455) had lived in Ravenna but in his later years was increasingly often in Rome, where court and senate coexisted, and whither, to an elite focusing on power in Italy, all roads led. In 493, Theoderic created a bi-polar regime, with court at Ravenna, senatorial office-holders mostly in Rome, yet 'tied together'. A shared ideology of *civilitas* convincingly presented Roman virtues and Roman law as alive and well. Heather makes a strong case for this Ravenna-Rome axis working effectively: Theoderic had the paired cities represented in his palace at Ravenna as 'twin pillars'. In the 520s, the regime began to founder, as so many patrimonial regimes have historically done, on the rocks of mortality and consequent succession problems, characteristically centred on a woman and a child. Deeply ingrained prejudices about gender were drawn into the play of power – and so was Justinian. The powerful punch at the end of this paper is Heather's identification of Boethius as the man who sealed his own death-warrant, but also fatally weakened the Ostrogothic regime, because he could not settle the succession, any more than Theoderic or Justinian could. This political angle of approach through fine-grained analysis of texts offers readers an appropriately clear and compelling entrée to Ravenna's subsequent history.

The authors of the first group of papers, devoted to the art and architecture of Ravenna in this same late antique period, deploy visual evidence that complements and overlaps with Heather's texts. Deborah Deliyannis, doyenne of experts on Agnellus's *Book of the Pontiffs of Ravenna*, investigates

the building activity of one major patron of the city's art, Bishop Neon. She shows how, during the second half of the fifth century, Neon took over a key role in the beautification of his city, probably under the influence of similar buildings erected by bishops of Rome. He exploited his own resources to construct the most impressive basilica church and baptistery in Ravenna at a time when military generals and nominal emperors were generally absent, taking over the leading role of patron played by Galla Placidia (d. 450). And his octagonal baptistery served as a direct model for Theoderic when he constructed an Arian one for his own Gothic followers. Bishop Neon also chose to be buried in the church of the Apostles in Ravenna, founded by him – a decision that could well have been influenced by contemporaneous acts in Rome and Constantinople where bishops were associating their tombs with churches dedicated to the Apostles or to SS. Peter and Paul. By combining hints in a variety of historical sources with the surviving monuments, Deliyannis teases out a pattern of patronage and commemoration that proved to have lasting influence.

Both before and after Bishop Neon's intervention in the sacred geography of the city, civilian patrons had established clear patterns. These are examined with skill and insight by Maria Cristina Carile, who demonstrates how Ravenna absorbed the major currents of Mediterranean art and made them its own, innovating within the traditional practice of mosaic decoration. This medium was recognized as supreme and had become traditional for the grandest and most expensive buildings (even though marble revetment was more costly). The mosaic artists, some of whom may have accompanied the court of Honorius from Milan, thus created a visual culture entirely in tune with developments in Italy, Constantinople and centres further east, while developing original features that distinguished the late antique and early medieval art of Ravenna. Carile extends her analysis right through the period from the fifth to the twelfth century, thus combining focus and chronological range and emphasizing a process of borrowing and adaptation that drew on earlier exemplars while adding novel interpretations. The pattern can be clearly demonstrated in the seventh-century panels added to S. Apollinare in Classe, which look back to the imperial ones at San Vitale while highlighting additional features. It can also be observed in the twelfth century, when the bishop chose an image of the *Virgo orans* to decorate the apse of his new church, using as a model a marble plaque from Constantinople. In this process of production, reception and promotion, Ravennate monuments gained a specific identity within the field of mosaic decoration, for which the city became and remains famous.

In her elegant contribution on the archaeology of change in Ravenna, Carola Jäggi argues that the major break in artistic production occurred

after the death of Theoderic (526) rather than at the time of the Byzantine reconquest. Indeed, during the sixth century when strong connections with Constantinople produced a distinct impact on the decoration of capitals, the use of stucco and other sculpted features, no eastern patrons erected monuments in the city. That role was taken by local bishops who, like Neon in the fifth century, competed to build grander churches with more sumptuous decoration. Sixth-century church leaders also elaborated a more important role for the city's local saints, Vitalis and Apollinaris, stressing their very early Christian credentials, which gave Ravenna its own special martyrs. In this way they could claim a higher status, equal to that of Rome and the other great patriarchates. The outstanding monument of the city, San Vitale, incorporated the famous portraits of Justinian and Theodora (neither of whom ever went to Ravenna) under the patronage of a somewhat shadowy figure, Vitalis (who became transformed into St. Vitus of the mad dance). Meanwhile, at S. Apollinare in Classe, the founder Bishop Ursicinus elevated the position of this also poorly documented martyr to transform him into a disciple of St. Peter and the Apostle and first bishop of Ravenna. In the development of this cult, a new life of the saint was written, probably by Bishop Maximian who was responsible for the final choice of the apse decoration: S. Apollinaris as bishop in the apse itself, with four earlier bishops in mosaics between the windows. Ursicinus also chose to be buried in the church he had planned, close to the holy relics of the saint. In this way, the practice that Deliyannis suggests for fifth-century burials in Apostle churches was adapted in Ravenna by the creation of apostolic status for Apollinaris and episcopal tombs within the church founded by bishops of Ravenna.

Turning from mosaic to the even more highly prized marble, used for the revetment of walls as well as church construction and liturgical furniture, Yuri Marano traces the outreach of the island of Proconnesos in the sea of Marmara during the sixth century. Its abundant supplies of extremely white marble made it the centre of a vast network of trading connections that supplied patrons in many different parts of the Mediterranean world with their building materials and spread Constantinopolitan fashions and construction practices around and even beyond the Byzantine Empire. Individual patrons, often ecclesiastical, ordered complete sets of church fittings from Proconnesos, and shiploads were dispatched by sea straight from the island. This careful survey of the immense attraction of a particular marble places building activity in Ravenna in the wider context of churches and secular buildings up and down the Adriatic and further inland. By combining the study of masons' marks on surviving marble pieces with documentary evidence of particular orders, for instance Amalasantha's

determination to acquire ‘marmora’ from Constantinople, Marano demonstrates the Byzantine capital’s leading position and control of the best building material, which local patrons on the far western edge of the empire used to enhance their own prestige.

These art historical contributions are complemented by two more detailed studies of specific elements of Byzantine control of Ravenna in the later fifth and sixth centuries. Salvatore Cosentino tackles the challenging problem of defining Gothic identity in a close reading of one fragmentary papyrus. Through the reconstruction of the life of an individual, he reveals the intimate connection of the Ostrogoths with their lands in Italy, which dated back to the time of Theoderic, and their close association with Arian definitions of Christianity. Although neither naming patterns, nor Arian loyalty, nor even ownership of land distributed after the conquest of 493 can be taken as markers of Gothic identity, together they are essential factors in helping to define this quality. Cosentino’s magisterial interpretation of the papyrus shows how difficult it was for the Goths to maintain their control of land when they clung to their Arian beliefs. The implications for Gothic survival after the end of the war and Justinian’s Pragmatic Sanction are clear: they had to abandon their Arianism and adopt the Catholic faith in order to sustain their landholdings.

A further close study, that of the role of the Mint in Ravenna, sheds new light on the ways in which coinage upholds authority. Vivien Prigent deploys exceptional numismatic skills to trace the development of imperial mints (one for gold and silver coins, the other for bronze) from 402 when Honorius arrived in the city. Of course, Theoderic had also struck coins but all those in gold were issued in the name of the ruling emperor in Constantinople; the king only put his own name and image on the silver. Nonetheless, this Gothic coinage circulated widely in the West, as did the coins minted in Ravenna, Rome and Sicily after the imperial reconquest. Prigent cogently demonstrates how coinage could sustain an ideological role, and why Ravenna continued to be a centre where later rulers had coins struck, another instance of the overlap between artefactual and documentary evidence.

In a *longue-durée* thematic contribution that of necessity combines the utmost delicacy in handling fragile evidence and a muscular approach to some venerable texts, the legal historian Simon Corcoran traces the story of Roman law in Ravenna from the fifth century to the eleventh. He considers three aspects in turn. First, as regards the making of law, Corcoran notes the shift of the imperial seat in Italy from Milan in the fourth century to Ravenna, although the issuing of law in the city was a qualified and relatively short-lived corollary. After 540 Ravenna fell to Justinian’s reconquest and

thereafter functioned at most as 'a conduit', among others, 'for measures issued from Constantinople'. Justinianic codification was promulgated in Italy, but never 'orchestrated from Ravenna'. After 751, when the city fell to the Lombards, Ravenna was neither government centre nor conduit: instead it diffused 'an afterglow of Roman legitimacy' on the likes of Charlemagne and Otto I. Second, Corcoran punctures some windy conjectures ('doubt and guess') on Ravenna's alleged role as 'teacher of law' in the sense of constituting a law-school. In an overlapping area, though, Ravenna's role was significant: legal knowledge was transmitted not in suppositious schools but in the households of flesh-and-blood *tabelliones*, for whom law-work was a hereditary profession. Corcoran's third section sets out the evidence for legal practice in the sixth-century papyri and in eighth-century documents, where 'the *tabelliones* dominate the record'. He interprets this as reflecting 'experiment and evolution' in an 'unbroken tradition in documentary practice' traceable through the ninth and tenth centuries and into the eleventh. These findings, presented the more persuasively for being cautious, go a considerable way to filling the notorious gap between Roman law in late antiquity and its recovery in the twelfth century.

Two chapters by historians offer variations on, respectively, close focus and extended themes. Veronica West-Harling takes a set of tripartite relationships between Ravenna, Constantinople and Rome in the seventh century, and shows how change resulted from changing circumstances far beyond the control of archbishop or pope, emperor or exarch. The debating-points were doctrinal, specifically over Monotheletism; but a deeper process of estrangement was under way. By focusing on the seventh century, West-Harling is able to show new and troubling options facing the church of Ravenna, now driven into playing off its former allies against each other, seeking and gaining autocephaly with imperial support – only to find that Constans II's successor was 'more interested in peace with the pope'. By the close of the seventh century, she notes 'a fairly irreconcilable cultural gap between Greek East and Latin West', at least as perceived 'on the western side'.

Edward Schoolman's extended theme traces and analyses change in the nature of Ravenna's aristocratic and noble families from the close of the sixth century to the later tenth, a period when similar social changes were affecting, in ways still under debate, so much of what had been the Roman world. His starting-point is the ending of a centuries-long participation of elite families in Roman imperial service, and the gradual dilution and eventual replacement of that ruling class by new men who owed their position to military, bureaucratic or ecclesiastical service, to marriage into indigenous families, and to the making of ties of patronage and loyalty with

the church of Ravenna. This 'process of integration', while it changed the character of Ravenna's elite, did not diminish the city's importance: instead it promoted the creation of a new mixed elite on a regional basis. Within a wider Italian pattern, the story of Ravenna retained certain distinctive traits, including the role of the archiepiscopal church in this regional society and of its legal practitioners in the management of property transactions, and, most visibly, 'its unique position as a former imperial capital'.

Complementing these social histories, and at the same time enhancing them, Wolfgang Haubrichs brings to the study of Ravenna the polymathic expertise of the historian, the name-specialist, or onomastician, and the philologist or specialist in historical linguistics, plus long experience of the northern Italian material, and a capacity for handling quantities of data. Applying these special skills to the documentary evidence, whose volume makes statistical inferences possible, Haubrichs reveals and explains a 'naming-world', that is, patterns in the cultural choices involved in naming, with all the complicated continuities and changes that entails. The data on gender are of especial value for scholars interested in social mobility, immigration and intermarriage. Nicknames have their own stories to tell of social relations and senses of humour. Last but not least, name-choices show religious loyalties and affiliations, and changing patterns of devotion to saints, local and universal. His findings directly reflect the diversity of the stories inferable from names.

A further chapter of the close-focus sort reflects a particular historian's interests. Jinty Nelson's study of Charlemagne's dealings with Ravenna, as documented in papal letters, deliberately takes an unusual angle of vision, from which it is possible to see the king as having played a double game with Ravenna and Rome when it suited him to do so. Pope Hadrian's letters convey a sense of serious grievance about this, and at times a real mistrust of Charlemagne. What has often been seen as a harmonious and devoted relationship is viewed in a new light of frictions and factions, of porous boundaries and a lot of unauthorized boundary-crossings by those whom Hadrian called Ravinians. The correspondence also highlights the ambitions of one particular bishop of Ravenna, Leo, who seized the moment to step into the exarch's empty shoes. Inevitably, this sometimes drew Constantinople further into local politics, complicating the story in the short run.

One of the most exciting archaeological developments in Ravenna in recent years has been the discovery in Classe of a large basilica and monastery dedicated to San Severo. The area was already well endowed with Christian monuments, especially S. Apollinare in Classe, yet during the second half of the sixth century it acquired another major church, which in turn formed

the base for an early medieval monastery. Thanks to the meticulous work of Enrico Cirelli and Andrea Augenti, among others, the life of the monastery has now been revealed, with implications for the history of the area after the Lombard conquest of Ravenna in 751. As several contributors to the book show, this late period was not one of total decline. On the contrary, monuments such as the imperial palace of the city continued to play a significant role in the imagination of rulers from Aistulf to Otto III, and the monastery of San Severo confirms the expansion of forms of religious organization in a new and compelling fashion. The authors raise a most pertinent question about the siting of many new monasteries beside late antique basilicas: were the churches already in a ruined state when a group of monks sought out these locations? Were they making a settlement in a wilderness, or bringing new life to ancient sites of worship with all their holy associations? This splendid contribution makes it clear that archaeological study can bring significant evidence to bear on much larger issues and must always be incorporated into the historical record.

Extending the analysis of Simon Corcoran into the mid eleventh century with new insights, Michael Gledhill uses references in Peter Damian's letters to show that *tabelliones* in Ravenna were still using, and refitting for purpose, centuries-old forms and formulae of Roman law. Damian, a Ravinian born and bred, was trained in *artes liberales* including rhetoric, a lawyer's standby, and became a teacher who attracted 'a crowd of students' to Ravenna. In his classes, clerics rubbed shoulders with *tabelliones*. His *concivis* and namesake Peter *scholasticus* was a practising lawyer, 'vigorous in legal expertise', on whose business in Ravenna and elsewhere Gledhill has been able to gather a dossier, which also draws on legal case-records. In Ravenna in the 1040s, Damian drew on an apt citation from Justinian's *Institutiones* (even if his direct source may have been its quoting by Gregory the Great), and later in life could regard the apogee of a lawyer's career as 'brilliantly pleading in lawsuits in public cases'. For Ravenna, what ecclesiastical historians term the Gregorian Reform was an age of legal as well as religious renewal. The city clearly contributed to the preservation and development of Roman law, art, culture and theology in the early middle ages. Like every other urban centre in north and central Italy, Ravenna was sleepwalking through the fading of Salian power towards a new horizon of the first glimmerings of a new communal age.

Finally, Tom Brown, among the longest-engaged of historians of early medieval Ravenna, yet ever willing to explore new horizons, brings a characteristically fresh approach to the relatively late period in the city's history. Close encounter with the city in the Ottonian period means reposing the question of change: 'imperial renewal or new beginnings?' Brown

Introduction

contrives to cover not only change, but exchange as a driver of change, in material culture. His rejection of the terminology of decline and decay is forthright. He is no less frank about the relative shortage of written sources in parts of the period, but exploits what documents do survive as well as archaeology – and it is these that enable him to register much more about the economic developments of the ‘long’ tenth century. Not least because Brown grasps the significance of transalpine communication, his epitome of Ottonian Ravenna as ‘an extremely dynamic society’ resounds in the mind of the reader long after this book’s final page has been closed.

Judith Herrin and Jinty Nelson

1 June 2015

1. A tale of two cities: Rome and Ravenna under Gothic rule

Peter Heather

Almost exactly sixty years ago, Arnaldo Momigliano gave a highly influential paper to the British Academy. It cemented into academic consciousness the certainty that Italian political life under Theoderic was marked by a deep divide between ‘proper’ senators belonging to ancient Roman families and the parvenu bureaucrats of Ravenna, mostly of provincial gentry origins. This was not a new idea. Sundwall’s study, published in 1919, had argued that most political struggles of the final decades of the western Empire could be explained in terms of such a fault line. But it was Momigliano who made it live. In the Ravenna corner, he gave us Cassiodorus, the would-be senator, who managed to find some excuse to claim kinship ties to the great senatorial clan of the Anicii, but who was ‘of no heroic character and of no towering intelligence’. It was his job to give ‘Roman *dignitas* to the orders of his Barbarian masters’. In the Roman corner, we had Symmachus and his son-in-law Boethius, genuinely senatorial (in Momigliano’s view) to their Anician fingertips, with strong intellectual and political ties to their peers in Constantinople, and devoted to classical learning. ‘No doubt Boethius and Symmachus followed with anxious attention the daily movements of their Gothic masters, but they studied and wrote to forget them’; until, in the early 520s, Boethius was lured out of his study to attempt, as he puts it, to apply philosophy to the practicalities of government, but was ambushed by corrupt bureaucratic ‘palatine dogs’. Compromised by his eastern connections, he fell from power and was executed for treason, along with his father-in-law, while Pope John, just back from a mission to Constantinople, died in Theoderic’s gaol.¹

The essay is beautifully written and the overall picture – surely inspired by memories of World War II – so vivid that it has become a fixture in subsequent contributions to the history of the Ostrogothic kingdom, including the recent full-scale monograph of Shane Bjornlie who traces

¹ A. Momigliano, ‘Cassiodorus and the Italian culture of his time’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xli (1955), 207–45 (reprinted in *Secondo contributo all storia degli studi classici* (Rome, 1960), pp. 191–229; and *Studies in Historiography* (New York, 1966), pp. 181–210); J. Sundwall, *Abhandlung zur Geschichte des Ausgehen Römertums* (Helsinki, 1919), ch. 3.

– à la Sundwall – tensions between blue-blooded senators and parvenu bureaucrats back into the period prior to Theoderic's arrival. At the same time, there has been a clear recognition in some of the stronger of these contributions (including Bjornlie's) that the model has its limitations, being unable easily to account for the careers of certain important individuals such as the patrician Liberius. Perhaps from an originally eastern family, his branch of it at least was Italian and both very rich and decidedly senatorial by the second half of the fifth century, and Liberius himself served Odovacer and Theoderic with distinction, occupying a series of prominent posts for lengthy periods, either side of Boethius's great disaster, before finally switching his allegiance to Justinian in the mid 530s. Where does this career trajectory fit into Momigliano's vision of a deep divide between Rome and Ravenna?² Against this historiographical background, the purpose of this chapter is straightforward. It will argue that the full run of the evidence suggests that there are better models for understanding the interrelations of the grandees of Rome and Ravenna in the time of Theoderic than the intractable divide identified by Momigliano, and that these also provide a more satisfactory basis for understanding the fate of Boethius and Symmachus.

Rome in the fifth century

The place to begin is with Ravenna and Rome in the last decades of the western Roman Empire. Contrary to long-held views, it has recently been shown that fifth-century emperors did not all run and hide behind the marshes of Ravenna. Honorius did shift his political headquarters to the city in the second decade of the century and it was the main centre of operations for the court of the then boy emperor Valentinian III in the later 420s and 430s. And in these decades, major improvements were made to the walls, waterworks, churches and physical amenities of the city, and a brand new palace was constructed. But in the years of his increasing maturity, in the 440s, Valentinian divided his time more or less equally between Ravenna and Rome, before devoting himself to the latter more or less exclusively from about 450 until the end of his life. Of his imperial successors, most

² Strongly influenced by Momigliano are the recent studies of S. Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople: a Study of Cassiodorus and the Variae, 527–554* (Cambridge, 2013), ch. 5, but see also pp. 35–8 on Liberius; D. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2010), ch. 4. For marked but less strong influence, see, e.g., H. Chadwick, *Boethius: the Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 50–61; J. Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 219–32; J. O'Donnell, *The Ruin of the Roman Empire* (New York, 2008), pp. 115–20, 164–7; J. Arnold, *Theoderic and the Roman Imperial Restoration* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 134, 296–9. These studies retain the senatorial/parvenu conflict, but take different views on the nature of the treason charge.

spent far more time at Rome than Ravenna, though the latter remained an important secondary centre, because of its strategic location, both in relation to the army groups of northern Italy, and to the main routes into the peninsula both by land and (from the east) by sea. Only in the post-Roman period, under Odovacer and Theoderic, did Ravenna (as in the early years of Valentinian III) re-emerge as the dominant centre of government and administration within the Italian peninsula.³ Looking at the fifth century as a whole, therefore, Rome and Ravenna emerged respectively from relative and absolute political insignificance – Rome saw only four imperial visits in the whole of the fourth century and one emperor briefly visited Ravenna⁴ – to become the twin poles of politics and government in the peninsula. It is not the case, however, that old money and blue blood predominated in Rome, while parvenu bureaucrats presided in Ravenna.

Not only were the functions of government regularly exercised from Rome between c.440 and 476 (hence in these years senior bureaucratic officials are well attested in the city), but any pre-existing divisions between Roman blue-bloods and Ravennate *palatine* that might have existed in the 410s blurred significantly as the fifth century progressed. A striking feature of the final phase of the western Empire was the relative frequency, compared again to fourth-century patterns, with which members of the old senatorial families of Rome occupied some of the most important positions in the political-cum-administrative hierarchies of the western Empire: the consulship, the Praetorian Prefecture of Italy and others posts marked out by the honorific title of *illustris*. As part and parcel of this renewed political prominence, the fifth century again saw, for the first time in two centuries, emperors and would-be emperors, such as Petronius Maximus and Anicius Olybrius, emerge from senatorial ranks.⁵

A full exploration of this phenomenon is beyond the scope of this chapter. It was related, on one level, to the increasingly marked divide between the eastern and western halves of the Empire, and the west's losses of territory to outside intruders, both of which reduced the numbers of competitors from other parts of the Empire looking to hold senior positions at the western court. The emergence of the council of the Gauls after 418, as an alternative political focus for surviving Roman provincial landowning elites north of

³ The pattern of imperial residences was established by A. Gillett, 'Rome, Ravenna and the last western emperors', *PBSR*, lxix (2001), 131–67. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, ch. 3, discusses the building work.

⁴ There is an argument that it might have been five, but see J. F. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (1989), p. 235 with references.

⁵ The phenomenon has long been recognized (J. F. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, A.D. 364–425* (Oxford, 1976), ch. 13).

the Alps, likewise, presumably played some role in clearing the field within Italy for Roman senators.⁶ Two other factors of more direct bearing on the subject matter of this chapter, however, were also very much to the point.

First, although it is impossible to quantify the losses in numerical terms, many of the old senatorial houses of Rome were struggling in the fifth century with a substantial decline in their family fortunes. Reflecting a deeper past when the empire first came into existence, old Roman senatorial landowning tended to be concentrated not only in Italy, but also in Spain and North Africa, and especially within the province of Proconsularis. This is presumably one of the reasons why Geiseric found it politically expedient to reward his followers with land expropriations which were confined to Proconsularis after the Vandals seized Carthage in 439; the subsequent travails of absentee senatorial landowners just were not his problem (although they certainly made a nuisance of themselves at the court of Valentinian III). Centuries of marriage and inheritance, along with individual political success, meant that Roman senators were likely to have other resources too, but loss of central political control in both Spain and North Africa will have hit senatorial fortunes particularly hard.⁷ This was one huge encouragement for them to leave the sanctuary of their palaces and make an actual or metaphorical journey to court in search of alternative sources of income.

Even more important, a longer-term trend, which had nothing to do with barbarian incursion, in fact left them with little choice. At the start of the fourth century, there was only one senatorial body of the highest status in the empire: Rome itself. Normally reckoned to have numbered around 600 at that point, its members were distinguished by the rank of *clarissimus*. In the course of the fourth century, not only was a second such senate established in Constantinople, but so many new *clarissimi* were created overall, that membership increased to more like 2,000 apiece, and two whole new grades of senatorial rank were established above the standard *clarissimus*: *spectabilis* and *illustris*. In the fifth century, moreover, rules changed again so that while the offspring of any senator were distinguished by the birth rank of *clarissimus*, a fully functioning senator with rights to sit and speak in the assembly actually had to acquire a higher rank, initially of *spectabilis* or *illustris*, until finally, by the mid fifth century, only the rank of *illustris* actually entitled one to play an active role in the Senate, whether at Rome or Constantinople. At this point, the lesser two ranks were excused

⁶ Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, chs. 11–12.

⁷ On basic patterns of senatorial landowning, see Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, chs. 1–2. Geiseric's settlement policies are set out in Victor of Vita, *History of the Persecution in Africa*, I. 13. Different legal measures were taken to compensate senators, e.g. *Nov. Val. III*, 12, 13, 34.

the traditional requirement that they be resident in the respective imperial cities.⁸

This goes a long way towards explaining why Roman blue-bloods became so prominent among the top office-holders of the western Empire in the fifth century. The only way for them to maintain long-established family traditions of senatorial activity was to acquire *illustris* rank, and the only way to add this extra lustre to their birth rank of *clarissimus* was to get involved in some way at court, for all routes to this coveted title were in the gift of emperors. Some acquired it by holding high office. Best of all was to be made consul, since consuls ranked highest of all *illustres* and there was no actual administrative function to perform, but nearly as important were the Praetorian prefects and the chiefs of the main palatine offices (*res privata*, *sacred largess*, *agentes in rebus*, *scriniarii*, *quaestor*).⁹ It was, of course, emperors who appointed consuls and all these other office holders, so that the office-holding route to *illustris* status left the individual with no choice but to become active at court.

The later Roman Empire being what it was, it was also possible to acquire an honorary grant of *illustris* rank without actually holding office, and there eventually emerged the added refinement that one could acquire a letter which ranked one as an ex-holder of office even though one had never held office, because there came a time when such letter-holders outranked purely honorary *illustres*, and rank decided both where one sat in the Senate, and priority in speaking.¹⁰ Even these latter kinds of promotion did not just arrive in the imperial post, however, but required either a personal presence at court or the mobilization of chains of connection to generate the requisite imperial codicils. As the senatorial order evolved, therefore, the potential for a clear-cut divide between court and Senate was becoming blurred from the top, as it were, because senatorial blue-bloods were forced into at least some kind of activity at court to maintain full senatorial status. Between c.410 and c.450, this brought them regularly from Rome to Ravenna; after 450, the court came to them in Rome.

The divide – if it ever existed – was also being eroded, simultaneously, from the bottom. One key reason why senatorial numbers increased

⁸ A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602: a Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey* (Oxford, 1964), ch. 15, collects and analyses the evidence. His account of the narrowing of full membership of the senate was challenged by A. Chastagnol, 'Sidoine Apollinaire et le sénat de Rome', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, xxvi (1978), 58–63, but is unconvincing: S. J. B. Barnish, 'Transformation and survival in the western senatorial aristocracy, c.400–700', *PBSR*, xliii (1988), 120–156, at pp. 121–3.

⁹ Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, pp. 528–9.

¹⁰ Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, pp. 533–5.

so dramatically in the late imperial period was that emperors made senatorial rank the ultimate reward for bureaucratic service. From the time of Valentinian I and Valens at the latest, all the different lines of potential reward were brought together into one unified honours system, with senatorial status at the top. Not only did these developments force senators, even from well-established families, to become active at court, but the ranks of senatorial *illustres* were constantly being topped up from below by new men rising to high office and becoming *illustres* in turn.¹¹ Sam Barnish's important study of senatorial office-holding from the late fourth century onwards makes two key points. On the one hand, it confirms that the old families held top positions much more frequently in the fifth and early sixth centuries than they had done in the fourth. On the other, it also shows that the old senatorial families never *dominated* these posts. The increase in frequency was real, but relative. In other words, even when Roman blue-bloods were more prominent, this never prevented the rise of former outsiders to *illustris* rank. Given the education required for a successful political career, these outsiders were only – again – *relative* outsiders: provincial gentry of the kind who turn up in the letters of the older Symmachus in the later fourth century and Ennodius in the early sixth, graduating from prestigious schools and moving into governmental service. Some of these men were one-hit wonders, rising fast only to fall extremely hard, but others prospered sufficiently to allow their offspring to maintain a solid upward trajectory until they became permanent fixtures in the senatorial constellation.¹²

Taken altogether, this means that, as political patterns evolved in the later Empire, there was no longer, and could no longer be, a clear dividing line between court bureaucracy and Roman Senate. There were old families, and everyone knew who they were, but their offspring had to become active at court to maintain status, and successful bureaucrats were topping up the numbers and intermarrying with the blue-bloods by natural progression. Hence Liberius could be both properly senatorial and a high political administrator. The same kind of blurring even holds true in the case of Boethius himself. His paternal family was provincial gentry in origin,

¹¹ Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, pp. 547–9, summarizes the evolving picture (some of the bureaucratic offices received higher rewards at an earlier date); ch. 16 goes through the evidence department by department.

¹² Barnish, 'Transformation and survival', esp. pp. 124–30. On Symmachus, see J. Matthews, 'The letters of Symmachus', in *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century*, ed. J. Binns (1974), pp. 58–99 = no. III in J. F. Matthews, *Political Life and Culture in Late Roman Society* (1985). On Ennodius, see the excellent introduction of S. Gioanni, *Ennode de Pavie: Lettres* (2 vols., Paris 2006–10).

from Milan, it seems, and as recently as the mid fifth century. Only at that point did his grandfather start on the path of court service to senatorial prominence, a progression that was completed by the grandson's marriage into a grand senatorial house, though, as Alan Cameron has recently shown, that house was of the Symmachi rather than of the Anicii, as Momigliano supposed.¹³

This overall picture leaves plenty of room for varying life choices and career trajectories. The sources give us everything from highly ambitious bluebloods, active at court throughout their lives, to others content with one major title or short period of office-holding (the consulship by preference) to acquire top *illustris* status, while the famous coliseum seat inscriptions imply that there were other *clarissimi* from old families who were content to remain just that.¹⁴ But what is very clear, from a late Roman perspective, is that modelling too sharp a divide between imperial court, whatever its location, and Roman Senate simply does not work. Did similar patterns continue to operate under Theoderic when the centre of government moved definitively back to Ravenna?

Court and Senate under Theoderic

The general pattern of interconnection between Theoderic's court at Ravenna and the senators of Rome was shaped by the framework of diplomatic relations which operated between Ravenna and Constantinople. Much ink has been spilled over the years in trying to establish Theoderic's exact constitutional position, but it remains elusive, largely because – as is common in tricky diplomatic agreements – the two parties each held different understandings of the overall meaning of the precise terms agreed. Some points, however, are clear. Theoderic's move to Italy in the autumn of 488 was above all a means of removing him from the Balkans, where his relationship with the Emperor Zeno had broken down beyond repair. Although he had been consul as recently as 484, neither side could trust the other, and all possibility of a stable agreement between emperor and Gothic king on East Roman soil had disappeared. But whatever the terms of the original agreement, Theoderic clearly abrogated them in the

¹³ With typical self-effacement, Barnish makes this point, but only in a footnote ('Transformation and survival', p. 130, n. 41), where it seems to have escaped attention. On Liberius, see above n. 2; on Boethius, see *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, ed. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris (3 vols., Cambridge, 1971–92), ii. 231–7 (on the three generations), with A. D. E. Cameron, 'Anician myths', *JRS*, cii (2012), 133–71, at pp. 156–9, on the younger Boethius. More generally, Cameron shows that Momigliano tends to turn everyone into Anicii.

¹⁴ Barnish, 'Transformation and survival', pp. 132–3.

aftermath of conquest (or perhaps key details had been left undecided), so that lengthy diplomacy followed the death of Odovacer in February 493. It was not until 497 or 498 that formal agreement was reached, when the new emperor Anastasius sent Theoderic gifts of royal clothing and palace ornaments. Theoderic was also granted some imperial perquisites: not least the right to nominate one of the two annual consuls of the Roman world, and to grant senatorial and patrician ranks. This meant in effect that his kingdom was accepted by Constantinople as in some ways a legitimately Roman state (as both Ostrogothic and East Roman texts occasionally make explicit) but, still, there remained some ambiguity. Theoderic seems to have had his own name shouted first on ceremonial occasions, before that of the emperor, and his statues placed in the honorific position to the right. This was tantamount to declaring himself an equal ruler on a par with the emperor, but that much was not accepted in the east, so that, while pressing this claim on the rulers of the other western successor states, Theoderic did not assert it absolutely outright in his correspondence with the east.¹⁵

Ambiguities notwithstanding, this meant that the key mechanisms tying together court and Senate continued to operate under Gothic rule. Indeed, some Roman senators (notably Faustus, at that point its senior member) had played a key role in sorting out these arrangements, being charged with the king's embassies to Constantinople in the 490s where the details were hammered out. That is not to say that all senators were equally enamoured of Gothic rule. In the middle of the war against Odovacer, Theoderic threatened to remove rights of landownership from those Roman landowners who continued to support his rival, and it took an embassy from Bishop Epiphanius of Milan to persuade him to change his mind. This was probably only ever a warning shot, and there is no sign that it caused lasting damage. The threat must have applied to Liberius, celebrated under Theoderic for having stuck by Odovacer to the bitter end, but this did not prevent him from developing excellent relations with the new Gothic regime. This involved not only lengthy periods in office, but two specific tasks of the greatest political significance. In the 490s, Liberius became Praetorian prefect of Italy with the pressing responsibility of organizing the landed pay-off to the army with which Theoderic had

¹⁵ For a fuller treatment, see P. Heather, *The Goths* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 216–21 with full references; cf. J. Prostko-Prostynski, *Utraeque Res Publicae: the Emperor Anastasius I's Gothic Policy (491–518)* (Poznan, 1994), chs. 1–4. The recent treatment of Arnold, pp. 61–77, is similar but fails to appreciate just how much of an impasse was operating between Theoderic and Zeno in the Balkans. Procopius, *Wars: the Works of Procopius*, ed. and trans. H. B. Dewing (1914–40), V. 6. 2–5, records that statue placement and acclamation order were issues in Gotho-East Roman negotiations in the 530s.

conquered Italy. Then again, in the 510s, he was charged with running the new Gallic provinces which Theoderic had just added to his domains after annexing the Visigothic kingdom.¹⁶

All the evidence, moreover, both specific and more general, suggests that it continued to be business as usual between Rome and Ravenna. Theoderic's regime did everything in its considerable power, once Liberius had found enough land to reward Theoderic's loyal followers, to reassure Roman landowners – with the senators as the class's richest caste at the head – that the king was a proper Roman ruler who upheld traditional Roman values. These all radiated around the Greco-Roman trope that human beings could go in two directions depending on the structures of life: one – reflecting the divine plan for humankind – where the rational mind ruled the irrational body (civilization), or the opposite, as exemplified by all barbarians, where the irrational body ruled the rational mind. The net effect of getting it right, and establishing an order that was in tune with the divine will, was summed up in the key buzz word *civilitas*, which is a recurring theme of Theoderic's official pronouncements, but there were many small noises which the regime could and did make to show that it was fully in tune with the divine plan. It emphasized the overarching importance of living under the rule of written Roman law, the value of classical educational structures in creating superior, rational human beings, and the importance of town life in generating human beings who were capable of reaching their full rational potential. In all of these areas, Theoderic consistently made the appropriate noises and was willing to allocate at least some funds. Much of it was carefully constructed posturing, and distinguishing the reality of Roman continuity behind the self-Romanizing façade of Theoderic's reign is extremely difficult. But it is beyond doubt that the regime both understood which noises to make, and that it made them with determination.¹⁷

As far as we can see, the propaganda had the desired kinds of overall effect. An active senatorial career still required *illustris* rank, and Theoderic controlled – if in some way under East Roman supervision – both the active and more honorific pathways to the acquisition of that rank. A steady run of western consular appointments duly followed the eventual establishment of a co-operative diplomatic framework with

¹⁶ For Faustus, see *Anon. Val.*, XII. 64. On threat, see Ennodius, *Life of Epiphanius*, pp. 122–35. On Liberius and the land settlement, see P. Heather, *The Restoration of Rome: Barbarian Popes and Imperial Pretenders* (2013), pp. 63–7, with full references to ongoing debate.

¹⁷ For fuller treatment, see P. Heather, 'The historical culture of Ostrogothic Italy', in *Atti del XIII Congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1993), pp. 317–53; cf. Heather, *The Goths*, pp. 222–7; Arnold, *Theoderic*, ch. 5.

Constantinople. One letter of appointment preserved in the *Variae* collection stresses that the nominee was Theoderic's choice, with the eastern emperor's role being no more than a little rubber stamping. No doubt matters were viewed differently in Constantinople, but the first move for any would-be consul was to win Theoderic's approval. And, as Sam Barnish's work again emphasizes, members of old senatorial families continued to hold high office at Ravenna under Gothic rule. Tenures of office were generally a little longer than in the past, but there is no obvious break in the established patterns of more ambitious senators seeking out careers at court. There is even evidence that Ravenna became a significant cultural centre for the first time. The senatorial lady Barbara, identified by Ennodius as one of the most educated women of her day, played some kind of a role in the determinedly classical education of Theoderic's daughter Amalasantha. And there are other snippets besides (in the form of stray glosses and anecdotes) indicating that literary studies of a reasonably serious kind were now common within the city.¹⁸

Alongside the regular procession of senators coming to court at Ravenna, the king was as reassuring as possible in all his relations with Rome. Although substantial numbers of Goths received *illustris* rank by dint of holding military commands, very few actually entered the Senate. Entry was a two-stage process – where *illustris* rank only gave one a potential claim to a seat in the Senate – and Theoderic was careful not to fill up senatorial ranks with too many of his military followers. On a six-month visit to Rome, likewise, he did everything right, as far as we can see, not least in famously greeting the bishop of Rome as though he 'were St. Peter himself'. Recent studies have also emphasized exactly how carefully the king trod when faced with a struggle within Rome over papal succession: the Laurentian Schism. This pitted different senatorial factions, among other bodies, against one another: notably the current generation of four brothers from the highly distinguished Decian family – all eventually consuls – was split down the middle. It used to be argued that Theoderic backed a pro-Gothic candidate (whatever that would mean), but he actually moved with great care to bring the schism to an end with as little friction as possible.¹⁹

¹⁸ Barnish, 'Transformation and survival', pp. 124–30; cf. *Variae*, ii. 1 (consular appointment of Felix). See too J. Moorhead, 'Boethius and Romans in Ostrogothic service', *Historia*, xxvii (1978), 604–12, and 'The Decii under Theoderic', *Historia*, xxxiii (1984), 107–15. On Barbara, see *PLRE*, ii. 209–10, with Heather, 'Historical culture', on the broader range of evidence for Theoderic's court as cultural centre.

¹⁹ On a two-stage admissions process, see Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, pp. 531–3; cf. Barnish, 'Transformation and survival', pp. 124–30. On St. Peter, see *Anon. Val.*, XII. 65. An excellent treatment of the Laurentian Schism is Moorhead, *Theoderic*, ch. 4.

Although the king was Arian rather than Catholic, this does not seem to have disrupted prevailing patterns of senatorial integration. The king was largely based at Ravenna, and the Senate at Rome, but a whole series of interests brought senators to the king, and the king to senators. In the great reception hall of his palace Theoderic laid down a mosaic which paired personifications of Rome and Ravenna together as the twin pillars of his state, and this accurately reflects, on the face of it, the general run of the evidence.²⁰ But Gothic rule involved a breathtaking amount of public posturing, so what about Symmachus and Boethius? Does their relationship to Theoderic's court demonstrate that the Ostrogothic kingdom was actually riven by a bitter divide between Rome and Ravenna?

Cassiodorus

When trying to reconstruct relations between Theoderic, Symmachus and Boethius, one key voice is obviously that of Boethius himself in the *Consolation of Philosophy*. The other is Cassiodorus in the *Variae*, the collection of letters written for various rulers of Gothic Italy. They say nothing directly about the fall of Boethius and Symmachus, but they do provide snapshots of Theoderic's relationships with both men a decade earlier, and some of their silences in the 520s are almost proverbially deafening. Before making any use of this evidence, however, it is important to think carefully about the general character of the *Variae* collection.

There have been many important studies of different aspects of the text, and we know that Cassiodorus was busy collecting material in Ravenna when Belisarius's army was encamped outside, and the regime of Wittigis, whom Cassiodorus had continued to serve through a significant portion of the first phase of Justinian's Gothic war (536–40), was on the verge of military defeat. What has been conspicuously lacking in the scholarly literature, however, is a sustained study of how these circumstances might have dictated Cassiodorus's authorial choices. The gap has been partly filled by Bjornlie's recent monograph, which persuasively argues that the selection and the arrangement of letters from much earlier years must be seen as a carefully framed response to the difficult situation in which Cassiodorus now found himself in the late 530s, when he was faced with having to justify himself to a conquering power he had played a conspicuous role in attempting to resist.

The first letter of the collection, for instance, famously opens with a statement of how profoundly Roman Theoderic's rule was in every way, before using this 'fact' to claim that relations between Italy and Constantinople should be marked by alliance not discord. The relevance of

²⁰ On this mosaic, see Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, p. 115.

this to the late 530s is straightforward, being both potentially a request for peace (and Wittigis eventually surrendered thinking that he had negotiated a deal) and a justification for the fact that Cassiodorus had continued to serve the Goths even after East Roman soldiers had arrived in the peninsula. Not only had Cassiodorus played a major role in supplying the Gothic armies but, by being still in post, he was implicated in some nasty decisions: above all, one to execute some senatorial hostages. But, the *Variae* implicitly argue, how could you attach too much blame for this to Cassiodorus if he had just been serving a properly Roman regime? This much is straightforward, but Bjornlie's work contains other pertinent observations of a much less obvious kind. He successfully brings out the significance of the second letter in the collection, which uses a digression on natural history to make the point that Nature (that is, God) had endowed Italy with its own source of purple dye, showing that it too, like Constantinople, was meant to be an independent seat of empire according to the Divine plan. Later on – and this is perhaps a sign that Cassiodorus was at least covering the bases even before surrender – Bjornlie convincingly argues that, read carefully, the letters from the reigns of Theodahad and Wittigis have been chosen to suggest that neither belonged to the line of legitimate, divinely chosen, properly Roman rulers, which ran only from Theoderic, the philosopher king, to the classically educated Amalasantha.²¹

All of this is highly persuasive, but Bjornlie attempts to add a further dimension to Cassiodorus's artifice by arguing that his manipulation went beyond selection and arrangement into wholesale rewriting. This is substantially based upon closely scrutinizing the several letters of the collection which include natural historical digressions (such as that on the purple dye). These, Bjornlie correctly judges, are designed to illustrate the old Neoplatonic trope that legitimate – that is, divinely ordained – socio-political order in human affairs had by definition to reflect the same rational principles that the Divinity had encoded into creation, so that natural history can be used to bring out the essential rightness of a given regime and its actions. This world-view had its roots in Greco-Roman philosophy and Hellenistic political thought, but continued in use after Constantine's conversion by the simple device of changing the name of the Divinity to the God of the Old and New Testaments.²²

²¹ Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, esp. pp. 19–33 (Cassiodorus's role in the war); cf. p. 268 (on *Variae*, i. 2). His broader discussion of the *Variae* in pt. III contains references to most of the existing literature on the text. Much of the argument also appears in Bjornlie, 'What have elephants to do with sixth-century politics? A reappraisal of the "official" governmental dossier of Cassiodorus', *JLA*, ii (2009), 143–71.

²² An excellent introduction remains F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy* (Washington, DC, 1966).

But by the 530s, Bjornlie argues, this ideological worldview was out of favour at Justinian's court, which preferred more straightforwardly Christian propaganda lines revolving around an interventionist miracle-working God (rather than one who pre-programmed an all-encompassing rationality into the universe), and his divinely chosen vicegerent, the emperor, who was law incarnate. More traditional Neoplatonic views, Bjornlie asserts, were now limited to the classically educated, mid-level bureaucracy of Constantinople, being prevalent, for instance, in the works of John Lydus who belonged to this milieu. In Bjornlie's view, Cassiodorus deliberately rewrote the *Variae*, therefore, to appeal to this particular audience. Given the Nika riot of 532, Cassiodorus judged that the bureaucracy represented a much more stable element within the East Roman state than the court of Justinian, which might fall at any moment, and the *Variae* represented a carefully rewritten appeal to this key constituency in Constantinople, with whom he was hoping to reach a more favourable settlement than could ever be possible with Justinian. If such a critique can be sustained, the *Variae* obviously lose their value for reconstructing anything that really went on in Ostrogothic Italy.²³

The argument, however, takes a deeply problematic line. The Nika riot occurred over half a decade before Cassiodorus began to put together the *Variae* and, in between, Justinian had – beyond all expectation – extinguished Vandal rule in Africa and appeared to be on the brink of doing the same to Ostrogothic rule in Italy. With Belisarius besieging Ravenna, no one had any idea that the Gothic war would drag on for another fifteen years, and Antioch had yet not been sacked by the Persians. Victory was the prime virtue required of emperors, since there could be no clearer sign of divine approval, so Justinian's position was entirely different from February 532 when he had certainly been holding on by the skin of his teeth.²⁴

There is no reason to think either that the mid-level bureaucracy of Constantinople could have mounted a successful coup. Surveying late Roman history from the mid fourth century, when an institutionalized bureaucracy became a major feature in the political life of the Empire, there is no occasion where mid-level bureaucrats were responsible for regime change. Bjornlie asserts that they had been behind the Nika riot, but there is not the slightest evidence for this, and it was senators and the nephews of the former Emperor Anastasius – court grandees to a man – who were punished in its aftermath. Any challenge to Justinian would have come either from army generals or from top-level bureaucrats who

²³ Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, pt. 3, esp. chs. 8–9.

²⁴ On Justinian's position by the later 530s in more detail, see Heather, *Restoration*, chs. 5–6.

were also (as we have seen) by definition simultaneously court grandees (or a combination of the two): the kind of groupings responsible for every documented coup in late Roman history.²⁵ The bureaucracy had no track record of collective political action precisely because they did not form a united body, but were riven with departmental rivalries, as Lydus's evidence makes clear. What underlay his barrage of complaints about the regime of Justinian, ultimately, was that it transferred one lucrative competence from his own department (the *praetoriani*: officials of the Praetorian Prefecture) to another (the *scriniarii*). Bjornlie attempts to get round this problem by arguing that the *scriniarii* were generally less-educated 'new men', to preserve the bureaucratic solidarity that his argument requires. But *scriniarii* had in fact enjoyed much higher status for much longer than the *praetoriani*, having long provided key legal officials for the quaestor, so this simply does not work.²⁶ What we're looking at is a type of turf war typical of bureaucracies, ancient and modern, but hardly the basis for organizing regime change.

In other words, Cassiodorus's supposed strategy for rewriting the *Variae* would have been utterly hopeless, and, *pace* Momigliano, there is nothing to suggest that he was quite so politically naive. While there is every reason to think that Cassiodorus selected and placed letters with the utmost care, the case that he rewrote them substantially is unconvincing. So what do the *Variae* tell us about relations between Boethius, Symmachus and their king, and what does this tangled triangle in turn suggest about the interrelationship of Roman Senate, Gothic king and Ravennate bureaucracy?

Theoderic, Boethius and Symmachus

Theoderic ruled the Italian kingdom for thirty-three years, from spring 493 until his death on 30 August 526. During this time, Cassiodorus held the post of quaestor between 507 and 511, and the Praetorian Prefecture from 524 until the king's death. Symmachus and Boethius appear in no letters from Cassiodorus's second period in office, so that there is only a four-year window – between 507 and 511 – where the *Variae* collection could potentially illustrate relations between Theoderic, Boethius and Symmachus. For Bjornlie, no trust can be put in the relevant letters – 'fictive elaborations loaded with rhetorical strategy' – because they were rewritten in the late 530s.

²⁵ Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, pp. 77–81. The sources preserve many reasonably detailed accounts of numerous coups and attempted coups from c.A.D. 350, when Ammianus's detailed narrative begins.

²⁶ On Lydus, see C. Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), ch. 2. Bjornlie's argument is in *Politics and Tradition*, pp. 62–7; but see Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, pp. 547–8 (with more detailed treatment at pp. 571–85) on *scriniarii* and *praetoriani*.

His broader argument that Cassiodorus included particular letters from these years, again to cover himself – because the Byzantines used the deaths of Boethius and Symmachus as an explicit pretext for reconquest – is entirely convincing (presumably it may also have led him to omit any relevant but potentially incriminating letters from 524/5). But the claim that they were rewritten is weak. The only substantive point is that Boethius is referred to as patrician – an honour which probably came with his consulship in 510 – in *Variae*, i. 45 and ii. 40, which, Bjornlie claims, could only have been written in 507 because the letters ask him to arrange diplomatic presents for the kings of Franks and Burgundians. Any possible diplomatic context for these presents would have disappeared, he suggests, after the battle of Vouillé and Theoderic's defeat of both powers in 508/9. But Theoderic was in diplomatic contact with the Franks in 509/10, after his intervention in Provence (when the return of Frankish prisoners was organized along with other matters), and the letter accompanying the present Boethius organized for the Burgundians is remarkable for its patronizing tone, which actually fits a context of victory – post-508/9 – much better than one where Theoderic was trying to keep the peace in 506/7 (where it is usually placed). There is no reason why these letters could not have been written in 510/11, therefore, perhaps even in return for Boethius's consulship, and the patrician title is certainly weak grounds, again, for supposing wholesale rewriting.²⁷ So what picture do we actually get from the *Variae* of relations between Theoderic, Boethius and Symmachus in these years?

Both the grant of the consulship and the two requests for diplomatic presents suggest good relations between the king and Boethius. Indeed, in making the request for the Burgundian clocks, the king took care to show detailed knowledge of Boethius's scholastic activities (of course he had not read the books, but he bothered to detail a functionary to do the research). Symmachus, likewise, brought actions in the Senate, was one of five senators appointed to the trial of some senators accused of magical practices, and himself tried a case of parricide. All of these involved Symmachus in extensive contacts with Theoderic, who also reimbursed him for expenses he had taken on in repair works to the theatre of Pompey, so he was clearly *persona grata* at court at this point. Indeed, we know from a manuscript annotation that he also conducted some of his own cultural studies actually in Ravenna. The note is undated, and might have been

²⁷ Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, pp. 165–70 (selection); pp. 172–7 (rewriting). On the normal dating of these letters, see D. Shanzer, 'Two clocks and a wedding: Theoderic's diplomatic relations with the Burgundians', *Romanobarbarica*, xiv (1996), 225–58. On the return of Frankish prisoners, see *V. Caesarii*, ed. and trans. G. Morin and M.-J. Delage (Paris, 2010), i. 37.

in the time of Odovacer rather than Theoderic, but the odds are on the latter, and what it anyway reinforces is that Momigliano's clear blue line between the aristocracy and the bureaucracy, between Rome and Ravenna, was much too clearly drawn.²⁸

Nor, in subsequent years, is there any sign of deteriorating relations. Momigliano thought that it was a clear sign of impending trouble that we next encounter Boethius and Symmachus playing a role in the ending of the Acacian Schism in 518. This healed a long-standing doctrinal rift between the bishop of Rome and the patriarch of Constantinople, and Momigliano (in excellent company it has to be said) supposed that this was something which would have been greatly against Theoderic's wishes. The details of the story, however, merit close inspection.

The decision to end the schism was made in Constantinople, when the new emperor Justin came to power in July 518 determined to reverse the policies of his predecessor Anastasius. Justin wrote to Pope Hormisdas for the first time on 1 August 518, announcing his accession. A further letter was dispatched with an imperial legate on 7 September, asking the pope to send envoys to negotiate peace, together with a letter from the new emperor's nephew, Justinian, inviting the pope to Constantinople. The legate didn't reach Rome until 20 December, but in January 519 the papal mission was on its way. It was met ten miles outside the city by a high-ranking imperial delegation, including the general Vitalian, on 25 March: the Monday of Holy Week. Just three days later, Patriarch John of Constantinople signed up to the letters from Rome, and Acacius was erased from the diptychs.²⁹

A vital, but often ignored, element in the story, however, emerges from a detail in the itineraries. Having left Constantinople on 7 September, Justin's legate got to Rome only on 20 December. This is because he had spent a great deal of time at Theoderic's court at Ravenna on the way. The pope, likewise, consulted carefully with the king before sending back his own embassy, which presided over the great Constantinopolitan climb down in Holy Week 519. In other words, Theoderic was in on the deal, and so good and so close were his relations with Rome, that the pope had not moved a muscle without his approval. Not only did Theoderic not see any threat in the termination of the schism, but he was actually the terminator.

What had gone on at Ravenna was the construction of a fascinating deal. In return for his good offices in bringing the schism to an end,

²⁸ Boethius (*Variae*, i. 10); Gundobad (*Variae*, i. 45); Clovis (*Variae*, ii. 40); Symmachus and Theoderic (*Variae*, i. 23; ii. 14; iv. 6; iv. 22; iv. 51).

²⁹ For more detailed accounts with full references, see Moorhead, *Theoderic*, pp. 194–200; cf. C. Sotinel, 'Emperors and popes in the sixth century: the western view', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. M. Maas (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 267–90.

Theoderic extracted formal East Roman recognition of his choice of heir, Amalasantha's husband Eutharic, a union which had already been blessed with a son and heir for the next generation, Athalaric. Recognition came in two forms. First, Eutharic was adopted as the emperor Justin's son-at-arms, which involved sending gifts of weaponry in a diplomatic protocol used by the empire as an act of recognition in the sixth century. Uniquely, however, Justin also agreed to serve as joint consul with Eutharic for the year 519. They officially took up this dignity on New Year's Day 519, so that the arrangement must have been negotiated in the previous autumn at the latest. For the new emperor to share the consulship with Theoderic's chosen heir was a striking statement of diplomatic amity, and 1 January 519 was a red letter day for the Ostrogothic regime. To celebrate Cassiodorus produced his (still extant) *Chronicle*, which presented world and salvation history as culminating in Eutharic's consulship and, reflecting the theme of Theoderic's palace mosaic, games and celebrations were held in both Rome and Ravenna.³⁰

There is nothing in the relationship between Boethius, Symmachus and Theoderic before the mid 520s, either in the period 507–11, or in the ending of the Acacian Schism, that even remotely suggests distance, let alone dissidence. This all makes better sense of what always looked extremely odd in Momigliano's reconstruction: Boethius's 'sudden' decision to leave his study for high office in the early 520s. Once it is recognized that Boethius had been happily engaged in the public life of the kingdom for well over a decade by that point, there is nothing to explain. And the fact that his infant sons were made joint consuls for 523, an unheard of distinction (which must have been agreed with Constantinople some time in 522), emphasizes just how good relations between the men, and between Theoderic and Constantinople, actually were at this point.

By the time of Theoderic's death on 30 August 526, however, all this was a bitter memory. The Roman church was minus one pope. John I returned to Italy in May 526 after an embassy to Constantinople which the *Liber Pontificalis* writes up as an overwhelming success. Theoderic did not think so, since he immediately threw him in gaol, where he died soon after. One does not need to look far to see why this might have been so. Out of nowhere, and after a century of toleration, Justin suddenly started persecuting Arian Christians (of the same persuasion as Theoderic) in 523,

³⁰ On Cassiodorus's *Chronicle*, see J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley, Calif., 1979), pp. 36–43. Justin's adoption of Eutharic is mentioned at *Variae*, viii. 1. 3; cf. D. Claude, 'Zur Begründung familiärer Beziehungen zwischen dem Kaiser und barbarischen Herrschen', in *Das Reich und die Barbaren*, ed. E. K. Chrysos and A. Schwarcz (Vienna, 1989), pp. 25–56, on the significance of the act.

and had also encouraged the rulers of both the Burgundian and Vandal kingdoms to revolt against Gothic hegemony. The excellent relations with Constantinople, which had prevailed for half a decade from the Acacian spring to the consulships of Boethius's sons, evaporated as Justin's regime suddenly – and more or less simultaneously – chose to exploit three issues that worked against Theoderic's interests. It was evidently this sudden *volte face* in Constantinople's attitude to Ravenna which Pope John failed to reverse as Theoderic wished. The pope joined in gaol – metaphorically – Symmachus and Boethius, both of whom had been accused of treason, imprisoned and then executed in 525 and 524 respectively. There is clearly a much bigger story here, against which we have to understand the personal tragedies of Boethius and Symmachus. How did all these events tie together?

Conclusion: the fall of Boethius

Traditional narratives of the fall of Boethius, drawing (in various ways) on the ideas of Sundwall and Momigliano, simply do not fit the evidence. There were blue-blooded senatorial families, and there were bureaucratic parvenus, but it is not possible to draw a clear line between them. The political patterns of the fifth-century Empire continued to operate under Theoderic, so that even the greatest of aristocrats had to ingratiate themselves at court to maintain elite status. And once it is recognized that Theoderic negotiated the mother of all deals in return for acting as midwife to the end of the Acacian Schism, there is no reason to consider Boethius and his father-in-law as anything other than the loyalists that the former's promotion to *magister officiorum*, and the joint consulship of his sons in the early 520s, together with the raft of earlier evidence, indicate them to have been.

Nor do their subsequent executions provide evidence of deep-set problems between Theoderic's court and the Roman nobility. Several prominent Roman nobles remained solidly in post afterwards, notably Liberius (who would not jump ship to Constantinople until much later, on the murder of Amalasantha), and Cassiodorus, who, despite wanting to associate himself with Boethius in cultural terms, was happy to succeed him as *Magister Officiorum*. The list goes on. The Roman church asked Theoderic to resolve the disputed papal election which followed John's death and one of the leading Anicii accepted the consulship in 526. It was also the Senate of Rome itself which eventually found Boethius guilty of treason as charged.³¹

³¹ That Cassiodorus succeeded Boethius is one the great silences of the *Variae*. He claimed a cultural, and just possibly a familial, kinship to Boethius in the original text underlying the *Anecdota Holderi*, which dated to the early 520s (Cameron, 'Anician myths', pp. 159–64). On papal dispute, see Arnold, *Ravenna*, pp. 298–9; on senatorial verdict, see *Boethius: Tractates, Consolation of Philosophy (Cons. Phil.)*, ed. and trans. H. F. Stewart and others (1918), I. 4. 72–3.

What we have here is the familiar scenario of a monarch suddenly falling out with a particular group of grandees, not long-term dissidence from a large body of recusants. But why did the king fall out with his *magister officiorum*?

Boethius is famously vague in the *Consolation of Philosophy*. He states that the treason charges were false, and that he was really brought down because the upright form of government, which philosophy compelled him to bring to his tenure of office, and his own determined defence of Roman liberty, had made him enemies at a corrupt court. But he does not specify the nature of the false charge, other than that he had defended one Albinus, of the house of the Decii, who was accused by a court legal official – the *referendarius* Cyprianus – of exchanging treasonable communications with the eastern court.³² Momigliano – his eyes on Justinian – assumed that this must have been an attempt to encourage an East Roman military intervention to restore direct imperial rule in Italy. But conditions in Constantinople were entirely different in the 520s compared to the mid 530s. Justinian's conquest 'policy' was the result of a complicated sequence of contingent accidents; in the mid 520s, a major East Roman military intervention in Italy was not on the cards.³³

Stepping back from the furore, there is really only one issue, as other commentators have recognized, that is likely to have generated this much chaos: succession. By the early 510s, Theoderic was fast approaching sixty and had failed to produce a viable male heir, his marriage to Clovis's sister producing as far as is known just one daughter, Amalasantha. Sixty was already old for a medieval ruler; males of Charlemagne's dynasty averaged around fifty. Theoderic therefore adopted an alternative strategy for vesting succession in his own direct line, marrying Amalasantha to a certain Eutharic: by 515 at the latest. Flavius Eutharic Cilliga was both a collateral relative and an important noble within what had been the independent Visigothic kingdom of Spain. This is a fascinating choice. It indicates that Theoderic intended the happy couple to inherit both his Italian and his Hispanic and southern Gallic territories. The newly united Gothic kingdom created in his lifetime was meant to continue, as is confirmed by the fact that its eventual partition in 526 was negotiated only after Theoderic's

³² *Cons. Phil.*, I. 4. 34–75. Many historians have wrestled with its evasive wording but, in the end, it does not tell us what we want to know (see, e.g., H. Chadwick, *Boethius: the Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy* (Oxford, 1981), esp. pp. 56ff. and ch. 5, together with many of the essays in *Boethius: his Life, Thought, and Influence*, ed. M. Gibson (Oxford, 1981); more recently Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, pp. 138–41).

³³ See now Heather, *Restoration*, pp. 124–53, on the contingent evolution of Justinian's western conquest policy.

death; that is, without his consent.³⁴ Hence, too, the excitement with which East Roman recognition of Eutharic, tantamount to Constantinople accepting the legitimacy of this vast Gothic power block, was greeted in the consular celebrations of 519. But the king's own vigorous longevity proved counterproductive, since, close to his seventieth year, Theoderic outlived his heir. True to narrative form for Theoderic's kingdom, we do not know exactly when Eutharic expired, but it was in 522 or 523.³⁵

Immediately, a whole can of succession worms flew open. Athalaric was born in 516 or 518, so was at most seven years old, and there were manifestly sharp differences of opinion over whether a minor could inherit Theoderic's mantle. The king himself decided that he could, and, during Cassiodorus's time as *Magister Officiorum*, the *Variae* started to insist that Theoderic's family was a unique *gens purpura*, dynastic continuity being the main card in Athalaric's favour. Others thought differently. The most obvious alternative was Theoderic's nephew Theodahad. He was an Amal male of majority age, and he received a large pay-off at the beginning of Athalaric's reign for being 'obedient'. The smart money is on this 'obedience' having taken the form of Theodahad's not putting himself forward as an alternative candidate at the moment of Theoderic's death when there was considerable unrest. Liguria – home to one of the main Gothic settlement clusters – saw serious disturbances concerning Athalaric's succession: conceivably agitation in favour of a different candidate. In addition, a senior noble called Tuluin, already sporting a distinguished war record, received substantial rewards for supporting Athalaric, including the title of patrician: the first Italian Goth to hold it. Tuluin also received a letter explicitly comparing him to a Gothic hero of the past, Gensemund son of Hunimund, who had chosen to support the Amals rather than remain an independent warlord. Tuluin had obviously done something similar; that is, not to press his own claims. The *Variae* mention that a non-Amal heir was considered in the early 520s, and Theodahad was himself replaced with the non-Amal Wittigis in the 530s when he failed to measure up.³⁶

For an official source like the *Variae* to preserve this much evidence of succession dispute is striking, and, in fact, uncertain succession had the

³⁴ Eutharic appears in the *Getica* at XXXIII: 174–5; cf. *Anon. Val.*, XIV. 80. It is often assumed that Amalaric, Theoderic's grandson via his son-in-law the Visigothic king Alaric II, was destined to rule over Spain, but Theudis (see below, n. 38) was originally sent to Spain to keep him under control.

³⁵ *PLRE*, ii. 438.

³⁶ Theodahad (*Variae*, viii. 23; cf. ix. 25. 9); Ligurian disturbances (*Variae*, viii. 16); Tuluin (*Variae*, viii. 9–11; cf. *Variae*, viii. 3, for an explicit acknowledgment that a non-Amal succession was considered).

capacity to spark off more internal strife for an ancient or medieval body politic than pretty much every other issue combined. As clearly happened in Ostrogothic Italy, it encouraged every even vaguely plausible contender to come out of the woodwork, and the result could only be division and contention within the top leadership group of the kingdom. Worse, the candidates needed supporters. One obvious body of support was always those not doing so well under the current regime. The disgruntled will always rally to the flag of change. But that kind of recruiting drive only unsettles those already doing well, since they would naturally look to a candidate for continuity. And this takes no account of those who were doing quite well currently, but thought that they might do better: such being the nature of human aspiration. Insecure succession, in other words, will potentially turn all existing political alliances on their head.³⁷

Nor was the disruption confined to Italy. In Spain, which Theoderic had brought under his control as recently as 511, the king's interests were in the hands of a trusted henchman: Theudis. His explicit brief was to ensure that no one used the leftover son of the last Visigothic king, one Amalaric (who was also Theoderic's grandson by his daughter Theodegotho), to stir up trouble. In the dog days of Theoderic's reign, however, Theudis started to see things differently. He had married a Hispano-Roman heiress of great wealth, and used her money to build up a private army, which now allowed him to act with increasing independence, refusing several summonses to Ravenna. After Theoderic's death, Italy and the Visigothic kingdom were repartitioned, with Amalaric inheriting the latter. But Theudis negotiated this deal after Theoderic's demise, and not, it seems, totally out of devotion to his young charge. On Amalaric's death, Theudis himself inherited the Visigothic throne, holding it for seventeen years.³⁸ The same urge for independence was felt simultaneously in the Burgundian and Vandal kingdoms, over which Theoderic had been exercising some hegemony since his great victories of 509–11. In 522, the Burgundian king Sigismund executed his son and ex-heir Sergeric. Sergeric was Sigismund's son by Theoderic's daughter Ostrogotha, who had just died, and part of the story was an attempt to throw off Ostrogothic hegemony. Likewise, in 523, after the death of Thrasamund, the new Vandal king Hilderic killed the Gothic

³⁷ This is where it is important not to be taken in by Theoderic's Amal propaganda. Amal rule had been built up over an entirely new group by Theoderic, his father and his uncle, based on leadership ability, not an ancient tradition of rule (see most recently Heather, *Restoration*, ch. 1).

³⁸ On the split, negotiated explicitly after Theoderic's death, see Procopius, *Wars*, V. 13. 4ff.; cf. V. 12. 50–4; and Jordanes, *Getica*, LVIII: 302, on Theudis's progressive independence in Spain.

military retinue which had stayed in North Africa with Theoderic's other daughter Amalafriada, and had her arrested. She eventually died in detention. Accidents of mortality played a role in these stories but it beggars belief to suppose that a new lust for independence swept simultaneously through the peripheral territories within Theoderic's orbit purely by coincidence.³⁹

This was also the precise moment that Justin's regime started to persecute Arians: seemingly by confiscating churches. Theoderic saw this as a personal slight (threatening counter-measures against Italian Catholics), and was probably right to do so, since Constantinople also had a hand in stirring up Burgundian and Vandal revolt; and we know, too, that it refused to grant the same recognition to Athalaric as it had to his father Eutharic, even though he was Theoderic's chosen heir. Eutharic's death had landed Theoderic in the position of a classic lame-duck president, and Constantinople took advantage of the resulting paralysis to give encouragement to all those wanting to undermine the king's power. To my mind, this is probably also what landed Pope John in gaol. Clearly, his embassy had failed to negotiate something that Theoderic wanted, despite the warmth of welcome that the pope reportedly received in Constantinople. The most likely concession that Theoderic would have wanted at this stage was East Roman recognition for his heir, and this was not forthcoming.⁴⁰ As soon as opportunity presented itself, the duplicitous East Romans returned to type, reversing the *détente* of the Acacian spring, to undermine Theoderic's power and prestige at every turn. Their object, presumably, although it is nowhere recorded, was to sow enough dissension within the elite political circles of the kingdom to break up Theoderic's Gothic superstate and detach the old Visigothic kingdom from Ravenna's grasp. No other single act would more weaken whomever eventually came to power in Ravenna and, since the two had only so recently been combined, it was a highly realistic goal.⁴¹

It was also in this web of deceit, arguably, that Boethius and his father-in-law eventually found themselves ensnared. Boethius is much too evasive for us to be certain why he fell from grace. He did have strong connections in Constantinople, so that, perhaps like Pope John, he fell foul of Justin's

³⁹ For a more detailed narrative reconstruction, see H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988), pt. 5, ch. 10.

⁴⁰ Non-adoption (*Variae*, viii. 1. 3); cf. Moorhead, *Theoderic*, ch. 5, for a more detailed treatment of the problems of Theoderic's final years.

⁴¹ Again, it is important to recognize that, aside from the Acacian spring, Constantinople's attitude towards Theoderic was highly suspicious. This had deep roots in the military conflicts of the 480s (see above, n. 15), and despite Faustus's diplomatic settlement (see above, n. 16), Anastasius quarrelled with Theoderic over his capture of Sirmium in 504/5, and was even ready to attack the Adriatic coast of Italy to prevent him from providing military support to the Visigoths against Clovis in 508 (see most recently Heather, *Restoration*, pp. 74–9).

determination to stir up as much trouble as possible for the Italian kingdom. Given his connections, Theoderic might well have expected Boethius to deliver the recognition that would help secure Athalaric's succession. And when that recognition was not forthcoming – a bit like Cardinal Wolsey's failure to secure that famous divorce – the king's wrath was unrelenting. If so, it was Constantinople's determination to stir up trouble for the Ostrogothic kingdom which ultimately sealed Boethius's fate. There is also a second, more specific alternative. Boethius states that his fall was all to do with Theoderic's regime's having rejected philosophy's teaching on the art of good government. This could be code. Of the various possible candidates for the throne, Theodahad had strong interests in Neoplatonic philosophy. We also happen to know that there were reasonably close ties between him and Boethius. The main alternative to the Cardinal Wolsey scenario, therefore, is that Boethius fell because he backed the wrong horse in the intense political manoeuvring which followed Eutharic's death.⁴² Either way, it is a safe bet that Boethius got caught up somewhere in the fallout. Succession was the chaotic, unresolvable issue of Theoderic's final years, and it was this that surely claimed Boethius's life.

⁴² S. J. Barnish, 'Cassiodorus, Boethius, Theodahad: literature, philosophy, and politics in Ostrogothic Italy', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, xxxiv (1990), 16–32, explores the evidence for ties between the two. Other historians have also believed that Albinus's letter must have been about succession in some way (Chadwick, *Boethius*, pp. 52–61; Moorhead, *Theoderic*, pp. 219–26).

2. Episcopal commemoration in late fifth-century Ravenna

Deborah M. Deliyannis

Much has been written about the rise of the bishop in the wake of the 'fall of Rome', and in the case of Ravenna, in particular, a lot of interest has focused on the status of the archbishops of the sixth and seventh centuries. Going back to the fifth century, however, a period when Ravenna experienced a somewhat uncertain political status, the bishops have received less attention, with the exception of Peter Chrysologus. And yet, there is as much evidence about episcopal activity in this period as for later centuries, and in the context of the developing city, the space occupied by the bishops was even more fascinating. In this chapter, therefore, I will consider the building and commemorative activity of Ravenna's bishops from 450 to 493, especially in light of developments that were taking place in Rome at the same time.¹ Examination of the evidence will show that some of the same impulses clearly seen in the sixth century, such as rivalry with Rome, can also be traced back to the fifth.

Historical background

For half a century after the year 402, the emperors of the Western Roman Empire had resided primarily in Ravenna.² As a result, a city that had been something of a half-ruined shell with a harbour to the south had been transformed, at least in part, into a monumental showplace. A wall was built to surround what was probably a new palace and a new set of administrative buildings. A large double-aisled cathedral, slightly smaller than those in Milan and Rome, but on the scale of Aquileia's, was built and lavishly decorated, and had an octagonal baptistery.³ The emperors and other wealthy patrons built additional churches throughout the area enclosed by the new walls, dedicated to such universal Christian saints and

¹ See C. Rizzardi, 'L'attività edilizia del vescovo Neone a Ravenna', *Corso di cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantine*, xliii (1997), 781–801, which describes the monuments that were built, but does not consider the inscriptions, nor place them in a broader context.

² See A. Gillett, 'Rome, Ravenna, and the last western emperors', *PBSR*, lxix (2001), 131–67.

³ D. M. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 86.

concepts as the Holy Cross, St. John the Evangelist and St. Agatha; outside the walls was a large basilica in honour of St. Lawrence, and to the south of the harbour, the port city of Classe had been surrounded by a wall by the early fifth century.⁴ Much of this construction was sponsored by Galla Placidia, the sister of Honorius and mother of his heir Valentinian III, in whose name she ruled from 424 to 437.

Andrew Gillett has carefully traced the evidence for imperial residence in the fifth century, noting that after 450 emperors are rarely attested in Ravenna, but instead lived in Rome or elsewhere. After the assassination of Valentinian III in 455 and the subsequent sack of Rome by the Vandals, a series of short-lived emperors resided either in Ravenna or in Rome or even outside these cities, until the deposition of Romulus in 476.⁵ It is notable that those emperors with strong connections to the senate and/or the eastern empire were proclaimed emperor and ruled in Rome (Petronius Maximus, Avitus, Anthemius, Olybrius, Nepos), while those who were generals, or heavily supported by generals (Majorian, Libius Severus, Glycerius, Romulus Augustulus), carried out many of their significant actions in Ravenna.⁶ Romulus's successor Odovacer, who ruled Italy for the next fourteen years, also seems to have been based in Ravenna, but there is almost no information available about his reign, and there is no evidence for any building activity under his patronage in the city.

Thus, it seems that while Ravenna's status was transformed between 402 and 450, what the new infrastructure and institutions would mean for the city was far from clear. Ravenna, which had only recently gained its status as an imperial residence, seemed in danger of losing that status; at times there must have been something of a power vacuum in the city.

The bishops of Ravenna, 450–93

Despite a lack of information about the secular rulers of Ravenna from 450 to 493, we are reasonably well informed about the bishops. This is due largely to the information provided about them by the ninth-century historian of Ravenna, Agnellus, whose *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* has lengthy, if chronologically problematic, sections on this period.⁷ Agnellus relied, and we today also rely, on the monumental and

⁴ V. Manzelli, 'La forma urbis di Ravenna in età romana', in *Ravenna Romana*, ed. M. Mauro (Ravenna, 2001), pp. 45–62, 54; and V. Manzelli, *Ravenna* (Rome, 2000), pp. 236–8.

⁵ Gillett, 'Rome, Ravenna', traces at Ravenna only Majorian in 457–8, the accession of Livius Severus in 461, Glycerius in 473, Nepos, briefly in 474–5, and Romulus Augustulus in 476.

⁶ Gillett, 'Rome, Ravenna', pp. 148–57, 162–5.

⁷ On the problematic chronology, see *Andreas Agnellus, Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (CCCM, cxcix, Turnhout, 2006), 97–107 (hereafter *LPR*).

inscription evidence, quite a bit of which survives. This testifies to bishops who were making their mark on the city and participating in episcopal trends emanating from cities such as Rome.

The earliest bishop of Ravenna attested in an external source was Severus, who attended the Council of Sardica of 343. There is no other evidence for bishops of Ravenna until the cathedral was constructed; Ravenna's bishop was not among those addressed in a letter written by John Chrysostom in 404, nor recorded as attending a synod at Rome called by Pope Innocent I.⁸ But in 431, Theodoret of Cyrrihus said that he had sent a letter about the Council of Ephesus to the bishops of Milan, Aquileia and Ravenna, so in these twenty years, Ravenna's status had been raised dramatically, and the see was now considered equal to the other northern Italian metropolitans.⁹ At some point, probably with both papal and imperial approval, Ravenna's bishop was made a metropolitan, with jurisdiction over fourteen other cities, at the expense of the bishop of Milan.¹⁰

While the document purporting to record this elevation has long been known to be a later forgery,¹¹ we know from the content of some of his surviving sermons that Bishop Peter Chrysologus (c.431–50), later to be revered as a saint, was acting in a metropolitan capacity.¹² We also know from Chrysologus's sermons that he worked closely with the imperial family, particularly Galla Placidia.¹³ Chrysologus seems to have been the pivotal figure, and the Ravennate tradition, as recorded by Agnellus, noted that he was from the subordinate see of Imola, but personally appointed to Ravenna's throne by Pope Sixtus III.¹⁴ As we will see, there were to be other links between Sixtus and Ravenna in these decades.

Final evidence for the elevation of the status of Ravenna's bishop comes from 495, when Pope Gelasius (who, notably, was writing at a time when there was no longer an emperor in Italy), in the context of the status of the patriarch of Constantinople, argued:¹⁵

⁸ V. Zangara, 'Una predicazione alla presenza dei principi: la chiesa di Ravenna nella prima metà del sec. V', *AT*, viii (2000), 265–304, at p. 272 n. 30.

⁹ Zangara, 'Una predicazione', p. 273 n. 38; Theodoret *ep.* 112, ed. Y. Azéma, iii, *S.C.*, cxi (Paris, 1965), 52.

¹⁰ See Zangara, 'Una predicazione', esp. pp. 298–304.

¹¹ See *LPR*, p. 102. The diploma of Valentinian is found in the *Codex Estensis*, fol. 44r, and is published in *I papiri diplomatici raccolti ed illustrati*, ed. L. G. Marini (Rome, 1805), no. 57 (p. 94); Agnellus used it as a source (*LPR*, ch. 40).

¹² Peter Chrysologus, *Sermones* 165 and 175, were given on occasions when he was consecrating bishops for other cities (see *LPR*, pp. 102–3, and Zangara, p. 273).

¹³ Chrysologus, *Sermones* 85b and 130.

¹⁴ *LPR*, ch. 49.

¹⁵ Gelasius, *ep.* 26.10 (*Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum Genuinae*, ed. A. Thiel (Braunsberg, 1868), pp. 405–6) = *Collectio Avellana Ep.* 95, *ad Episcopos Dardaniae*.

Risimus autem, quod praerogativam volunt Acacio comparari, quia episcopus fuerit regiae civitatis. Numquid apud Mediolanum, apud Ravennam, apud Sirmium, apud Treviros multis temporibus non constitit imperator? Numquidnam harum urbium sacerdotes ultra mensuram sibimet antiquitus deputatam quidpiam suis dignitatibus usurparunt?

Thus, through the period of instability and the reign of Odovacer, Ravenna's bishops had retained their claims to high episcopal rank.

Who were these bishops? The successor of Peter Chrysologus was Neon, followed by Exuperantius, followed by John.¹⁶ John's epitaph survives, and we therefore know that he reigned for sixteen years, ten months and seventeen days, from 477 to 94.¹⁷ The dates of Neon and Exuperantius therefore filled the period 450–77, but the only external piece of evidence that we have for either of them is that Pope Leo I wrote a letter to Neon in 458.¹⁸ Agnellus knew almost nothing about Exuperantius, and there is no other reliable information about him.¹⁹ Every scholar who has produced a chronology for the fifth century attributes to Neon a reign of 450–73 and to Exuperantius 473–77, but these dates are entirely conjectural.²⁰

Regardless of exactly how long he reigned, Neon was, at least, bishop during the removal of the emperor to Rome (450), the invasion of Attila the Hun (452), and the sack of Rome by the Vandals (455), among other momentous events. Moreover, the building activity associated with Neon was grandiose in scale, continuing the momentum that had been begun by Peter Chrysologus. Neon clearly undertook a conscious programme intended to underscore the importance of the episcopal office, and if this is compared to similar activities taking place in Rome, significant facts emerge.

¹⁶ John is said to have negotiated the surrender of Odovacer to Theoderic at Ravenna in 393 (in *LPR*, ch. 39, but also Procopius, *Bello Gothico* V.I.24).

¹⁷ *CLL*, xi, no. 304.

¹⁸ *Ep.* 166, *PL* 54, col. 1191.

¹⁹ An epitaph that survives in the Museo Arcivescovile in Ravenna names him as an archbishop; this title was not used for the bishops of Ravenna until the mid 6th century, so this inscription cannot be original (see *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, trans. D. M. Deliyannis (Washington, DC, 2004), p. 135 n. 6; and F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, ii (Wiesbaden, 1976), 299).

²⁰ G. Orioli, 'Cronotassi dei vescovi di Ravenna', *Felix Ravenna*, cxxvii–cxxx (1984–5), 323–32, at p. 325 n. 9. This is because Neon is said by Agnellus to have had an obit of the 3 Id. February (*LPR*, ch. 29); most of the obits in the 5th century correspond to Sundays, and the only years in which 3 Id. Feb. was a Sunday in the period 458–77 are 462, 468 and 473. Because Neon was a busy bishop and Exuperantius was not, most scholars have given Neon the longest possible reign, but this is entirely arbitrary; Orioli says that he prefers the date of 468.

Baptism and the baptistery

The meaning and rituals of baptism were of great interest to church leaders in the fourth and fifth centuries, and the baptistery, as the space in which the ritual was performed, was therefore an important part of an episcopal complex. Octagonal baptisteries were an invention of the fourth century, and by the fifth century, every major episcopal see had one.²¹ The Lateran Cathedral in Rome, built at the time of Constantine, apparently had a separate baptistery as part of its original conception, a centralized space with an octagonal ground plan.²² Ambrose of Milan, in addition to building a new octagonal baptistery next to the cathedral of Milan in the 370s, wrote extensively on the meaning of baptism. Aquileia also acquired an octagonal baptistery, to replace (or supplement) earlier less notable structures, in the late fourth century.²³ Ravenna's Orthodox baptistery is likewise one of the earliest attested; it was initially built at the same time as the cathedral, in the early years of the fifth century.²⁴

Then, under Neon, Ravenna's baptistery underwent an extensive programme of rebuilding and redecoration. The original baptistery had a wooden roof approximately 11m above the floor;²⁵ the new structure had a dome, made of hollow *tubi fittili* and blocks of pumice, that rose to an apex of 14.6m.²⁶ The interior decoration was re-done, and included marble, mosaic inscriptions, stucco and mosaics, much still surviving. Agnellus says of Bishop Neon:²⁷

Fontes Ursianae ecclesiae pulcherrime decoravit; musiva et auratis tessellis apostolorum imagines et nomina camera circumfinxit, parietes promiscuis lapidibus cinxit. Nomen ipsius lapideis descriptum est elementis:

²¹ For a comprehensive analysis, see G. Cantino Wataghin, M. Trinci Cecchelli and L. Pani Ermini, 'L'edificio battesimale nel tessuto della città tardoantica e altomedievale in Italia', in *L'edificio battesimale in Italia: aspetti e problemi: atti dell'VIII Congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana: Genova, Sarzana, Albenga, Finale Ligure, Ventimiglia, 21–26 settembre 1998* (Bordighera, 2001), pp. 231–65, 234–42.

²² O. Brandt, 'Il battistero lateranense da Costantino a Ilaro: un riesame degli scavi', *Opuscula Romana*, xxii–xxiii (1997–8), 7–66, at p. 8.

²³ S. Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien* (Münster, 1998), pp. 35–8.

²⁴ S. Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna* (New Haven, Conn., 1965), and Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 88–100.

²⁵ Identified by the remains of a stucco cornice found inside the exterior walls and just above the level of the springing of the dome (see Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery*, pp. 39–40 and Deichmann, *Ravenna*, ii. 18).

²⁶ For bibliography on the various reconstructions, see Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 92, 338 n. 309.

²⁷ *LPR*, ch. 28.

Cede, vetus nomen, novitati cede vetustas!
Pulchrius ecce nitet renovati gloria Fontis.
Magnanimus hunc namque Neon summusque sacerdos
Excoluit, pulchro componens omnia cultu.

Among other things, this is the first dedication inscription attested from Ravenna that attributes construction to a bishop.

Neon's reconstruction project is most notable because of the several ways that one can see it is linked to Rome and to the activities of popes Sixtus III (432–40) and Leo I (440–61). In the first place, Sixtus had famously reconstructed and redecorated the Lateran baptistery in the 430s,²⁸ and Pope Hilarus (461–68) made further additions and donations to the structure;²⁹ thus Neon's reconstruction at Ravenna can be seen as a response to the Roman example.³⁰ That this was indeed the case is underscored by the fact that the first line of Neon's dedicatory poem is a direct copy of one that had been placed in San Pietro in Vincoli by Sixtus himself.³¹ Pope Damasus in the mid fourth century had begun a tradition of poetic inscriptions that named the pope as a founder, but Sixtus III was the next to develop it in a substantial way, as there is a similar inscription from Santa Maria Maggiore.³² Thus, Neon was borrowing from Rome both the concept of including dedicatory inscriptions in praise of the founding bishop, and the specific wording.³³

Moreover, in the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*, Sixtus is said to have included verses on the entablatures of the redecorated Lateran baptistery.³⁴ The

²⁸ See, e.g., B. B. Eichberg, 'Die Erneuerung des Lateranbaptisteriums durch Sixtus III. (432–440) als Sinnbild päpstlicher Tauftheologie und Taufpolitik: Die Apsismosaiken des Vestibüls und das Taufgedicht Sixtus III', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxx (2003), 7–34.

²⁹ Roman *Liber pontificalis*, *Vita Hilari* 2–5 (LP, i. 242–3).

³⁰ Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery*, p. 43.

³¹ G. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores* (2 vols., Rome, 1888), ii, pt. 1, 110: 'Cede prius nomen novitati cede vetustas / Regia laetanter vota dicare libet. / Haec Petri Paulique simul nunc nomine signo / Xystus apostolicae sedis honore fruens / unum quaeso pares unum duo sumite munus / unus honor celebret quos habet una fides / presbyteri tamen hic labor est et cura Philippi / postquam Ephesi Christus icit utrique polo / praemia discipulis meruit vincente mgistro / hanc palmam fidei rettulit inde senex.'

³² De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, ii, pt. 1, 71.

³³ The popularity of this model is underscored by the fact that another imitation of Sixtus's inscription was discovered in North Africa at Ain-Ghorab near Tebessa: 'Cede prius nomen novitati cede vetustas, / Regia l(a)etan[t]er vota dicare [l]i[b]et. / Haec Petri Paulique sedes Christo [j]ubente resurgit' (P. Monceaux, 'Enquête sur l'épigraphie chrétienne d'Afrique', III, *Revue archéologique*, 4th ser., viii (1906), 126–42, at pp. 126–7).

³⁴ *Liber Pontificalis*, *Vita Sixti III* 7: 'quam erexit cum epistolis suis et versibus exornavit ...'

inscriptions, restored in the seventeenth century, are alternating lines of hexameter and pentameter, on the theme of baptism.³⁵ At Ravenna, Neon also included inscriptions related to the theme of baptism, although he did something slightly different. The ground-level arcade frames absidioles recessed into four sides of the octagon, alternating with flat wall surfaces. In lunettes above the absidioles are mosaic inscriptions that were first recorded in the late seventeenth century and renewed in the late nineteenth.³⁶ They paraphrase or quote biblical verses that relate to baptism, namely a paraphrase of Matthew 14:29, Psalm 31[32]:1-2, a paraphrase of John 13:4-5, and Psalm 22[23]:2. It has been suggested that the texts might refer to images originally decorating the absidioles, but there is no evidence either way.³⁷ In any case, the idea seems to have been the same as in the Lateran baptistery, to provide texts that could complement the ceremony of baptism taking place in front of them.

What was the context for Neon's work on the Orthodox baptistery? Interestingly, here too we can find a papal connection. Pope Leo I frequently wrote about baptism in his various letters.³⁸ In 458, he addressed one letter on that subject to Neon, specifically the fact that if people taken captive in childhood did not know whether they had been baptized in infancy, they could still be baptized, even though it might be for the second time, which is otherwise forbidden. There is no indication why this letter was addressed to Neon in particular, as he is not charged with something to do; at the least, it shows that the two leaders had a relationship. Certainly contemporary texts such as the *Vita* of Severinus of Noricum (c.410–82), written in the 510s by Eugippius, which covers especially the decades after the death of Attila, tell us that Roman Christians are continually being carried off by marauding barbarians.³⁹ In fact, one of the stories told in the *Vita* is about Giso the wicked queen of the Rugii, an Arian who attempted to rebaptize certain Catholics,⁴⁰ so clearly this was an issue in northern Italy in the 450s.

Taken together, then, a number of conclusions can be drawn about Neon's rebuilding of Ravenna's baptistery. First, he had clearly visited, and

³⁵ De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, ii, pt. 1, 424, 44; see E. Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 2009), p. 769.

³⁶ Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery*, pp. 59–61, provides a brief analysis of the verses and interpretations of them; see also Deichmann, *Ravenna*, ii.1, 28–30.

³⁷ Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery*, pp. 61–2; Deichmann, *Ravenna*, ii.1, 28, says the use of Bible verses as labels for images would go against what we know of early Christian usage.

³⁸ See Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, pp. 761–6.

³⁹ See e.g. Eugippius, *Vita Severini*, ed. P. Knoell (CSEL, ix, Vienna, 1886), chs. 9, 10, 19.

⁴⁰ *Vita Severini*, ch. 8.

been influenced by, Rome's newly built baptistery and the other works undertaken by Sixtus III. Second, along with his contemporary popes and bishops, he recognized that baptism had to be regulated by bishops, and was thus a potent expression of episcopal authority. And finally, Neon was determined that his see was going to imitate and rival Rome even at a moment when it might have seemed that the emperors had left town.

The episcopium

Agnellus tells us that in the episcopal palace of Ravenna, Neon built the 'house that is called *quinque accubita*'.⁴¹ *Quinque accubita* means 'five dining couches', and refers to a type of high-status *triclinium*, or dining hall, that contains a niche for a number of semi-circular dining couches. Agnellus describes the dining hall as follows:⁴²

Ex utraque parte triclinii fenestras mirificas struxit, ibique pavimenta triclinii diversis lapidibus ornare praecepit. Historiam psalmi quam cotidie cantamus, id est, *Laudate Dominum de caelis*, una cum cataclismo, in pariete, parte ecclesiae, pingere iussit; et in alio pariete, qui super amnem posito, exornari coloribus fecit historiam Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, quando de .v. panibus et duobus piscibus tot milia, ut legimus, homines satiavit. Ex una autem parte frontis interius triclinei mundi fabricam comptitavit, in qua versus descriptos exámetros cotidie legimus ita ... Et in alia fronte depicta historia Petri apostoli ...

Each of these scenes was accompanied by a lengthy poem in hexameter, which Agnellus quotes in full. The whole decorative effect was luxurious, and presented religious scenes with messages about the sanctity of food and the role of bishops as the heirs of Peter, yet another connection with Rome.⁴³

Dining halls of this type were typical of aristocratic residences and palaces, and putting one in the bishop's residence conveyed a message about

⁴¹ See especially C. Rizzardi, 'L'Episcopio di Ravenna nell'ambito dell'edilizia religiosa occidentale ed orientale dal Tardoantico nell'Alto Medioevo: gli ambienti di rappresentanza', *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna*, new ser.; lv (2004), 147–75; and M. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000), pp. 23–30.

⁴² *LPR*, ch. 29.

⁴³ Rizzardi, 'L'Episcopio', pp. 162–7; for other interpretations of the iconography of these images, see F. Wickhoff, 'Das Speisezimmer des Bischofs Neon von Ravenna', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xvii (1894), 10–17; A. Weis, 'Der römische Schöpfungszyklus des 5. Jh. im Triklinium Neons zu Ravenna', in *Tortulae, Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten*, ed. W. N. Schumacher (Rome, 1966), pp. 300–16; G. De Angelis d'Ossat, 'Sulla distrutta aula dei "Quinque accubita" a Ravenna', *Corso di cultura*, xx (1973), 263–73; and C. Nauwerth, *Agnellus von Ravenna, Untersuchungen zur archäologischen Methode des ravennatischen Chronisten* (Munich, 1974), pp. 81–91.

similarities and differences in types of authority; as Maureen Miller notes, it 'took a powerful secular aesthetic and used it to articulate a powerful vision of the episcopal office, one performed for important visitors to the *episcopium* of Ravenna'.⁴⁴ Neon's *triclinium*, built at a time in which the imperial palace at Ravenna was largely unused, emulated and perhaps competed with the imperial palace, and laid claim to the idea that the bishop was an important authority figure in the city.

Other episcopal constructions

One of the most notable churches built in the mid fifth century was a large basilica founded in Classe by Bishop Peter Chrysologus, apparently dedicated to Christ and called the Petriana after its founder.⁴⁵ Agnellus tells us:⁴⁶

Fundator ecclesiae Petrianae, muros per circuitum aedificans, sed nondum omnia complens. Nulla ecclesia in aedificio maior fuit similis illa neque in longitudine nec in altitudine; et valde exornata fuit de preciosis lapidibus et tessellis variis decorata et valde locupletata in auro et argento et vasculis sacris, quibus ipse fieri iussit.

Agnellus continues that the church was completed by Neon, who also decorated it, which he probably knew from an inscription;⁴⁷ under Peter II (494–520) a baptistery was built next to it.⁴⁸ Agnellus later relates that the Petriana collapsed in an earthquake in the mid eighth century and had not been rebuilt.⁴⁹ Recent investigations on the presumed site of the Petriana have revealed that it was a richly decorated basilica, 40 × 71m excluding the apse,⁵⁰ and thus indeed larger than the Ursiana, and far grander than any other church in Ravenna.⁵¹ In other words, here was a monumental structure whose name prominently advertised the fact that it had been sponsored by the bishop, not in Ravenna but in the adjacent port, which demonstrated the reach of the bishop's authority.⁵² Even after the death of

⁴⁴ Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, p. 27.

⁴⁵ See Deichmann, *Ravenna*, ii.2, 350–1; P. Novara, 'La Ravenna tardo-imperiale', in *Ravenna Romana*, ed. M. Mauro (Ravenna, 2001), pp. 251–80, esp. p. 265.

⁴⁶ *LPR*, ch. 24.

⁴⁷ *LPR*, ch. 28.

⁴⁸ *LPR*, ch. 50.

⁴⁹ *LPR*, ch. 151.

⁵⁰ A. Augenti, F. Boschi and E. Cirelli, 'Il sito della basilica Petriana a Classe: dalla diagnostica archeologica allo scavo', *Ocnus*, xviii (2010), 103–10.

⁵¹ Cf. dimensions of churches in Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, p. 308.

⁵² This circumstance, and the grandeur described by Agnellus, have led to the suggestion that the Petriana was founded to be a cathedral for the city of Classe, but there is no evidence

Chrysologus and the removal of the emperor to Rome, this building was completed lavishly by the ambitious Neon.

Again from Agnellus we learn that Neon was buried in the church of the Apostles, Exuperantius in St. Agnes, and John I in S. Agata Maggiore, all of which lay within the fifth-century city walls. While Agnellus does not explicitly say who built the church of the Apostles or S. Agata, he does say that St. Agnes was built by a deacon named Gemellus during the reign of Exuperantius, which must reflect an inscription providing that information.⁵³ In any case, the burial evidence implies that in this period, it was felt useful for bishops to be buried in locations around the city, perhaps in churches that they themselves had built. This was exactly the situation in Rome, where, before 496, the popes were buried in a variety of churches, sometimes ones they had constructed.⁵⁴

Neon was buried in a major basilica in the centre of Ravenna, the church of the Apostles (*basilica Apostolorum*), probably originally dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul.⁵⁵ The dedication to the apostles, or to Peter and Paul in particular, imitates the major basilicas over the tombs of the apostles outside Rome, a church in Rome rebuilt and rededicated to SS. Peter and Paul by Pope Sixtus III, and the church built by Constantine and dedicated to all the Apostles in Constantinople.⁵⁶ The church was rebuilt in the tenth or eleventh century, making use of what were probably the original twenty-four columns, capitals and impost blocks, which date stylistically to the mid to late fifth century. The marble was imported from the island of Proconnesus near Constantinople, the first example of this lavish usage that would become a regular feature of Ravenna's sixth-century churches. Given the political situation in Italy after 450, it seems more likely that it was begun under Honorius or Galla Placidia, when such imports might have been more readily commanded.

for a separate see, and thus the Petriana must simply have been intended to serve the large Christian population of Classe (see Deichmann, *Ravenna*, ii.2, 350).

⁵³ *LPR*, ch. 31.

⁵⁴ J.-Ch. Picard, 'Étude sur l'emplacement des tombes des papes du IIIe au Xe siècle', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*, lxxxi (1969), 725–782, at pp. 736–48.

⁵⁵ *LPR*, chs. 29–30 and 56, which also tells of the burial there of Bishop Aurelian in 521. Deichmann, *Ravenna*, ii, pt. 2, 308–18; and Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 102–3. The much-rebuilt church was given to the Franciscan order in 1261 and still survives as San Francesco.

⁵⁶ Deichmann, *Ravenna*, ii, pt. 2, 309–11; and F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes* (3 vols., Wiesbaden, 1989), ii, pt. 3, 279; also R. Farioli Campanati, 'Ravenna e i suoi rapporti con Costantinopoli: la scultura (secoli V–VI)', in *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a venezia (V–XIV secolo)*, ed. C. Rizzardi (Venice, 2005), pp. 13–43, esp. p. 20.

The choice to bury Neon here is interesting, particularly given the fact that Pope Leo I, with whom Neon evidently had close connections, was buried in 461 in St. Peter's at Rome, one of the earliest popes to be interred there. It is also noteworthy that in the 440s, Sozomen states that the patriarchs were being buried in the church of the Apostles in Constantinople.⁵⁷ If this were the case, the idea of an apostolic church as an episcopal burial place may have been a feature of mid fifth-century ecclesiastical politics, and Neon, who was evidently very current as far as episcopal display went, was right in line with the patriarchal cities.

Inscriptions and mosaics

Agnellus does not report that Neon had any portraits in Ravenna. However, the images of Peter Chrysologus and John I are said to be very similar. Agnellus states:⁵⁸

Et infra ecclesiam beati Iohannis evangelistae iussit Galla Placidia pro illius sanctitate eius effigiem tessellis exornari in pariete tribunali post tergum pontificis, supra sedem ubi pontifex sedet. Quae effigies ita facta, prolixam habens barbam, extensis manibus quasi missas canit, et hostia veluti super altare posita est, et ecce angelus Domini in aspectu altaris illius orationes suscipiens est depictus.

This depiction no longer survives; Vincenza Zangara has suggested that it was of Melchizedek, not Peter.⁵⁹ However, Agnellus's description must be compared to his account of S. Agata Maggiore, where John I (477–94) was buried:⁶⁰

Igitur dum beatissimus papa, qui Ravennas praesul, superius nominatus Iohannes in basilica beatae Agathae missarum sollemnia caneret . . . subito angelus de caelo venit et stetit ex altera parte altaris in conspectu ipsius pontificis . . . Et tam diutissime angelus iuxta sanctum virum stetit quousque expleta fuissent sollemnia missarum . . . Sepultus est [Iohannis] in praedictae

⁵⁷ Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ii. 34, ed. J. Bidez and G.C. Hansen (Berlin, 1960).

⁵⁸ *LPR*, ch. 27.

⁵⁹ Zangara; see also J.-P. Caillet, 'L'image du dédicant dans l'édifice culturel (IVe–VIIe s.): aux origines de la visualisation d'un pouvoir de concession divine', *AT*, xix (2011), 149–69. Certainly the depiction of Melchizedek in San Vitale looks like the description of the bishop, but there is no angel in the San Vitale mosaic, and yet in both of the examples discussed here, an angel is said to be present. It seems more likely that it was the other way round, and that the Melchizedek mosaic in San Vitale, which is part of a larger iconographical schema based on Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, imitated these earlier portraits.

⁶⁰ *LPR*, ch. 44; the apse vault was rebuilt in the 6th century, so we do not know whether this image, which from Agnellus's description was similar to one of Peter Chrysologus in San Giovanni Evangelista, was made in the late 5th century or at the time of the rebuilding.

Ravenna: its role in earlier medieval change and exchange

sanctae martiris Agathae basilica post altare, in eo loco, ubi angelum stantem vidit; effigiemque eius super sedilia depictam cotidie conspicimus. Apparet quod fuisset tenui forma et nigri capilli, paucos canos.

The descriptions are not entirely parallel, but the portrait's location behind the benches in the apse is the same, and from Agnellus's description it does sound like a picture of a bishop at an altar, facing an angel. The apse vault of this church was rebuilt in the later sixth century, and has been rebuilt twice since then, so we do not know whether the image Agnellus describes dated to the late fifth century or beyond.⁶¹ Nevertheless, it is evocative that pictures of bishops celebrating mass with angels were found in churches associated with the bishops of the later fifth century, which emphasized the sanctity of their priestly role.

No such picture of Neon survives, but there is one final piece of information telling us that Neon was commemorating himself in Ravenna's monuments. The dedicatory inscription in the Orthodox baptistery has already been discussed. Agnellus also says:⁶²

Inde [church of the Apostles] transductum est corpus beati Neonis archiepiscopi et sepultus est, ut superius notavimus. Domumque quam aedificavit vidistis, et in ipsa domo, ubi imagines apostolorum Petri et Pauli tessellis factae sunt hinc et inde iuxta crucem conspexistis, et unam lineam versiculi in qua continet: 'Domnus Neon episcopus senescat nobis,' legistis.

It is not clear which structure is meant by *domus*. Agnellus has just described a mosaic in the narthex of the church of the Apostles that featured Peter and Paul flanking a Christ with *extenso brachio*, which could refer to a crucifixion. F. W. Deichmann preferred to read it as referring to the *domus infra episcopium*, namely the dining hall built by Neon, although there is no mention of a picture of St. Paul, nor of a crucifixion in that decorative cycle.⁶³ It seems more likely that it was in the narthex of the church, and was yet another way in which Neon commemorated his sponsorship (or the original site of his burial) in a public building.

Conclusion

Peter Chrysologus, with the aid of the emperors, empresses and popes, had established Ravenna's episcopate as one of the dominant sees in Italy.

⁶¹ Deichmann, *Ravenna*, ii.2, 283–97; E. Russo, 'L'architettura di Ravenna paleocristiana', in *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V–XIV secolo)*, ed. C. Rizzardi (Venice, 2005), pp. 89–229, esp. pp. 170–6.

⁶² *LPR*, ch. 30.

⁶³ Deichmann, *Ravenna*, ii.2, 308, notes that Agnellus rarely uses *domus* to mean a church, and thus even though this passage comes right after the description of Neon's burial, it must refer back to the dining hall.

Episcopal commemoration in late fifth-century Ravenna

After Peter's death, the political role of the city was very much in doubt, and imperial or royal building enterprises appear to have ground to a halt. Peter's episcopal successors, particularly Neon, did not allow their momentum to be slowed, and took the opportunity to wear the mantle of leadership themselves. With an eye to Rome, where the popes were gradually establishing themselves as leaders and patrons,⁶⁴ Neon and his successors vigorously promoted Christianity and the episcopal role in Ravenna. Their activities were continued by their sixth-century successors, leading the city to be ever more covered with splendid testimonies to the authority and prestige of its bishops.

⁶⁴ Cf. Gillett, 'Rome, Ravenna', p. 145.

3. Production, promotion and reception: the visual culture of Ravenna between late antiquity and the middle ages

Maria Cristina Carile

Since the fifth century, mosaic has characterized the artistic culture of Ravenna, becoming a strong symbol of the city's identity even into the present. During late antiquity and the middle ages mosaic was the favourite medium for church decoration. This costly technique was preferred for monumental church programmes until the thirteenth century, when painting replaced it for wall decoration.¹ In the past scholars have studied mosaic technique, style and iconography in order to answer questions about the provenance of mosaicists and materials, the possible existence in the town of a local mosaic school since ancient times, the models for the images, and their symbolism. However, these questions have not been answered definitively, and the mosaic heritage of Ravenna remains an open field of research.² This chapter will attempt to build an understanding of how Ravenna operated as a centre of mosaic production by considering several examples from late antique and medieval Ravenna in terms of visibility, in other words, as part of a wider visual culture both in their artistic language and in their reception by beholders. I will limit discussion to the most representative cases of monumental mosaics as official art (as they are intrinsically meant to be seen) from between the fifth and twelfth centuries, a period from which much evidence survives. Their locations,

¹ In Ravenna, one of the last examples of floor mosaic dates to the 13th century, after the fourth crusade (1204). Fragments are still visible in the basilica of San Giovanni Evangelista (A. Carile, 'Episodi della IV Crociata nel mosaico pavimentale di San Giovanni Evangelista di Ravenna', *CARB*, xxiii (1976), 109–30).

² In recent years, archaeometric analysis of mosaic cubes and preparatory layers has considerably advanced our research into the characteristics of the materials, their places of manufacture, and methods of creation. In particular, regarding antique mosaics in Ravenna, Marco Verità, Cesare Fiori and Marangela Vandini have made substantial contributions to the field (most recently M. Verità, 'Tessere vitree del Battistero Neoniano', in *Il Battistero Neoniano. Uno sguardo attraverso il restauro*, ed. C. Muscolino, A. Ranaldi and C. Tedeschi (Ravenna, 2011), pp. 73–87, and 'Indagini analitiche delle tessere vitree a foglia d'oro e d'argento dai mosaici teodericiani ed agnelliani di S. Apollinare Nuovo', in *S. Apollinare Nuovo. Un cantiere esemplare*, ed. C. Muscolino (Ravenna, 2012), pp. 128–34).

patronage and imagery conveyed specific messages to their audiences. Furthermore, I will consider some case studies exploring a decorative and a figurative example across the centuries. As we will see, this methodology will help us to understand the *longue durée* of mosaic in Ravenna, clarifying the ways its mosaic tradition developed over time.

Ancient artistic cultures have rarely been observed in terms of visual arts and, generally, only in recent years has the conception of visual culture been applied to the middle ages.³ The relationship between image and beholder is at the centre of the notion of visual culture:⁴ the mosaic heritage of Ravenna was primarily designed not only to decorate church interiors, but to convey meanings through images using a highly performative medium. Mosaics changed as the light changed, such as in different weather conditions. Thus, it may indeed be compared to modern artistic technologies, applied in contemporary visual arts and having an extraordinary value in the study of contemporary visual culture.⁵ This approach will allow us to understand the dynamics of reception, promotion, invention or reinterpretation of ideas, themes and representational schemes, in order to clarify the originality of Ravenna mosaic culture and the range within which it may have operated.

In 402 when the western court moved from Milan to Ravenna, the construction of a religious geography in the city and of facilities to accommodate the court, such as an imperial palace, was naturally accompanied by masters and mosaicists who would have decorated interiors.⁶ The existence of mosaic workshops in Ravenna prior to this date is possible: recent evidence uncovered from Roman Ravenna has revealed a much more complex picture than was previously thought, its *domus* with their mosaic floors populating the landscape within the city walls and

³ For the first approach to the theme of visibility from early Christianity to Byzantium, although with diverse applications and results, see T. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: a Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, NJ, 1993); J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer: the Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity* (Cambridge, 1995); L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge, 1999); R. Nelson, *Visibility Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw* (New York, 2000). For visual culture in the western middle ages, see E. Gerstman and L. Stevenson, *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces* (Woodbridge, 2012).

⁴ The fundamental study of visual culture by J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (1972) was followed by a number of studies, primarily focused on contemporary arts. In recent years, these have led to a theoretical separation between image studies and visual studies, which discuss the role of performativity (W. J. T. Mitchell, 'Showing seeing: a critique of visual culture', *Journal of Visual Culture*, i (2002), 165–81).

⁵ See, for instance, N. Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (2nd edn., 2009).

⁶ For the urban changes that occurred at that time, see E. Cirelli, *Ravenna. Archeologia di una città* (Florence, 2008), pp. 51–104 with ample bibliography.

beyond.⁷ Yet, there is no data about antique Ravenna's monumental wall decoration to compare with the fifth-century evidence and it seems likely that the court brought or attracted high quality mosaicists to the city. The earliest monumental mosaics dating to the fifth century are those of the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia. An image still observable over the portal provides an opportunity to comment upon some initial developments in Ravenna mosaic decoration (Figure 3.1). The classical image of the Good Shepherd was reinterpreted by Christians following the Gospel of John and became an iconic image of Christ.⁸ In the first centuries of the Christian era, it is found in funerary contexts, such as on catacomb mural paintings and sarcophagi, in the *domus ecclesiae*, for instance on the walls of the baptistery at Dura Europos (A.D. 241), and in smaller, portable statuary that possibly adorned private houses.⁹ In the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, however, the iconography used for the image of the Good Shepherd does not follow these earlier models. The figure wears a costly golden tunic and holds a golden cross instead of a wooden shepherd's crook. He is shown seated – not standing, as in traditional images – turning towards one of the sheep while the rest of the flock surrounds him. A few of these details can be found in two other earlier monumental examples. Christ is depicted sitting on a rock with the apostles around him in the early fifth-century chapel of S. Aquilino in Milan.¹⁰ In the mausoleum, Christ wears a golden

⁷ Within the walls of Roman Ravenna, 1st- and 2nd-century mosaic floors were found on the site of the so-called *Domus dei tappeti di pietra* (*Archeologia urbana a Ravenna: la Domus dei tappeti di pietra, il complesso archeologico di via D'Azeglio*, ed. G. Montevicchi (Ravenna, 2004), pp. 18–37). On the site of the 5th-century basilica of S. Croce, the black-and-white mosaic floors of a Roman *domus*, originally outside the city walls, are still visible (S. Gelichi and P. Novara, 'La chiesa di S. Croce a Ravenna: la sequenza architettonica', *CARB*, xlii (1995), 347–82).

⁸ John X:11–18.

⁹ The classic image of the *kriophoros*, the shepherd with the lamb on his shoulders, became associated with Christ as the Good Shepherd early in Christianity. In late antiquity, Christ the Good Shepherd developed in new directions, including in its variations the image in the mausoleum. Third-century Christian paintings of the *kriophoros* can be found in both the catacombs of Priscilla and of S. Callisto at Rome. In the 4th century, this subject was represented in the floor mosaics of the cathedral and of an oratory at Aquileia (F. Bisconti and M. Braconi, 'Il riuso delle immagini in età tardo antica: l'esempio del buon pastore dall'abito singolare', *AA*, lxxiv (2012), 231–40). A 4th-century statue is still on exhibit at the Musei Vaticani (Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Cristiano, inv. no. 31428: Y. Marano, 'Statuetta di pastore crioforo (cat. no. 105)', in P. Biscottini and G. Sena Chiesa, *Costantino 313 d.C. L'editto di Milano e il tempo della tolleranza. Catalogo della Mostra* (Milan, 2012), pp. 225–6). This image also appeared on vessels, for instance on a 4th-century glass cup from Rome (C. Lega, 'Vetro dorato con Buon Pastore (cat. no. 27)', in F. Bisconti and G. Gentili, *La rivoluzione dell'immagine. Arte paleocristiana tra Roma e Bisanzio* (Milan, 2007), p. 153).

¹⁰ Recent lab analysis of the bricks has dated the complex of S. Lorenzo Maggiore at Milan to the turn of the 5th century, and the chapel of S. Aquilino to the first decade of



Figure 3.1. Ravenna, mausoleum of Galla Placidia, southern lunette: the Good Shepherd (photo: author).

tunic with light blue *clavi*,¹¹ which recalls that of the enthroned Christ at the centre of the apse mosaic in the basilica of S. Pudenziana (410–17) in Rome.¹² The scene in the mausoleum departs from the humble depiction of a shepherd boy to express Christ's royalty, conveyed by the colours he wears and by his posture. In addition, in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, the Good Shepherd's cross and the purple cloth draped around his shoulders and across his lap refer to the martyrdom of Christ.¹³ These are features that are not found elsewhere, but may be connected to the original, possibly funerary, function of the chapel.

All the mosaics cited above are different in style, technique and meaning. The lunette at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia depicts Christ as the Good Shepherd among a flock of six sheep, an allegorical number for the twelve apostles. In Milan, the niche of S. Aquilino shows the scene of the *traditio legis* or, simply, Christ teaching in the midst of the apostles. The apse mosaic of S. Pudenziana is dominated by Christ in majesty among his apostolic collegium. All these images show Christ at the centre of the scene, with the apostles – or symbols of the apostles – surrounding him. However, the content and location of these scenes differ considerably. The Mausoleum of Galla Placidia was built under the patronage of the empress between 425 and 450 as a side chapel of the narthex of the church of S. Croce, perhaps with a funerary purpose in mind. S. Aquilino is a side chapel of S. Lorenzo Maggiore, built at the beginning of the fifth century possibly

the 5th century. The mosaics of the atrium at S. Aquilino would be contemporary with the 5th-century foundation (L. Fieni, 'Indagine archeologico archeometrica sulla basilica di S. Lorenzo Maggiore a Milano: primi risultati sull'età tardoantica e medievale', *Arqueologia de la Arquitectura*, iv (2005), 61–79).

¹¹ Colours are strong communicative elements in late antiquity and Byzantium. Since antiquity, gold was commonly associated with royalty and blue with the sky. For gold, see B. Brenk, 'Early gold mosaics in Christian art', *Palette*, xxxviii (1972), 16–25; S. Averincev, 'L'or dans le système des symboles de la culture proto-byzantine', *SM*, xx (1979), 54–68; L. James, *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 106–7; D. Janes, *God and Gold in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 1–17. For blue, see James, *Light and Colour*, pp. 67–8, 106–7, 121; M. Pastoureau, *Blue: History of a Colour* (Princeton, NJ, 2001), pp. 7–12.

¹² Recently, Maria Andaloro has dated the apse mosaic of S. Pudenziana firmly to 410–17 (M. Andaloro, *L'orizzonte tardoantico e le nuove immagini*, 312–468 (Milan, 2006), pp. 114–16).

¹³ The purple cloth later became a clear reference to the Christ's shroud and was used as an iconic element representing his immanent presence, for instance on the empty throne of the Arian Baptistery in Ravenna (late 5th/early 6th century). For purple as the colour of imperial dignity with a Christ-mimetic symbolism, see A. Carile, 'Produzione e usi della porpora nell'impero bizantino', in *La porpora. Realtà e immaginario di un colore simbolico (Atti del Convegno interdisciplinare di studio dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Venezia 24–25 ottobre 1996)*, ed. O. Longo (Venice, 1998), pp. 243–69.

under the patronage of high-ranking imperial officials.¹⁴ S. Pudenziana is a titular church of Rome, whose construction is attributed to the devoted Christians of that area of the city. Still, Ravenna, Milan and Rome were all imperial capital cities: even after the transfer of the western seat to Ravenna, Milan retained secure ties with the court. In these cities, the image of Christ with the apostles was interpreted in different ways, creating three diverse images. The style of the image of the Good Shepherd in Ravenna and the techniques used to create the mosaic indicate mosaicists different from those who worked in Milan and Rome. The similarities between the three mosaics show that in Ravenna, the reception of earlier models influenced another Christological scene, through the theme of Christ as the Good Shepherd among his flock. The Ravenna scene shows only a partial reception of earlier models, along with a new interpretation. Such variation on an iconographic theme implies the creation of a new meaning: the Good Shepherd of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia is an image of the perpetual role of Christ as a shepherd, and makes reference to his sacrifice on the cross. But it also suggests his status as king, with the rock – earth itself – acting as his throne and the cross-staff his sceptre. This is, indeed, a new interpretation of the Good Shepherd type, a considerably advanced expression of ideas using a common imagery – which we may view as a kind of ‘production of ideas’.

The decorative motifs on the vaults and arches of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia allow us to understand the breadth of common inherited products of visual art in Ravenna. In the central dome, the stars surrounding the cross recall earlier examples, such as the starry sky of the baptistery in the *domus ecclesiae* at Dura Europos (Figure 3.2).¹⁵ However, there are several contemporary mosaic depictions of starry blue skies for comparison, such as the centre of the dome and the pendentives of the early fifth-century baptistery of S. Giovanni in Fonte at Naples, as well as the mosaic decorating the dome of the basilica of S. Maria della Croce at Casaranello, variously dated to the fifth or sixth century.¹⁶ And yet the style of the stars in Ravenna is clearly different.

¹⁴ For an attribution to Stilicho and his entourage, see S. Löx, ‘Die Kirche San Lorenzo in Mailand: eine Stiftung des Stilicho?’, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, cxiv (2008), 407–38.

¹⁵ The meaning of the sky on the dome of the mausoleum has recently been explored in the light of late antique Christian exegesis and popular belief (E. Swift and A. Alwis, ‘The role of late antique art in early Christian worship: a reconsideration of the iconography of the “starry sky” in the “mausoleum” of Galla Placidia’, *PBSR*, lxxviii (2010), 193–217).

¹⁶ For the mosaics of S. Giovanni in Fonte, see G. Ferri, *I mosaici del battistero di San Giovanni in Fonte a Napoli* (Todi, 2013). On the restorations, with particular reference to the stars, see P. L. de Castris, ‘I mosaici del battistero di San Giovanni in Fonte nel duomo di Napoli, i restauri antichi e quello attuale’, in A. M. Iannucci, C. Fiori and C. Muscolino, *Mosaici a S. Vitale e altri restauri. Il restauro in situ dei mosaici parietali* (Ravenna,



Figure 3.2. Ravenna, mausoleum of Galla Placidia, dome: starry sky (photo: author).

At Naples, gold and silver stars alternate on a dark blue background.¹⁷ At Casaranello, stylized white stars, each emanating six rays, cover a light blue

1992), pp. 203–12. Most recently, Marina Falla Castelfranchi has convincingly reviewed the traditional dating of the mosaics at Casaranello, attributing them to the 6th century (M. Falla Castelfranchi, ‘I mosaici della chiesa di Santa Maria della Croce a Casaranello rivisitati’, in *Atti del X Colloquio dell’Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (Lecce 18–21 febbraio 2004)*, ed. C. Angelelli (Tivoli, 2005), pp. 13–20 with references and discussion).

¹⁷ The stars in the baptistery of Naples are more similar in shape to those originally decorating the central (southern) niche of the Mausoleum of Costantina in Rome, built around 354. The latter, which surrounded a central *chrismon*, are in dark blue tesserae on a homogenous white background.

dome. The stars in the mausoleum at Ravenna are all gold, homogeneous in their form, and similar to a flower with eight petals – a dot on each of the petals' edges. Moreover, in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, the starry sky of the dome multiplies and becomes more complex, more decorative, in the mosaics of the barrel vaults. The design of these stars is unique (Figure 3.3). Two major kinds of stars are visible, both formed by circular rows of tesserae surrounding a central flower – a rosette or a white flower – and ending either in regular, three-pointed leaves or in simple leaves that alternate with gold Maltese crosses. Such rosettes can be seen on fifth-century textiles and late antique mosaics, but here they decorate barrel vaults in order to create a starry effect. Arrayed over a blue background, these two major star types alternate with white daisies and gold dots, in an innovative pattern that evokes the image of a starry sky yet brings order and symmetry to it.¹⁸

The northern arch supporting the central dome shows a garland arising from two lateral buckets (Figure 3.4). It is decorated with fruits from all four seasons and a cross at the centre. Other garlands with fruit frame the apse mosaics in the lateral niches of the Mausoleum of Costantina, built in Rome around 354, thus providing an illustrious precedent in a building which definitely has a funerary function.¹⁹ However, an even more closely similar wreath is depicted surrounding the central medallion in the dome mosaic of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki, recently dated to the period between 428 and 500 based on laboratory analysis of the mosaic preparatory layer.²⁰ In Thessaloniki, the wreath decorates the second concentric circle surrounding the image of Christ at the centre of the dome; the first circle is formed by a row of stars (Figure 3.5). In Ravenna, the garland is located on the arch

¹⁸ Rosettes are widespread motives in late antiquity, and can be found on textiles, such as on the 5th-century Coptic linen fragment now in the collections of the National Museum of Ravenna (Ravenna, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 10321), on the 5th-century mosaic floors of Antioch, and on the vault of the northern lunette at the base of the dome of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki.

¹⁹ On the mosaics of the lateral apses at the Mausoleum of Constantina, see S. Piazza, 'Scheda 1.a', in Andaloro, *L'orizzonte tardoantico*, pp. 53–8 with references.

²⁰ The chronology of the dome mosaic of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki has produced a long scholarly debate. Recent lab analyses have confirmed a 5th-century date and my hypotheses based on the iconography (M. Korozé, G. Phakorelle and G. Maniates, 'Μελέτη και χρονολόγηση με Άνθρακα-14 ασβεστοκονιαμάτων εντοιχίων ψηφιδωτών', in *Αρχαιομετρικές μελέτες για την ελληνική προϊστορία και αρχαιότητα*, ed. J. Basiakos, E. Aloupe and G. Phakorelles (Athens, 2001), pp. 317–26 (proposing a date between 428 and 594); B. Fourlas, *Die Mosaiken der Acheiropoietos-Basilika in Thessaloniki* (Berlin, 2012), pp. 178–9, 228; M. C. Carile, *The Vision of the Palace of the Byzantine Emperors as a Heavenly Jerusalem* (Spoleto, 2012), pp. 49–99 with bibliographical discussion). Other garlands with fruit arise from *kantharoi* in the early 5th-century Mausoleum of S. Giovanni in Fonte at Naples, where they are inhabited by birds.



Figure 3.3. Ravenna, mausoleum of Galla Placidia, southern arm: wreath of fruits and starry sky (photo: author).



Figure 3.4. Ravenna, mausoleum of Galla Placidia, southern arm: wreath of fruits (photo: author).

supporting the barrel vault of the entrance, also near a starry sky and visually close to the central dome's starred ceiling. It is reasonable to surmise that, upon entering the chapel, viewers were intended to (and did) look up at the mosaic ceilings while moving towards the central space of the chapel. Thus, they would have seen the curved garland decorating the arch, with its cross at the apex, visually and conceptually adjacent to the starry sky of the dome that rises just beyond it (Figure 3.3), an effect that is similar to the wreathed stars of the Rotunda.²¹ This would not be accidental since the symbolism of the garland and the stars is complementary. In Thessaloniki, the starry sky creates the heavenly backdrop, the eternal realm in which Christ appears. In the garland, the fruits from each of the four seasons refer to the passing of the time. Thus, Christ, shown at the apex of the dome against a starry sky, is the centre of the cosmos, presiding over space and time. Similarly, in Ravenna, the cross, representing Christ, appears both on the starry sky and at the centre of the garland. Therefore this image, although it differs from the one at the Rotunda, again conveys the meaning that Christ, represented by the cross in the starry dome, is the centre of the cosmos and, since the cross is situated at the centre of the garland, Christ exists eternally over the cycles of the seasons. In both cases, the garland is part of a cosmic image of the Christian universe. However, in the mausoleum, the same decorative elements, the sky and the garland, among other themes that characterize the visual language of the fifth-century Mediterranean world, are used in a new way: this reinterpretation of common motifs reveals considerable invention, which resulted in the production of innovative images.

The sixth-century visual art of Ravenna shows the promotion of elements drawn from the fifth-century local visual language and, at the same time, a major reception of common Mediterranean trends. Recent scholarship stresses the differences between the arts of the Arian buildings built at the time of Gothic rule in Ravenna, between 493 and 535, and that of the Orthodox churches.²² However, common elements and the general

²¹ At the Rotunda, these are located on the top of the dome, 34m from the ground, so far from the eye of the beholder that they cannot be seen clearly. However, here it is worth noticing that the association of garlands of fruit and starry skies appears as a common iconography in these two monuments, suggesting that the two mosaics share a particular meaning and perhaps even have a common patron.

²² For an emphasis on the Arian traits of iconographies during the reign of Theoderic, see E. Penni Iacco, *L'arianesimo nei mosaici di Ravenna* (Ravenna, 2011); C. Rizzardi, *Il mosaico a Ravenna: ideologia e arte* (Bologna, 2011), pp. 81–106, 185–9. For an evaluation of Arian dogmatic and theological conceptions, which find visual expression using imagery common to both Arian and Orthodox, see G. Montanari, *Ravenna. L'iconologia. Saggi di interpretazione culturale e religiosa dei cicli musivi* (Ravenna, 2002), pp. 189–224, first published in *Ravennatensia*, 1 (1969), 27–50.



Figure 3.5. Thessaloniki, rotunda, dome: wreath and stars around the image of Christ (photo: author).

characteristics of a shared visual language are visible in both the churches from the time of Theoderic and the great basilicas built by archbishops in the middle of the sixth century. For instance, in the nave mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo, the panel representing Christ separating the good from the bad sheep – an early scene of judgement – reproduces the already-discussed type of Christ seated on a rock found in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (Figure 3.6).²³ Similarly, in the church of S. Vitale, the lamb at the centre of the presbytery vault is inserted into a roundel formed by a wreath over a starry sky, as discussed above, affirming the ongoing importance of this theme in late antique Ravenna.²⁴

²³ In the panel, Christ separates the bad from the good sheep, referring to Matthew XXV: 31–3, in a sort of prefiguration of the Last Judgement. For the Christological cycle, see G. Bovini, *Mosaici di S. Apollinare nuovo a Ravenna; il ciclo cristologico* (Florence, 1958); F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes. Kommentar* (3 vols., Wiesbaden, 1969–76), i. 154–89; E. Penni Iacco, ‘Gli ariani a Ravenna: le scene cristologiche della basilica di S. Apollinare Nuovo’, *Ocnus*, xii (2004), 199–214; D. M. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 152–8 with references. For the restorations to the panel, see M. Iacobellis, ‘Studio cromatico-strutturale di alcuni riquadri del ciclo cristologico di S. Apollinare Nuovo. Il colore nell’occhio’, in Muscolino, *S. Apollinare Nuovo*, pp. 95–109, esp. pp. 98, 108.

²⁴ This mosaic was partly restored (I. Fiorentini Roncuzzi, *Restauri della volta del presbiterio di S. Vitale* (Ravenna, 1965)). It is worth noticing that, in this case, the circular wreath grows from two buckets, and thus differs from the circular wreath on the dome of the Rotonda at Thessaloniki. The garland of S. Vitale seems to be based on the model of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia.



Figure 3.6. Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo, main nave, southern wall: panel with Christ separating the good from the bad sheep (photo © Nicholas Thompson).

Besides this repositioning of earlier iconographies and themes, new general trends were widely adopted in the sixth century. In the Basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo, the mosaic cycle of Christ's life as well as the depiction of Christ enthroned – both belonging to the Arian phase of the building decoration – show Christ dressed in a purple tunic with vertical golden *clavi* and bands around the wrists.²⁵ The same dress was later adopted for the

²⁵ However, the enthroned Christ of the southern nave underwent major restorations in the 18th century, which led to the reconstruction of half of Christ's figure. Most recently on these works, see I. Baldini Lippolis, 'La processione dei martiri in S. Apollinare Nuovo a

representation of Christ in the basilica of S. Vitale, both in the apsidal conch and in the roundel on the top of the triumphal arch.²⁶ Christ's costume inserts this image into the broader context of canonical representations of Christ in the sixth-century Mediterranean. The famous icon from the monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai, shows Christ in the same dark purple tunic, a golden vertical stripe visible on one side.²⁷ He wears a similar dark purple tunic in an icon showing Christ and Abbot Menas from the monastery of St. Apollo at Bawit.²⁸ In these icons, even Christ's haircut is similar to the scenes of his passion in S. Apollinare Nuovo. However, because the scenes are so high above the viewer, it is Christ's garments that distinguish him among the other figures of the panels rather than his features or hairstyle.

In S. Apollinare Nuovo, Christ's bejewelled, cruciform halos recall other examples from sixth-century art. In the mosaic of Christ in the apse of the *katholikon* of Hosios David at Thessaloniki – dated between the late fifth and the early sixth century – red *tesserae* outline Christ's halo and the arms of the cross, which are studded with blue gems (Figure 3.7).²⁹ However, the style

Ravenna', in *Martiri, santi, patroni: per una archeologia della devozione. Atti del X Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*, ed. A. Coscarella and P. De Santis (Reggio Calabria, 2012), pp. 383–97, esp. pp. 386–7. For the last restorations at S. Apollinare Nuovo, see Muscolino, *S. Apollinare*.

²⁶ The only difference between Christ's garments in S. Apollinare and in S. Vitale is the embroidery on the lower edge of the *pallium* over the tunic: in S. Apollinare it has the shape of a Γ, in S. Vitale of a Z. For such symbols in late antiquity, see A. Lorquin, 'Le costume dans l'antiquité tardive d'après les vestiges textiles coptes', in *Costume et société dans l'antiquité et le haut moyen âge*, ed. F. Chausson and H. Inglebert (Paris, 2003), pp. 124–5; L. Bender Jørgensen, 'A matter of material: changes in textiles from Roman sites in Egypt's eastern desert' and R. Martorelli, 'Influenze religiose sulla scelta dell'abito nei primi secoli dell'era cristiana', both in *AT*, xii (2004), 87–99 and 231–48 with references. The use of the bearded and beardless Christ in the mosaics of Ravenna has prompted long debate (most recently R. Jansen, 'The two faces of Jesus: how the early church pictured the divine?', *Bible Review*, xviii (2002), 42–50, and *Face to Face: the Portrait of the Divine in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2004)).

²⁷ K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: the Icons* (2 vols., Princeton, NJ, 1976), i. 15; T. Mathews, 'Early icons from the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai', in *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*, ed. R. S. Nelson and K. M. Collins (Los Angeles, Calif., 2006), pp. 39–55.

²⁸ For this icon, now at the Musée du Louvre in Paris (Département des Antiquités Egyptiennes, no. E11565), see N. Patterson Ševčenko, 'Icon of Christ and Abbot Menas', in *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, NJ, 1979), pp. 552–3, cat. no. 497; M.-H. Rutschowskaya, *Le Christ et l'abbé Ména* (Paris, 1998).

²⁹ E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and C. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, 'Latomou Monastery', in *Mosaics of Thessaloniki, 4th–14th century*, ed. C. Bakirtzis, E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and C. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi (Athens, 2012), pp. 183–95 with references.

and the technique of the mosaics are different: in Thessaloniki concentric circles of small *tesserae* give form to Christ's facial features, while in Ravenna the mosaicist rendered details by using different colours and sizes of *tesserae* carefully arranged in vertical and horizontal rows. These examples confirm that the image of Christ in sixth-century Ravenna corresponds to a major Mediterranean trend that was common to the Arian court of Theoderic and to the great Orthodox basilicas of the mid sixth century, and differs from the iconography of Christ that developed in other major centres, such as in Rome.³⁰ In Ravenna, as well as in the Byzantine Mediterranean, Christ wears a purple tunic and has an elaborate cruciform halo, which is evidence of a common culture and of ways of representing the image of Christ that were already codified and developed in distant, yet economically and politically important areas of the Mediterranean in the sixth century. Moreover, it is also testimony to the reception of a shared system of representational codes where the purple of Christ's tunic was a clear reference to the imperial purple and, at the same time, signified Christ's blood, while the golden *clavi* recalled his royalty.³¹

The apsidal conch of the *katholikon* of Hosios David is surrounded by a decorative red band, with alternating blue and green gems and pearls (Figure 3.7).³² In Ravenna, this band makes its first appearance on the walls of the chapel of S. Andrea, built within the Orthodox episcopal palace before 520, and in the contemporary baptistery of the Arian cathedral (Figure 3.8).³³ The earliest usage of this motif – a golden chain of blue and green gems, surmounted by two pearls – is found in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome (430–40), where it borders the triumphal arch. Variations on this decorative theme appear in provincial examples such as the fifth-century chapel of S. Matrona at S. Prisco (S. Maria Capua Vetere), showing a red band, with blue ovals and green lozenges alternating with lilies.³⁴ In the

³⁰ In Rome, the image of Christ in a golden tunic with light blue *clavi* persists through the 6th century, as can be seen in the apse of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian.

³¹ For purple as an already accepted insignia of imperial power in the 6th century, see A. Carile, 'Le insegne del potere a Bisanzio', in *La corona e i simboli del potere*, ed. A. Piras (Rimini, 2000), pp. 65–124 with references.

³² At Thessaloniki, this decorative band was first used on the mosaics of the Acheiropoietos basilica (c.460–70), where it is still visible around the arches of the southern gallery of the central nave.

³³ This frames the arches of the central vault in the chapel and the border of the dome mosaic in the baptistery.

³⁴ However, this decorative motif, which replicates the one in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, is also in other major centres, such as in the city of Naples (on the arches of the late 5th-century atrium in the episcopal complex; in the so-called 'bishops' crypt' in the catacombs of S. Gennaro, framing two mid 5th-century and a mid 6th-century *arcosolia*)



Figure 3.7. Thessaloniki, *Katholikon* of Hosios David, apse mosaic (photo: source Wikimedia Commons).



Figure 3.8. Ravenna, cappella di S. Andrea: central vault bordered by jewelled red bands (photo: author).

middle of the sixth century, the theme is again found in the mosaics of the Euphrasian basilica in Poreč.³⁵ There, the gems are often outlined in black and the use of golden *tesserae* is reduced to a minimum. Thus, the jewelled band almost loses its intrinsic meaning, that it represents gems cast in a piece of jewellery. In Ravenna, the gemmed cornice shows the same colour and style in both the chapel of S. Andrea and the churches built in the mid sixth century, the great basilicas of S. Vitale and S. Apollinare in Classe, and in the private church of S. Michele in Africisco.³⁶ At the Arian baptistery, the gems are much closer together, a stylistic difference that alters the visual effect without changing the general meaning of the decoration.³⁷ The gemmed band was later adopted in church decoration of medieval Rome.³⁸ Thus, in late antique Ravenna, the red cornice appears as an example of the promotion of a decorative motive. Its place of creation is unknown – possibly Rome – but its first appearance dates back to the fifth century. Later, the jewelled band became a constant element of mosaic decoration in the major urban centres of the empire³⁹ and was reinterpreted in minor cities. If one considers the central role of Ravenna as the capital of Theoderic's reign between 493 and 526 and its strategic value as a military outpost and harbour after the Byzantine reconquest in 540, it is understandable why this motif would be found in the city. In this context, even a small decorative element such as the gemmed cornice, a common feature in the sixth-century mosaics of Ravenna, is

(C. Ebanista, 'Il cosiddetto quadriportico della Stefania nell'insula episcopalis napoletana: resti della decorazione musiva', in *Atti del X Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico*, ed. C. Angelelli (Tivoli, 2005), pp. 199–212; C. Ebanista, 'L'atrio dell'insula episcopalis di Napoli: problemi di architettura e topografia paleocristiana e altomedievale', in *Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo: filologia, storia, archeologia, arte*, ed. M. Rotili (Napoli, 2009), pp. 307–75, esp. pp. 329, 335). There, in the early 5th-century baptistery of S. Giovanni in Fonte, this motif is rendered on a gold background, a variation on the theme.

³⁵ For this band in the decoration of the Euphrasian basilica, see A. Thierry and H. Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor: the Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč* (2 vols., University Park, Pa., 2007), i. 37–8, 174–5, 184–5, ii. figs. 135, 138, 139. It is worth noting that the jewelled golden band of the mosaics at Poreč only appears in one other church in Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe, where it similarly adorns the lower part of the apse walls.

³⁶ For the private character of this church built by Julian the *argentarius*, see B. Brenk, 'San Michele in Africisco. Tendenze locali e internazionali nell'architettura ravennate del VI secolo', in *San Michele in Africisco e l'età giustiniana*, ed. C. Spadoni and L. Kniffitz (Milan, 2007), pp. 205–21.

³⁷ The jewelled red band at Poreč reproduces exactly the same colours of the jewelled band at the Arian baptistery (Thierry and Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor*, i. 61).

³⁸ As can be seen, for instance, around the apse mosaic of the chapel of SS. Primo and Feliciano (642–9) at S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome.

³⁹ As such, it is found in Thessaloniki and ubiquitously in Rome.

evidence of the city's status among the major artistic centres of the time. Its use in the most canonical form, and always in correspondence with the apse, is evidence that the iconographer consciously framed the most sacred place in the church with images of precious jewels. These recalled gold necklaces and, as such, added value and meaning to the great apse programmes of the churches. Plausibly, from there, the motif may have crossed the Adriatic to Poreč, where it was copied at the expense of its original mimetic intent.

In the seventh century, the basilica of S. Apollinare in Classe received two new mosaic panels on either side of the apse. The one on the left is a narrative image of the emperor, Constantine IV (668–85), granting privileges to the bishop of Ravenna; the one on the right represents the sacrifice of Abel and Melchizedek in the presence of the Abraham and Isaac (Figures 3.9, 3.10). These are inserted into a complex architectural niche, which reproduces the sixth-century jewelled columns represented in the apse of the church, but is unique for its compositional scheme. The latter recalls architectural niches commonly found in manuscript illumination beginning in the sixth century.⁴⁰ Several arbitrary restorations have affected the mosaic panels, altering inscriptions and details, but the general iconography is still clear (Figure 3.9).⁴¹ The image of the sacrifice shows Melchizedek behind an altar table at the centre of the image. On his right side, Abel offers a lamb and the hand of God appears in the clouds above. On his left, Abraham pushes Isaac toward the altar. The altar table is dressed with two patens and a golden chalice, the white altar cloth adorned by longitudinal inserts and a central, frontal, eight-pointed star. These elements, the dress of Abel and Melchizedek, and God's hand are all drawn from the sixth-century scene in the presbytery of S. Vitale. In addition, the appearance of Abraham and Isaac recalls another mosaic, the scene of Abraham's sacrifice from the presbytery of S. Vitale. The seventh-century panel in S. Apollinare merges these images of sacrifices from S. Vitale into a single image. However, here the composition of the mosaic gives greater emphasis to Melchizedek: his figure occupies the centre of the scene and is shown in hierarchical perspective, thus bigger in size than the others. His frontal position, with his hands on the table

⁴⁰ See, for instance, the one framing the Virgin and the Child on the 6th-century Rabbula Gospels (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ms. Plut. I. 56, fo. 1v). Similarly, in place of the peacocks at the sides of the arch, the mosaic in Ravenna shows two eagles.

⁴¹ On the restorations, see C. Ricci, *Monumenti: tavole storiche dei mosaici di Ravenna* (8 vols., Rome, 1930–7) vii. 21–60 with discussion of the ancient works; A. M. Iannucci, 'I vescovi Ecclesius, Severus, Ursus, Ursicinus, le scene dei privilegi e dei sacrifici in S. Apollinare in Classe', *CARB*, xxxiii (1986), 165–93.



Figure 3.9. Classe, S. Apollinare, southern side of the apse, panel with the sacrifices: chart with chronology and typology of restorations, in white the original parts (photo published by permission of SBAP-RA.MiBACT, inv. no. SBAP-RA-AFSd 7374).

behind the chalice as if he was administering the liturgy, accentuates his prominence.⁴² On either side of Melchizedek, Abel and Abraham present their offerings, a lamb and Isaac respectively. Apart from how Abel is represented, the positions and gestures of the figures are new and they express the prominence of the priest over Abel and Abraham.

On the opposite side of the apse, the panel with the *privilegium* scene shows nine figures in a frontal position: the emperor, Constantine IV, and a high-ranking churchman occupy the centre of the image (Figure 3.10). On the left are the emperor's brothers, Tiberius and Heraclius, and another member of the court, while churchmen and clerics are on the right. Unfortunately, this mosaic has been heavily restored. An early twentieth-century photograph shows that the lower part, including the inscription and the first co-emperor, is now missing (Figure 3.10).⁴³

⁴² On the Eucharistic value of this image, see E. Saxon, 'Art and the Eucharist: early Christian to ca. 800', in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. I. C. Levy, G. Macy and K. Van Ausdall (Leiden, 2012), pp. 93–159, esp. pp. 128–9.

⁴³ Ricci, *Monumenti*, vii. 58.

Earlier drawings further reveal that the last two clerics on the right side were entirely remade and, upon close inspection, all the faces appear reworked.⁴⁴

The changes resulting from these restorations generated scholarly debate about the historical event commemorated in the mosaic. In particular, scholars have argued that the panel might celebrate the autocephaly given by Constans II (641–68) to the church of Ravenna, rather than the granting of tax concessions by the emperor Constantine IV to Bishop Reparatus.⁴⁵ However, the ninth-century historian Agnellus reports that the latter event is represented in the mosaic, and now scholars have reached a general consensus that there is no reason to question this information.⁴⁶ The scene clearly reproduces the general iconography of the sixth-century imperial panel with Justinian and Bishop Maximian in the church of San Vitale, while at the same time reinterpreting it through the insertion of new details. As in S. Vitale, the emperor wears the imperial purple cloak, the churchmen dress in dark *poenulae* and white tunics. However, both of the first two churchmen wear garments typical to bishops: a dark *poenula* over a white tunic, and a white scarf around the neck. The second of these figures receives the codex from the emperor, and therefore he may be identified as Bishop Reparatus to whom the emperor granted the tax concessions. The identity of the other bishop, the one closest to the emperor, however, is less certain, since he is obviously not Bishop Reparatus. An important clue lies in the fact that, among the churchmen, only the bishop closest to the

⁴⁴ For the drawings, see Ricci, *Monumenti*, vii. 51, 53, 54. A close-range analysis of the mosaic shows both the replacement of the heads with new portraits or the reworking of facial features *in situ*. Due to the lack of historical information, there is no scholarly consensus about the chronology for these changes. It is possible that scientific technologies applied to the study of this panel will produce new data.

⁴⁵ For a detailed account of earlier theories on the interpretation of the panel, see M. C. Pelà, *La decorazione musiva della basilica ravennate di S. Apollinare in Classe* (Bologna, 1970), pp. 161–8. Deichmann interprets the scene as the granting of autocephaly to Bishop Maurus. According to this theory, Bishop Reparatus would have patronized the mosaic to celebrate his own role in the events that led to the autocephaly (Deichmann, *Ravenna*, ii. 273–80).

⁴⁶ For these political events, see S. Mazzarino, 'Da Lollianus et Arbetio al mosaico storico di S. Apollinare in Classe (note sulla tradizione culturale di Ravenna e sull'anonimo ravennate)', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici*, ii–iii, xii–xiii (1965–6), 109–14; A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantine au VIIe siècle. L'exemple de l'exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* (Rome, 1969), pp. 176–9; T. S. Brown, 'The church of Ravenna and the imperial administration in the seventh century', *EHR*, xlv (1979), 1–28; J. Ferluga, 'L'esarcato', in *Storia di Ravenna. Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, ed. A. Carile (Venice, 1991), pp. 351–77. For discussion on Agnellus's text in relation to the historical background, see Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, pp. 283–4.



Figure 3.10. Classe, S. Apollinare, northern side of the apse, panel with the *privilegium*: state of the mosaic before the restorations of 1909–10 (published by permission of SBAP-RA.MiBACT, inv. no. SBAP-RA-AFS 010241).

emperor is nimbed. It is not entirely clear if his halo replicates the original iconography, but let us take into consideration the possibility that it does. The emperor is depicted with a halo, as was proper for his status.⁴⁷ Yet the halo also circumscribes the heads of Constantine's brothers, Tiberius and Heraclius.⁴⁸ The nimbed bishop might be interpreted as supervising the cession of the privileges to Reparatus. A fragment of the haloed bishop's left hand is still visible on Reparatus's shoulder, indicating that he was originally represented embracing the Ravennate bishop. This gesture, the halo and the

⁴⁷ For the meaning of the halo, see A. Weil Carr and A. Kazhdan, 'Nimbus', *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (3 vols., New York/Oxford, 1991), iii. 1487; B. Brenk, 'Aureola', *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* (12 vols., Rome, 1991), ii. 720–2.

⁴⁸ The presence of both square or round nimbi in the panel has raised much scholarly interest. For a discussion of their significance, see G. Ladner, 'The so-called square nimbus', *Medieval Studies*, iii (1941), 15–45; J. Osborne, 'The portrait of Pope Leo IV in San Clemente, Rome: a re-examination of the so-called "square" nimbus in medieval art', *PBSR*, xlvii (1979), 58–65; J. Wirth, 'La représentation de l'image dans l'art du haut moyen âge', *Revue de l'art*, lxxix (1988), 9–21.

dress point to a possible identification with a saint who protected the event: perhaps the same S. Apollinaris, to whom the basilica is dedicated and who is represented in the apsidal conch with grey-speckled hair.⁴⁹ Here, the presence of the saint adds spiritual weight to the historical event and shows the current bishop as being under his special protection. Alternatively, if the churchman's halo was a later intervention, the bishop represented could well be Maurus, under whose rule Reparatus – who was at that time still abbot of S. Apollinare in Classe – obtained the concession of the autocephaly from Constans II in 666. In this case, an implicit reference to the concession of autocephaly might have been included in a scene that commemorated the granting of tax concessions under Constantine IV. Either way, the panel shows a considerable change to the general pattern of the image at S. Vitale and presents Reparatus as a perfect successor in the city's line of holy bishops.

Compared to the mosaics at S. Vitale, the seventh-century images at S. Apollinare in Classe show a lower level of skill, but still evince a certain amount of care. The figures are flat as if the bodies have disappeared under the garments, the faces sharp and grave, and the palette is very limited. Yet the scenes reveal a clear political message. Here, the reinterpretation of earlier models found in Ravenna emerges in a new way: a reception, but also a production of new iconographies and meanings. These images express the will of the church of Ravenna to declare its status and power by promoting a political image of an imperial concession to the bishopric and a biblical image of the pre-eminence of the priesthood in the great basilica of the first bishop of Ravenna, Apollinaris. Indeed, these scenes show the same pride that the archbishopric expressed in the mid sixth century with the building and monumental mosaic decoration of the great basilicas of Ravenna, in a century when the art of mosaic was clearly inferior to its illustrious antecedents.

Recent conservation work on the triumphal arch at S. Apollinare in Classe has shown that the mosaic tradition possibly continued into the ninth century in Ravenna.⁵⁰ However, in this case continuity in monumental mosaic decoration took the form of restoration based on the sixth-century iconography. Scholars had previously attributed the mosaic on the triumphal arch to either the seventh or ninth century, with the exception of the angels, which have been unanimously recognized as part

⁴⁹ For an early identification of the nimbed figure at the side of the emperor as a saint, see G. Gerola, 'Il quadro storico nei mosaici di S. Apollinare in Classe', *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, vi (1915–16), 67–93.

⁵⁰ C. Muscolino, E. Carbonara and E. R. Agostinelli, *Il leone di Bisanzio a S. Apollinare in Classe. Una nuova pagina d'arte bizantina dai mosaici dell'arco trionfale* (Ravenna, 2008).

of the original sixth-century mosaic programme.⁵¹ In particular, recent analysis of the mosaic has revealed that the upper register includes sixth-century mosaic fragments, proving that the iconography of the triumphal arch – and, particularly, the upper register with the medallion of Christ surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists – belongs to the original decoration of the church. It seems likely that either an earthquake or the structure's settling destroyed the mosaic, prompting the restoration of the triumphal arch following the original model. This may well have happened either at the time of Bishop Reparatus or in the ninth century, when – according to Agnellus – Pope Leo III (795–816) promoted the restoration of the church after a big earthquake shook Ravenna, sometime in the years between 813 and 815 (Figure 3.11).⁵² Unfortunately, research has not yet found sufficient comparative material to determine the exact chronology of the repairs. Since Agnellus attributes the making of the imperial panel in the apse solely to Reparatus, it is plausible that mosaic restorations happened in the ninth century.⁵³ At that time, the damage to the roofs reported in Agnellus's text may have been accompanied by the loss of some of the mosaic decoration on the triumphal arch, a vulnerable area since it is located where the nave roofs join the apse and thus quite possibly where the roof collapsed.⁵⁴ The loss of the greatest part of the second register does not allow a secure reconstruction of its original iconography. Yet, it could well be that there were lambs exiting from the jewelled cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, inspired by contemporary examples in Rome where this late antique image continued to appear in church decoration well into the middle ages.⁵⁵ In such a

⁵¹ The upper register of the triumphal arch with the medallion of Christ and the symbols of the evangelists is attributed to the 7th or 9th century (arguing for the 7th century, see Ricci, *Monumenti*, vii. 36; C. Rizzardi, 'I mosaici dell'arco trionfale di S. Apollinare in Classe: precisazioni iconografiche cronologiche e stilistiche', *CARB*, xxxii (1985), 403–30, esp. 411–21; for a 9th-century date, see M. Mazzotti, 'S. Apollinare in Classe: indagini e studi degli ultimi trent'anni', *Rivista di archeologia Cristiana*, lxii (1986), 199–219; Pelà, *La decorazione musiva*, pp. 41–52). The lower registers with the procession of the lambs coming from the jewelled cities and the image of the palms are commonly dated to the 7th century. Finally, according to Rizzardi, the portraits of two evangelists on the springing of the arch would be a work of the 12th century (Rizzardi, 'I mosaici dell'arco trionfale', pp. 421–9).

⁵² C. Muscolino, 'Bisanzio ritrovato: una nuova pagina di arte bizantina a Ravenna' and E. Carbonara, 'Note tecnico-stilistiche sulle tessiture e sui materiali', in Muscolino, Carbonara and Agostinelli, *Il leone di Bisanzio*, pp. 27–8 and 29–42.

⁵³ Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 115 (Life of Reparatus).

⁵⁴ Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 168 (Life of Martin).

⁵⁵ For the iconography of the medieval apses of Rome, see M. Andaloro and S. Romano, 'L'immagine nell'abside', in *Arte e iconografia a Roma da Costantino a Cola di Rienzo*, ed.

case, the ancient restorations would have maintained parts of the original mosaic programme, while adding scenes that were inspired by the late antique repertoire. Surely, the medieval repairs of the triumphal arch of S. Apollinare in Classe show that the church – and even the pope – valued the sixth-century decoration so much that they promoted the restoration of the original mosaic at great expense, paying skilled craftsmen possibly brought from Rome.⁵⁶ The maintenance of the church decoration also demonstrates the high value of the original visual impact of the mosaics; an effect that, even at a time when mosaic production had decreased in quality, was essential. The enduring importance of this most venerated sanctuary outside the city walls also necessitated the maintenance of the original mosaic programme, definitely a fundamental element with highly communicative power in the building, even during the middle ages.

The last extant example of monumental mosaic production in Ravenna dates to the twelfth century, more specifically to 1112, when Archbishop Jeremy (1111–18) funded the new decoration of the apse of the cathedral (Figure 3.12). After the destruction of the building in the eighteenth century, only a drawing of the apse and a few fragments of the mosaics, now on exhibit at the Museo Arcivescovile, remain as testimony to Jeremy's decorative programme.⁵⁷ The most complete fragment shows the Virgin standing in orans (Figure 3.13). She wears a knee-length blue *maphorion*

M. Andaloro and S. Romano (Milan, 2007), pp. 92–132. For a catalogue of Roman mosaics with the cities of Bethlehem, Jerusalem and the theory of lambs, see A. Ballardini, 'La nuova Gerusalemme generata dal Cristo. Il *cantus firmus* dell'immaginario di Roma capitale cristiana. Introduzione e catalogo', in *Christiana Loca. Lo spazio cristiano nella Roma del primo millennio*, ed. L. Pani Ermini (2 vols., Rome, 2000), ii, 251–313.

⁵⁶ For the similarities between the triumphal arch of S. Apollinare in Classe and Roman mosaics dated between the 7th and the 9th century, see Carbonara, 'Note tecnico-stilistiche sulle tessiture', pp. 41–2; Andaloro and Romano, 'L'immagine nell'abside', pp. 98–9, 108.

⁵⁷ The drawing reproduces the image of the apse in 1741, before the destruction of 1743. Gianfrancesco Buonamici, the architect responsible for the building of the new cathedral, depicted it in a typical 18th-century pictorial style (G. Gerola, 'Il mosaico absidale della Ursiana', *Felix Ravenna*, v (1912), 177–90). An image of the *Anastasis*, to which the church was dedicated, occupied the apsidal conch; full-figure portraits of St. Barbatianus, the Virgin, St. John the Baptist and St. Ursicinus were represented between the windows, while stories from the legendary life of Apollinaris occupied the sides of the apse. On the lower register, Apollinaris was represented at the centre, flanked by the so-called *vescovi colombini*, some of the most important bishops of Ravenna who, according to legend, were chosen by the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. The fragments of the museum show the portraits of Barbatianus, John, Vitalis, Ursicinus, the head of an unknown man and the full figure of the Virgin (Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile, inv. nos. 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 58): P. Novara, 'La sala dei mosaici e della Vergine orante', in *Le collezioni del Museo arcivescovile di Ravenna*, ed. G. Gardini and P. Novara (Ravenna, 2011), pp. 140–2.

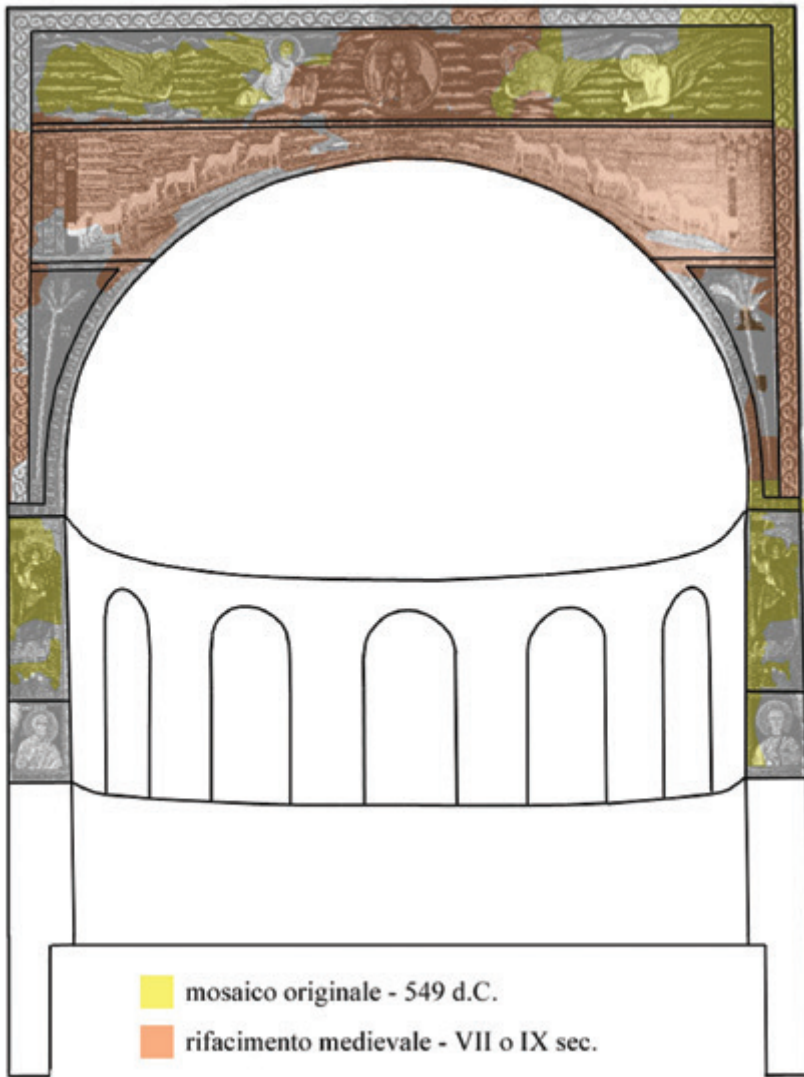


Figure 3.II. Classe, S. Apollinare, triumphal arch: chart with chronological phases of the mosaic decoration, in yellow the original, in pink the seventh- or ninth-century phase (chart: © Ermanno Carbonara, published by permission).

over coif and a blue tunic. The *maphorion* and the tunic have a golden hem and are embroidered with golden inserts. Over the tunic, a white scarf appears under the *maphorion*, tightened at the waist by a red belt. Next to it, a vertical jewelled sash, which may have been intended to indicate a part of the tunic or perhaps depicts a separate piece, reaches the lower hem of the tunic. The mosaic is now commonly attributed to Venetian mosaicists.⁵⁸ However, it stands apart from contemporary images of the Virgin found in the area of Venice in its style, her dress and her pose. This figure shows very proportioned dimensions, whereas the twelfth-century images in the apses of the basilica of the cathedral at Torcello and of the church of SS. Maria and Donato at Murano, for instance, are long and thin, very hieratic, and clearly belong to a different iconographic type.⁵⁹ The hem of their *maphorion* is decorated with fringes. In the representations of the orant Virgin in the lunette above the door in the basilica of Torcello and in the Emmanuel dome at the church of S. Marco in Venice, we may see the same iconographic type as the image in Ravenna. However, the proportions, the faces and the folds of the tunics – rendered in golden tesserae rather than in dark blue ones – differ considerably. Similarly, the Virgin depicted in the cathedral shares the pose only with the eleventh-century image in the apse of Hagia Sophia at Kiev. Moreover, the jewelled band of her dress depicted in Ravenna is a particularly unusual detail, which cannot be found either in images of the Virgin from the high Adriatic or from areas of Byzantine influence. This feature makes Ravenna's mosaic unique – possibly a local Virgin type – which may also be evidence for a local iconographer. In addition, the inscription in Latin (*Sancta Maria*), rather than the usual Greek formula (*Meter Theou*), points to a reinterpretation of this iconic image.

The closest parallel to this type is a Byzantine model of the Virgin orans originating in Constantinople in the eleventh century, of which several relief panels of the period survive. This particular icon of the Virgin was popular during the time of Constantine Monomachos (1042–55) after which its popularity spread through the Adriatic along with icons produced

⁵⁸ S. Bettini, 'Saggio introduttivo', in *Venezia e Bisanzio*, ed. S. Bettini and I. Furlan (Venice, 1974), pp. 17–88; S. Pasi, 'Osservazioni sui frammenti del mosaico absidale della Basilica Ursiana', *Felix Ravenna*, cxi–cxii (1976), 213–39; C. Rizzardi, 'Il romanico monumentale e decorativo a Ravenna e nel suo territorio', in *Storia di Ravenna. Dal mille alla fine della signoria polentina*, ed. A. Vasina (Venice, 1993), pp. 447–80, esp. pp. 462–6; S. Pasi, 'Vergine orante', in *Deomene. L'immagine dell'orante fra oriente e occidente*, ed. A. Donati and G. Gentili (Milan, 2001), pp. 220–1.

⁵⁹ The Virgin in the apse of Torcello is of the *Hodigitria* type, the one at Murano shows a variation of the *Hagiosoritissa* model, representing the Virgin praying in a frontal position rather than in profile.

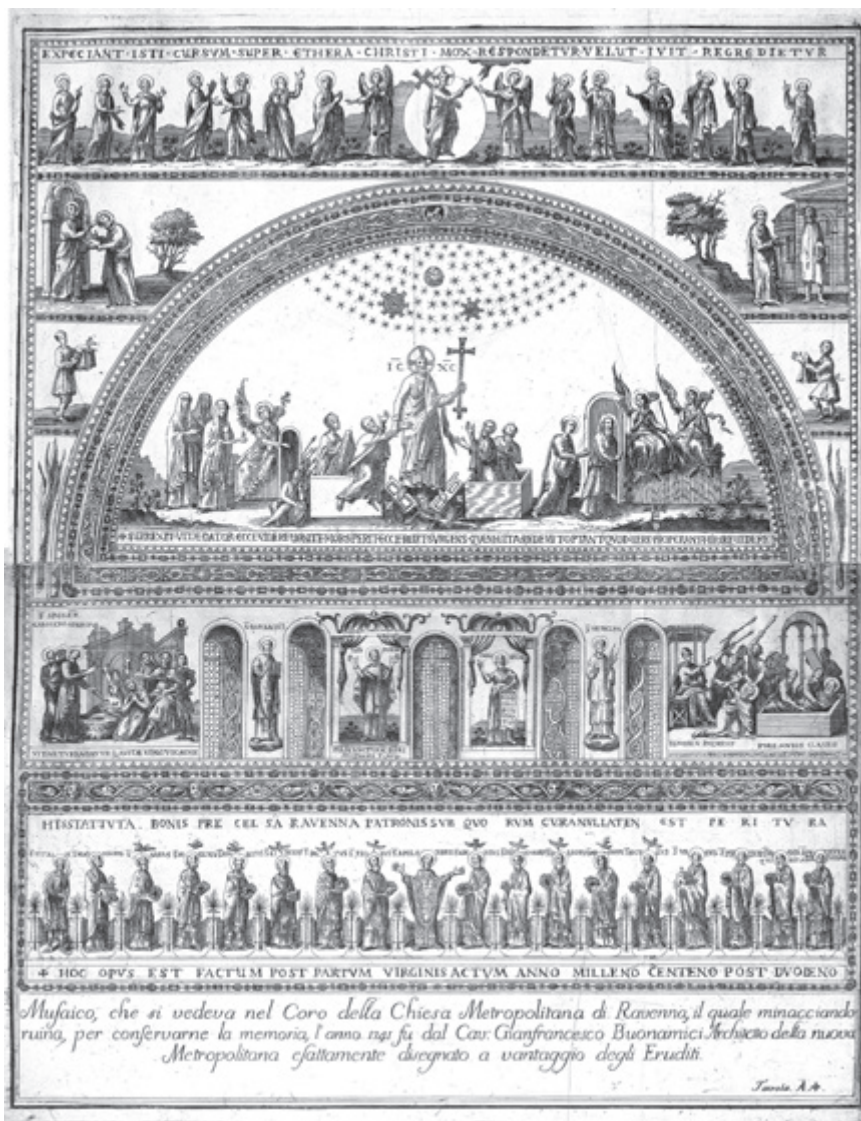


Figure 3.12. Ravenna, Basilica Ursiana: twelfth-century apse mosaic, drawing by Gianfrancesco Buonamici (before 1743) (published by permission of the Istituzione Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna).



Figure 3.13. Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile: twelfth-century mosaic from the cathedral, orans Virgin (by permission of Arcidiocesi di Ravenna e Cervia).

in the Byzantine capital.⁶⁰ One marble relief panel made its way to Ravenna, where it has been venerated since the turn of the twelfth century (Figure 3.14). According to legend, the panel was miraculously discovered on the southern shores of Ravenna by the cleric Peter, who on that spot in 1106 founded a sanctuary to house the portrait of the Virgin. At the beginning of the twelfth century the sanctuary was already a centre of pilgrimage, which quickly achieved fame all across Europe.⁶¹ Indeed, the monumental mosaic in the cathedral seems to reproduce that image rather than any other contemporary mosaic or painting. Although the proportions of the figures and the folds of the dresses differ, other details such as the *maphorion* falling over the Virgin in the shape of a fan and the crosses on the dress⁶² are similar. The marble relief has an austerity and hieratic appearance that the mosaic figure does not, as it is characterized by a much softer aspect. Nevertheless there can be little doubt that the figure in mosaic generally recalls the one in marble. This is especially true if we consider that this mosaic was meant to be seen from afar, from the centre of the nave. It was located in a central position within the apse, between the second and third window and – more importantly – above the image of the legendary founder of the church of Ravenna, Apollinaris, to whom the major sanctuary of the city was dedicated. The presence of the two major cult figures of the city, one above the other in the cathedral, whose clergy had close relationships with the sanctuary of Porto, was an important visual reminder of the expression of Christian devotion in Ravenna.⁶³ Thus,

⁶⁰ This type is usually identified with the *Blachernitissa*, which may also show a medallion with the child on the Virgin's breast (N. Patterson Ševčenko, 'Virgin Blachernitissa', in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, iii. 2170–1). It first appears on coins under Leo VI (886–912) and is found full figure in the coinage of Constantine Monomachos (P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, Calif., 1982) pp. 37, 202–3). For its evolution in the model of the *Zoodochos Pege*, see N. Teteriatnikov, 'The image of the Virgin Zoodochos Pege: two questions concerning its origin', in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. M. Vasilaki (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 225–38. For these kinds of sculpted panels, see R. Lange, *Die byzantinische Reliefkone* (Recklinghausen, 1964); A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge (XIe–XVe siècle)* (2 vols., Paris, 1976), ii. For these marble reliefs in connection with water sources and fountains, see A. Paribeni, 'La Vergine e l'acqua: le icone in marmo dell'orante nel contesto dei santuari mariani di Costantinopoli', in Donati and Gentili, *Deomene*, pp. 40–3.

⁶¹ For the importance of the sanctuary of Santa Maria in Porto Fuori, see G. Montanari, 'Istituzioni ecclesiastiche e vita religiosa nella diocesi di Ravenna', in Vasina, *Storia di Ravenna*, pp. 259–340, esp. pp. 290–4. For this marble icon, see C. Rizzardi, 'Il rilievo marmoreo con l'immagine della c.d. Madonna Greca in S. Maria in Porto di Ravenna', *Felix Ravenna*, cxiii–cxiv (1977), 289–310.

⁶² The mosaic lacks four more crosses that decorate the knees and the hem of the *maphorion* of the Virgin on the marble slab.

⁶³ Montanari, 'Istituzioni ecclesiastiche', pp. 290–4.

to the eyes of the beholder, the image of the Virgin in the apse acted as an immediate reference to an important object of worship: the Greek Virgin, which since then has been the most venerated saintly image in Ravenna. This relationship between the two images – the mosaic and the icon – was clear to Serafino Pasolini in the seventeenth century, who erroneously (but tellingly) described the Virgin in the apse as standing over a wave near the seashore, a clear allusion to the marble icon which – the legend tells us – came from the sea.⁶⁴ Another detail may point to the identification of the icon as the original model for the mosaic of the cathedral. The Virgin of the mosaic is represented flanked by two curtains drawn at the sides, an unusual detail in contemporary images of the Virgin (Figures 3.12 and 3.13). Venerated icons were usually placed under veils, which protected them and were used at certain times during the liturgy.⁶⁵ Although the original location of the marble icon in the sanctuary of Porto is unknown, it is reasonable to suppose that it was framed by curtains.⁶⁶ In this case, the mosaic would reproduce another feature of the marble icon. Indeed, this seems an extraordinary case of the promotion of a visual type into a new medium: mosaic. To the beholder, the Virgin of the cathedral refers directly to Ravenna's miraculous new icon and in this way promotes it. This venerated icon thus entered into the city's wider visual culture where the Virgin's particular appearance, or icon type, has remained part of the civic identity since the twelfth century.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ S. Pasolini, *Lustri Ravennati* (5 vols., Bologna/Forlì/Ravenna, 1678–89), ii. 61. Pasolini's account reveals his perception of this image, which never originally represented the Virgin as standing on a sea shore. Although the bottom part of the panel is restored, two original flowers (the external rosette on the Virgin's left and the internal one on the Virgin's right) and a number of green *tesserae* prove that originally the Virgin stood on a flower lawn (S. Pasi, 'Gli ultimi restauri ai frammenti del mosaico absidale della basilica ursiana di Ravenna', *Felix Ravenna*, cxxxv–cxxxvi (1988), 71–9). For the legend, see M. Mazzotti, *La Chiesa di S. Maria in Porto Fuori. Scritti editi e inediti* (Ravenna, 1991), pp. 33–9. By the beginning of the 19th century, the similarities between the cathedral mosaic and the marble icon had already been noted (Ricci, *Monumenti*, viii. 34–6).

⁶⁵ This is especially true for Orthodox practice, where miraculous icons were usually kept covered (B. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: the Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, Pa., 2006), pp. 154–60). For the use of curtains in Christian worship and imagery, see H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: a History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (Chicago, Ill., 1994), pp. 80, 185–7, 488–9.

⁶⁶ In the apse of the cathedral, beside the Virgin, the image of St. John the Baptist was also shown flanked by curtains, perhaps for compositional reasons – so that the central axis of the apse mosaic would have maintained a certain symmetry – or perhaps in order to highlight the role of John beside the Virgin. The two figures were protagonists of scenes such as the Deesis, and John the Baptist appeared in contemporary images of the *Anastasis*.

⁶⁷ For the value of this icon in the historical memory, see A. M. Orselli, 'I santuari della Romagna nella storia. Paradigmi, omologie e sensori di tradizioni culturali', in *Santuari d'Italia. Romagna*, ed. A. M. Orselli, M. Caroli and R. Savigni (Rome, 2014) pp. 43–56.



Figure 3.14. Ravenna, S. Maria in Porto: marble icon with the Virgin orans (photo: author).

However, this mosaic also makes reference to the traditional visual culture of Ravenna. At the feet of the Virgin, the lawn – not the sea of Pasolini's interpretation – contains flowers and those stylized rosettes that were so popular in late antique Mediterranean decoration and can be seen in the late antique mosaics of Ravenna.⁶⁸ These clearly differ from flowers found in contemporary twelfth-century mosaics. Indeed, I would argue that this demonstrates an awareness and even a promotion of Ravenna's earlier models by the iconographer, likely meant to establish continuity and perhaps to create a historical significance for the new icon that roots it firmly in the city.

In conclusion, we may not be able to determine the provenance of the mosaicists who worked in Ravenna but, by analysing the monumental mosaics in terms of visual culture, we may see the city as an important centre of artistic production. In the fifth century, monumental mosaics demonstrate the reception of themes reinterpreted into new iconographies and images that, in the sixth century, changed into the promotion of canonical models, already widespread in the Mediterranean. Although the skills of the mosaicists and mosaic technique decreased during the seventh century, the evidence reveals that throughout the middle ages, Ravenna's church continued to express political and religious inclinations by representing earlier themes and promoting a visual culture that referred to illustrious local antecedents. This allowed viewers to understand the greater historicity of their religious heritage and to connect with the common visual culture of the city. This endeavour continued through the twelfth century, when the mosaic production of Ravenna, probably executed by Venetian craftsmen, promoted the icon of the Virgin in large-scale church decoration in order to consolidate local identity further through the experience of beholding familiar imagery.

By viewing the monumental mosaics in terms of visual culture, we can understand patterns of continuity and change, exchange and reception of

Since 1503, the marble relief has been kept in the church of S. Maria in Porto, within the city walls (E. Bottoni, 'Ravenna. Santa Maria in Porto', in Orselli, Caroli and Savigni, *Santuari d'Italia*, pp. 295–6). It is worth noting that when the so-called Agnellus cross, originally a 6th-century processional cross, was restored before 1559, an image of the orans Virgin was added at the centre of the arms, another testimony of the success of this icon type in Ravenna (P. Novara, 'La croce del vescovo Agnello', in Gardini and Novara, *Le collezioni del Museo arcivescovile*, pp. 134–5).

⁶⁸ Similar rosettes to those we have seen in the stars of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia decorated the vault at the chapel of S. Andrea, the blue background on the triumphal arch of S. Vitale, and the curtains of the second phase of the mosaics in the image of the *palatium* at S. Apollinare Nuovo – all dated to the 6th century. These rosettes are strikingly similar to those on a 6th-century Coptic textile now at the British Museum (London, British Museum, inv. no. 17176).

The visual culture of Ravenna

motifs and ideas. This approach uses iconography, style and technique as parameters for understanding images. However, only in conjunction with the exploration of visibility do these individual elements of visual culture coalesce into a greater picture of how Ravenna's mosaic legacy developed. Between late antiquity and the middle ages in Ravenna, religious and political messages were expressed through the production of monumental mosaic decoration. The consistent choice of mosaic as the preferred medium in the great churches of Ravenna is a further proof of the mosaic's relevance to the citizens. It was the means by which a communicative language was established between the church and the people, between its past and its present. For centuries in Ravenna, the reuse of earlier motifs in newly produced mosaic, the continuous appeal to a shared visual culture, and – in both the fifth and twelfth centuries – the invention of new images, are evidence of the importance of its visual heritage, which shaped the city's identity even as it reiterated it.

4. Ravenna in the sixth century: the archaeology of change*

Carola Jäggi

Archaeological research in recent years has become increasingly preoccupied with the dialectic between continuity and change. This is clearly influenced by contemporary experience, as we all witness an accelerating cadence of regime change, whole states disappearing from the map and economic empires vanishing into thin air. Images of overthrown heads of state are cleared away and replaced by those of new power holders; company logos, which can play an important role in establishing the identity of a whole nation, are taken down and replaced by new ones. However, there are also more subtle visualizations of change, more indirect signs that indicate social change; for instance the increasing number of women in the Middle East who wear the veil as compared to a few years back, or the opening of shops in a traditional European neighbourhood selling spring rolls and kebabs instead of the conventional baker's and butcher's shops.

Such present-day experiences have raised our awareness of comparable phenomena in ancient times; that is, of historical situations of change and their cultural impact. Archaeology – in the sense of the academic discipline which concerns itself with material culture, from everyday objects to funerary and architectural structures to 'images' – is destined to portray such situations of change and their impact on the everyday life of the people affected. I would like to illustrate this by taking Ravenna as an example. It is well known that in the early fifth century, when the Western Roman Emperor Honorius and his *magister militum* Stilicho decided to relocate the imperial court from Milan to Ravenna, the small harbour city on the Adriatic coast was transformed overnight from a provincial backwater into an imperial residence. In the two centuries following this event, when the city was in the spotlight of world history, Ravenna saw several ruling powers come and go: from 402 to 455 the Roman emperors of the west resided in Ravenna, from 493 to 540 the Ostrogothic kings, and from 540 onwards the

* Many thanks to Susanne Luther, Dieter T. Roth, Morgan Powell and Judith Herrin for their help in translation.

Byzantines, whose interests in Ravenna were represented first by a *praefectus praetorio*, and from 580 onwards by an exarch.¹

Considering this frequent change of ruling power during a period spanning less than one-and-a-half centuries, what material impact did these changes trigger? In what way did the establishment of the imperial residence and the assumption of power by the Ostrogoths, and later the Byzantines, influence the city and its inhabitants? In which segments of urban life can we discover change, and where continuity? I will address these questions by giving some examples. My focus will be on the second changeover of power, that is, the Byzantine conquest of Ravenna in 540. Historians tell us that even after 540 Ravenna was substantially influenced by the Latin west, that Latin remained the main language, and that even after 540 Ostrogoths were among the *possessores* of the city.² If material sources are also consulted, however, the picture becomes more diverse. Archaeological finds from this period, for example, show a considerable increase in oriental wares: while the older ceramics found in Ravenna and in its southern harbour town of Classe point towards strong trade relations with northern Africa. The ceramics dating from the second half of the sixth century – that is, the time *after* the Byzantine conquest of Ravenna – can be traced in large part to the eastern Mediterranean.³ Clearly the change of leadership resulted in an economic reorientation, which manifested itself in the development of new trade routes. This modification is probably attributable to the new clientele stationed in

¹ For the history of late antique Ravenna, see F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna. Geschichte und Monumente* (Wiesbaden, 1969); F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes, Kommentar* (4 vols., Wiesbaden, 1989), iii, 77–241; M. Pierpaoli, *Storia di Ravenna. Dalle origini all'anno Mille* (Ravenna, 1990; 1st edn., 1986); *Storia di Ravenna: Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, ed. A. Carile (2 vols., Venice, 1991–2), ii; D. M. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2010); M. David, *Ravenna Eterna. Dagli Etruschi ai Veneziani* (Milan, 2013), pp. 61–219; C. Jäggi, *Ravenna. Kunst und Kultur einer spätantiken Residenzstadt* (Regensburg, 2013).

² A. Guillou, 'Ravenna e Giustiniano. L'immaginario e la realtà', *CARB*, xxx (1983), 333–43; T. S. Brown, 'The interplay between Roman and Byzantine traditions and local sentiment in the exarchate of Ravenna', in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo 3–9 aprile 1986, Settimana di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, xxxiv (Spoleto, 1988), 127–60; K. Schäferdiek, 'Die Ravennater Papyrusurkunde Tjäder 34, der Codex argenteus und die ostgotische arianische Kirche', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, cxx (2009), fasc. 2, 215–31.

³ A. Augenti, 'Nuove indagini archeologiche a Classe', in *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale, Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo (Ravenna, 6–12 giugno 2004)*, i (Spoleto, 2005), 237–52, esp. pp. 239–42; A. Augenti, 'Ravenna e Classe. Archeologia di due città tra la tarda Antichità e l'alto Medioevo', in *Le città italiane tra la tarda Antichità e l'alto Medioevo. Atti del convegno (Ravenna, 2004)*, ed. A. Augenti (Florence, 2006), pp. 185–217, esp. pp. 204–7; E. Cirelli, 'Élites civili ed ecclesiastiche nella Ravenna tardoantica', *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, xiii (2007), 301–17.

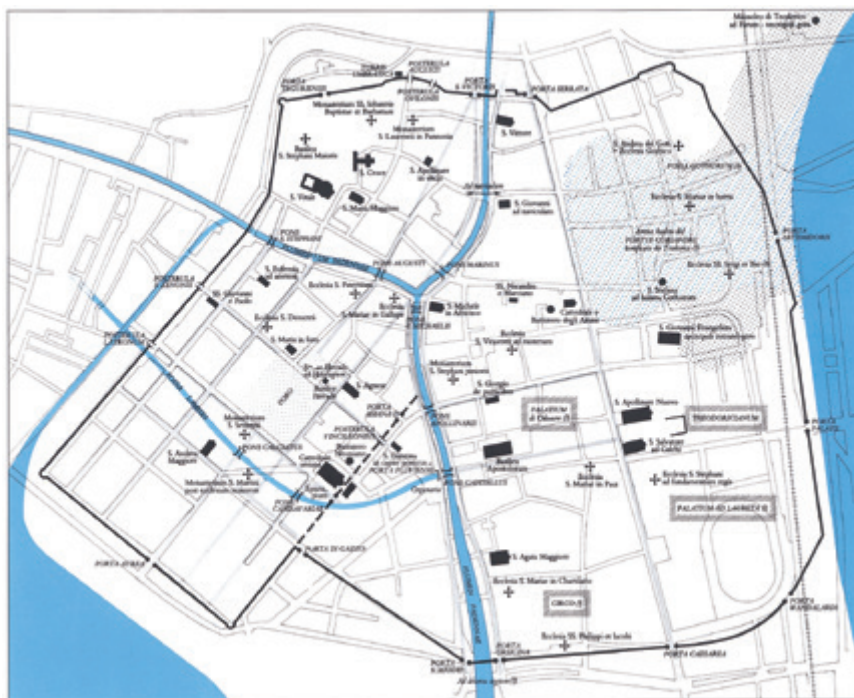


Figure 4.1. Map of Ravenna showing the position of the late Roman and early Christian monuments (reproduced from I Goti. Exp.-Cat. Milan, 1994).

Ravenna, mostly Byzantine civil servant and soldiers, who desired consumer goods other than those offered to the Italian and Gothic inhabitants of the city. The cityscape (Figure 4.1), however, was hardly altered by the new rulers – no changes are apparent from the archaeological records, at least. The political centre of power remained where it had been located from the fifth century onwards, where the emperors of that era had resided and Theoderic later on.⁴ In fact, there is no archaeological proof that any significant building projects were commissioned by the Byzantine rulers.

The bishops were the great developers of the sixth century.⁵ This applies not only to the time after the Byzantine conquest of the city, but also before this date. With regard to church architecture in Ravenna, it is not the year of

⁴ Deichmann, *Hauptstadt*, iii. 49–70; A. Augenti, ‘The palace of Theoderic at Ravenna: a new analysis of the complex’, in *Housing in Late Antiquity: from Palaces to Shops*, ed. L. Lavan, L. Özgenel and A. Sarantis (Leiden/Boston, 2007), pp. 425–53; E. Cirelli, *Ravenna: archeologia di una città* (Borgo S. Lorenzo, 2008), pp. 78–85; Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 77–82, 160–5.

⁵ Cf. Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 218–27, 236–8.

the Byzantine conquest, 540, but rather the death of Theoderic in 526 which created a clear caesura, a turning point. The bishops knew best how to use to their advantage the power vacuum after the death of the great Ostrogothic king. Bishop Ecclesius (Figure 4.2) was the first in a series of Ravennate bishops who specifically intended to expand his sphere of influence in the city. He had taken office in 522, during the reign of Theoderic, and in the spring of 526 had travelled to Constantinople with Pope John I as an envoy of the Ostrogothic king in order to petition Emperor Justin for a relaxation of the anti-Arian religious laws.⁶ After Theoderic's death, also in that year, a veritable power struggle arose among the clerics in Ravenna, which ended with Bishop Ecclesius and more than sixty other members of the Ravenna clergy being summoned to Rome in order to defend themselves before the pope, their spiritual leader.⁷

In our context Ecclesius is of particular interest because he founded several churches in Ravenna. *Inter alia* the construction of S. Vitale originates from his initiative, a distinctive building with an octagonal layout (Figures 4.3–4.5), which has often appropriately been called the 'most Byzantine' of all Ravennate churches, even though its origins date back far before 540. The fact that Ecclesius was the founder of this church is evident from a dedicatory inscription which is preserved in the so-called *Liber Pontificalis* composed by Andreas Agnellus in the ninth century – our most important written source for early Christian Ravenna.⁸ From this source it is also known that the construction was paid for by Julianus Argentarius, a rich banker of Eastern descent, who ran his business in Ravenna during the time of the Ostrogoth domination and invested his earnings – at least, partly – to finance ecclesiastical buildings.⁹ The idea for the construction

⁶ *Agnelli Ravennatis Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (CCCM, cxcix, Turnhout, 2006) (hereafter *LPR*), ch. 39, p. 197. Cf. also *LPR*, ch. 57, p. 225. For Ecclesius, see T. S. Brown, 'Ecclesio', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, xlii (Rome, 1993), 275–7.

⁷ *LPR*, ch. 60, pp. 226–31.

⁸ *LPR*, chs. 61, 77, pp. 231, 245. For Agnellus and his *Liber Pontificalis*, see C. Nauwerth, *Agnellus von Ravenna. Untersuchungen zur archäologischen Methode des ravennatischen Chronisten* (Munich, 1974); G. Cortesi, 'Andrea Agnello e il "Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis"', *CARB*, xxviii (Ravenna, 1981), 31–76; R. Benericetti, *Il Pontificale di Ravenna. Studio critico* (Faenza, 1994); J. Martínez Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna: the Liber Pontificalis of Andreas Agnellus* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995); *Agnellus von Ravenna: Liber Pontificalis/Bischofsbuch*, trans. and introduced C. Nauwerth (Fontes Christiani 21/1–2) (2 vols., Freiburg, 1996), 11–19; *Agnellus of Ravenna: the Book of the Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, trans. D. M. Deliyannis (Washington, DC, 2004), pp. 6–13; *LPR*, pp. 7–93.

⁹ On Julianus Argentarius, see F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes: Kommentar*, ii (Wiesbaden, 1976), 21–7; C. Pietri, 'Les aristocraties de Ravenne (Ve–Vies.)', *Studi Romagnoli*, xxxiv (1983), 643–73, esp. pp. 669–73; S. J. B. Barnish, 'The



Figure 4.2. Bishop Ecclesius (detail from the apse mosaic of S. Vitale) (photo: author).

of S. Vitale might have been conceived by Ecclesius during a journey to Constantinople, where two imperial domed structures, the church of

wealth of Iulianus Argentarius: late antique banking and the Mediterranean economy', *Byzantion*, lv (1985), 5–38; S. Cosentino, 'Le fortune di un banchiere tardo antico. Giuliano argentario e l'economia di Ravenna e Classe nel VI secolo', in *Santi, banchieri, re. Ravenna e Classe nel VI secolo. San Severo il tempio ritrovato*, ed. A. Augenti and C. Bertelli (Milan, 2006), pp. 43–8.

Ravenna: its role in earlier medieval change and exchange

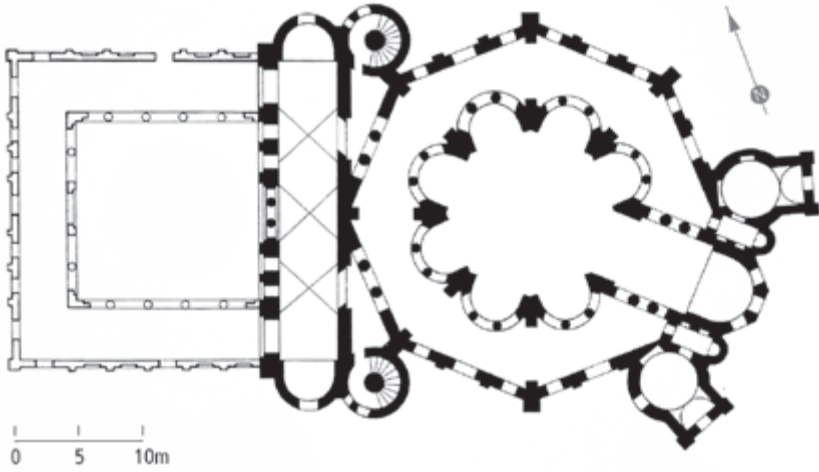


Figure 4.3. S. Vitale, ground plan (graph: D. Hoesli).



Figure 4.4. S. Vitale, view from the north-east (photo: author).

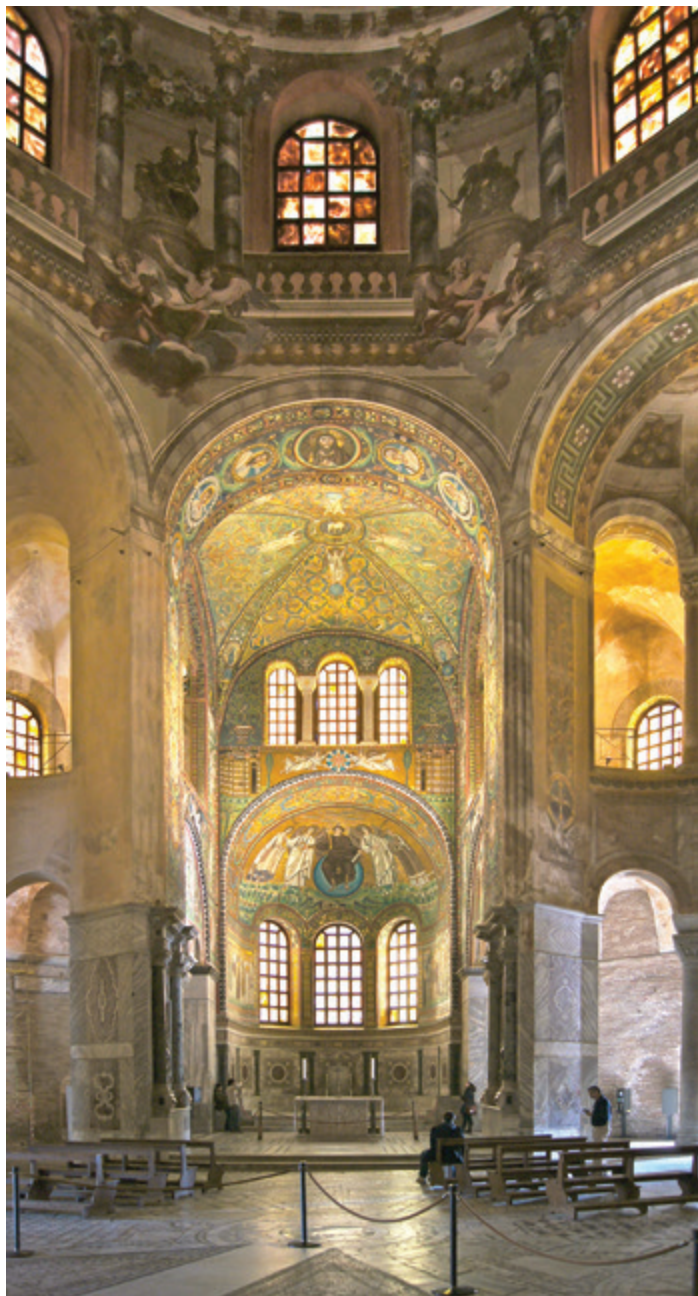


Figure 4.5. S. Vitale, interior towards the apse (photo: author).

Hagios Polyeuktos and the church of Sergios and Bakchos, were under construction.¹⁰ Their function as ideal prototypes of the Ravenna building project is beyond doubt. Perhaps Bishop Ecclesius brought an architect or at least a construction plan from Constantinople to Ravenna.

It is difficult to say how far the construction of S. Vitale progressed during Ecclesius's lifetime, that is, until 533; the monograms decorating the impostos of the ground-floor columns (Figure 4.6) are indicative of the construction beginning under Ecclesius's second successor, Bishop Victor, who guided the Ravennate church from 537 to 544. From one of the two building inscriptions, transmitted by Agnellus but lost today, we can infer the date of the consecration, which probably took place on 19 April 547.¹¹ Bishop Maximian, who by this point had only been in office for six months, is mentioned as consecrator. All episcopal protagonists are visually retained in the mosaic decoration: Ecclesius, the founding bishop, is presented as donor with the church model in the apse mosaic (Figure 4.7; cf. Figure 4.2); Maximian is depicted as leader of a procession on the so-called Imperial Panel to the left of the apsidal window (Figure 4.8).¹² The fact that the image of Emperor Justinian is part of the mosaic decoration might be an indication that the mosaics were manufactured after 540. As far as we know, Justinian was never in Ravenna – his depiction in this particular place is rather an indication of imperial benevolence towards the Ravennate bishopric and its incumbents.¹³ The Imperial Panel furthermore implies that salvation can only be attained through the mediation of the church, for despite Justinian's central position in the mosaic and his haloed head, the emperor approaches the altar and Christ by *following* the clergy. Very subtle visual strategies such as the overlapping of the feet¹⁴ are employed to present the bishops

¹⁰ M. Harrison, *Ein Tempel für Byzanz. Die Entdeckung und Ausgrabung von Juliana Anicias Palastkirche in Istanbul* (Stuttgart/Zürich, 1990), pp. 15–40; C. Rizzardi, 'San Vitale: l'architettura', in *La Basilica di San Vitale a Ravenna*, ed. P. Angiolini Martinelli (Modena, 1997), 21–40.

¹¹ *LPR*, ch. 77, p. 245.

¹² Obviously the head of Maximian in the mosaic in S. Vitale does not belong to the original design but is the result of a restoration, probably done in the middle of the 6th century; originally Bishop Victor might have been represented (I. Andreescu-Treadgold and W. Treadgold, 'Procopius and the imperial panels of S. Vitale', *Art Bulletin*, lxxix (1997), 708–23, esp. pp. 716–19; C. Muscolino and L. Alberti, 'Alcune osservazioni sulla tecnica di esecuzione dei mosaici parietali dell'abside della basilica di S. Vitale a Ravenna', *Quaderni della Soprintendenza (Ravenna)*, v (2001), 76–83, esp. pp. 77ff).

¹³ Cf. Jäggi, *Ravenna*, p. 234.

¹⁴ These strategies are best highlighted by J. Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung frühchristlicher Bildwerke* (Darmstadt, 1997), pp. 130–42; J. G. Deckers, 'Der erste Diener Christi. Die Proskynese der Kaiser als Schlüsselmotiv der Mosaiken in S. Vitale (Ravenna) und in der Hagia Sophia (Istanbul)', in *Art, Cérémonial et Liturgie au Moyen Age. Actes du*



Figure 4.6. S. Vitale, monogram of Bishop Victor (537–44)
on one of the ground-floor impostos (photo: author).

as self-confident agents, who knew how to instrumentalize Byzantium so as to achieve a much more important change, that is, the separation of the Ravennate church from the see of Rome – to which it was subordinated from earliest times – and the acquisition of autocephaly. Although at first sight S. Vitale seems thoroughly Byzantine, it is rather a Ravennate church. Its construction and material speak to its roots in northern Italian traditions and indicate clearly that autochthonous building workers were involved.¹⁵

colloque de 3e Cycle Romand de Lettres (Lausanne-Fribourg, 2000), ed. N. Bock and others (Rome, 2002), pp. 11–57, esp. pp. 22–38.

¹⁵ E. Russo, 'L'architettura di Ravenna paleocristiana', in *Venezia e Bisanzio. Aspetti della cultura artistica bizantina da Ravenna a Venezia (V–XIV secolo)*, ed. C. Rizzardi (Venice, 2005), pp. 89–177; Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 243–7.



Figure 4.7. S. Vitale, apse mosaic (photo: author).

The dedication of the church is also decidedly Ravennate: St. Vitalis is strictly speaking not a genuine saint of Ravenna, but rather of Bologna, and both co-patrons mentioned in the dedicatory inscription, Gervasius and Protasius, are martyrs from Milan.¹⁶ However, in the passion narrative of Vitalis, edited in Ravenna probably in the fifth century, he is presented as a martyr of Ravenna and Gervasius and Protasius are described as his sons. Ravenna soon got what it had always been lacking: its own, genuine Ravenna martyr, who had lost his life in Ravenna for the true faith.

This process of identity-construction and the initiation of the break with the Roman see are even more prominently displayed in S. Apollinare in Classe, the second important church which can be dated back to the last years of the Ostrogoths' rule and was finished in the Byzantine period. It is worth taking a closer look at this church, although at first glance it does not seem nearly as exciting as S. Vitale, as it is a 'normal' three-aisled basilica with single apse and two pastophoria (Figures 4.9–4.11).¹⁷ According to the chronicler Agnellus, S. Apollinare in Classe was founded by Bishop Ursicinus (533–6), the successor of Ecclesius.¹⁸ The co-founder and donor was again Julianus Argentarius. As at S. Vitale, the consecration of the building and hence probably the actual completion of its construction and interior decoration can also be dated to the 540s, when Maximian was bishop of Ravenna. It took place on 9 May 549 – about two years after S. Vitale.

The most exciting element is the mosaic decoration of the apse, depicting a symbolized version of the transfiguration of Jesus on Mount Tabor, and below it SANCTVS APOLENARIS, the patron saint, surrounded by twelve lambs (Figure 4.12).¹⁹ In the course of extensive restoration works

¹⁶ Deichmann, *Geschichte und Monumente*, pp. 21–5, 226; Deichmann, *Hauptstadt*, ii, 7–9; B. Brenk, 'Mit was für Mitteln kann einem physisch Anonymen *Auctoritas* verliehen werden?', in *East and West: Modes of Communication. Proceedings of the First Plenary Conference at Merida*, ed. E. Chrysos and I. Wood (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 1999), pp. 143–72, esp. pp. 162–4; G. Orioli, 'S. Vitale', in *Mario Mazzotti (1907–1983). L'archivio, il cantiere archeologico, il territorio*, ed. P. Novara (Ravenna, 2007), pp. 77–84; M. Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna: Transformations and Memory* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 73–80; Jäggi, *Ravenna*, p. 240.

¹⁷ For the architecture of S. Apollinare in Classe, see M. Mazzotti, *La basilica di S. Apollinare in Classe* (Vatican City, 1954), pp. 57–76; Deichmann, *Hauptstadt*, ii, 237–44; Russo, 'L'architettura di Ravenna', pp. 133–45; C. Jäggi, 'Edilizia di culto cristiano a Ravenna', *Storia dell'architettura italiana*, i: *Da Costantino a Carlo Magno*, ed. S. de Blaauw (Milan, 2010), pp. 146–89, esp. pp. 179–82; Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 263–9.

¹⁸ *LPR* chs. 63, 77, pp. 232, 245.

¹⁹ Concerning the iconography of the apse mosaic of S. Apollinare in Classe, see E. Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe* (Köln/Opladen, 1964); M. C. Pelà, *La decorazione musiva della basilica ravennate di S. Apollinare in Classe* (Bologna, 1970), pp. 15–29, 113–60; Deichmann, *Hauptstadt*, ii, 245–72; C. Müller, 'Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe. Eine Strukturanalyse', *Römische Quartalschrift*, lxxv (1980), 11–50;



Figure 4.8. S. Vitale, mosaic panel showing Emperor Justinian in an ecclesiastical procession (photo: author).

to the mosaics between 1949–50 and 1970–3, sketches – known as *sinopia* – were uncovered, which included compositional elements different from those actually realized, especially in the lower zone of the apse.²⁰ Instead

G. Montanari, 'Massimiano Arcivescovo di Ravenna (546–556) come committente', *Studi Romagnoli*, xlii (1991), 367–416, esp. pp. 391–9; L. Abramowski, 'Die Mosaiken von S. Vitale und S. Apollinare in Classe und die Kirchenpolitik Kaiser Justinians', *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, v (2001), 289–341, esp. pp. 302–13; G. Montanari, 'L'abside di S. Apollinare in Classe di Ravenna. Mistero centrale, anamnesi ed eucaristia', in *Ravenna: L'iconologia. Saggi di interpretazione culturale e religiosa dei cicli musivi*, ed. G. Montanari (Ravenna, 2002), pp. 149–71; A. Michael, *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe. Seine Deutung im Kontext der Liturgie* (Frankfurt a.M., 2005); Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 271–8.

²⁰ Mazzotti, *La basilica*, p. 172; M. Mazzotti, 'Sinopie Classensi', *Studi Romagnoli*, xix (1968), 309–19; Pelà, *La decorazione musiva*, pp. 90–8; M. Mazzotti, 'Sinopie Classensi (seconda fase di ricerca)', *Felix Ravenna*, ciii–civ (1972), 211–22; G. Bovini, 'Les "Sinopie" récemment découvertes sous les mosaïques de l'apside de Saint-Apollinaire-in-Classe, à Ravenna', *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes-rendues des séances*, i (1974), 97–110; G. Pavan, 'Restauro e ritrovamenti della basilica di S. Apollinare in Classe', *CARB*, xxv (Ravenna, 1978), 233–64, esp. 233–9; M. Mazzotti, 'S. Apollinare in Classe: indagini e studi degli ultimi trent'anni', *RAC*, lxii (1986), 199–219, esp. p. 213–15.

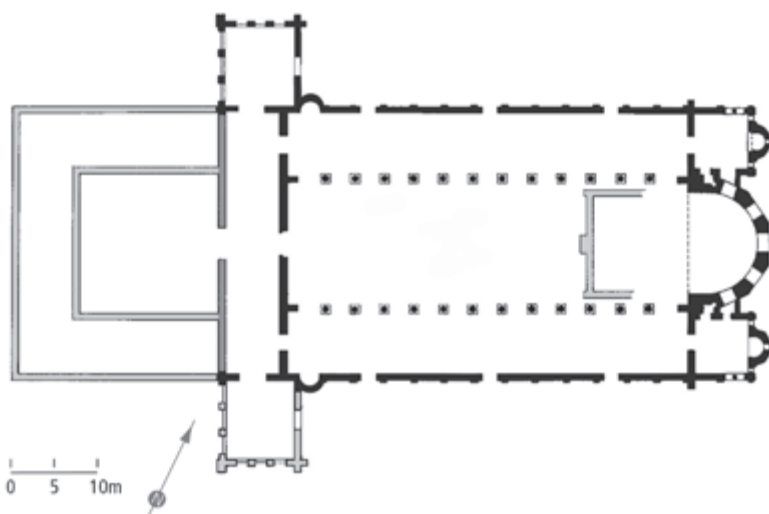


Figure 4.9. S. Apollinare in Classe, ground plan (diagram: D. Hoesli).



Figure 4.10. S. Apollinare in Classe, seen from the north (photo: author).



Figure 4.11. S. Apollinare in Classe, interior towards the apse (photo: author).

of the frieze with the twelve lambs on both sides of the patron saint in prayer, the original design called for peacocks facing each other on either side of a small cross. Why the original blueprint was not followed, and the current composition with the patron saint so prominently featured in the centre of the apse mosaic was favoured, is unknown. However, as it can be presumed that the apse mosaic was completed by the time the church was consecrated in 549, an ideological upgrade of the patron saint must have occurred during the two decades of construction, which led to the inclusion of Apollinaris in the apse mosaic.²¹ The inclusion of twelve sheep indicates

²¹ It is unknown how far the construction of the church proceeded during the life of Bishop Ursicinus and his successor Victor. Deichmann postulates that Ursicinus only laid the foundations and that it was Maximian who actually built the church of S. Apollinare (see Deichmann, *Hauptstadt*, ii. 234; cf. also Russo, 'L'architettura di Ravenna', pp. 133ff). The change in the design of the apse mosaic, however, might hint either at a rather lengthy period of construction or at a rather long time period between the building being completed together with the draft of the apse mosaic and the actual realization of the mosaics in the church.



Figure 4.12. S. Apollinare in Classe, apse mosaic (photo: author).

a Christological intent.²² On the basis of the composition alone, Apollinaris becomes an 'isapostle', or even a Christ-like leader of his disciples. That he is God-sent is symbolized through the axial arrangement of the clipeus and the hand of God above it. His closeness to God renders the saint the ideal intercessor, the mediator between this world and the next, between now and then. As one who has already been admitted into heaven he shares in the vision of God: like the prophets and disciples who were once present at the Transfiguration, Apollinaris has seen Jesus as the Son of God. And at the same time – as we learn from the inscriptions around the cross – he realized that the cross stands for the salvation of the world (*salus mundi*), for the beginning and the end (Alpha and Omega) and for the judge of the world, who will return for the final judgement. This is symbolized by the *crux gemmata* in the starry sky in the clipeus, which refers to Matthew 24:30 and the 'sign of the son of man' announcing the second coming of Christ. It is he – St. Apollinaris – with his arms lifted in prayer, who directs the observer's eye upwards, towards the clipeus, which is not so much a disc as a virtual hole in the apse vault, which focuses the visitors' eyes and those of the figures within the mosaic towards the 'real' sky, where on the last day the 'sign' of the second coming of Christ will appear (Matthew 24:27). In this composition, a biblical vision of God is combined with the *parousia* in a most ingenious way; the historical is interlaced with the eschatological. If the central axis is extended downwards, the episcopal cathedra and its current incumbent are also incorporated into this context of salvation history.²³ It is this sophisticated combination of different layers of time and space, and not just the liturgical and dogmatic-Christological content so often highlighted in research, which renders the mosaics of S. Apollinare in Classe unique.

But who was this Apollinaris, who played such an important role in the apse mosaic? From a sermon by Peter Chrysologus, bishop of Ravenna during the reign of Galla Placidia, we can infer that already at that time, that is, shortly before the middle of the fifth century, a local saint ('confessor') by the name of Apollinaris was revered in Ravenna.²⁴ Where and how this took place the author does not mention. The actual passion narrative of the saint

²² Cf. P. Jeffery, 'A faithful witness in heaven: keeping vigil with Saint Apollinaris', in *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art and History*, ed. C. Hourihane (University Park, Pa., 2010), pp. 128–47.

²³ Cf. G. Cantino Wataghin, 'Dalla tarda antichità all'arte bizantina', in *Lezioni di Storia dell'Arte, I: Il Mediterraneo dall'antichità alla fine del Medioevo*, ed. V. Terraroli (Milan, 2001), pp. 153–67, esp. p. 153; see also Jeffery, 'A faithful witness in heaven', p. 147.

²⁴ Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermo* 128, *CCSL*, 24B, 789ff. (where Apollinaris is called 'primus sacerdotio' and 'confessor'). Concerning this sermon, cf. R. Budriesi, *Le origini del cristianesimo a Ravenna* (Ravenna, 1970), pp. 11–17; Deichmann, *Hauptstadt*, iii. 167ff.; Jeffery, 'A faithful witness in heaven', p. 147.

dates back to the second half of the sixth century at the earliest, maybe only to the seventh century.²⁵ It reports that Apollinaris came from Antioch to Rome as a disciple of the apostle Peter, that he was ordained bishop by Peter and sent to Ravenna, where he performed numerous miracles, destroyed temples and converted many to the new faith. For these actions, however, he was tortured, exiled and persecuted, before dying a martyr's death during the reign of Emperor Vespasian after twenty-eight years as bishop. Finally he was buried in a stone sarcophagus 'foris muros Classis'.²⁶ His tomb has never been identified. Archaeological evidence merely shows that the church built by Ursicinus in honour of S. Apollinaris, was situated at the edge of a burial ground that already existed in Roman times; obviously by the early sixth century, at the latest, one of the tombs became ascribed to the saint and remembered as the tomb of the legendary first bishop of Ravenna.²⁷ Unfortunately it is not known whether at that time Apollinaris was already called the 'apostle of Ravenna', a status he had acquired by the middle of the sixth century when he was depicted in the apse mosaic of his memorial church. It is quite possible that this process of veneration for the local saint had already begun in the 520s when – as previously mentioned – the bishops of Ravenna used the power vacuum after Theoderic's death to strengthen their own position. The parallel case of S. Vitale has already been indicated. As regards Apollinaris, an additional argument must be highlighted: in the apse mosaic he is not only depicted as a saint, but also – and very explicitly – as a bishop (Figure 4.13). This means that by the time the original blueprint with the peacocks facing each other across a small cross was discarded and the apse mosaic which still exists today was realized, the stylization of Apollinaris as the first bishop of Ravenna, as a disciple of St. Peter, and as the apostle of Ravenna must already have developed. In this way the church in Ravenna finally acquired what had been lacking up to that point, that is, a charismatic founding figure from apostolic times combined with a reference to origins far beyond the historically proven beginnings of the Ravennate church.²⁸

²⁵ Concerning the date of the passion narrative, see Budriesi, *Le origini*, pp. 17–37; *LPR* pp. 39ff. with n. 70; cf. also Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, p. 387 n. 283.

²⁶ *Acta Sanctorum Iul. V* (Antwerp, 1727), pp. 345–50. The fact that Apollinaris died of natural causes can be inferred from the sermon by Peter Chrysologus mentioned above (cf. n. 25). See also J.-C. Picard, *Le Souvenir des évêques: sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au Xe siècle* (Rome, 1988), p. 117.

²⁷ For this point, see C. Jäggi, 'Sant' Apollinare in Classe – ein ravennatisches Gegenstück zu Alt-St. Peter in Rom?', in *Identité et mémoire: l'évêque, l'image et la mort*, pt. i: *La figure de l'évêque défunt et le monde paléochrétien, Actes du colloque à Lausanne 17.–18. Oct. 2011*, ed. N. Bock, I. Foletti and S. Romano (Rome, 2014), pp. 445–65, esp. pp. 453–5.

²⁸ The first historically documented bishop of Ravenna is Severus who took part in the synod of Serdica in 343 (Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 26, 59s).

The leading role in this process of identity construction was probably taken by Bishop Maximian, whom we have already met as *consecrator* of S. Vitale. Maximian tried in every possible way to gain the status of a metropolitan see for Ravenna and thus to catch up with Milan and Aquileia. The use of the title ‘archiepiscopus’ in connection with the bishop of Ravenna is mentioned for the first time during his term of office.²⁹ However, one gains the impression that Maximian was not content with achieving a status equal to Milan and Aquileia – he aspired to equality with Rome.³⁰ He may have considered the rather dubious ‘acquisition’ of a potent relic of St. Andrew in Constantinople as a helpful stratagem to reach this goal; after all, St. Andrew was the patron saint of the city of Constantinople and also, perhaps even more importantly, he was the brother of St. Peter.³¹ Several centuries later, the ninth-century chronicler Agnellus still complains with more than a hint of bitterness that the ‘Roman bishops’ would never have placed Ravenna ‘under the yoke to this extent’ if the city had possessed the tomb of St. Andrew.³² Moreover Maximian based his ambitions in church politics on local history and especially on the history of the bishopric of Ravenna. It is striking how often the succession of bishops is referred to in the works of art he commissioned. According to Agnellus he commissioned a gold-woven altar cloth depicting ‘all his predecessors’, and in S. Probo, another early Christian cemetery church in Ravenna, he is reported to have commissioned ‘the images of the Sts. Probus, Eleuchadius and Calocerus, in diverse mosaics’ after he had arranged that ‘the body of St. Probus ... with the blessed bones of the other bishops were treated with spices and buried honourably’.³³ In S. Apollinare in Classe itself four

²⁹ Deichmann, *Hauptstadt*, ii, 11–15; T. S. Brown, ‘La chiesa di Ravenna durante il regno di Giustiniano’, *CARB*, xxx (Ravenna, 1983), 23–47, esp. p. 43.

³⁰ A. Simonini, *Autocefalia ed esarcato in Italia* (Ravenna, 1969), pp. 56–62; Brown, *La chiesa*, pp. 43–6; C. Rizzardi, ‘Massimiano a Ravenna: La cattedra eburnea del Museo Arcivescovile alla luce di nuove ricerche’, in *Ideologia e cultura artistica tra Adriatico e Mediterraneo orientale (IV–X secolo). Il ruolo dell'autorità ecclesiastica alla luce di nuovi scavi e ricerche. Atti del convegno internazionale* (Bologna–Ravenna, 2007), ed. R. Farioli Campanati and others (Bologna, 2009), pp. 229–43, esp. p. 229; Deichmann, *Hauptstadt*, iii, 169–72; most recently Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 212ff.

³¹ *LPR*, ch. 76, p. 244.

³² ‘Et re uera, fratres, quia si corpus beati Andreae, germani Petri principis, hic humasset, nequaquam nos Romani pontifices sic subiugassent’, *LPR*, ch. 76, p. 244.

³³ *LPR*, ch. 80, p. 248 (‘Fecitque aliam endothim ex auro ubi sunt omnes praedecessores sui, auro textiles imagines fieri iussit’); *LPR*, ch. 77, p. 248; also *LPR*, ch. 77, p. 246 (Corpus uero beati Probi cum ceteris sanctorum pontificum corporibus iste sanctus uir aromatibus condiuit et bene locauit, et in fronte ipsius ecclesiae beatorum Probi et Eleucadii et Caloceri effigies tesselis uariis decorauit). Probus, Eleuchadius and Calocerus take places 2, 4 and 6 in Agnellus’s list of bishops (cf. G. Bovini, ‘Le “tovaglie d’altare” ricamate ricordate da Andrea



Figure 4.13. S. Apollinare in Classe, figure of the legendary Bishop Apollinaris, the patron saint of the church (detail from the apse mosaic) (photo: author).

of Maximian's predecessors, Severus, Ursus, Ecclesius and Ursicinus, are depicted in the mosaics between the windows (Figure 4.14). The selection and the number of those presented can be interpreted in different ways, but it is obvious that all four are historically verifiable personalities of the fourth and sixth centuries and not mythical predecessors like the patron saint himself, although the epithet 'sanctus' distinguishes between more or less contemporaries and persons who had died long before.³⁴

Though there is much evidence that it was Bishop Maximian who stylized St. Apollinaris as first bishop of Ravenna and made him into the Ravennate equivalent of St. Peter, he did not complete the final step by choosing his own burial place in S. Apollinare in Classe. Agnellus reports that he found his last rest 'in basilica sancti Andreae apostoli iuxta altarium, ubi barba praedicti apostoli condidit'³⁵, and his two direct successors Agnellus (d. 569/70) and Peter (d. 578) were buried at S. Agata and S. Probo.³⁶ Only John, a native of Rome and active as bishop of Ravenna from 578 until his death in 595, was subsequently buried near the tomb of the city's legendary first bishop.³⁷ John's nephew and successor Marinianus was also buried there and all Ravennate bishops thereafter until the late eighth century and possibly even beyond.³⁸ The church of S. Apollinare in Classe was thus transformed into the Ravennate equivalent of S. Pietro in Rome, as it became the official episcopal burial place. Like its Roman counterpart, S. Apollinare in Classe functioned not only as the episcopal burial location, but also as a place of official church-political and canonical acts. Its importance for the identification with the bishopric in Ravenna is obvious in that a highly symbolic church-political act like the long-hoped for end of the subordination to Rome was not commemorated in the cathedral of Ravenna as might be assumed, but in the memorial church for the

Agnello nel Liber pontificalis *Ecclesiae Ravennatis*', *CARB*, xxi (Ravenna, 1974), 77–90; Jäggi, *Ravenna*, p. 286; Jäggi, *S. Apollinare*, p. 456.

³⁴ Deichmann, *Hauptstadt*, ii. 9, 12, 14, 262; A. M. Iannucci, 'I vescovi Ecclesius, Severus, Ursus, Ursicinus, le scene dei privilegi e dei sacrifici in S. Apollinare in Classe – Indagine sistematica', *CARB*, xxxiii (Ravenna 1986), 165–93; Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 270ff.

³⁵ *LPR*, ch. 82, p. 250. Cf. also above, with n. 32.

³⁶ *LPR*, chs. 92, 97, pp. 257, 266.

³⁷ *LPR*, ch. 98, p. 267. John (and also his successor and nephew Marinianus) originated from the circle close to Pope Gregory the Great (J. C. Smith, 'The adoption of Roman practice at S. Apollinare in Classe in Byzantine Ravenna: a double-edged sword', *Sixteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers (Baltimore, 1990)* (Washington, DC, 1990), pp. 86–7). Concerning the church-political aspirations of John and Marinianus, see also Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, p. 211.

³⁸ Concerning the tomb of Bishop Marinianus, see *LPR*, ch. 103, p. 271. Concerning the subsequent burials of bishops, see Jäggi, *Sant' Apollinare*, 447s. with n. 11.



Figure 4.14. S. Apollinare in Classe, mosaic panels with the bishops Severus (c. mid fourth century A.D.), Ursus (c.400 A.D.), Ecclesius (522–33 A.D.) and Ursicinus (533–6 A.D.) in the window zone of the apse (photo: author).

'Ravennate apostle' Apollinaris in Classe (Figure 4.15). The mosaic, dating to the seventh century and situated in the northern window area, originally represented the granting of church autonomy to the church in Ravenna by the Byzantine emperor Constans II in 666.³⁹ That this mosaic is situated in the very spot where we find the Imperial Panel in S. Vitale is probably not a coincidence – nor is its compositional and iconographic similarity. Rather, both mosaics convey a declaration of the Byzantine emperors' benevolence towards the church of Ravenna, and on both occasions this is incorporated within a context of salvation history. It is most regrettable that we cannot reconstruct the mosaics which decorated this space in S. Apollinare in Classe before the mosaic presenting the privileges was realized, but it seems likely that previous depictions had shown Maximian in a self-confident posture similar to how he is portrayed in the well-known imperial mosaics in the presbytery of S. Vitale.

To summarize, in the sixth century Ravenna was marked by multiple changes. Depending on the agents focused upon, each of these changes occurred at a different point on the timeline. The radical political change, that is, the Byzantine conquest of the city in 540, seems to have led – if we follow the archaeological findings – to an influx of 'foreign' wares and people. But this does not imply there were no 'orientals' in Ravenna before this time. Julianus Argentarius is the best example of this. He seems to have been of eastern origin as his mother tongue was Greek; yet, under Ostrogothic rule, he can demonstrably be placed in Ravenna where he acquired special merit as the financier of S. Vitale, S. Apollinare and other major ecclesiastical building projects in the second quarter of the sixth century.⁴⁰ Moreover, building types and structural elements from Constantinople or Proconnesos are widely attested in the city long before the Byzantines took over rule from the Ostrogoths.⁴¹ It would therefore be far too limiting to explain and associate everything of Byzantine origin with the political upheaval in 540.

Focusing on the ecclesiastical agents of the time, who at first glance seem to constitute the factor of continuity par excellence in Ravenna, a thorough

³⁹ LPR, ch. 115, pp. 286ff.; Pelà, *La decorazione musiva*, pp. 34–41, 53–8, 160–8; Deichmann, *Hauptstadt*, ii. 273–9; C. Rizzardi, 'Ravenna in età esarcate: Aspetti e problemi artistici', *CARB*, xxxix (1992), 667–89, esp. pp. 677–80; S. Schrenk, *Typos und Antitypos in der frühchristlichen Kunst* (Münster, 1995), pp. 63–74. The panel survived in a heavily restored condition and today shows how the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IV commissioned tax incentives to Bishop Reparatus of Ravenna; for the restorations which were particularly extensive in the area of the panels, see A. M. Iannucci, 'S. Apollinare in Classe a Ravenna: Contributi all'indagine dell'area presbiteriale', *CARB*, xxix (1982), 181–211; Iannucci, *I vescovi*, pp. 173–92. See also Maria Cristina Carile's discussion in this volume.

⁴⁰ See above, n. 10.

⁴¹ See Yuri Marano's chapter in this volume.



Figure 4.15. S. Apollinare in Classe, mosaic panel which originally showed the Byzantine emperor Constans II granting autocephaly to the Ravennate bishop (photo: author).

analysis reveals several breaks which may be interpreted *ex post facto* as the preliminary steps towards an even more major disruption: the break with Rome. From the time of Theoderic's death in 526 a number of initiatives can be identified, aimed at constructing a specific Ravennate identity, initiatives which found their best visual expression in the churches memorializing St. Vitalis and St. Apollinaris. In the second quarter of the sixth century these two saints were systematically promoted as local martyrs and founders of the Ravennate see. With the graves of the bishops Ecclesius, Ursicinus and Victor in S. Vitale the first attempt to establish an official episcopal burial place can be observed. This idea, however, only asserted itself towards the end of the sixth century in S. Apollinare in Classe. In this way, continuity and change go hand in hand. Though, at first glance, they can be perceived as alternative developments, they do not usually constitute genuine oppositions. Only the synthesis of all available sources can do justice to the complexity of history.

5. The circulation of marble in the Adriatic Sea at the time of Justinian

Yuri A. Marano

At the beginning of the seventh century, the *Miracula Demetrii* report how Cyprian, the bishop of Thenai, bought an ambo, a ciborium and some columns, ‘well-protected with straw and other packing’, transported by a boat berthed at night on the coast of Byzacena (nowadays Tunisia). Cyprian obtained these materials, originally destined for a church of the martyr Victor, only after St. Demetrius appeared to the captain of the boat and ordered him to hand them over to the bishop.¹ The delivery of a cargo of marble did not always require the miraculous intervention of a saint, but, to quote J. C. Fant, in antiquity ‘long distance trade in stone’ was ‘an improbable phenomenon’.² Indeed, because of its density, weight and volume, the transportation of stone was a difficult, expensive and time-consuming process and, wherever possible, was avoided.³ Notwithstanding these massive logistical and economic requirements, in the Roman period white and coloured marbles were moved in unprecedented quantities all over the Mediterranean and beyond. In land endowed with good stone for building, marble exerted an irresistible fascination: its exoticism and expensiveness made it a perfect symbol of wealth and power.⁴ In parallel with the decline of private euergetism in late antiquity, the prestige value of marble increased further, and the use of this material became tantamount to a hallmark of officially sponsored building projects. Access to it was progressively restricted to the imperial authorities or to the members of the lay and religious elites. For this reason, during the period between the

¹ P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius*, i. *Texte* (Paris, 1979), pp. 234–41; P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius*, ii. *Commentaire* (Paris, 1981), pp. 163–9.

² J. C. Fant, ‘The Roman emperors in the marble business: capitalists, middlemen or philanthropists?’, in *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade*, ed. N. Herz and M. Waelkens (Dordrecht, 1988), pp. 147–58, esp. p. 147.

³ For a discussion of the mechanisms of long-distance movement of stone artefacts, cf. B. Russell, ‘The dynamics of stone transport between the Roman Mediterranean and its hinterland’, *Facta. A Journal of Roman Material Culture Studies*, ii (2008), 107–26.

⁴ On the trade of marble in antiquity, see B. Russell, *The Economics of the Roman Stone Trade* (Oxford, 2013); and P. Pensabene, *I marmi nella Roma antica* (Rome, 2014).

fifth and sixth centuries the distribution map of marble artefacts, mainly quarried on the island of Proconnesos (today Marmara, in Turkey) and sculpted in the workshops of Constantinople, largely reflects the web of different relations (political, religious and of patronage) which linked the imperial capital to its provinces. If the distribution of marble artefacts can be considered an illustration of the interaction between the centre and one of the internal peripheries of the early Byzantine empire,⁵ the regions facing the Adriatic Sea represent a privileged case for the study of this phenomenon: a vast body of archaeological evidence and a wealth of written sources allow us to contextualize the role of the imperial authorities and of their representatives in the circulation of marble in this period.⁶ This chapter will first consider the functioning of quarrying activities in late antiquity. Second, it will draft a distribution map of the marble artefacts of Constantinopolitan origin in the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, whose regions demonstrate a set of shared cultural traits in the period under consideration (Figure 5.1). Finally, it will build on this evidence to outline the networks of relationships by which the Constantinopolitan marbles reached the shores of the Adriatic Sea.

Marble in late antiquity

Conventionally labelled as the ‘third-century crisis’, the years following the end of the Severan dynasty were among the most disruptive ever experienced by the Roman empire. The political, military, social and economic difficulties of the period determined a steady decline of public munificence: during the second and early third century urban development had stimulated a massive production and consumption of marble, but from the mid third century the number of buildings financed by public and private donors dropped very sharply, and this obviously had a negative effect on aggregate demand for stone.⁷ After about A.D. 250 the activity of several quarries slumped, followed between the fourth and sixth centuries by the exploitation of far fewer

⁵ For the use of material culture in studying the interaction of, and the relationship between, the geographical concepts of centre and periphery in the early Byzantine world, see M. Mundell Mango, ‘The centre in and beyond the periphery: material culture in the early Byzantine empire’, in *Byzantina – Metabyzantina. La périphérie dans les temps et l’espace*, ed. P. Odorico (Paris, 2003), pp. 119–40.

⁶ P. Pensabene and C. Barsanti, ‘Reimpiego e importazione di marmi nell’Adriatico paleocristiano e bizantino’, *AA*, lxxiii (2008), 487–521.

⁷ Despite a series of regional variations, the dedication of public buildings follows roughly the same trend all over the empire: a rise during the 1st century, a peak during the 2nd and decline from the late 2nd/middle of the 3rd century (H. Jouffroy, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l’Afrique du nord* (Strasbourg, 1986)).

The circulation of marble in the Adriatic Sea



Figure 5.1. Map of sites at which the presence of Proconnesian marble sculptures is attested.

marble extraction sites.⁸ But in the same period, those quarries which were better positioned geographically to respond to demand for their products reached their peak. The islands of Proconnesos and Thasos are cases in point: due to their insular location, their marble could be loaded onto waiting ships directly from the quarries, with a significant reduction in costs.⁹ Not by chance, Proconnesian and Thasian marbles commanded the lowest price among all the stones cited in the Price Edict of Diocletian, respectively forty and fifty *denarii* per cubic or square foot (Figure 5.2).¹⁰ Moreover, both islands were close to important markets: due to the proximity of the quarries, Thasian marble was the material preferred by the sculptural workshops active at Thessaloniki,¹¹ while from the end of the third century onwards Proconnesian marble was destined primarily for the building projects sponsored by Diocletian at Nicomedia, followed by the projects of Constantine and Theodosius at Constantinople. Proconnesos is about 100 nautical miles from the capital.¹²

⁸ See J.-P. Sodini, 'Marble and stoneworking, seventh-fifteenth century', in *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. E. Laiou (Washington, DC, 2002), pp. 129–46, esp. pp. 130–3.

⁹ On Proconnesos and Thasos as paradigmatic examples of those smaller Mediterranean islands, where the exploitation of their resources was stimulated far beyond the intrinsic worth of the latter by their accessibility to the sea, see P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: a Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 224–30. Accessibility to the sea also had important implications for other quarries: the silting up of the harbour of Luna, in northern Tuscany, partly explains the diminished importance of Carrara marble and its substitution at Rome with white marbles imported from the east, initially from Proconnesos and Thasos, during the 3rd century (S. Walker, 'From west to east: evidence for a shift in the balance of trade in white marbles', in Herz and Waelkens, *Classical Marble*, pp. 187–95, esp. 190–1). On the contrary, in late antiquity the relative ease with which the stone quarried in Thessaly could be shipped to the harbour of Demetrias on the now dried-up Lake Voivoiês contributed to the export of *verde antico* (O. Karagiorgou, *Urbanism and Economy in Late Antique Thessaly (3rd–7th century): the Archaeological Evidence* (unpublished University of Oxford DPhil thesis, 2001), p. 186).

¹⁰ Russell, *The Economics*, pp. 33–6.

¹¹ On the close connection between Thasos and the production of marble products at Thessaloniki, cf. T. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, 'Thasian marble: a connection between Thasos and Thessaloniki', in *ASMOSIA VII. Actes du VIIe colloque international de l'ASMOSIA, Thasos, 15–20 septembre 2003*, ed. Y. Maniatis, *BCH* supplement, li (Athens, 2003), 19–29; for the exploitation and functioning of Thasian quarries in the early Byzantine period, see J.-P. Sodini, A. Lambraki and T. Kozely, *Les carrières de marbre d'Aliki à l'époque paléochrétienne* (Études Thasiennes, ix, Paris, 1980).

¹² J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'Nicomedia and the marble trade', *PBSR*, xlviii (1980), 23–69.

Dependent on the *fiscus*,¹³ the quarries were worked directly through state employees (soldiers, slaves, convicts and salaried freeborn individuals), or indirectly through public contractors.¹⁴ In the case of Proconnesos especially, the resources that could be mobilized by the imperial authorities played a major role in the development, organization and administration of quarrying activities during late antiquity.¹⁵

Finds at quarries, in shipwrecks and at sites around the Mediterranean allow a detailed reconstruction of production methods. The best evidence is offered by Proconnesos, where 541 artefacts at various stages of manufacture have been brought to light: architectural elements, sarcophagi, statues, liturgical furnishings, water-pipes, stadium and theatre seats, but mainly column-capitals, bases and shafts.¹⁶ Quarry-based workshops were engaged in the serial production of standardized items, but – with the exceptions of the Corinthian capitals of the soft-acanthus type and the Ionian capitals – the most sophisticated elements (like the folded and the double-zone capitals) were shipped to Constantinople for shaping and decoration.¹⁷ From there, cargoes of pre-finished marble elements were sent to various

¹³ R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata. L'aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle* (Rome, 1989), pp. 435–8.

¹⁴ The number of extraction sites, their different scale and layout indicate this type of project management: at Aliko on Thasos the largest quarries were possibly exploited by the imperial authorities, while the smaller ones were perhaps leased to private individuals in return for a fee or a share of the output (Sodini, Lambraki and Kožely, *Les carrières*, p. 85). A similar organizational structure was put in place on Proconnesos, where an inscription seems to suggest a short-term lease to an otherwise unknown church of the Virgin Mary (N. Asgari and T. Drew-Bear, 'The quarry inscriptions of Proconnesos', in *ASMOSIA V. Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone*, ed. J. J. Herrmann, N. Herz and R. Newman (2002), pp. 1–19, esp. pp. 4–5).

¹⁵ This is not a wholly reliable indicator of how much usable stone was extracted since well over 70 per cent of the total material would have been wasted in the process. There is nonetheless a step-change in the scale of exploitation confirmed by the volume of marble quarried. At Aliko, in the early Byzantine period, 220,000 m³ of marble was extracted (T. Kožely and M. Wurch-Kožely, 'Les carrières de marbre à Thasos à l'époque proto-byzantine. Extraction et production', in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini*, ed. F. Baratte, V. Déroche, C. Jolivet-Lévy and B. Pitarakis (Paris, 2005), pp. 465–86, esp. p. 476 n. 34), while on Proconnesos the volume is estimated to be 1,000,000 m³ for the whole period of activity of the quarries (Russell, *The Economics*, p. 63).

¹⁶ N. Asgari, 'The Proconnesian production of architectural elements in late antiquity, based on evidence from marble quarries', in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 263–88. For architectural and art historical terms, I refer to the *Multilingual Illustrated Dictionary of Byzantine Architectural and Sculpture Terminology*, ed. S. Kalopissi-Verti, M. Panayotidi and others (Heraklion, 2010).

¹⁷ Asgari, 'The Proconnesian production', pp. 269–75.

destinations, as attested by the Marzamemi,¹⁸ Ekinlik Adası¹⁹ and Amrit²⁰ shipwrecks.

Sculptures from Proconnesos and Thasos were widely exported and copied, both in close imitation and in a cruder style, in other varieties of marble and local stone.²¹ Indeed, the stone trade and the work of sculptors were firmly rooted in a local and regional environment, and the scientific analysis of marbles has shed light on the complexities behind sculptural practice. Even though it is often possible to draw a connection between carvers and the material they worked, examination has shown that a group of chancel-screens from Delphi, sculpted in a typically Constantinopolitan style, were in marble from Thasos and not, as would be expected, from

¹⁸ Sunk in 500–40 off the south-east coast of Sicily, the Marzamemi ship carried complete furnishings for a small basilica: 28 column-shafts, Corinthian capitals and bases, 5/6 chancel-slabs, 12 pier-colonnettes and chancel-post and a ciborium, all in Proconnesian marble. The presence of an altar table in Pentelic or Microasiatic marble, and especially that of the elements of an ambo in *verde antico* suggests that all the cargo was loaded together at Constantinople, where local workshops worked according to their style materials of different provenance (G. Kapitän, 'Elementi architettonici per una basilica dal relitto navale del VI secolo di Marzamemi (Siracusa)', *CARB*, xxvii (1980), 71–136; E.F. Castagnino Berlinghieri and A. Paribeni, 'Byzantine merchant ships and marble trade: new data from the central Mediterranean', *Skyllis*, xi (2011), 64–75). It is highly plausible that the cargo had been ordered specifically, and that the route of the ship was predetermined; unfortunately, the final destination of the Marzamemi shipwreck is uncertain: southern Italy, Sicily, and Tripolitania are all well-grounded hypotheses (A. Bohne, 'Das Kirchenwrack von Marzamemi. Handel mit Architekturteilen in frühbyzantinischer Zeit', *Skyllis*, i (1998), 6–17, esp. p. 14; N. Duval, 'Commentaire topographique et archéologique de sept dossiers des nouveaux sermons', in *Augustin prédicateur (395–411)*, ed. G. Madec (Paris, 1998), pp. 171–214, esp. p. 185).

¹⁹ Dated to the 6th century, the Ekinlik Adası shipwreck carried a cargo of c.17 column-shafts and c.15 capitals and bases (N. Günsenin, 'Récentes découvertes sur l'île de Marmara (Proconne) à l'époque byzantine [Épaves et lieux de chargement]', *Archaeonautica*, xiv (1998), 309–16, esp. p. 309 n. 1).

²⁰ The cargo of the ship sunk at Amrit, near Tartous in Syria, consisted of one column-shaft, 20 Corinthian capitals, and 16 bases manufactured on Proconnesos, some of which show masons' marks in Greek letters (M. Dennert and S. Westphalen, 'Säulen aus Konstantinopel – ein Schiffsfund im antiken Hafen von Amrit', *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, xiv (2004), 183–95).

²¹ Sculptures in Proconnesian marble are attested in the Aegean Sea, in Asia Minor, in the Levant, in Italy, in northern Africa, in Egypt, and – beyond the frontiers of the early Byzantine empire – in Nubia and at Aksum (J.-P. Sodini, 'Le commerce des marbres à l'époque protobyzantine', in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantine. IVe–VIIe siècle* (Paris 1989), pp. 163–86; J.-P. Sodini, C. Barsanti and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, 'La sculpture architecturale en marbre au VIe siècle à Constantinople et dans les régions sous influence constantinopolitaine', in *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Split-Poreč* (Vatican City/Split, 1998), pp. 300–76); on Thasian artefacts, cf. J. J. Herrmann Jr and J.-P. Sodini, 'Exportations de marbre thasien à l'époque paléochrétienne: le cas des chapiteaux ioniques', *BCH*, ci (1976), 471–511.

Proconnesos.²² This kind of evidence can be compared to the epigraphic and archaeological data relating to the existence of migrant and itinerant carvers. Inscriptions mentioning craftsmen from Proconnesos living and working in areas far from their place of origin are found at several sites around the Aegean Sea and eastern Mediterranean.²³ At the same time, archaeology suggests that on the largest projects groups of craftsmen of different origin worked alongside each other: when the basilica of Lechaion at Corinth and the basilica of St. John at Ephesus were constructed, carvers from Constantinople, working in Proconnesian marble, were used together with local workers.²⁴ Meanwhile, Proconnesian carvers were able to handle local stone, as attested at Stobi, Philippi and Rome.²⁵

The circulation of marble around the shores of the Adriatic Sea in the fifth and sixth centuries

The following section should not be considered a full survey of all the evidence concerning marble circulation around the Adriatic Sea, but rather a selection, divided into regions, of the most representative cases.

Venetia

At Aquileia the import of marble and coloured stones from the eastern Mediterranean is well attested in the late republican and imperial periods, yet in late antiquity this kind of evidence is strikingly scanty despite the enduring importance of the city and its harbour. A rare instance of such import is an Ionian capital of a well-known type produced at the Thasian quarries in the fourth/fifth century, which finds parallels at Rome and Ostia

²² V. Déroches, V. Mandi, Y. Maniatis and A. Nikolaou, 'Identification de marbres antiques à Delphes', *BCH*, cxiii (1989), 403–16, esp. pp. 409–10.

²³ J.-P. Sodini, 'Sculpture architecturale, briques, objets métalliques d'époques paléochrétienne et byzantine', in *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, ed. G. Dagron and D. Feissel (Paris, 1987), pp. 231–56, esp. p. 256 n. 136; D. Feissel, 'Bulletin épigraphique. Inscriptions Chrétiennes et Byzantines', *Revue des Études Grecques*, cviii (1995), 562–72, esp. pp. 565, 717.

²⁴ For these and other examples, cf. Sodini, 'Le commerce des marbre', pp. 165–6.

²⁵ At Philippi, the basket capitals and the impostos of the Basilica B were sculpted in local marble by carvers who had already carried out the decoration of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople (Sodini, 'Le commerce des marbre', p. 165), while at Stobi metropolitan craftsmen used the marble from the nearby quarries of Prilep (P. Niewöhner and W. Prochaska, 'Konstantinopolitanisches Formenrepertoire in Mazedonien. Zur Bischofskirche von Stobi und den Marmorbrüchen von Prilep', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, lxi (2011), 433–9). At Rome, two basket capitals from the basilica of San Clemente were created in Carrara marble by carvers from Constantinople or trained there (F. Guidobaldi, 'I capitelli e le colonnine riutilizzate nel monumento funebre del Cardinal Venerio', in *San Clemente. La scultura del VI secolo*, ed. F. Guidobaldi, C. Barsanti and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi (Rome, 1992), pp. 11–66).

in Italy, as well as in many other localities in the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean.²⁶ Another example is a recently identified Corinthian pilaster with fine-toothed acanthus which originated from Constantinople.²⁷

On the nearby island of Grado, several early Byzantine capitals found in the churches of the *castrum* arrived there as *spolia* after the Fourth Crusade.²⁸ Here, the paucity of late antique imports is counterbalanced by the brisk activity of local sculptural workshops, which in the second half of the sixth century created an original idiom adopting Constantinopolitan, Ravennate and earlier Roman motifs.²⁹

On the mainland, the marble *pergula* in the chapel of San Prodocimo, attached to the basilica of Santa Giustina at Padua, deserves a special mention. Supported by four pier-colonnettes, fitted for the insertion of chancel-screens in local limestone, the *pergula* has a *kyma* decorative pattern on the horseshoe arch with the inscription celebrating the foundation of the chapel by the *vir illustris* and *praefectus praetorio* Opilio (before 524).³⁰

Istria and Dalmatia

In comparison with the paucity of evidence in the territory of ancient Venetia, Istria and Dalmatia display a major feature in the landscape of early Byzantine art, namely the basilica of Eufrasius at Poreč (Figure 5.3). Built in the aftermath of the imperial reconquest, this three-aisled church formed a double basilica complex with a fifth-century cult building, also comprising a baptistery annex and a two-storey episcopal residence.³¹ The basilica built by Eufrasius was lavishly decorated with wall and floor mosaics, and employed substantial quantities of Proconnesian marble for its architectural elements (column-shafts and bases, Corinthian, double-

²⁶ Herrmann and Sodini, 'Exportations de marbre thasien', pp. 424–5.

²⁷ P. Pensabene, 'Il reimpiego ad Aquileia: problematiche aperte', *AA*, lxxiv (2012), 85–102, esp. p. 92.

²⁸ P. Pensabene, 'Reimpiego ed interventi edilizi nell'Aquileia tardoantica', *AA*, lxii (2006), 365–442, esp. pp. 380–3.

²⁹ A. Terry, 'The early Christian sculpture at Grado: a reconsideration', *Gesta*, xxvi (1987), 93–112.

³⁰ P. L. Zovatto, 'La *pergula* paleocristiana di San Prodocimo di Padova e il ritratto del suo titolare', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, xxxiv (1958), 137–67.

³¹ On the development of the episcopal complex at Poreč, see P. Chevalier and I. Matejčić, 'Du *cardo* au *narthex* de la cathédrale: contribution à l'étude du développement de groupe épiscopale de Poreč', in *Mélanges d'Antiquité Tardive. Studioli in honorem Noel Duval*, ed. C. Balmelle, P. Chevalier and G. Ripoll (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 149–64. On its mosaics, see A. Terry and H. Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor: the Wall-Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius* (University Park, Pa., 2007). Only one secure date, 559, exists for Eufrasius.



Figure 5.3. Poreč, interior of the basilica of Eufrasius, c.1916 (Terry and Maguire 2007).

zone and basket capitals, impostes, door-frames, window mullions and *transennae*) and liturgical furnishings.³²

There are also a few Proconnesian sculptures at Pula: three chancel-screens and a double-zone capital come respectively from the cathedral and its baptistery, while two fragmentary chancel-screens have been recovered at the site of the church of Santa Maria Formosa, founded in his hometown by Archbishop Maximianus of Ravenna (546–57).³³

In Dalmatia, the age of Justinian (527–65) was marked by intense church-building activity, epitomized by the works sponsored by Bishop Honorius II (527–47) at Salona.³⁴ Among other projects, Honorius restored the sanctuary of the local episcopal basilica and provided it with chancel screens in Proconnesian marble bearing his monogram where they faced the

³² For a catalogue of these materials, see A. Terry, 'The sculpture at the cathedral of Eufrasius in Poreč', *DOP*, xlii (1988), 13–64; E. Russo, *Sculture del complesso eufrasiana di Parenzo* (Naples, 1991).

³³ M. Vicelja, 'The Justinianic sculpture at Pula: a reconsideration', in *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Split-Poreč*, ed. N. Cambi and E. Marín (Vatican City/Split, 1998), pp. 1037–46, esp. pp. 1039–49.

³⁴ B. Kuntić Makvić, 'Honorius Iunior, Salonitanae urbis episcopus. Essai sur la Dalmatie de son temps', in *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Split-Poreč*, ed. N. Cambi and E. Marín (Vatican City/Split, 1998), pp. 997–1002.

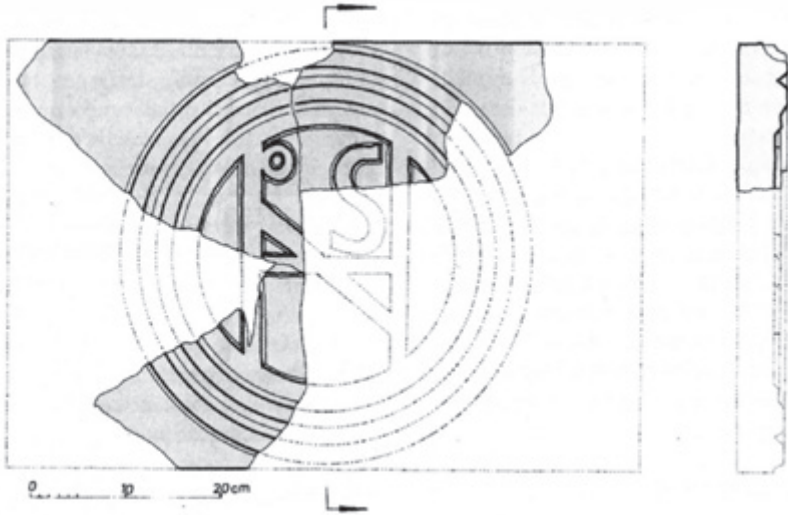


Figure 5.4. Salona, chancel-screen from the episcopal basilica bearing the monogram of Bishop Honorius (Chevalier and Metzger 1994).

nave (Figure 5.4).³⁵ The same bishop or one of his successors, Peter IV (554–62), commissioned the lattice-worked *transennae* in the *Basilica Urbana* at Salona and the one carved in Proconnesian marble in the suburban basilica at Manastirine. The bishop probably used *spolia* as his basic materials.³⁶

³⁵ On the intervention by Honorius II, see P. Chevalier and J. Mardešić, ‘Le groupe épiscopal de Salone au VIe–VIIe siècles. Urbanisme et vie quotidienne’, *MEFR – Moyen Âge*, cxx (2008), 227–38, esp. pp. 230–4; on the chancel-screens, see P. Chevalier and C. Metzger, ‘Plaques de chancel en marbre’, in *Salona I. Catalogue de la sculpture architecturale paléochrétienne de Salone*, Collection de l’École française de Rome 194, ed. N. Duval, E. Marín and C. Metzger (Rome, 1994), pp. 238–46. These items find their closest parallels in the chancel-screens with the monogram of Pope John II (533–6) in the basilica of San Clemente at Rome (C. Barsanti and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, ‘Gli elementi della recinzione liturgica ed altri frammenti minori nell’ambito della produzione scultorea protobizantina’, in *San Clemente. La scultura del VI secolo*, ed. F. Guidobaldi, C. Barsanti and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi (Rome, 1992), pp. 62–270, esp. pp. 54, 154–5); and in those from the cathedral of Ekatonpolyani on Paros, bearing the monograms of a Bishop George, of the presbyters George and Constantine, two members of the civil administration, a certain Michael and another donor whose name cannot be reconstructed (A. Mitsani, ‘Το παλαιοχριστιανικό τέμπλο της Καταπολιανής Πάρου’, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, xxvii (2006), 75–90, esp. pp. 79–84); G. Kiourtzian, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes des Cyclades. De la fin du IIIe au VIIe siècles après J.-C.* (Paris, 2000), pp. 124–6).

³⁶ C. Metzger, ‘Chancel à colonnettes’, in *Salona I. Catalogue de la sculpture architecturale paléochrétienne de Salone*, Collection de l’École française de Rome 194, ed. N. Duval, E. Marín and C. Metzger (Rome, 1994), pp. 236–8.



Figure 5.5. Ancona, curved parapet slab of an ambo from the early Christian basilica of San Lorenzo (Polverari 1993).

Picenum

In the territory of Picenum, a vast array of Constantinopolitan sculptures was re-employed in the Romanesque cathedral of San Ciriaco at Ancona: these Corinthian capitals, Ionic-impost capitals, impost-blocks and column-shafts possibly come from the early Christian basilica of S. Lorenzo (fifth–sixth century) lying underneath the medieval building.³⁷ Also discovered there was a curved parapet slab, now in the Museo Diocesano, that originally belonged to an ambo with double staircase (Figure 5.5).³⁸ Two fragmentary chancel-posts and a Corinthian capital in Proconnesian marble were recovered at the church of S. Maria alla Piazza, where the mosaic floor

³⁷ On the marbles, see C. Barsanti, ‘Testimonianze bizantine in Ancona. Le spoglie paleocristiane del San Ciriaco’, in *Atti del V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana (Pesaro – Ancona, 19–23 settembre 1983)* (Florence, 1985), pp. 387–404; on the early Christian basilica of San Lorenzo, see L. Pani Ermini, ‘La chiesa di San Lorenzo’, in *San Ciriaco. La cattedrale di Ancona*, ed. M. L. Polichetti (Milan, 2003), pp. 94–115.

³⁸ M. Polverari, *Ancona e Bisanzio* (Ancona, 1993), p. 14.



Figure 5.6. Siponto, chancel-screens (Barsanti 2003).

of the early Christian phase was renewed in the central decades of the sixth century.³⁹

Apulia

Abundant evidence for the circulation of Constantinopolitan marble artefacts around the Adriatic Sea in the fifth and sixth centuries comes from the coastal towns and harbours of Apulia, where column-shafts, capitals and bases, chancel-screens and posts, pier-colonnettes and sarcophagi of eastern origin were often re-employed in the medieval churches of the region.⁴⁰ At Siponto and at the sanctuary of the Archangel Michael on

³⁹ C. Barsanti, 'Mosaici pavimentali paleocristiani in Ancona: alcune riflessioni', in *Atti del II Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico (Roma, 5-7 dicembre 1994)*, ed. I. Bragantini and F. Guidobaldi (Bordighera, 1995), pp. 188-96, esp. pp. 190-1.

⁴⁰ For a complete catalogue of these artefacts, cf. G. Bertelli, *Le diocesi della Puglia centro-settentrionale. Aecae, Bari, Bovino, Canosa, Egnathia, Herdonia, Lucera, Siponto, Trani, Vieste* (Spoleto, 2002).

Mount Gargano, imports include a noticeable series of chancel-screens⁴¹ that imitate the lattice-worked slabs of Constantinople (Hagia Sophia, SS. Sergius and Bacchus) and Ravenna (Basilica Ursiana, San Vitale), and find parallels in Greece, Jordan and Egypt (Figure 5.6).⁴² Equally remarkable is the double-zone capital from Canosa, comparable with analogous capitals in Constantinople, Philippi, Carthage (Damous el Karita), Ravenna (S. Apollinare in Classe) and Durrës.⁴³

Epirus

The early Christian buildings of Epirus have produced a wide variety of sculptural elements in local stone, but a relatively small quantity of imported elements. Indeed, plotting the distribution of Constantinopolitan artefacts has demonstrated a marked dearth of these materials within the territories of present-day Albania and north-western Greece. These regions provide perhaps some of the best evidence for contrasting patterns of stone use in coastal and inland areas, and the effect of mountainous topography on the medium and long-distance movement of stone. In general, most of the architectural elements and liturgical furnishings were carved in local limestone, put in place alongside a limited number of marble imports.⁴⁴ With a few exceptions, the use of marble at inland sites seems to be limited to small-scale objects, such as altar-tables, colonnettes and bases, a number of which have been recovered, for example at Byllis.⁴⁵

Coastal sites, such as Durrës and Saranda (ancient Onchesmos) offer a quite different picture. At Durrës, recent research has confirmed the late fifth-/early sixth-century date for the Circular Forum, suggesting that it was one of the many buildings bestowed by the Emperor Anastasius (491–518)

⁴¹ C. Barsanti, 'I plutei di Siponto, Monte Sant'Angelo e Benevento', in *1983–1993. Dieci anni di archeologia cristiana in Italia*, ed. E. Russo (Cassino, 2003), pp. 745–60.

⁴² J.-P. Sodini, 'Remarques sur la sculpture architecturale d'Attique, de Béotie et du Péloponnèse à l'époque paléochrétienne', *BCH*, ci (1977), 423–50, esp. pp. 441–3; C. Barsanti, 'Le transenne', in *Santa Sofia di Costantinopoli. L'arredo marmoreo della Grande Chiesa giustiniana*, ed. A. Guiglia Guidobaldi and C. Barsanti (Studi di Antichità Cristiana, lx, Vatican City, 2004), 493–529.

⁴³ Bertelli, *Le diocesi della Puglia*, pp. 255–6.

⁴⁴ W. Bowden, *Epirus Vetus: the Archaeology of a Late Antique Province* (2003), pp. 114–21; E. Hobdari, 'Karakteristika të skulpturës paleokristiane në Shqipëri', *Iliria*, xxxv (2011), 341–58 (with French summary).

⁴⁵ Some of these materials bear monograms referring to Bishop Praesios (?), whose name also features in the mosaic floors of the local basilicas C and D (P. Chevalier, 'Les autels paléochrétiens des provinces d'*Epirus Vetus*, *Epirus Nova* et *Praevalis*', *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, xi (2005), 65–80, esp. pp. 73–5).



Figure 5.7. Durrës, Circular Forum (photo: author).

upon his native city (Figure 5.7).⁴⁶ Imperial sponsorship is also apparent in the use of marble and imported stone on a lavish scale: the circular plaza is surrounded by a colonnade of Troad granite shafts topped by Corinthian capitals carved in Proconnesian marble and resting on bases of the same material; the provenance of these elements from the quarries of Proconnesos is certified by the presence of masons' marks in Greek letters (ΠΙΑΤ and ΕΥ).⁴⁷ At Saranda, the excavations carried out at the *Rruga Skenderbeu* basilica have revealed the remains of a late antique synagogue transformed into a Christian church at the end of the fifth century.⁴⁸ The cult building was adorned in pier-

⁴⁶ A. Hoti, J. Wilkes, E. Metalla and B. Skhodra, 'The early Byzantine circular forum in Dyrrachium (Durrës, Albania) in 2002 and 2004–2005: recent recording and excavation', *ABSA*, ciii (2008), 367–97.

⁴⁷ P. Pensabene, 'Inscribed architectural elements from the Prokonnesos in Durazzo, Tartous, Cilician Aphrodisias, and Caesarea', in *ASMOSIA V. Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone*, ed. J. J. Herrmann, N. Herz and R. Newman (2002), pp. 328–34, esp. p. 330.

⁴⁸ M.-P. Raynaud, E. Nallbani, G. Foerster, E. Netzer and K. Lako, 'Une synagogue transformée en église à Saranda (Albanie)', in *Xème Colloque International pour l'Etude de la Mosaïque Antique (XCMGR)* (Lisbon, 2012), pp. 687–701.



Figure 5.8. Nikopolis, sarcophagus from the basilica D (photo: author).

columnettes, chancel-screens, handrails, an altar-table with a Greek inscription and capitals, all in Proconnesian marble and part of a single commission.⁴⁹

Further south, the basilicas at Nikopolis, capital of the late antique province of *Epirus Vetus*, have produced a number of imported marble sculptures,⁵⁰ but the most spectacular find is undoubtedly the Constantinopolitan sarcophagus brought to light a few years ago in the northern arm of the transept of basilica Δ (Figure 5.8).⁵¹ The exceptional nature of the find lies not only in the sarcophagus's remarkable state of preservation, but also in the scarce evidence that similar products were exported outside Constantinople.⁵²

⁴⁹ K. Lako, 'Basilika paleokristiane e Onhezmit', *Iliria*, xxi (1991), 123–86 (with French summary); E. Hobdari has made a specific study of the handrails in 'Donëmbishtetësit në instalimet e Basilikave paleokristiane', *Candavia*, ii (2005), 131–6 (with French summary).

⁵⁰ E. Chalkia, 'La scultura paleocristiana di Nicopoli. Alcune considerazioni', in *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel (Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999)*, ed. R. Harreiter, P. Harreiter, R. Pillinger and A. Pülz (Studi di Antichità Cristiana, lxii, Vatican City, 2006), pp. 281–9.

⁵¹ E. Chalkia, 'Un sarcofago costantinopolitano a Nicopoli', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, lxxx (2004), 212–32.

⁵² Parallels can be found at Constantinople (G. Bovini, 'Le tombe degli imperatori d'Oriente dei secoli IV, V e VI', in *CARB*, i (1962), 155–78; G. Koch, *Frühchristliche*

Conclusions

Gregory of Nazianzus tells the story of a priest from Thasos, who was assigned the task of purchasing slabs in Proconnesian marble for a chancel-screen but squandered the funds.⁵³ This episode, like that recounted by the *Miracula Demetrii* two centuries later, suggests that the quarries on Proconnesos were still engaged in commercial activity. However, much of this marble was produced for the state's own ends: marble was central to the representation of imperial wealth and power, and state production and diffusion were closely interlinked. Throughout the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, Proconnesian marble was the chief fine material used for both secular and ecclesiastical imperially sponsored projects, and it was widely employed in the buildings erected by Justinian in the reconquered provinces of empire.⁵⁴

Around the Adriatic Sea, marble from Proconnesos had been used in imperial foundations from as early as the mid fifth century: at Ravenna, the impost-blocks in the basilica of San Giovanni Evangelista, built by Galla Placidia between 424 and 434, and the twenty-four column-shafts, capitals, and impost-blocks of the *basilica Apostolorum* are the first examples of a usage that would become a regular feature of the sixth century.⁵⁵ It has been

Sarkophage (Munich, 2000), 399–443), and – outside the imperial capital – at Doljani in Montenegro (I. Nikolajević-Stojković, 'La décoration architecturale des églises découvertes à Doljani – Monténègre', in *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana (Ravenna, 23–30 settembre 1962)* (Studi di Antichità Cristiana, xxvi, Vatican City, 1965), pp. 457–70, esp. 463–9) and in the fragmentary sarcophagus from Naxos in Greece (M. Lambertz, 'Ein frühchristlicher Sarkophag aus Naxos', *Mitteilungen zur Spätantiken Archäologie und Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, v (2007), 21–33).

⁵³ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Poema de ipso*, ll. 875ff. = PG 37, col. 1089.

⁵⁴ Just to mention a few examples, the presence of Proconnesian marble has been detected at the basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome, built by Valentinian II, Arcadius and Theodosius (J. J. Herrmann Jr, R. H. Tykot and A. van den Hoek, 'Parian marble in early Christian times', in *Leukos lithos: Marbres et autres roches de la Méditerranée antique: études interdisciplinaires*, ed. P. Jockey (Paris, 2011), pp. 723–37); at the shrine of St. Menas in the Nile Delta, where the construction was started by Arcadius and Theodosius II and completed by Zeno (G. Severin and H.-G. Severin, *Marmor vom heiligen Menas* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987)); at the shrines of St. Thecla at Meriamlik in Cilicia (M. Gough, 'The Emperor Zeno and some Cilician churches', *Anatolian Studies*, xxii (1972), 199–212), and of the Mother of God on Mount Gazirim in Samaria (M. G. Schneider, 'Römische und byzantinischen Bauten auf dem Gazirim', *Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*, lxxviii (1951), 68, 211–34).

⁵⁵ R. Olivieri Farioli, *Corpus della scultura paleocristiana, bizantina ed altomedievale di Ravenna*, iii. *La scultura architettonica: basi, capitelli, pietre d'imposta, pilastri, plutei e pulvini* (Rome, 1969), pp. 79–83 nn. 151–71; R. Farioli Campanati, 'La scultura architettonica e di arredo liturgico a Ravenna alla fine della tarda Antichità: i rapporti con Costantinopoli', in *Storia di Ravenna*, ii: *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana. Territorio, economia e società*, ed. A. Carile (Venice, 1991), pp. 249–67, esp. p. 252.

calculated that 1,556 tons of marble were imported to Ravenna between the installation of Bishop John I (477–94) and the death of Bishop Peter III (570–8), the phase of the most intense building activity in the late antique history of the city, encompassing the building programmes of Theoderic (493–526) and Justinian.⁵⁶

This led some scholars to suggest that a marble entrepôt existed in Ravenna, modelled on the centralized marble yards of imperial Rome and Portus, where marble blocks and architectural elements in set forms were amassed, supervised by the imperial administration.⁵⁷ Such a model has recently been questioned, however: the large quantities of materials recovered from the banks of the Tiber in the Emporium district at Rome and Portus might be more plausibly interpreted as discards from imperial building projects rather as the remnants of carefully managed stockpiles.⁵⁸ In the Roman imperial period, production to order seems to have been more common than generally assumed: most architectural elements were produced in response to specific demand, and this system remained common until late antiquity. At the quarries, unintentional stockpiles of leftover material from earlier projects, or supplies on which purchasers had defaulted, might have been very common,⁵⁹ and this could explain less homogeneous assemblages such as that of the basilica of Eufrasius at Poreč, where the capitals and pier-colonnettes differ in date and functional type, as well as in stages of refinement. For this reason, Eufrasius has been described as having acquired his marbles at Ravenna, where the local entrepôt did not allow a homogeneity as pronounced as that of the churches whose marble elements were specifically ordered at Constantinople.⁶⁰ The cargo of the Marzamemi shipwreck demonstrates, however, that marble elements could be shipped incompletely finished and not necessarily in homogeneous sets.⁶¹

⁵⁶ The estimate is conservative and excludes the marble imported for floor-paving, revetment, liturgical furnishing and sarcophagi (J. G. Harper, 'The provisioning of marble for the sixth-century churches of Ravenna: a reconstructive analysis', in *Pratum Romanum. Richard Krauthmeier zum 100. Geburtstag*, ed. R. L. Colella, M. J. Gill, L. A. Jenkins and P. Lamers (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 131–48, esp. p. 146).

⁵⁷ Harper, 'The provisioning of marble', p. 134.

⁵⁸ Materials found at Rome and Portus were primarily blocks for sawing into veneer panels and large quantities of architectural elements in pre-determined forms. Another reason to doubt the identification of these assemblages as deliberately amassed stockpiles is the fact that most of the objects were cracked, broken or faulty (Russell, *The Economics*, pp. 234–9).

⁵⁹ Harper, 'The provisioning of marble', pp. 232–4.

⁶⁰ Terry, 'The sculpture at the cathedral of Eufrasius', p. 57.

⁶¹ On this, see J.-P. Sodini, 'Rome, Constantinople et le Proche Orient: le témoignage de Ravenne', *JRA*, iv (1991), 398–409.

In light of this evidence, it seems most likely that single orders were forwarded directly to the quarries by individual patrons, as in the case of the Ostrogothic queen Amalasantha, who, according to Cassiodorus, sent a certain Calogenitus to Constantinople to obtain 'marmora vel alia necessaria' for an unspecified building project.⁶² Along the Adriatic and Ionian shores, patrons came mainly from the lay and ecclesiastical elites: the import of marble was targeted and only centres of political, strategic and religious relevance benefited from it. All this, then, might be considered a reflection of the interaction between Constantinople and the provinces of the early Byzantine empire.

A direct imperial intervention occurred at Durrës, a key point on both sea and land routes between east and west, where, as Malalas states, Anastasius 'built many buildings ... and had even provided a hippodrome for the habitants'.⁶³ To date, the best evidence of Anastasius's munificence in his hometown is offered by the Circular Forum, decorated with architectural elements from the imperial quarries of Proconnesos and the Troad.

It is reasonable to assume that imperial officers patronized the refurbishment of the early Christian churches of San Lorenzo and Santa Maria alla Piazza at Ancona, which were provided with elements in Proconnesian marble between the fifth and the sixth centuries. During the Gothic war, the fortress of Ancona had an important strategic role, as the place where 'the Romans ... brought all their supplies from Sicily and Calabria and stored them ... and, at the proper time, easily got them from there', as Procopius says.⁶⁴ In the aftermath of the conflict, the administrative and religious structures of *Picenum* were reorganized;⁶⁵ and the interest of the imperial authorities in the region is demonstrated by a mosaic inscription from the cathedral at Pesaro recording the restoration of the building by Iohannes, the *vir gloriosus magister militum et exconsul provinciae Mysiae natus*, and by Justinian's victorious generalissimo Narses.⁶⁶

⁶² Cassiodorus, *Variae*, x. 8.2.

⁶³ Malalas, *Chronographia*, trans. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott.

⁶⁴ Procopius, *History of the Wars*, VI. 24.14–15 (trans. H. B. Dewing); on the growth of the importance of Ancona in the mid 6th century, cf. E. Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine. Territorio, insediamento ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo)* (Bari, 1998), pp. 150–3.

⁶⁵ M. C. Profumo, 'Aspetti e problemi della cristianizzazione dell'area picena', *AA*, lxxvi (2008), 151–12.

⁶⁶ R. Farioli Campanati, 'I mosaici pavimentali della seconda fase della Cattedrale di Pesaro', in *Picus. Studi e ricerche sulle Marche nell'Antichità*, xviii (1998), 7–29. Iohannes, who was married to Justina, daughter of Germanus, Justinian's cousin, was sent to reinforce Belisarius in Italy, where he commanded the Byzantine army in *Picenum* and Apulia. A lost inscription from Ravenna or Rimini (*ICVR* II, 1, 14) attributes to him the construction of a

Examination of particular sites reveals that ecclesiastical patrons were responsible for the circulation of marble artefacts. In the ninth-century *Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, Archbishop Maximian was remembered for having ‘decorated with all diligence the church of St. Andrew’, where after ‘having removed the old columns made of nut trees, he filled the church with columns of Proconnesian marble’.⁶⁷ Maximian himself decorated the church of Santa Maria Formosa at Pula with marble elements from Constantinople, where he also hired the craftsmen who completed the apse mosaic.⁶⁸ Consecrated in A.D. 546 at Patras at Justinian’s command, Maximian enjoyed a special relationship with the emperor.⁶⁹

As part of large-scale episcopal building-projects, the import of marble sculpture from Constantinople also occurred in Dalmatia and Epirus during the fifth and sixth centuries. At Salona and Nikopolis, as elsewhere, the building and rebuilding of churches was common during this period, when bishops exploited the foundation of cult-buildings and their decoration to

basilica in one of the two cities (J. R. Martindale, ‘Ioannes 46’, in *PLRE*, IIIA, A. 527–641 (Cambridge, 1992), 652–61; ‘Iohannes 51’, in *Prosopographie de l’Italie chrétienne (313–614)*, ed. C. Pietri and L. Pietri (Rome 1999), pp. 1096–7).

⁶⁷ Agnellus, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, trans. D. M. Deliyannis (Washington, DC, 2004), ch. 76.

⁶⁸ The fragmentary *traditio legis* belongs to the metropolitan artistic tradition, finding parallels at Thessaloniki (Hosios David), at Nikopolis (mosaics on the ambo of Basilica B), and in Cyprus (church of the Panagia Kanakariá at Lythrankomi) (A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakariá at Lythrankomi: its Mosaics and Frescoes* (Washington, DC, 1977), pp. 118–19). That the mosaics of Santa Maria Formosa were realized by Constantinopolitan or eastern mosaicists is further suggested by the Greek inscription that once ran around the conch (S. Tavano, ‘La restaurazione giustiniana in Africa e nell’alto Adriatico’, *AA*, v (1974), 251–83).

⁶⁹ See ‘Maximianvs 2’, in Pietri and Pietri, *Prosopographie de l’Italie chrétienne*, pp. 1446–53. Maximian was initially unpopular in Ravenna, and it might be no accident that the mosaic of the north apse wall of San Vitale depicts him next to Justinian. The construction of San Vitale, a double-shelled building with an octagonal core, whose closest parallel is the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople, was started under bishop Ecclesius (523/31–2) thanks to the generosity of the *argentarius* (banker) Julian, who spent 26,000 *solidi* on the basilica. Ecclesius features in the mosaics in the vault of the apse offering a model of the building to Christ. The works continued under Victor (538–45), and the possibility cannot be ruled out that the mosaic of the north apse wall originally depicted him. But it was remade after the Byzantine reconquest of Ravenna after 540, specifically to emphasize the connection with Maximian, who consecrated the building in 547 or 548 and whose physiognomy is the most distinctive of the group which comprises Justinian followed by members of his court and soldiers (I. Andreescu-Treadgold and W. Treadgold, ‘Procopius and the Imperial Panels of S. Vitale’, *Art Bulletin*, lxxix (1997), 708–23). See also Carola Jäggi in this volume.

consolidate their authority, and to bear witness to the increasing financial resources, power and prestige of the church.⁷⁰

Bishops can be viewed as links in the imperial chain, even though they stood at a distance from Constantinople. A tradition that is only documented much later attributes to Bishop Laurence of Siponto a family link with the emperor Zeno (476–91), who sent him money and the ‘most skilled craftsmen’ to assist in the decoration of his church.⁷¹ It is tempting to draw some connection between this tradition and the rich array of imported sculptures at Siponto and at the sanctuary of the Archangel Michael on Mount Gargano, founded between the middle and end of the fifth century.⁷² The presence of Constantinopolitan sculptures along the Apulian coast reflects the prosperity of the region in late antiquity and its links with the wider Mediterranean world:⁷³ Apulia had long-established contacts with the Balkans and Greece, and from the fourth century onwards local bishops played a major role in diplomatic relations between Rome and the eastern church.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ See J.-P. Caillet, ‘L’affirmation de l’autorité de l’évêque dans les sanctuaires paléochrétiens du haut Adriatique: de l’inscription à l’image’, in *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, xxiv (2003), 21–30; and J.-P. Sodini, ‘L’activité et architectural et urbanistique des évêques dans les Préfectures du Prétoire d’Illyricum et d’Orient’, in *Episcopus, civitas, territorium, Atti del XV Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia cristiana (Toledo, 8–12.9.2008)* (Vatican City, 2013), pp. 675–720.

⁷¹ On the problems the hagiographic tradition posed for Laurentius of Siponto, perhaps 11th-century in date, see A. Campione, ‘Lorenzo di Siponto: un vescovo del VI secolo tra agiografia e storia’, *Vetera Christianorum*, xli (2004), 61–82.

⁷² The Archangel Michael is said to have appeared to Laurentius of Siponto (G. Otranto, ‘Il Liber de apparitione, il santuario di San Michele sul Gargano e i Longobardi del Ducato di Benevento’, in *Santuari e politica nel mondo antico*, ed. M. Sordi (Milan, 1983), pp. 210–45). The early interest of Byzantine elites in the sanctuary is attested by the early medieval *Vita sanctae Artellaidis*, telling the story of a certain *Artellaidis*, daughter of a proconsul Lucius and nephew of *Narsus* (Narses?), who donated 30 *aurei* to the Archangel Michael (G. Bertelli, ‘Pellegrinaggi femminili a Monte S. Angelo’, in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie* (Münster, 1995), pp. 537–42).

⁷³ G. Volpe, ‘San Giusto e l’Apulia nel contesto tardoantico’, in *L’archeologia dell’Adriatico dalla Preistoria al Medioevo*, ed. F. Lenzi (Florence, 2003), pp. 507–36, esp. pp. 511–17.

⁷⁴ G. Otranto, ‘Note sull’Italia meridionale paleocristiana nei rapporti con il mondo bizantino’, *Augustinianum*, xxv (1995), 859–84. A good comparison is offered by Rome, where the import of liturgical furniture in Proconnesian marble coincides with a period of intense diplomatic relations between the papacy and the imperial court, inaugurated by Pope Hormisdas (514–23). Justinian, who had not yet ascended the throne, asked the pope for corporeal relics of the Apostles and of S. Laurence to place in the new basilica he was dedicating to them (A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, ‘La scultura di arredo liturgico nelle chiese di Roma: il momento bizantino’, in *Ecclesiae Urbis. Atti del Congresso Internazionale sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo)*, ed. F. Guidobaldi and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi (Vatican City, 2002), pp. 1479–524, esp. pp. 1490–500).

Centres of different levels of importance were integrated, to various degrees, in this network of relations: the bishops of Nikopolis took part in the doctrinal disputes of their time,⁷⁵ while those of Saranda, the best harbour along the sea-lanes between the Adriatic and the Ionian seas, were involved in regional and (perhaps) interregional relations.⁷⁶

During late antiquity, as in earlier and later periods, the Adriatic Sea functioned as a commercial and cultural intermediary between east and west. Its maritime routes were intersected by the *Via Egnatia*, which stretched through the Balkans to Thessaloniki and Constantinople, linking key harbours of the Adriatic and Aegean seas and connecting important towns. These networks facilitated and renewed commercial activities, encouraged cultural interactions, and became channels of imperial propaganda. The penetration of Constantinopolitan and eastern artistic models along the shores of the Adriatic Sea reveals cultural, political and religious interactions that can also be detected in the overall pattern of distribution of marble artefacts.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ C. Pietri, 'La géographie de l'Illyricum ecclésiastique et ses relations avec l'Église de Rome (Ve–VIe siècles)', in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, lxxvii, Rome, 1984), pp. 21–62, esp. pp. 41–8.

⁷⁶ R. Hodges, 'Sarandë, ancient *Onchesmos*, and "the corrupting sea"', in *New Directions in Albanian Archaeology. Studies presented to Muzafer Korkuti*, ed. L. Bejko and R. Hodges (Tirana, 2006), pp. 223–41.

⁷⁷ For an overview, see R. Farioli Campanati, 'Botteghe ravennati tra Oriente e Occidente', in *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale. Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Ravenna, 6–12 giugno 2004)* (Spoleto, 2005), pp. 361–81. An eastern influence in the composition and choice of motifs for mosaic floors has long been recognized (R. Moreno Cassano, 'Mosaici paleocristiani di Puglia', in *MEFR – Antiquité*, lxxxviii (1976), 277–373; P. De Santis, 'I pavimenti musivi della chiesa paleocristiana di San Giusto tra oriente e occidente. Origini e modalità di trasmissione degli schemi geometrici', in *Akten des XIV. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie. Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel (Wien 19.–26. 9. 1999)*, ed. R. Harreiter, P. Harreiter, R. Pillingner and A. Pülz (Studi di Antichità Cristiana, lxii, Vatican City, 2006), pp. 325–36). In terms of architectural prototypes, a 'metropolitan' model inspired the centrally-planned basilica of San Leucio at Canosa (P. Pensabene and A. D'Alessio, 'Il complesso di san Leucio alla luce dei nuovi scavi 2005–2006', in *Canosa. Ricerche storiche 2007*, ed. L. Bertoldi Lenoci and M. Franca (2008), pp. 105–42), while the small early Christian basilica discovered underneath the medieval cathedral at Barletta (Barletta-Andria-Trani) possessed a 'Helladic *pastophorion*' (P. Favia and R. Giuliani, 'Presenze sacre nel sottosuolo della cattedrale di Barletta. Prime note sulle indagini archeologiche', *Vetera Christianorum*, xxxiv (1997), 329–65).

6. Social instability and economic decline of the Ostrogothic community in the aftermath of the imperial victory: the papyri evidence*

Salvatore Cosentino

*In memory of Giovanni Feo,
friend and scholar*

In the summer of 489, after sixteen years of peregrinations across the Balkans, Theoderic, son of Theodemir, arrived in Italy.¹ Some sources state that the Ostrogothic warriors were followed by their families; the migrant group must have totalled about 100,000.² In a recent book Pierfrancesco Porena argued convincingly that the Ostrogothic settlement in Italy entailed an actual distribution of land among the newcomers and was not effected by distributing shares of fiscal revenues to them, as per Goffart's long-debated

* I am indebted to Judith Herrin and Jinty Nelson for editorial support.

¹ The best account of the political events is H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, trans. T. J. Dunlap (Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif., 1988), pp. 278–84.

² The first scholar to propose this figure was L. Schmidt, 'Das germanische Volkstum in den Reichen der Völkerwanderungszeit', *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, xxix (1935), 426; L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der germanischen Völker: die Ostgermanen* (Berlin, 1941), p. 293. This figure has been accepted, among others, by Wilhelm Ensslin, *Theoderich der Grosse* (Munich, 1956), p. 62; Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, p. 279; F. M. Ausbüttel, *Theoderich der Grosse. Der Germane auf dem Kaiserthron* (Darmstadt, 2003), p. 55; and, recently, P. Heather, *Empires and Barbarians: the Fall of Rome and the Birth of Europe* (Oxford, 2010), p. 250 (who thinks that the migrant group must have been composed of 50,000–100,000 individuals, of whom about 20,000 were warriors). T. Burns, 'Calculating Ostrogothic population', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, xxvi (1978), 461–63, proposes a lower number, between 35,000 and 40,000. This estimate, however, does not fit with the information provided by Procopius, according to which K. Hannestad, 'Les forces militaires d'après la guerre gothique de Procope', *Classica et Mediaevalia*, xxi (1960), 180, calculates that in the first part of the Graeco-Gothic war the Ostrogothic army was composed of at least 30,000 warriors. J. Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (Oxford, 1992), p. 67 n. 4, discusses the figures.

theory.³ Through a careful analysis of the *Laus Liberii* (Var. II:16),⁴ written between 507 and 511, and the almost contemporary panegyric addressed by Ennodius to the *praefectus* Liberius (Enn. *Ep.* IX:23),⁵ as well as other key texts (such as *Var.* I:18; *Var.* VII:3 and *P. Ital.* 31),⁶ Porena concludes that the distribution of land was performed in 493 through a general law (now lost), followed perhaps by a prefectorial edict.⁷ There were two kinds of concessions: estates (*sortes*) distributed among the Ostrogothic warriors on behalf of prefect officials (*delegatores*), and personal donations Theoderic made in favour of individuals.⁸ The expropriated land was taken above all from Odovacer's followers and from shares of the possessions of middle-sized landowners.⁹ For the most part, senatorial property was left untouched, one reason being that Gothic occupation affected central and northern Italy almost exclusively.¹⁰ Settlements were concentrated along the main military roads linking Ravenna with Pavia and Verona, or Ravenna with Rome.

Several interpretations have been advanced about the identity of the new dominant group that conquered Italy after Odovacer's regime. Today nobody thinks of the Ostrogoths in terms of a 'billiard ball' view, as it has been called.¹¹ A strong consensus exists among scholars that they, like other barbaric peoples of the age of migrations, were not a close ethnic community that remained unchanged throughout the fourth to the sixth century. The idea that barbaric groups were bearers of precise strategies of distinction in which the claim of ethnicity played a key role has been questioned. On the contrary, during late antiquity barbaric aristocracies demonstrated a high degree of ambiguity and opportunism in their political behaviour and cultural

³ P. Porena, *L'insediamento degli Ostrogoti in Italia* (Rome, 2012). Apart from Porena's book, other recent discussions on the *hospitalitas* question are G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 417–54; W. Goffart, 'The technique of Barbarian settlement in the fifth century: a personal, streamlined account with ten additional comments', *Journal of Late Antiquity*, iii (2010), 65–98; and G. Halsall, 'The technique of Barbarian settlement in the fifth century: a reply to Walter Goffart', *Journal of Late Antiquity*, iii (2010), 99–112; see also *Expropriations et confiscations dans les royaumes barbares: une approche régionale*, ed. P. Porena and Y. Rivière (Rome, 2012), p. 470.

⁴ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, ii. 16; Mommsen, *MGH AA*, 12, (Berlin, 1894).

⁵ Ennodius *Epp.* IX. 23; Hartel (*CSEL*, 6, Vienna, 1882).

⁶ Such as Cassiodorus, *Variae*, i. 18; Cassiodorus, *Variae*, vii. 3; and Tjäder II, pap. 31.

⁷ Porena, *L'insediamento degli Ostrogoti*, pp. 30–1, 104.

⁸ Porena, *L'insediamento degli Ostrogoti*, p. 53.

⁹ Porena, *L'insediamento degli Ostrogoti*, p. 153–68, esp. p. 158.

¹⁰ V. Bierbrauer, *Die Ostgotischen Grab- und Schatzfunde in Italien* (Spoleto, 1975), pp. 26–34.

¹¹ See P. Heather, 'Merely an ideology? Gothic identity in Ostrogothic Italy', in *The Ostrogoths from the Migration Period to the Sixth Century: an Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. S. J. Barnish and F. Marazzi (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 33.

attitudes.¹² The struggle against other tribal formations and the conditions for integration into the Roman empire required their leaders continuously to redefine the connotations of their groups and frequently enlarge their military forces. But beyond this basic consensus, scholars still hold different opinions about barbaric peoples.¹³ With reference to the Ostrogoths in Italy Patrick Amory's corrosive book has assumed a particularly revisionist view.¹⁴ For Amory the labels 'Goths' and 'Romans' were mere ideological definitions used by the ruling class of the late Roman empire as a legacy of classical and Hellenist ethnography.¹⁵ According to Amory, much more than ethnic solidarities, the important factors in binding communities together in early sixth-century Italy were regional, professional and institutional loyalties.¹⁶ However, the idea that Ostrogothic identity was a mere reflection of ideology has been questioned – in my opinion, convincingly – by Peter Heather and Walter Pohl, among others.¹⁷ Taking a wider perspective, the elusiveness of peculiar strategies performed by the barbarians in their social and cultural behaviour, is embedded in a more general view of late antiquity as a period of imperceptible and gradual transformation without big political setbacks. But even this perspective, which owes much to the work of Peter Brown, has been called into question in this last decade (by Bryan Ward-Perkins and Peter Heather, for example).¹⁸

Instead of focusing the analysis on the ideological representations of ethnicity, it is perhaps useful to reflect on the results of the social performance of a group, as the Ostrogoths were, in terms of linguistic affinities, professional attitudes, shared religious beliefs and, above all, common economic interests. Among the linguistic remains of the Gothic language, onomastics is undoubtedly one of the components relatively best

¹² See W. Pohl, 'Telling the difference: signs of ethnic identity', in *Strategies of Distinction: the Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800*, ed. W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (Leiden, 1998), pp. 17–69; P. J. Geary, 'Barbarian and ethnicity', in *Late Antiquity: a Guide to the Postclassical World*, ed. G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown and O. Grabar (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 107–29, esp. pp. 112–13.

¹³ See, eg., the essays collected in *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. A. Gillett (Turnhout, 2002); or compare, with regard to the topic of migration, the perspective of W. Goffart, *Barbarian Tides: the Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2006) with that of Heather, *Empires and Barbarians*, pp. 12–35 (with whom I agree). A balanced overview is given by Pohl, 'Rome and the Barbarians in the fifth century', *AT*, xvi (2008), 93–101.

¹⁴ P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (Cambridge, 1997).

¹⁵ Amory, *People and Identity*, p. 13.

¹⁶ Amory, *People and Identity*, p. 14.

¹⁷ See n. 13.

¹⁸ B. Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford, 2005); P. Heather, *The Fall of Rome: a New History* (2005).

preserved. This is not the right place to discuss that topic in detail;¹⁹ but it is relevant to note that names of Ostrogothic personalities, such as Theoderic, are not used beyond the borders of their native community.²⁰ Even though he was the leader of Italy between 493 and 526, his name was not diffused among the Italo-Romans. We have several examples of double names, with the first being Gothic (or German) and the second Latin, with, for instance 'Gundeberga qui et Nonnic',²¹ but not the reverse, with few exceptions. The practice of assuming a Latin name for an individual bearing a Gothic name usually strongly suggests conversion from Arianism to Catholicism. The impression is that Gothic names had hardly any attraction for the Italo-Romans, who, for their own children, continued to draw on their traditional patrimony. This, at least, is what emerges from a close analysis of the Ravennate evidence.²² On the other hand, even the choices made by the same Theoderic in this field were just as traditional: for the daughter he had with the Frankish Audeflada, he chose a dynastic name, Amalasintha, which literally means 'the strong Amala'.²³ The more obvious conclusion would therefore seem to be that Germanic names were perceived in the collective imagery of late antiquity to be markers of an identity which, ethnically vague though it was, most people on both sides considered to be different from their own heritage.

Possession of land associated with a military profession was another distinctive feature of the Gothic community in Italy. In fact, although the social composition of the Italian landowners was not limited to the military, this latter element was largely represented by barbaric components. It is true that the penetration of the Ostrogoths in rural ownership must have been increased by the normal mechanism of private buying and selling.²⁴ But one should not forget that the economic basis of their settlement in

¹⁹ With regard to the exarchate of Ravenna I have discussed the topic in S. Cosentino, 'Antroponimia, politica e società nell'esarcato in età bizantina e post-bizantina', in *L'Héritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe–XIIe siècle)*, ii: *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques*, ed. J.-M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot and V. Prigent (Rome, 2012), pp. 173–4. Amory, *People and Identity*, pp. 97–102, sharply denied that onomastics can be assumed as an ethnic marker; however, his arguments, at least in the case of the exarchate, are scarcely convincing for they are not based on a diachronic analysis (from the 6th to the 10th century) of the whole onomastic patrimony existing in the region, without which it is impossible to perceive any transformation.

²⁰ See the attestations of the name 'Theodericus' in *PLRE*, ii, 1070–84 (7 individuals).

²¹ N. Francovich Onesti, *I nomi degli Ostrogoti* (Florence, 2007), pp. 45 n. 90, 56 n. 141.

²² Cosentino, 'Antroponimia, politica e società', pp. 179–81.

²³ F. Onesti, *I nomi*, pp. 33–4 n. 30.

²⁴ See D. Vera, 'Proprietà terriera e società rurale nell'Italia gotica', in *Teoderico il Grande e i Goti d'Italia* (Spoleto, 1993), pp. 139–43.

Italy had been acquired, as Porena's analysis clearly demonstrates, as a consequence of the sequestration of lands in several provinces of northern and central Italy. The collective defence of such an economic privilege constituted, on the whole, a distinctive strategy of the political behaviour of the Ostrogoths throughout their stay in the peninsula; and this explains why both Odovacer and his followers, between 489 and 493, and later the Gothic army itself against the Byzantines, between 535 and 552, engaged in long and disruptive wars.

Arianism may be conceived as another trait of their identity, but such a statement is highly controversial.²⁵ Throughout the fifth century, this creed remains well attested across the empire. The main evidence concerning its followers is among individuals of barbaric origins, such as the famous fifth-century clan of the Constantinopolitan Ardaburii or Ricimerus in Italy; in Ravenna, there must have been Arian churches well before the arrival of Theoderic.²⁶ The fact that in 524 Justin I took heavy measures against the Arians confirms that they were a problem for an emperor who presented himself as a defender of the Chalcedonian Orthodoxy.²⁷ Even if Arianism must doubtless have had some diffusion among the social strata of Roman tradition, the vast majority of the evidence suggests that it particularly affected barbaric components, whether they were perfectly integrated into the empire (as the Ardaburii were) or simply serving in the army as *foederati*. A clue that in the public opinion of the Eastern Roman Empire the conventional image of the 'Arian' was closely associated with that of the 'barbarian' is discernible in the letters of Nilus of Ancyra.²⁸ Today it seems proven (thanks to the research of Luciano Bossina) that this collection of letters is a grandiose falsification, composed in the age of Justin I.²⁹ With reference to the present argument it is significant that in some letters the

²⁵ Amory, *People and Identity*, pp. 236–76, seeks to prove that there is no link between Arianism and ethnic-cultural identity; see also the prudent considerations by Thomas Brown, 'The role of Arianism in Ostrogothic Italy: the evidence from Ravenna', in Barnish and Marazzi, *The Ostrogoths*, pp. 417–26 and discussion, pp. 427–41.

²⁶ B. Ward-Perkins, 'Where is the archaeology and iconography of Germanic Arianism?', in *Religious Diversity in Late Antiquity*, ed. D. M. Gwynn and S. Bangert (Leiden and Boston, 2010), pp. 265–81; F. M. Petrini, 'Il "potere ariano" in Italia da Ricimero a Totila', in *Politiche religiose nel mondo antico e tardoantico. Poteri e indirizzi, forme di controllo, idee e prassi di tolleranza*, ed. G. A. Cecconi and C. Gabrielli (Bari, 2011), pp. 339–57.

²⁷ The law can be read in *CJI* 5, 12; on its historical context, see E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, ii: *De la disparition de l'empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien* (Amsterdam, 1949), p. 259.

²⁸ *PG* 79.

²⁹ See L. Bossina, 'Il carteggio di Nilo di Ancira con il generale Gainas è un falso', in *Vie per Bisanzio*, ed. A. Rigo, A. Babuin and M. Trizio (Venice, 2013), pp. 215–49.



Figure 6.1. Taken by Tjäder Tafeln, Taf. 153



Figure 6.2. Taken by Tjäder Tafeln, Taf. 154.

negative image of the Arian is embodied by the figure of the *magister militum* Gainas, who in 400 conceived plans for seizing power in Constantinople.³⁰ A passage of *CJ I* 5 12, 17 (issued in 529), when Justinian attenuated only for the Goths the heavy measures taken against Manichaean, Jewish and pagan adherents, is also interesting because – I paraphrase the text of the law – both nature and their preceding existence (that is, life before their recruitment into the imperial army) had instilled into the Goths attitudes which did not fit with orthodoxy.³¹ But two years after the conquest of the Vandal reign, Justinian harshly repressed Arianism in Africa by provoking the military uprising of Stotzas (536).³² In brief, while the existence of a large community of Arian-Romans is not supported by the sources, the available evidence outlines a clear relationship between Germanic federates (above all, Goths) and Arians.

The so-called Italian papyri or Ravennate papyri are a collection of fifty-nine documents ranging from the mid fifth century to the eighth.³³ For different reasons each one once pertained to the archive of the church of Ravenna. The documentary dossier is for the most part composed of pieces of evidence concerning concrete and specific aspects of social and economic life, such as donations, the buying and selling of houses and estates, testaments, designations of tutors, and inquiries about properties. About one-fifth shed some light on members of the Ostrogothic community during or after the Greek-Gothic war. They have been analysed by scholars such as Lellia Cracco Ruggini, André Guillou, Thomas Brown, Sylviane Lazard, Peter Heather and Patrick Amory, among others.³⁴ This chapter reanalyses a document which

³⁰ Eight letters claimed to be of John Chrysostom were addressed to Gainas (*PG* 79, nn. 1, 70, 79, 114–16, 205–6, 286). On Gainas's career and the political context in which he operated, see G. Albert, *Goten in Konstantinopel. Untersuchungen zur oströmischen Geschichte um das Jahr 400 n. Chr.* (Paderborn, 1984); W. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops. Army, Church, and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 111–25; A. Cameron and J. Long, with a contribution by S. Lee, *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif. and Oxford, 1993), pp. 199–252.

³¹ *CJ I*, 5 12, 17.

³² W. E. Kaegi, 'Arianism in the Byzantine army in Africa, 533–546', *Traditio*, xxi (1965) (= W. E. Kaegi, *Army, Society and Religion in Byzantium* (1982), viii), 23–53, esp. pp. 43–8.

³³ Tjäder I, pp. 17–23.

³⁴ L. Ruggini, *Economia e società nell'Italia annonaria. Rapporti tra agricoltura e commercio dal IV al VI secolo d. C.* (Milan, 1961), pp. 406–66; A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantin au VIIe siècle. L'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* (Rome, 1969), pp. 78–88; T. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554–800* (Rome, 1984), *passim*; S. Lazard, 'Goti e Latini a Ravenna', in *Storia di Ravenna*, ii, pt. 1: *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana. Territorio, economia, società*, ed. A. Carile (Venice, 1991), pp. 109–33; Amory, *People and Identity*. Porena too makes an extensive use of the Ravennate papyri in his analysis; see also Cosentino, 'Tre studi sui papiri ravennati', *Mediterraneo Antico* (forthcoming).

has probably received less attention, papyrus 49 of Tjäder's edition,³⁵ which has been studied in depth only by Patrick Amory.³⁶

As one can see from Figures 6.1 and 6.2, the document has been handed down to us in a very fragmentary state. The version in the appendix includes Jan-Olof Tjäder's suggestions, to which I have added mine. It is not possible to reconstruct the whole story from those details, but its essential synthesis can be outlined as follows: Gudila, a Goth aristocrat probably living in Rome (or Nepi), converted from Arianism to Catholicism by going to Pope Vigilius; after this, his agents or someone else occupied his estate near Nepi; he made a donation to the church of St. Maria in Nepi and returned to Pope Vigilius and to an (unmentioned) *episcopus Gothorum* asking for permission to hold his estates; his property was then seized a second time by the sons of the *comes* Tzalico and the question was later discussed by the famous Belisarius, but remained unsolved. In 557 it was debated again in front of the tribunal of Anastasius, *vicarius* of the praetorian prefect. For reasons which are unclear, the monastery of St. Elias (and St. Stephen?) of Nepi also claimed rights over Gudila's land.

Some consideration of the protagonists involved in the story is necessary. Contrary to Amory's interpretation, I do not believe that Gudila is a simple soldier-landowner.³⁷ He seems to be on very good terms with Pope Vigilius and is influential enough to approach Belisarius; his controversy is still debated, twenty years after it began, before the *vicarius* of the Italian prefecture.³⁸ The circle of people associated with him is of such a high social status that it is unlikely Gudila is a simple soldier. I propose to identify him with the homonymous *vir sublimis maior domus regiae* who, together with Arigernus and Bedeulfus, served as Theoderic's mediator in 501 between the opposing factions of the Laurentian schism.³⁹ Hypothesizing that in 501 Gudila was about thirty,

³⁵ Tjäder II, pap. 49: introduction, pp. 194–7; text, p. 198; commentary, pp. 298–302; republished by Tjäder in *ChLA*, XXIX, n. 885.

³⁶ Amory, *People and Identity*, pp. 149–151, 321–5. The reconstruction of the events in *PCBE*, ii. 957–58, is wrong.

³⁷ Amory, *People and Identity*, p. 149.

³⁸ The *vicarius urbis eminentissimi praefecti* was a civil officer who depended on the *praefectus pratorio per Italiam*; in the 5th century his jurisdiction had to extend across all the 10 *suburbicariae provinciae*. In the first half of the 6th century, however, he seems to have narrowed his authority within 40 kilometres around the city of Rome (see Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina, 493–804* (2 vols., Bologna, 1996), i. 33–4).

³⁹ Tjäder II, p. 300 also made this hypothesis. On Gudila, see *PLRE*, ii. 521; Amory, *People and Identity*, p. 379; *PCBE*, ii. 955. Note that all these authors think that the councils in which Gudila took part took place in 502, based on the indications given by Theodor Mommsen in the appendix of his edition of Cassiodorus's *Variae*. However, C. J. Hefe

in 538, when presumably (as we shall see) he adhered to Orthodoxy, he would have been about sixty-six: an old person, but still physically active. It should not be forgotten that when his quarrel was debated again in 557, he was already dead. In addition, Sitzia, one of those summoned to the inquiry as a witness, was older than sixty-six in 557. Tjäder's proposed reconstruction of the papyrus unfortunately leaves the question of the latter's identity unsolved. In line 8 the Swedish palaeographer extremely sensibly proposed the reading *Sitzane viro honesto com[...]*. If the last three letters are read as *com[ite]*, the appellative of *vir honestus* would be completely inappropriate, as no *comes* documented in the sources bears it. Tjäder was well aware of that, and in his excellent commentary warns the reader that to read the first letter of *honesto* as 'h' was not certain at all. In fact – he argues – 'h' might well be an 'i';⁴⁰ in this case, the reading of line 8, *Sitza viro inlustre comite*, would make perfect sense and this seems to be the better solution for the reconstruction of the papyrus.

The editor did not question the name 'Sitza' appearing twice in the extant part of the text. He was able to detect the name from the reading of line 18 alone, due to line 8 being highly uncertain. 'Sitza' could, of course, be a plausible solution. But taking into account the fact that in the palaeography of this papyrus the writing of 'p' takes two forms, the one short with the shape of a number 1 reversed, the other elongated in such a way that it can be similar to an 's', perhaps the correct reading of the name could be 'Pitza' instead of 'Sitza'.⁴¹ While the latter has no other attestations among individuals documented in Ostrogothic Italy, Pitza has at least three other homonyms. Two of them might be identified with the 'Pitza' potentially mentioned in this papyrus. The first was defeated at Perugia, together with Hunnila, by the *patricius* Constantine in 537 and sent to Belisarius in Rome;⁴² the second surrendered to Belisarius with the Goths of the *Samnium* and was

and H. Leclercq, *Histoires des conciles d'après les documents originaux* (Paris 1908), ii, pt. 2, p. 960 clarified that the synod held in the *basilica Sessoriana* and the so-called *synodus Palmaris* (at which Arigerus, Bedeulfus and Gudila were present) took place respectively on 1 September and 23 October 501. The name 'Gundila' is recorded in monograms stamped on nine silver spoons found in the treasure of Desana (south of Vercelli, Italy) (M. Aimone, *Il tesoro di Desana. Una fonte per lo studio della società romano-ostrogota in Italia* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 107, 207). This latter must surely have been a person of very high status, perhaps with some kinship ties with the lady mentioned in a ring, found in the same treasure, on which there are inscribed the names of 'Stefanus' and 'Valatruda' (Aimone, *Il tesoro di Desana*, p. 102).

⁴⁰ Tjäder II, p. 299.

⁴¹ I owe this observation to my friend and colleague Giovanni Feo, late professor of Latin palaeography at the University of Bologna.

⁴² *PLRE*, iii. 1042 (with the Greek form *Pissas*); Amory, *People and Identity*, p. 405. 'Pitza', 'Pitzia' and 'Pitzias' are variants of the same name.

recruited into the Byzantine army, also in 537.⁴³ Note that the first person, especially, seems to have been of high social status, because Procopius styles him *archōn*, a term which can easily translate as *comes*. This hypothesis is compatible with some internal elements of the papyrus. The first Pitza was sent to Rome, where he might have known Gudila, with whom he seems to have been on good terms; in his new condition, he might easily have agreed to convert from Arianism to Catholicism in a search for closer integration with Roman power. Finally, there is strong correspondence between the age declared by the person whose testimony was heard by the *vicarius* (about sixty-six) and the age that Pitza might have been in 537.

As far as other individuals quoted in the papyrus are concerned, Abbot Anastasius must certainly be identified with the homonymous person mentioned in the *Dialogues* (Dial. I:7–8) by Gregory the Great.⁴⁴ The monastery of St. Aelia was situated in modern Castel d'Elia, between Nepi and Civita Castellana, approximately eight kilometres north of Rome.⁴⁵ In the inquiry another monastery appears, that of St. Stephanus. But, strangely, the two foundations are represented not by two different claimants, but by the same person. Perhaps the community of St. Aelia at the time had a double dedication and the phrasing of the document was 'actor monasterii Sancti Aeliae qui et Sancti Stephani'. Moreover, if the monasteries involved were really two and the claimant only one, we would expect that the word *monasterium* would be in the plural ('actor monasteriorum Sancti Aeliae et Sancti Stephani') not the singular. These considerations seem to imply that only one institution, not two, was involved in the quarrel. As for the other individuals mentioned in the papyrus, no other attestations are preserved of the *comes* Tzalico and Andreas *executor*.

I would also suggest a different scheme from the chronology and framework of the events proposed by Amory. He maintains that Gudila lived in Nepi, but this is not confirmed by the text at all,⁴⁶ and, on the contrary, it seems much more probable that he resided in Rome. Moreover, Amory puts the intervention of Belisarius during his second visit to Italy (when he stayed in Porto during the summer/winter of 546, and in Rome

⁴³ *PLRE*, ii. 887; Amory, *People and Identity*, p. 406. The third individual was Pitzias *comes* quoted in Ennodius, the *Variae* and Jordanes (*PLRE*, ii. 886–7); but Amory, *People and Identity*, p. 406, rightly refuses the identification between the two proposed by Martindale, noting that in *Variae*, v. 29 (written between 523/526), Pitzia *comes* is mentioned as already dead.

⁴⁴ Greg. *Dial.* I 8, 1, where he is styled *abbas monasterii quod Subpentoma vocatur*. Before becoming a monk, he had been a notary of the Roman church (see also *PCBE*, ii. 116 (Anastasius 9)).

⁴⁵ *Monasticon Italiae*, i: *Roma e il Lazio* (Cesena, 1981), p. 131 nn. 69, 70.

⁴⁶ Amory, *People and Identity*, p. 149.

from spring to summer 547) based on the expression ‘post aliquot annos’ (II:22–3), ‘after some years’.⁴⁷ But as Pope Vigilius left Rome for Sicily on 25 November 545,⁴⁸ one is obliged to think that Belisarius had communicated his decision to the pope by letter, given that when the general reconquered Rome (March or April 547) the pope was already in Constantinople. This eventuality is denied, however, by the text, where it is stated (ll. 27–8) that Belisarius ‘nunziavit illud papae, et dixit eum [etc.]’, letting us presume that the general spoke directly with Vigilius about his decision. Furthermore, to think that the intervention of Belisarius in the controversy happened during his second visit to Italy makes it extremely difficult to reconcile how he could have met Gudila, if the latter lived in Nepi. In fact, in spring/summer 547 the Gothic army was besieging Belisarius in Rome, and it is bizarre to imagine that, in this context, the general may have met Gudila in Nepi and deliberated about his quarrel. For all these reasons, I propose another chronology of the events, summarized as follows:

- 1) November 537 – March 538: Gudila becomes Catholic.
- 2) After March 538 – beginning of summer 538: he makes a donation to the church of St. Maria of Nepi; someone occupies the *unciae* of his estate near Nepi.
- 3) Spring/summer 538: Gudila reinforces his claims to Pope Vigilius and to an unknown *episcopus Gothorum* (living in Rome).
- 4) Autumn/winter 538–9: the sons of Tzalico *comes* occupy his possession in Nepi.
- 5) Winter 539 (when Belisarius was in Rome): Gudila addresses his claim to Belisarius, who rules about the controversy, communicating his decision to Pope Vigilius.
- 6) Spring/summer 539: Vigilius sends a letter to the abbot of St. Aelia of Nepi ordering him to return Gudila’s portions of land to him.
- 7) June 557: the controversy is debated again in front of the *vicarius* of the praetorian prefect, probably between the heirs of Gudila (represented by the curator of his deed, Andrew *executor*) and the claimant of the monastery of St. Aelia.

⁴⁷ Amory, *People and Identity*, p. 323.

⁴⁸ P. Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* (Lipsiae, 1885), i. 912.

The *reconciliatio* of Gudila must have been influenced by what was happening in Africa after the conquest of the Vandal reign. Here, in 535, Justinian had ordered the seizure of all the *klēroi Vandalōn*; that is, the estates formerly pertaining to the Vandals.⁴⁹ It is implausible that the emperor took such a general measure following a claim by the heirs of those who, after 439, suffered expropriations. To believe that the act of 535 was taken as a consequence of the anti-heretic legislation issued in 527, 529, 530 and 531 seems more plausible.⁵⁰ One of the most punitive articles of this set of laws was that heretics (who were defined in *CJ* I 5 12, 4 as ‘all persons who do not follow our universal and orthodox Church and our holy faith’) were prohibited from making a will or leaving items to their heirs, unless they had converted to the Catholic faith. This measure was reinforced by Justinian in 537; and with the Belisarian army in Rome, Gudila must have thought that moving from Arianism to Catholicism was the best way to preserve his social position and economic status under the new regime which was going to conquer the whole peninsula. As argued above, it is scarcely convincing that Gudila was a simple soldier, considering the obstinacy with which he persisted in the defence of his rights. The whole story is still not completely understood and the precise role played by its protagonists is obscure. But in 557 the contested *unciae* still seem to be at the disposal of Gudila’s heirs. This conclusion can be inferred from the fact that the inquiry was promoted, not by Gudila but by the curator of the monastery of St. Aelia in Nepi. Had the monastery been in full possession of the land at the time, it would never have taken legal action. Since Belisarius in 539 (on behalf of Pope Vigilius) obliged the abbot of St. Aelia to return to Gudila his portion of land, we must presume that something happened between 539 and 557 to give the monastery other reasons for bringing a new suit. This new event was doubtless the end of the Gothic war and the enforcement of the measures against the Arians. The policy brought a lavish concession from the emperor to the church of Ravenna (*P. Ital.*, 2) according to which the see of S. Apollinaris was endowed with all the properties that formerly pertained to the Arian church, possibly in the whole area of its ecclesiastical jurisdiction.⁵¹

Undoubtedly, Gudila and St. Aelia of Nepi were in conflict because they shared the ownership of parts of the same estate. The role played in relation to the two disputers by the *comes* Tzalicus is ambiguous and difficult to establish. He claims his right to the *unciae* of Gudila by affirming that they

⁴⁹ *Proc. Bell. Vand.* I 5, 13 (Haury/Wirth).

⁵⁰ Against Manicheans and heretics: *CJ* I 5, 12 (527); I 5, 13–19 (undated); I 5, 19 (529); I 5, 20 (530); I 5, 21 (531); on sacrifices and pagan temples: *CJ* II, 9–10 (undated).

⁵¹ Tjäder I, pap. 2 = *ChLA* XX, n. 711.

are (*res donativae*). Amory maintains that this definition has to be interpreted as a technical term, implying that they were a military *donativum*.⁵² In such a case, we would deduce that Tzalico was a Gothic commander, but it would not be fully clear why a military *donativum* would have been made by granting land and not, as was usual, gold coins. Another difficult thing to understand is why, if both Gudila and Tzalico were members or former members of the Gothic army, they were fighting with each other. But even if Tzalico was an imperial officer and not a Gothic commander, his role in the dispute remains problematic, as does his relationship with St. Aelia of Nepi. The papyrus is too fragmentary to offer us definitive answers to such questions. What is clear, in any case, is the priority that the *reconciliatio* of Gudila is given in support of his claims. This is strongly stressed by the deposition of Pitza (or Sitza) as well as by that given by the preceding testimony, which ends (II:1–2) by narrating that abbot Anastasius was ordered to return Gundila's *unciae* after the latter became orthodox. A close parallel exists in the document between the legal ownership of land and religious belief in the aftermath of the imperial conquest of Italy. Those scholars who deny that Arianism was a marker of identity in Ostrogothic Italy are probably right in arguing that, in principle, not all Goths were Arians and not all Arians were Goths. But, taken as a whole, the evidence provided by the Italian papyri points out that the *reconciliatio* almost exclusively affected members of the Ostrogothic community. Becoming orthodox and asking a Catholic church for protection seems to be a clear strategy of survival for the Goths after the middle of the sixth century. In some way, Gudila was a forerunner of the times. From his outstanding social position he was well aware that he had to assimilate himself into the religious habits of the dominant power in order to preserve his family and economic fortune.

Gudila was followed by a certain number of Gothic women after the end of the Greek-Gothic conflict. In 557 the *sublimis femina* Ranilo made a donation of movable and immovable goods to the church of Ravenna.⁵³ In 557, Gundihild, widow of the *vir inlustis* Gudahals, asked the curia of Rieti to assign a legal tutor to her sons, Lendarit and Landarit.⁵⁴ Towards the end of the sixth century the Goth Sisivera, who was a former servant of Theudifara, donated some parts of the *fundus Balonianus* to the church of Ravenna.⁵⁵ Later in the age of Heraclius another woman, the *clarissima femina* Wililiwa, gifted the see of Apollinaris with all her possessions, styling

⁵² Amory, *People and Identity*, p. 322.

⁵³ Tjäder I, pap. 13 = *ChLA* XXIX, n. 880.

⁵⁴ Tjäder I, pap. 7 = *ChLA* XX, n. 712.

⁵⁵ Tjäder I, pap. 20 = *ChLA* XXI, n. 717.

herself as *donatrix Guta*.⁵⁶ But by her time this definition had become a relic of history. Between the 530s and 550s the peculiar social organization built up by King Theoderic had ceased to exist.⁵⁷ Gothic names had disappeared from Ravenna, the capital of the kingdom. The estates of the Gothic warriors were occupied by soldiers who came from other regions of the Byzantine empire, from Anatolia, from Armenia and even from distant Iran.⁵⁸ The survivors of the war were obliged to convert to Catholicism if they wanted to remain in possession of their properties. The dedications of their Arian shrines were cancelled and several square metres of mosaic decorating the palatine church of Theoderic, in Ravenna, were removed.⁵⁹ All these measures make it difficult to believe that the Goths had a weak identity as a group, judging by the obstinacy with which the new regime eradicated their social organization, seized their properties and reconverted their cults.

⁵⁶ Tjäder II, pap. 28, 56 = *ChLA* IV, n. 232; *ChLA* IX, n. 400.

⁵⁷ On this peculiar political organization see S. Barnish, 'Cuncta Italiae membra componere: political relations in Ostrogothic Italy', in Barnish and Marazzi, *The Ostrogoths*, pp. 313–32.

⁵⁸ Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 89–90.

⁵⁹ Literature about the interventions made in S. Apollinare Nuovo by Bishop Agnellus at the end of the 560s is abundant. Latest contributions include: A. Urbano, 'Donation, dedication, and *damnatio memoriae*: the Catholic reconciliation of Ravenna and the church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, xiii (2005), 71–110; D. M. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 164–74; Ward-Perkins, 'Where is the archaeology and iconography?', pp. 285–6; I. Baldini, 'La processione dei martiri in S. Apollinare Nuovo a Ravenna', in *Martiri, santi, patroni: per una archeologia della devozione*, ed. A. Coscarella and P. De Santis (Calabria, 2012), pp. 383–97; M. C. Carile, *The Vision of the Palace of the Byzantine Emperors as a Heavenly Jerusalem* (Spoleto, 2012), pp. 127–32; C. Jäggi, *Ravenna. Kunst und Kultur einer spätantiken Residenzstadt* (Regensburg, 2013), pp. 180–2, 184–5.

Appendix

Conjectural text of papyrus Tjäder 49 (Marini 150; ChLA XXIX, n. 885)

1	.. i]lli reddi ab Anastasio abbate, et possedet <i>illas atque</i>
2	<i>ita</i> reconciliatus usque venit de malo et filii ipsius [...
3]hil re[.....]ut[.]relicta[.....
4] <i>teneo nusquam memoria presenti et iuro</i>
5	per ipsa quattuor evangelia me hec, quae dixi, scire,
6	<i>ut rogaberad.</i>
7	Imperante domino nostro Iustiniano perpetuo Augusto anno tricensimo primo et post consulatum Basili viri clarissimi anno XVI, + indictione quinta
8	sub die III Nonarum Iuniarum + Scripsi ego [...] <i>tabellius</i> rogatus a <i>Pitzane</i> v(iro) <i>i(n)lustre</i> com[ite
9	...]e argi[.....]la[.....]ti[.....]gu[.....] constat
10	et eum esse conventum per preceptionem Adeodati viri spectabilis, vicari urbis eminentissimi praefecti, an/
11	te Andream virum strenuum, executorem, <i>adstante</i> [...]actor[e] monasterii Sancti Aeliae sed
12	et Sancti Stephani, ut, quid <i>nobis superscriptus Pitzza</i> super sanctis evangelis diceret
13	<i>professione facta</i> , unde sciret, <i>qui dixit: «A papa Vigilio Gundila voluit venire</i>
14	reconciliatus, et lege nostra eum papa reconciliavit. Misit <i>Gundila qua</i>
15	re <i>Gothos eius qui</i> occupaverunt ill[as un]c[ias et casales in eius possessi]
16	<i>one</i> , vel que sibi invenire potuit. Reconciliatus fecit donum ecclesiae Sanctae
17	Mariae in Nepe cum uxore sua et filiis suis.» Dictum est ab Andrea viro strenuo
18	executore: «Et tu unde scis, aut quod anno ages?» Cui respondit superscriptus <i>Pitzza</i> : « Sum annorum
19	sexsaginta et amplius ego». <i>Et adiecit</i> : «Postea ambulavit ipse reconcili /
20	atus Romae et rogavit papa et episcopum Guthorum, et dederunt illi iussionem
21	reciperet res sua, et recipit. Postea [...] illud recepit : post aliquod tem /
22	pus benerunt filii Tzaliconi comitis, et ipsi similiter occupaverunt illius
23	uncias dicendo donativas <i>esse patris ipsorum res</i> . Item post aliquot
24	annos venit patricius Velisarius <i>Romae et ambulavit ad eum</i> ac rogavit patricium
25	Velisariu dicendo qua re me reconciliatum venerunt filis comitis Tzaliconi [...]
26	ri et Gudila, e occupaverunt res meas. <i>Adque eum dixit</i> : «Catholicus es, qua /
27	re et filius meus ». Et conmutavit ipsas <i>uncias in dominium Gudilae</i> .

Social instability and economic decline of the Ostrogothic community

28	Postea nuntiavit illud papae, et dixit eum bonam rem facturum <i>si eas faciat reddi</i> .
29	Et papa mox furuit, et fecit precepta et misit illa <i>in sc(rinio) p(raefecturae)</i> .
30	Et etiam misit illa ad ipsum abbatem, et fecit illi reddi uncias suas, et possedit <i>illas. Atque ita</i>
31	<i>usque reconciliatus venit de malo, et filii ipsius [...]</i>
32	[...10..]c[.....48.....]
33	[.....] <i>teneo memoria et iuro per quattuor evangelia me hac, que dixit, scire, ut</i>
34	[....]rogavit

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7. A striking evolution: the mint of Ravenna during the early middle ages

Vivien Prigent

The establishment of the Ravenna mint¹ stemmed from the decision of Emperor Honorius in 402 to found his capital on the Adriatic for defensive and strategic reasons after the crisis born from the military disaster of Adrianople. The palatine *moneta aurea* followed the court and began striking coins immediately, ending its activity only with the final demise of imperial power over the city at the turn of the eighth century.² At first glance, this extremely long story can be divided into three major chapters, even if many meaningful sub-phases existed: first, the late Roman coinage (402–76), whose characteristics determined all subsequent phases; then the Germanic production (476–539); and last the Byzantine coinage (540–751), linked to the Reconquista of the Italian peninsula by Emperor Justinian's troops. This chapter will mainly focus on the last part of this story.

The late Roman and Germanic legacy

The Ravenna mint opened with a technical staff borrowed from the two former main mints of northern Italy, Aquileia and Milan.³ Located inside the palace,⁴ the new 'central mint' struck from the start massive quantities of

¹ We should properly speak of Ravenna mints, plural, as gold and silver were struck in one place and copper in another. The most recent synthesis on the production was offered by A. L. Morelli, 'Ravenna (Emilia-Romagna)', in *Le zecche italiane fino all'unità*, ed. L. Travaini (Rome, 2011), pp. 1045–59.

² If considering the mint as an imperial Roman institution, even when under Germanic control, the production of coinage in Ravenna continued until modern times.

³ See the remarks by E. Arslan, 'La zecca e la circolazione monetale', in *Ravenna da Capitale Imperiale a Capitale Esarcale, Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo, Ravenna 6–12 giugno 2004* (Spoleto, 2005), p. 193.

⁴ This location is only certain at the end of the 6th century as a papyrus mentions the *moneta auri in porticum sacri palatii*, but, considering the palatine status of the mint, we can accept that this was the case from the beginning. On this problem, see A. Augenti, 'Archeologia e topografia a Ravenna: il Palazzo di Teoderico e la Moneta Aurea', *Archeologia Medievale*, xxxi (2005), 7–34; and A. Morelli, 'Sedi di zecca e monetazione in Ravenna dall'antichità al medioevo', *Atti e Memorie – Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, lviii (2008), 151–73. On Byzantine mints, see C. Morrisson, 'Moneta, χαράγη, zecca: les ateliers byzantins et le palais impérial', in *I luoghi della moneta: le sede delle zecche dall'antichità all'età moderna*, ed. L. Travaini (Milan, 2001), pp. 49–58.

gold and silver, as illustrated by the fact that the Ravennate coinage represents frequently from 20 to 60 per cent of the coins in fifth-century western gold hoards.⁵ It also provided prototypes for early Visigothic coinage.⁶ The mint produced the whole gamut of high value denominations: gold *solidi*, together with their multiples and fractions; silver *miliaresenses*, *siliquae* and half-*siliquae*. Consequently, the production of both the other northern mints dwindled: Milan survived up to the end of the fifth century⁷, but Aquileia closed as early as 425.⁸ Only Rome's mint, whose gold production fed another distribution circuit, remained unaffected. It also went on striking bronze coinage for the whole peninsula.⁹

In 476, Odovacer's *coup d'état* forced the last western Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus, to step down but, formally, the Roman state survived and so did the Roman coinage. One important evolution from this period may have been a greater emphasis on the silver coinage,¹⁰ a general development in the Germanic-controlled western provinces, although it is easy to underestimate the importance of the silver coinage during the previous period for methodological reasons.¹¹ This evolution had an enduring legacy in the west during the early middle ages, when the silver *denarius* ruled the markets.¹²

Under Ostrogothic rule, Ravenna retained its capital status even if the kings favoured Rome with lavish gifts and privileges, possibly to stress the

⁵ Arslan, 'La zecca', p. 201. Clearly the highest percentages are for Italian hoards.

⁶ P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, i: *the Early Middle Ages (5th–10th centuries)* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 44–6. Clearly, it could also be argued that the choice was less dictated by availability than by ideological reasons, the Ravennate coinage, issued in the capital city, being seen as the imperial coinage *par excellence*. See, on this topic, Arslan, 'La zecca', p. 208. The existence of Vandal silver imitations could give substance to this hypothesis (see Grierson-Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, p. 20).

⁷ J. P. C. Kent, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, x: *the Divided Empire and the Fall of the Western Parts, 395–491* (1994), pp. 30–1. During the second half of the 5th century, this mint even fought back, eventually winning back its predominance for a brief period.

⁸ Kent, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, pp. 34–5.

⁹ With the exception of the Ravennate *nummi* struck under Emperor Majorian (Kent, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, no. 2615–21). For Rome, see Kent, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, pp. 31–3.

¹⁰ The gold coinage of Odovacer seems limited to the first years of his rule, with the possible exception of a tremisses issue in the name of Anastasius (M. A. Metlich, *The Coinage of Ostrogothic Italy, and a die study of Theodahad folles by E. A. Arslan and M. A. Metlich* (2004), pp. 25–6).

¹¹ The value of the silver coinage was too high for someone to lose a coin without striving to recover it, but could not compete with gold for reserve purposes. So we tend to lack the testimony of both stray finds and hoards.

¹² For the beginning of this process, see Grierson-Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 93–7.

intended strict separation between Goths and Romans.¹³ The previous trends in monetary production were also confirmed. Ravenna produced some gold from a very early date (marking in some way the triumph over Odovacer) and a very late date (after Rome had fallen into Belisarius's hands; on this occasion, a second *officina* even went into action),¹⁴ but its mint lost ground to Rome as the supplier of gold coinage for the peninsula.¹⁵ It also produced an abundant silver coinage in which the smallest silver denominations, like the quarter-*siliqua*, became predominant.¹⁶ Thus, the silver coinage assumed the functions of the medium of exchange for low-value transactions. An important point is the decision to strike the Ravennate silver coins to a higher weight standard than the Roman and eastern coinage, hinting at a different monetary circuit.¹⁷ In fact, the Ravennate coinage seems to have circulated in the Merovingian kingdoms.¹⁸ One consequence of this increased importance of silver coinage was that the bronze coins lost ground in the long run, even if intermittent Ravennate bronze issues are well-known from the Ostrogothic period onwards, as the kings adopted some aspects of the Anastasian reform.¹⁹ This evolution continued up to the end of the mint's activity with the eighth-*siliqua* coins asserting themselves as the main low-value coinage in seventh-century Byzantine and Lombard northern Italy.²⁰ In explaining this increased role of silver coinage, one should also stress the fact that it was the ideal instrument of propaganda. The gold coinage remained an imperial private preserve,²¹ but the silver was able to flaunt

¹³ M. Vitiello, *Momenti di Roma ostrogota. Adventus, feste, politica* (Stuttgart, 2005). The ideological pre-eminence of Rome is also explicitly stated in the *Invicta Roma* legend, even displayed on the Ravenna silver coinage.

¹⁴ Metlich, *The Coinage of Ostrogothic Italy*, p. 28.

¹⁵ Metlich, *The Coinage of Ostrogothic Italy*, p. 27.

¹⁶ Metlich, *The Coinage of Ostrogothic Italy*, pp. 38–41. Even 1/16th of *siliquae* were struck under the reign of Odovacer (C. Brenot, 'Deux monnaies d'argent aux noms d'Odoacre et de Théodoric trouvées en Provence (commune de Saint-Etienne-du-Grès)', *Bulletin de la société française de numismatique*, lii (1997), 55–9).

¹⁷ Metlich, *The Coinage of Ostrogothic Italy*, pp. 37, 39

¹⁸ Arslan, 'La zecca', p. 215.

¹⁹ Apparently only the small five-*nummi* coins under Theoderic (Metlich, *The Coinage of Ostrogothic Italy*, n. 81); 10-*nummi* under Wittigis (Metlich, *The Coinage of Ostrogothic Italy*, n. 92). For the Byzantine period, see below. Maybe this evolution also reflects a minor influx of bronze coinage from the mint of Rome. In the initial stage of this process, the debasement of the *nummus* certainly played a key role in the increased economic role of small silver denominations.

²⁰ See below.

²¹ On the subordinate status of the Ostrogothic king and the limitations to his own exaltation, see J. Prostko-Prostyński, *Utraeque res publicae: the Emperor Anastasius I's Gothic Policy (491–518)* (Poznań, 1994). Metlich, *The Coinage of Ostrogothic Italy*, p. 50, also stresses the absence of the king's name on gold coins after the formal treaty between Ravenna and Constantinople.

innovative designs emphasizing the power and the name of the Germanic king (in monogram²² or in full from Athalaric onwards).²³

The Byzantine mint

From the conquest to the reign of Heraclius

From the onset of the Byzantine domination over Ravenna, the mint produced coinage, heralding to the world the return of Italy into the imperial fold. Some specialized craftsmen came from the east and worked in Rome, Ravenna and Sicily, blurring the stylistic criteria used to identify the mints producing specific coin types.²⁴ All three metals (gold, silver and bronze) were struck. During the last phase of the Gothic war, gold was issued only in Ravenna, maybe in part because the bullion reserve in Rome had already been moved there at the onset of the conflict,²⁵ and this situation continued under Justin II.²⁶ Furthermore, the emperors did not restore Rome as the political capital of Italy, and the supreme commander in Italy, the exarch, had his regular seat in Ravenna. The gold coinage of this city quickly offered its prototypes to the first Lombard gold coinage,²⁷ demonstrating that

²² Some gold coins of Theoderic display his name in monogram, but only before the relations between the king and Emperor Anastasius were settled by treaty (see previous note).

²³ Metlich, *The Coinage of Ostrogothic Italy*, pp. 57b, 59, 87 (Athalaric). Certainly, this is also true of the bronze coinage, and the *Variae* (vi. 7) explicitly reports Theodahad's will to publicize his appearance on his beautiful Roman copper coinage. But this base metal lacked the nobility of precious gold and silver and did not circulate so frequently abroad.

²⁴ See, e.g., the analysis provided in N. Fairhead and W. Hahn, 'The Monte Iudica hoard and the Sicilian *Moneta Auri* under Justinian I and Justin II', in *Studies in Early Byzantine Gold Coinage*, ed. W. Hahn and W. E. Metcalf (New York, 1988), pp. 29–39. In W. Hahn and M. A. Metlich, *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire (Anastasius I – Justinian I, 491–565)* (hereafter *MIBE*) (Vienna, 2000), p. 49, it is also emphasized that the moneymen from Rome followed the transfer of the mint to Ravenna when the Ostrogoths withdrew from the *Urbs*; Grierson even contemplated the possibility of transferring some silver Ravennate types to Thessalonica (P. Grierson, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, ii (641–717) (2 vols., Washington DC, 1968) (hereafter *DOC*, ii), pt. 1, 36, 46).

²⁵ See the remarks on this possibility, *MIBE*, p. 49. The whole history is more complex with probable alternate periods of gold production in Rome and Ravenna during the central years of the war. The volumes issued were not very important, particularly as the *Pragmatic Sanction* had given legal tender to the older imperial and Germanic coinages.

²⁶ Even if a Roman gold coinage can be hypothesized (W. Hahn and M.A. Metlich, *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire (Justin II – Revolt of the Heraclii, 565–610)* (Vienna, 2009) (hereafter *MIBEC*), p. 25), it would have been of minute quantity.

²⁷ *MIBEC*, p. 25. Some imitations display the name of Justinian and Justin II but they were probably also struck after the demise of these emperors. The Ravennate gold coins probably also offered the *materia prima* of Lombard gold coinage as they were melted down and struck anew, thus explaining the absence of imperial issues in the hoards.

Ravenna, not Rome, was at the time the ultimate political reference for the Lombard dukes and kings.²⁸ Nonetheless, the Ravennate gold coinage did not circulate widely.²⁹ The *tremissis*, or third of a *solidus*, quickly became the main gold denomination.

The Ravennate silver coinage kept its stylistic³⁰ and metrological peculiarities,³¹ even if not all specialists concur on the coin types to be attributed to Ravenna. The trend towards lighter coins continued with the production of eighth-*siliqua* coins³² and variants of the *chrismon* initially stood for a range of monetary values, as was already the case with the various crosses on the gold coinage.³³ After 578, Rome stopped minting silver: Ravenna remained solely responsible for this coinage, but issued only the lightest denominations, either eighth- or sixth-*siliqua*.³⁴ Consequently, local imitations were also produced in Italy when the official coinage was not struck in sufficient quantities, or was unable, for political, military or economic reasons, to reach outlying areas.³⁵ North

²⁸ But note that Grierson was reluctant to accept this theory, arguing that the Lombard tremisses, displaying more similarities with imperial production, stem mainly from Tuscany, suggesting an imitation of the Roman model (*DOC*, ii, pt. 1. 47).

²⁹ The main study of Ravennate Byzantine coinage's circulation is still B. Callegher, 'La diffusione della moneta di Ravenna tra VI e metà VIII secolo', in *Ritrovamenti monetali nel mondo antico: problemi e metodi*, ed. G. Gorini (Padua, 2002), pp. 273–84. For early Ravennate Byzantine gold coin finds, see examples cited on pp. 251–2.

³⁰ E.g., the cuirass of the profile emperor is engraved as seen from the back.

³¹ Although an attempt was made after 552 to establish a common metrology for Africa, Italy and the east, Justin II returned to the heavy Ostrogothic standard, probably because it was impossible to issue enough light coins to purge the market of the older currency.

³² Later no subsequent fractions were produced but the medium weight of the existing denominations diminished steadily (0.34g for the eighth-*siliqua* already under Phocas), probably hand in hand with the standard weight of the *folles* (*MIBEC*, p. 53), up to the very light coinage of the end of the seventh century (c.0.2g).

³³ The *solidus* is identified by a cross on step, the *semmissis* by a cross on globus and the *tremissis* by a cross without 'base'. Similarly, on the silver, the *chrismon* is used for half-*siliqua*, the cross topped by a $\text{Rh}\delta$ and flanked by stars for the quarter-*siliqua* and the same cross without stars for the eighth-*siliqua*. In both cases, the simpler the design, the lower the value of the coin. This initial system soon lost its meaning.

³⁴ *MIBEC* prefers to speak of a sixth of *siliqua* (Maurice 64D), but as only one denomination was struck, it is better to read the weight variation as the result of a variation in the nominal *siliqua* weight linked to changing AU:AR ratio.

³⁵ See, e.g., the eighth-*siliqua* struck in the name of Justinian and Justin II found in S. Antonino di Perti, obviously linked to Ravennate prototypes, but identified by Arslan with local productions, maybe from Luni (E. A. Arslan, 'Considerazione sulla circolazione monetaria in età protobizantina a S. Antonio', in *S. Antonino: un insediamento fortificato nelle Liguria bizantina*, ed. T. Mannoni and G. Murialdo (Bordighera, 2001), pp. 242–3); nonetheless Callegher, 'La diffusione', p. 266, still considers these coins to be proper Ravennate productions. Arslan ('La zecca', p. 217) attributes silver coins marked with

of the Alps, the Ravennate silver coinage also continued to be used and imitated in the Germanic world.³⁶

The bronze coinage is of special interest as its metrological variations reveal different values between the monetary metals in Italy and in the East.³⁷ Even if it was absent from the Eastern provinces³⁸, the imperial Ravennate bronze initially circulated quite widely in Italy³⁹ and even crossed the Alps,⁴⁰ but the quantities produced dwindled during Maurice's reign.⁴¹ Bronze and silver coinages were related by a common estimated value expressed in *nummi* and by calibrating their value on the *solidus*.

The Heraclids

The Italian imperial mint system experienced severe problems from the reign of Heraclius onwards, as several secondary mints issuing imitations operated at one time or another.⁴² The long reign of Constans II seems to mark a watershed, with most of the issues belonging either to the beginning or the end of that period,⁴³ but this time in a very special context: the emperor came to Italy and settled in Sicily until his assassination in 668.⁴⁴

monetary values expressed in nummi to Ravenna, whereas *MIBE* (e.g. Justinian, pl. 18) and *MIBEC* (e.g. Justin II, pl. 4) present them as Roman coins. There were also Lombard imitations (*MIBEC*, p. 27 and X5–6).

³⁶ Arslan, 'La zecca', pp. 215, 219; see also Callegher, 'La diffusione', p. 252.

³⁷ As with silver, we can observe a short-lived attempt to harmonize Italian and eastern metrology (*MIBE*, pp. 70–1). This is a very tricky problem, especially as doubts remain as to the identification of all Ravennate types; e.g., light *folleis* regularly given to the mint of Salona have been tentatively attributed to Ravenna by Arslan ('La zecca', pp. 222–7). Their production would testify towards the financial difficulties of the imperial government in the face of the Gothic insurgency between 540 and 552.

³⁸ There are obviously some exceptions (Callegher, 'La diffusione', pp. 253–4), but they are so rare as to be negligible.

³⁹ For example, at the end of the 7th century, from the Po delta to Dalmatia, the stray finds are composed almost exclusively of Ravennate coins of Maurice (Callegher, 'La diffusione', p. 249); under Justinian I, 11 per cent of the copper entering the market in Sicily was produced in Ravenna (V. Prigent, 'La circulation monétaire en Sicile (VI^e–VII^e siècle)', in *The Insular System of the Early Byzantine Mediterranean*, ed. E. Zanini (Oxford, 2013), p. 142).

⁴⁰ Arslan, 'La zecca', p. 222.

⁴¹ During Maurice's and Phocas's reigns, emissions of copper coins seem linked to the periodic payments of salaries through *augustaticum*, even if these were obviously paid in precious metal coinage (*MIBEC*, pp. 58, 67–8).

⁴² *DOC*, ii, pt. 1, 47.

⁴³ No gold with the frontal long beard issue; no copper after the sixth regnal year until 659–60.

⁴⁴ V. Prigent, 'La Sicile de Constant II: l'apport des sources sigillographiques', in *La Sicile, de Byzance à l'Islam*, ed. A. Nef and V. Prigent (Paris, 2010), pp. 157–87.

From the mid seventh century it becomes very difficult to identify the Ravennate gold coinage from contemporary Byzantine or even Lombard imitations with reasonable certainty.⁴⁵ It is clear that the volumes issued dropped quickly, probably resulting from the increasing importance of the Sicilian mint, which was easier to control, initially less threatened and then, after the beginning of the Muslim onslaught on Africa, nearer to the front line.⁴⁶ Furthermore, very few specimens of Ravennate gold coins are found far from the northern Adriatic shores.⁴⁷ Even the mint of Rome gradually asserted itself, becoming the most important mainland mint by 700.⁴⁸

Apart from rare hexagrams,⁴⁹ the silver production remained limited to the light eighth-*siliqua* (c.0.4g and lower). Nonetheless, this coinage probably remained important longer than the *solidus* and its fractions, as it did not suffer real competition from either the Sicilian mint, which never issued silver, or from Rome, whose production did not resume before Constans II's reign.⁵⁰ But in the last quarter of the seventh century, Rome seemed to 'fight back' and was the only mint striking silver from the reign of Justinian II onwards.⁵¹ Furthermore, beginning with Sergius I (687–701), the popes also produced their own small silver coinage.⁵² From c.620, the Ravennate small silver coin also had Lombard equivalents, enabling its

⁴⁵ In fact, for the last emperors of the 7th century, Grierson did not try to offer definitive attribution in order not to lure others into false certitudes.

⁴⁶ Prigent, 'La circulation monétaire'.

⁴⁷ One exception could be the Racalmuto hoard found in Sicily, which this author is currently editing. The Ravennate coins represent 6 per cent of the whole, along with 13 per cent of northern Lombard imitations, but its testimony must be handled with great care (see W. Hahn, 'More about the minor Byzantine gold mints from Tiberius II to Heraclius', *Numismatic Circular*, lxxxvii (1979), 552–5).

⁴⁸ P. Grierson, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, iii: *Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717–1081* (3 vols., Washington D.C., 1973), i, 87.

⁴⁹ W. Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini, III. Von Heraclius bis Leo III* (Vienna, 1981) (hereafter *MIB*), Heraclius no. 153–4.

⁵⁰ DOC, ii, pt. 1, 52. See also A. Rovelli, 'Emissione e uso della moneta: le testimonianze scritte e archeologiche', in *Roma nell'Alto Medioevo* (27 aprile–1 maggio 2000), *Settimane*, xlvi (Spoleto, 2001), 828.

⁵¹ Production resumed in 695–705.

⁵² C. Morrisson and J.-N. Barrandon, 'La trouvaille de monnaies d'argent byzantines de Rome (VII^e–VIII^e siècle): analyses et chronologie', *Revue numismatique*, xxx (1988), 149–65. This article corrects some of the conclusions made in the original publication of the hoard by M. D. O'Hara, 'A find of Byzantine silver from the mint of Rome for the period A.D. 631–752', *Revue suisse de numismatique*, lxiv (1985), 105–39, which he concluded in 'The thirty-second silver coin from the find of Byzantine silver from the mint of Rome', *Numismatic Circular*, xcv (1987), 4–5 and 'The last three "Byzantine-papal" siliquae from the find of silver from the mint of Rome', *Numismatic Circular*, c (1992), 111–12.

circulation to extend into a wider area than the Ravennate hinterland alone.⁵³ This 'competition' could have played a part in the decision simultaneously to include on these coins letters from the name(s) of the current emperor or imperial college (for example ΦΚ for Phocas, HP for Heraclius, CN for Constans). Whatever the reason for this last reform, the economic role of small silver coinage clearly became of paramount significance.⁵⁴ This fact is worth emphasizing as it indicates a monetary economy weakened but still functional. The importance of small-value coins should therefore be taken as proof that they continued to be used in everyday transactions.

Bronze coinage experienced something of a revival under Heraclius, with new issues introduced more than once every other year.⁵⁵ The mint also adopted original designs, especially with the 'Triumphal Issue' of 630/1, which shows Heraclius trampling a prostrated enemy, a revival of fifth-century iconography.⁵⁶ After this emperor, production became sporadic. Under Constans II, apart from one issue dating from the arrival of the emperor in Italy, production seemed to stop in the fourth year of his long reign, that is, when he decided to reopen the Sicilian mint in Catania, where production immediately became quite important. From Constans II onwards it fell steadily to a mere trickle.⁵⁷ The area of circulation of this scarce and rough bronze coinage also shrank quickly. Furthermore, the variety of denominations struck progressively declined. From Heraclius until the end of the seventh century, the Ravenna mint struck half-*folleis*

⁵³ E. A. Arslan, 'La moneta in argento dei re longobardi. Un'emissione inedita di Ariperto I', *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche*, xxxi (2002), 327–37, esp. pp. 336–7 (but see W. Hahn, 'Anmerkungen zu einigen Monogrammen auf Langobardischen Kleinsilbermünzen', *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche*, xxxii (2003), 283–90 and A. Rovelli, 'La moneta dell'Italia Longobarda: aspetti e problemi', in *Visigoti e Longobardi, Atti del seminario, Roma 28–29 avril 1997*, ed. J. Arce and P. Delogu (Florence, 2001), pp. 351–70, 363–4). Callegher ('La diffusione', p. 253) prefers the contrary hypothesis, the introduction of the Lombard silver coins cornering the circulation of their Ravennate counterparts in Byzantine territory.

⁵⁴ In the small Byzantine Ligurian outpost of S. Antonino, nine out of ten Byzantine coins were silver and only the last was bronze (Arslan, 'Considerazione sulla circolazione', p. 242).

⁵⁵ Nineteen regnal years documented for a 32-year-long reign. Regularity does not in itself presume important volumes, as shown by the coinage of Constantine IV. But in the case of Heraclius, stray finds are fairly frequent and we can accept that bronze coinage was quite plentiful, as was the case in Sicily at that time. One wonders if this policy did not aim to replace part of the silver currency from Italy in order to send this silver to the east to relieve the critical military situation.

⁵⁶ *MIB*, iii, no. 253.

⁵⁷ Constantine IV ordered annual issues, after 674/5, but surviving exemplars are rare and were probably small.

almost exclusively.⁵⁸ This choice can appear peculiar because it was always possible to lower the standard weight of the *folles* in order to strike full forty-*nummi* coins, as happened in the east. But if the limited production of Ravenna is taken into account, one wonders if the explanation could lie in the exchange rate between the small silver and the copper. If the copper value of the silver coin was a multiple of twenty, but not of forty, striking half-*folles* (that is, twenty-*nummi* coins) could have been seen as a better choice than producing new *folles* whose weight would have been widely different from the types currently circulating.⁵⁹ Whatever the ultimate rationale for the choice, this copper coinage was regularly used only in the hinterland of Ravenna.⁶⁰ Conversely, the bronze coins from other imperial mints were absent from the area subsequently referred to as 'the exarchate' by the historiography.⁶¹ This two-pronged attack on the availability of copper coinage certainly resulted in a strong residuality of old coins, sometimes centuries old, commonly used in daily transactions.⁶² The resurgence, as mentioned above, of fifth-century monetary iconography on Heraclian *folles* also hints at the same reality.⁶³

The twilight of the Imperial mint

The first half of the eighth century saw the slow decline of the Ravennate mint. After 705, no further silver coinage was produced and we know of only one bronze issue after 711. The only remaining production was gold, probably in minute quantities.⁶⁴ The two evolutions are linked

⁵⁸ As shown by the relative frequencies of surviving exemplars. From the first reign of Justinian II, only *folles* were struck.

⁵⁹ Note also that the mint stopped striking half-*folles* under Justinian II, that is, when the production of silver coins ended. Under Leontius both the silver eighth-*siliqua* and the half-*folles* were revived.

⁶⁰ Similar evolutions (simplification of the variety of denominations struck and short-range regional monetary circuits) can also be observed in other areas of the empire.

⁶¹ T. S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554–900* (Rome, 1984), p. 49.

⁶² See, for an example of this phenomenon, L. Saguì and A. Rovelli, 'Residualità, non residualità, continuità di circolazione. Alcuni esempi dalla Crypta Balbi', in *I Materiali residui nello scavo archeologico*, ed. F. Guidobaldi and others (Rome, 1998), pp. 173–95; E. A. Arslan, 'La moneta in rame nell'Italia longobarda', in *'Humana sapit'. Études d'antiquité tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini*, ed. J.-M. Carrié and R. Lizzi Testa (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 293–8; and A. Rovelli, 'Naples, ville et atelier monétaire de l'Empire byzantin: l'apport des fouilles récentes', in *Mélanges Cécile Morrisson* (Paris, 2011), pp. 703–6. More striking proofs of this phenomenon are currently being studied by Alessia Rovelli from Roman urban contexts.

⁶³ *MIB*, iii, Anastasius II, no. 35, struck during the third regnal year.

⁶⁴ *DOC*, iii, pt. 1, 92–4.

by the severe debasement process experienced by this Ravennate gold coinage.

This phenomenon was not particular to the coinage of Ravenna: it is well known that Italian gold currency, imperial or Lombard, experienced a brutal debasement in the last years of the seventh century. Ultimately it was probably the result of the fall of Carthage and the rise of the Muslim threat, which induced the imperial authorities to concentrate bullion in the Sicilian mint, whose production peaked around 700. The fine quality of both Roman and Ravennate gold began to decline, down to c.90 per cent under Justinian II (first reign).⁶⁵ During the first two decades of the eighth century, analysis reveals fineness between 83 per cent and 65 per cent. A similar evolution can be traced in Rome and Naples. Sicily was also concerned, but with other modalities and a distinct chronology.⁶⁶ This general trend probably resulted in the appearance of the famous term *mancus* to designate lower-weight imperial gold coinage.⁶⁷

From the reign of Leo III (717–41), the evolution in mainland Italy and Sicily differs totally, with the debasement spiralling out of control on the continent, affecting Lombard as well as imperial products.⁶⁸ The rarity of conserved Ravennate coins makes it difficult to track this process step by step. At the very beginning of Leo III's reign, the fineness of the Ravennate gold coinage is around 60 per cent,⁶⁹ but twenty years later, at Constantine V's inception, 8 per cent seems to be a maximum fineness, with most of the 'tremissis' devoid of any gold.⁷⁰ Furthermore, from an early date, the alloy used by the mint quickly lost any stable composition. Some coins were debased using the favourite Byzantine method of mixing refined and native gold, while for other specimens, the moneyers used silver directly together

⁶⁵ From the graph in W. A. Oddy, 'The debasement of the provincial Byzantine gold coinage from the seventh to the ninth century', in *Studies in Early Byzantine Gold Coinage*, ed. W. Hahn and W. E. Metcalf (New York, 1988), p. 141, fig. 3.

⁶⁶ V. Prigent, 'Un confesseur de mauvaise foi. Notes sur les exactions financières de l'empereur Léon III en Italie du Sud', in *L'économie de l'Italie byzantine-table ronde de Sofia, août 2011*, ed. S. Cosentino (Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes, xxviii, 2015), pp. 279–304.

⁶⁷ Prigent, 'Le mythe du mancus et les origines de l'économie européenne', *Revue numismatique*, clxxi (2014), 701–28.

⁶⁸ For the Lombard, see W. A. Oddy, 'Analyses of Lombardic tremissis by the specific-gravity method', *Numismatic Chronicle*, xii (1972), 193–215; e.g., under Liutprand (712–44), the quality drops steeply leading to a 57 per cent gold content.

⁶⁹ Oddy, 'The debasement', p. 141, fig. 3.

⁷⁰ Oddy, 'The debasement', p. 141, fig. 3; W. Hahn, 'Microchemical analysis of the metal content of some eighth-century coins of Rome and Ravenna', in *Studies in Early Byzantine Gold Coinage*, ed. W. Hahn and W. E. Metcalf (New York, 1988), pp. 131–3, 133 nn. 21–3, has very different results but the method does not seem perfectly reliable.

with copper, when available, for the sake of the colour.⁷¹ It is clear that the Ravenna mint's crucibles became ravenous and were fed by whatever precious metal objects the moneyers could find, primarily silver and copper coins. So the devotion to gold coinage together with the dearth of precious metal resulted in silver issues becoming increasingly scarce until completely interrupted, ultimately leading to the probable disappearance of a good proportion of the circulating stock. In fact, the mint stopped issuing silver coinage precisely when the debasement of gold became acute.⁷²

It is clear that the evolution of the Ravennate coinage was intimately linked with the political status of the city. As the power of the exarchs waned, so the mint lost ground to southern rivals Rome and Catania (and then Syracuse). The Adriatic mint was first reduced to a purely local role, before maintaining a token production, probably seen as a way to assert imperial control. In fact, the mint kept its ideological role as a status symbol even after the ultimate demise of Byzantine power: both the Lombard king Aistolf and Charlemagne celebrated their conquest of the city with a small-scale, or even one-time, gold issue.⁷³ Furthermore, the Ravennate coinage led the way in an important evolution. It offered prototypes to Germanic coinages displaying dead emperors. It was an important step from adopting the image of the current emperor, because if this later choice could be seen as recognizing the ultimate sovereignty of Rome, a dead emperor led the way towards depicting a more titular imperial authority.⁷⁴ Ultimately, titular authority would give way to proper tutelary authority as 'national patron saint' took the stage, with St. Peter on the first post-Byzantine papal coinage,⁷⁵ the Archangel Michael on eighth-century Lombard coinage⁷⁶ or the Neapolitan saint Ianuarius at the beginning of the ninth.⁷⁷

⁷¹ J.-N. Barrandon, 'Modélisation de l'altération de la monnaie d'or', *Revue numismatique*, xxx (1988), 7, 8, fig. 1. A specimen of *DOC*, iii. 47 shows 33.5 per cent silver and 9.9 per cent copper. Two (*DOC*, iii. 48) have 13.5 per cent silver, 27 per cent copper and 20.5 per cent silver, 25.4 per cent copper, together with 2.5 per cent lead.

⁷² The silver stock was also used in Rome for the alloy of the debased gold coins. Even if the papal issues continued, their fineness fell from around 90 in c.700 to less than 30 from 730, but the steepest drop occurred just after the imperial silver coinage ended. On this coinage, see C. Morrisson and J.-N. Barrandon, 'La trouvaille'.

⁷³ Morelli, 'Ravenna', pp. 1046–7 (even if the recently identified gold coinage of Charlemagne could be given to Parma).

⁷⁴ On this topic, see E. A. Arslan, 'Tra romanità e altomedioevo: autorità delegante ed autorità delegata nella moneta', in *Le invasioni barbariche nel Meridione dell'Impero: Visigoti, Vandali, Ostrogoti*, ed. P. Delogu (Soveria Mannelli, 2001), pp. 297–320.

⁷⁵ Grierson-Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, p. 264.

⁷⁶ The St. Michael coinage had already begun at the end of the 7th century (E. A. Arslan, 'San Michele: un arcangelo per i Longobardi', *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche*, xxx (2001), 273–93).

⁷⁷ Rovelli, 'Naples', p. 702.

8. Roman law in Ravenna*

Simon Corcoran

In the thirteenth century Odofredus de Denariis, a leading Bolognese jurist (d. 1265), claimed that Ravenna was the source from where the Justinianic law books were brought to Bologna.¹ When trying to explain why it was Bologna that had become the dominant centre for the study of the *Corpus Iuris*, it would certainly have been a plausible guess (and it is unlikely to have been more than that) for a Bolognese professor to assume that the former imperial capital in Italy was a suitable (and even obvious) conduit through which Justinian's texts were transmitted. This kickstarted the 'Roman law revival'. But while Ravenna was always a city of Roman law jurisdiction, it is not easy to demonstrate that it was especially significant in the making, teaching and transmission of Roman law, or that its continuing use of Roman law was especially vital and dynamic. This chapter seeks to give a brief overview of the sorts of things we can say about Roman law in Ravenna in the early middle ages. It is divided into three topics: Ravenna as a source of new law, Ravenna as a locus for the teaching of law and the transmission of normative texts, and finally Ravenna as a city where Roman law was actively used.

Ravenna, maker of Roman law

On 6 December 402, the emperor Honorius issued a law at Ravenna addressed to Decius, urban prefect at Rome.² Although emperors had visited Ravenna before, this law marks a significant change. Milan had been

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¹ Odofredus, *In Digestum Vetus, de iustitia et iure*, L. *Ius civile* (on Dig. I.1.6) and *In Infortiatum, ad L. Falcidiam*, L. *Quaerebatur, Tres partes* (on Dig. XXXV.2.82). For these and other associated passages, see F. C. von Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, iii (2nd edn., Heidelberg, 1834), 426–9. Odofredus's view also imagined an earlier migration of study from Rome to Ravenna at a time of war, although it is not quite clear when this was supposed to have happened.

² *CTh* VII.13.15. The surviving text is so brief that it is clearly only an extract.

the favoured imperial seat in Italy since the late third century,³ but now it was exchanged for Ravenna, where Honorius spent much of the rest of his reign, dying there in August 423.⁴ Afterwards, his nephew Valentinian III used it as his principal base following his installation in Italy from 426 onwards, although Rome became a more regular residence in the 440s, and sole residence in the 450s.⁵ Indeed, during the fifth century, although several emperors were proclaimed in Ravenna, more emperors died in Rome.⁶ Nonetheless, Ravenna was, together with Rome, the place from which most fifth-century imperial laws were issued. The last ever law attested for a western emperor was issued at Ravenna by Glycerius shortly after his accession in March 473.⁷

The presence of the emperor and his court meant the presence of his chief legal officer, the quaestor, and of the *magister officiorum* and the officials of the *scrinia* (the palace bureaux) and their staff, including the corps of *notarii*, concerned with the emperor's pronouncements. Although not all of them would have been legally trained, it can be presumed that there was always sufficient expertise around the court to cope with the emperor's tasks of dealing with the proposals, queries and cases submitted to him and in issuing replies, rulings and laws in consequence.⁸ A long

³ For Milan as an imperial capital, see R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics – Rome, Constantinople, Milan* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Calif., 1983), pp. 69–92; *Milano capitale dell'impero romano 286–402 d.c.*, ed. M. P. Lavizzara Pedrazzini (Milan, 1990).

⁴ Most easily seen in O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart, 1919), pp. 304–48; also T. Honoré, *Law in the Crisis of Empire 379–455 AD: the Theodosian Dynasty and its Quaestors* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 228–47.

⁵ Seeck, *Regesten*, pp. 352–400; Honoré, *Law in the Crisis of Empire*, pp. 248–74. For Valentinian in Rome, see M. Humphries, 'Valentinian III and the city of Rome (425–455): patronage, politics and power', in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, ed. L. Grig and G. Kelly (New York, 2012), pp. 161–82.

⁶ For the relative statuses of Rome and Ravenna as imperial seats in the 5th century, see A. Gillett, 'Rome, Ravenna, and the last western emperors', *PBSR*, lxi (2001), 131–67.

⁷ *PL*, lvi. 896–8; G. Hänel, *Corpus Legum* (Leipzig, 1857), p. 260. The text is known from a single manuscript of an early canonical collection (Vaticanus Reg. Lat. 1997; L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140)* (Washington, DC, 1999), p. 24).

⁸ For the imperial making of laws and letters, see Honoré, *Law in the Crisis of Empire*, pp. 11–29; J. F. Matthews, *Laying Down the Law: a Study of the Theodosian Code* (New Haven, Conn., 2000), pp. 168–99; S. Corcoran, 'State correspondence in the Roman empire: imperial communication from Augustus to Justinian', in *State Correspondence in the Ancient World from New Kingdom Egypt to the Roman Empire*, ed. K. Radner (New York, 2014), pp. 185–92. For lists of possible western quaestors of the 5th century, see Honoré, *Law in the Crisis of Empire*, p. 277; D. Liebs, *Hofuristen der römischen Kaiser bis Justinian* (Munich, 2010), pp. 108–12, 125–9.

and complex law on constitutional matters, but also other matters of civil law, issued to the Senate at Rome in November 426, was perhaps one of the most important legal texts to emanate from Ravenna.⁹ Among other things, it dealt with the question of what constituted *generalitas* (universal validity or applicability) in an imperial text and, most famously, with the matter of the status of the classical juristic writings. In a fragment from this law, termed the ‘Law of Citations’ (*CTh* I.4.3), authoritative juristic opinion was limited to the ‘Mighty Handful’ of Papinian, Paul, Gaius, Ulpian and Modestinus. The whole enactment is described by Honoré as a ‘mini-code’ and proved a strong influence upon the legal ideas underlying the subsequent imperial codes. Although no doubt issued with the approval of Galla Placidia, de facto regent for the child-emperor Valentinian III, the true originator was probably someone with juristic training among the entourage that had recently accompanied them from the east. Perhaps this was the *magister officiorum*, Helion, the most important of these officials, who returned to Constantinople by late December 426.¹⁰ Honoré has even suggested that the unknown quaestor who must have drafted the text itself should be identified as Antiochus ‘the elder’, named first (as an ex-quaestor) in the Theodosian Code commission of 429 (*CTh* I.1.5), thus closely tying the ‘mini-code’ to the greater code to come.¹¹ It is often presumed that Theodosius II’s commissioners found their way to Ravenna in the 430s to raid the imperial archives for at least the early fifth-century material in order to include it in his planned Code. The fact that most Ravennate laws of this period have only places of issue and not also a place of posting at another destination may favour, or at least does not undermine, this interpretation.¹²

The completed Theodosian Code was formally published in a ceremony in Constantinople in 437 and the copy intended for Italy was carried back by the praetorian prefect Faustus, who had two further copies made: one for reference for the urban prefect at Rome and a working exemplar for those termed the *constitutionarii*, who enjoyed a monopoly in producing further copies. It is not entirely clear whether these persons were imperial or prefectorial officials, or else somewhat private copyists

⁹ Seeck, *Regesten*, p. 352; Honoré, *Law in the Crisis of Empire*, pp. 249–51.

¹⁰ *PLRE*, ii, ‘Helion 1’. For the role of Helion, see M. McEvoy, *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367–455* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 231–4.

¹¹ Honoré, *Law in the Crisis of Empire*, pp. 252–7; Liebs, *Hofjuristen der römischen Kaiser*, pp. 125–6; H. Sivan, *Galla Placidia: the Last Roman Empress* (New York, 2011), p. 95.

¹² For the debate on the use of the imperial archives for the Code, see Matthews, *Laying Down the Law*, pp. 241–53; and A. Sirks, *The Theodosian Code: a Study* (Friedrichsdorf, 2007), pp. 109–41.

enjoying a lucrative monopoly. Nor is it clear where their copy was kept – possibly at Ravenna, if they were based in the current imperial residence. However, they came to realize that the urban prefect's copy was being used improperly for further duplication. Perhaps they had simply been unable to supply sufficient copies at the right price to satisfy demand or, if that demand was generated mainly in Rome, their workshops and oversight in Ravenna were too remote. It may be that they had only recently discovered on a visit to Rome that unauthorized copies were being produced there. Whatever the case, they now acted swiftly to impetrate the emperor to repress this encroachment upon their privileges, which he did while in Rome in December 443.¹³

It was certainly at Ravenna that in June 448 Valentinian formally promulgated the collection of novels (that is, *novellae constitutiones*, new laws) sent to him by Theodosius the previous year. It had earlier been agreed that, with the publication of the Theodosian Code, no law issued in the future by an emperor in one half of the empire would be valid in the other half unless formally sent there and promulgated by his colleague.¹⁴

For the novels of Valentinian himself and his western successors, however, the importance of Ravenna is more occluded, since so many laws were issued in Rome and others, issued in Ravenna, are recorded as made public in Rome. This includes the sole law of Glycerius of 473, which only seems to have survived because the addressee, the praetorian prefect Himilco, promulgated the law at Rome. This suggests that, especially after the 440s, most later laws were known through texts displayed, copied or archived in Rome rather than Ravenna.

With the end of the line of emperors resident in Italy, Odovacer seems to have taken Ravenna as his chief seat, although we know little of his legislative or juridical activity. As king he was not quite sovereign, but acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the emperor in Constantinople, although this did not prevent him acting with administrative independence.¹⁵ A glimpse of him in action at Ravenna survives in the text of a donation in the form

¹³ For the complexities of this issue, I rely upon the recent discussion by B. Salway, 'The publication and application of the Theodosian Code', *MEFR – Antiquité*, cxxv (2013), 345–8 (paras. 39–42 online). For Valentinian's rescript, see *Gesta Senatus, Constitutio de Constitutionariis* (T. Mommsen, *Theodosiani libri XVI* (Berlin, 1905), i. 4).

¹⁴ Valentinian III, *Nov.* 26; cf. Theodosius II, *Nov.* 2.

¹⁵ E.g., grant of five-year tax relief (Ennodius, *Vita Epiphani* 106 (*MGH AA* 7, ed. F. Vogel (Hanover, 1885), p. 97)). For Odovacer's position, see Malchus, *Frag.* 14 (R. C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, ii (Liverpool, 1983), pp. 418–21). For a recent account of his regime, see P. Sarris, *Empires of Faith: the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Islam, 500–700* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 97–9.

of a letter he addressed to the *comes domesticorum*, Pierius, dated to March 489 at Ravenna, but known from a copy registered at Syracuse and then archived back in Ravenna.¹⁶ There is reference in the donation to both the *magister officiorum* (Andromachus) and the royal *notarius* (Marcianus),¹⁷ the latter writing up the document and the former adding his autograph subscription at the behest of and in the place of the king.

About Theoderic, by contrast, we know a great deal. His court was far more securely based in Ravenna than that of his imperial predecessors and he employed a full panoply of palatine officials, exemplified by Cassiodorus, who held office under him or his successors as quaestor, *magister officiorum* and finally praetorian prefect. Although de facto sovereign of his realm, Theoderic was careful, like Odovacer, to nuance his position and, in addition to not minting coins in his own name, but that of the emperor in Constantinople, he also generally avoided issuing formal *leges*, especially such as might radically interfere with existing Roman law.¹⁸ Despite this, the sorts of pronouncements written for the Ostrogothic kings by Cassiodorus are cognate with the more elaborate texts produced for emperors as survive unabbreviated in the various novels collections.¹⁹ Further, one edict with twelve clauses issued by Athalaric is symbolically compared to the Twelve Tables.²⁰

In the longer term, however, Ostrogothic royal texts left a somewhat light imprint on later normative law, with one exception, the text known as the *Edictum Theoderici*, which is in essence a miscellany of reworked Roman law.²¹ This does not survive except via sixteenth-century printed editions, and it consists of an undifferentiated sequence of 154 chapters,

¹⁶ *P. Ital.* I 10–11A–B; *FIRA*² III, no. 99; now *ChLA* XX.703 and XLV.1331; *PLRE* II ‘Pierius 5’.

¹⁷ *PLRE* II ‘Andromachus 3’ and ‘Marcianus 10’.

¹⁸ See A. H. M. Jones, ‘On the constitutional position of Odoacer and Theoderic’, *JRS*, lii (1962), 126–30 [repr. in *The Roman Economy*, ed. P. Brunt (Oxford, 1974), pp. 365–74]; J. Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 39–51; P. Heather, ‘Gens and regnum among the Ostrogoths’, in *Regna et Gentes*, ed. H.-W. Goetz and others (Leiden, 2003), pp. 85–134.

¹⁹ See, for instance, the discussion by M. S. Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition Between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople: a Study of Cassiodorus and the Variae, 527–554* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 206–15. Note that the *Variae* as compiled and edited are not a straightforward diplomatic record of Ostrogothic chancery activity.

²⁰ Cassiodorus, *Variae (Cassiodori Senatoris Variae, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, xi, ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin, 1894)), IX.18 (the edict) with IX.19.2 (allusion to the XII Tables). Note that Athalaric’s edict specifically orders the renewed application of a neglected law of Valentinian (*Variae* ix. 18.1).

²¹ Latin text, ed. F. Bluhme in *MGH Leg. Tomus V* (Hanover, 1875), pp. 149–68; *FIRA*², ii. 683–710. For the English translation, see S. D. W. Lafferty, *Law and Society in the Age of Theoderic the Great: a Study of the ‘Edictum Theoderici’* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 243–94.

plus a brief prologue and epilogue. Much mystery has surrounded the who, the when and the where of its original creation. Although one of the most accomplished studies has attributed it to the Visigothic king Theoderic II in the mid fifth century,²² the more widely-held view, including in the most recent book-length analysis, is that it was produced on the orders of Theoderic in Italy, in perhaps *c.* 500.²³ References to Rome (*ET* 10, 111) and the fact that the text and its constituent chapters are called edicts (consistent with the view that Theoderic issued edicts like a praetorian prefect, not formal *leges* like an emperor) certainly favour this interpretation. All the provisions are adapted from existing Roman legal sources (identified in the epilogue as *novellae leges* and *vetus ius*), especially the Theodosian Code and the *Sententiae* of Paulus,²⁴ marking this as a typical late antique summarizing or excerpting text, providing a compendium of modified Roman legal rules handier and more focused than its extensive source material, although the organization is rather opaque. There is no explicit reference to Ravenna, beyond the fact that a text issued on the authority of Theoderic would be expected to emanate from his court and be a production of his officials.²⁵ There is speculation, however, that its formal publication could have been in Rome during his ceremonial royal visit in 500.²⁶ Despite the fact that the lack of any full manuscript renders much obscure, it is clear that this work was excerpted and quoted along with other Roman legal material in a variety of early medieval miscellanies.²⁷ However, where any indication of source is given, it is regarded as being Justinianic, or at least properly Roman, with any connection to Ostrogothic Ravenna rendered invisible. One chapter even ended up in the medieval Vulgate of the Justinian Code.²⁸

With the fall of Ravenna to imperial forces in 540, the status of the city as an administrative capital continued, but never again was there a resident ruler to make truly authoritative enactments. His place was taken

²² G. Vismara, *Scritti di storia giuridica, i: fonti del diritto nei regni germanici* (Milan, 1987), pp. 1–338.

²³ Lafferty, *Law and Society*, esp. pp. 22–53; also P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 78–82.

²⁴ Vismara, *Scritti*, pp. 209–40; Lafferty, *Law and Society*, pp. 60–99.

²⁵ Lafferty, *Law and Society*, pp. 41–6.

²⁶ E.g., Lafferty, *Law and Society*, p. 41, based on an interpretation of *Anonymus Valesianus* II 12.60, in *Ammianus Marcellinus with an English translation in three parts*, ed. and trans. J. C. Rolfe (3 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1939), iii.

²⁷ Vismara, *Scritti*, pp. 257–95.

²⁸ *CJ* IX.16.(3) (P. Krüger, *Codex Iustinianus*, ed. minor, p. 379 n. 13); Vismara, *Scritti*, pp. 272–7.

by the praetorian prefect, and soon the exarch. As a source of original law, Ravenna could now at most function as a conduit for measures issued from Constantinople.²⁹ Even so, three significant events do merit some consideration, throwing light on how Ravenna functioned in the Byzantine period: the introduction of the Justinianic codification into Italy, the introduction of the *Ecloga* into Italy, and, finally, Constans II's grant of autocephaly to the church of Ravenna.

The first of these, the promulgation of the Justinianic codification in Italy, is the most important in the long-term historical perspective. This body of legal texts consisted of the *Digest* (fifty books, made up of edited extracts from the classical jurists) and the *Institutes* (a four-book introductory survey for students), both issued at the end of 529, plus the *Code* (twelve books of edited extracts of imperial laws from the earlier *Codes* and other sources) in its second edition of 529 (replacing the first of 529).³⁰ Between them these works superseded all previously authoritative Roman legal texts, and this was especially significant, since they did not simply gather together existing material, but incorporated or otherwise reflected a good deal of legal reform enacted by Justinian in the early years of his reign, especially in his 'Fifty Decisions' (529–1). This was a far more proactive, comprehensive and coherent legal intervention than attempted by any previous ruler, even Theodosius II in his *Code*. Its potential for impact upon Italy was greater than that from earlier piecemeal law-making. Unfortunately, any role for Ravenna in receiving or disseminating the codification is almost invisible to us, although it is reasonable to infer that copies must have been sent and kept there. It is sometimes suggested that the works were already sent to Ravenna, as well as Rome, in 529.³¹ Even allowing for the decidedly friendly stance of Amalasantha towards Constantinople, it hardly seems credible that she or any Ostrogothic ruler could formally accept or promulgate such material, so redolent of claims at once imperial and Catholic. Such a significant degree of legal unity or congruity between Italy and the empire at this time is surely unlikely, even allowing for the ambiguous constitutional situation. For instance, the 100-year prescription in favour of the Roman church, enacted by Justinian in April 529 in a letter addressed to Pope John II, was

²⁹ Some edicts of praetorian prefects of the east were collected as authoritative (Justinian, *Nov.* 166–8; C. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Anekdotia*, iii (Leipzig, 1843), pp. 227–78), but nothing similar is known for prefects or exarchs in Italy.

³⁰ For brief overviews of the codification, see H. F. Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law* (3rd edn, rev. B. Nicholas, Cambridge, 1972), pp. 479–96; D. Liebs, 'Roman law', in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, xiv: *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425–600*, ed. A. Cameron and others (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 247–51.

³¹ E.g. Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, p. 224.

meant to apply to properties within imperial territory, especially the islands in the west recently recovered from the Vandals, and can hardly have been expected to have been upheld by judges in Rome or Italy.³² Other references to Rome or Italy seem anchored in their historic status in Roman legal history, rather than current legislative realities.³³ Misapprehension regarding Justinian's legal influence in Ostrogothic Italy seems based chiefly on the belief that his corpus of texts was sent to the law school in Rome at this time, which seems doubtful (more on this question in the next section), and that the Code (I.1.8) is mirrored in contemporary papal texts (*Collectio Avellana* 84 and 92). In fact, the relevant Code text, a profession of faith by Justinian encapsulated in a letter of Pope John II, is a perplexing anomaly that is probably not original to the Code at all.³⁴

Although the codification could have reached Ravenna at any time after 540, in the disturbed conditions of the Gothic War it can hardly have gained widespread or effective dissemination in Italy, and certainly not orchestrated from Ravenna, although (as shown below) some Justinianic measures are reflected in documents by the early 550s. In fact, it was only in August 554 that Justinian, responding positively to a plea from Pope Vigilius, issued a long enactment (the so-called Pragmatic Sanction *pro petitione Vigili*) that attempted to regularize the civil government of Italy.³⁵ It is notable that the request came from the pope, then in Constantinople, not from any imperial officials in Ravenna. Among the measures taken, Justinian ordered his codification, which had some time before (*iam ... dudum*) been sent with an edict of promulgation,³⁶ to be enforced, and that future laws should also be promulgated by edict throughout Italy. It would appear, therefore, that the codification was already present in Italy, perhaps lodged in some office in Ravenna, but that few steps had been taken to do anything with it. This was now to change. The pragmatic sanction is addressed to the two senior officials

³² Justinian, *Nov.* 9.

³³ E.g. *CJ* II.52.7; VII.31.1 (cf. *Just. Inst.* II.6.pr.).

³⁴ B. Stolte, 'Not in the Code, nor in the Basilica: C. I.1.8 and its translation in the Basilica', *Annali del seminario giuridico dell'Università degli studi di Palermo (AUPA)*, liv (2010–11), 291–300.

³⁵ Justinian, *Nov. App.* VII (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, iii: *Novellae*, ed. R. Schoell and W. Kroll (Berlin, 1895), pp. 799–802); also at *Iuliani Epitome Latina Novellarum Iustiniani*, ed. G. Hänel (Leipzig, 1873), pp. 189–91.

³⁶ Justinian, *Nov. App.* VII.11 (Schoell and Kroll, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, iii. 800). D. Liebs, *Die Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien (260–640 n.Chr.)* (Berlin, 1987), p. 126, sensibly rejects any idea that this passage refers back to the original promulgating constitutions of 533 and 534.

in Italy – Narses, the eunuch grand-chamberlain and military supremo, and Antiochus, the praetorian prefect – and it was presumably sent to Ravenna. However, Ravenna and its place in the administration of Italy are nowhere described or even mentioned in the law. There may be a vague echo of the introduction of the codification into Italy via Ravenna in Agnellus's account of Archbishop Maximian (in office 546–57), when he talks of the writings of Maximian in twelve books contained in one volume being taken to Rome (from Ravenna).³⁷ However, this seems unlikely to be a dim if genuine memory of the twelve-book Code reaching Ravenna as opposed, say, to a garbling of Paul the Deacon's remarkably clear account of Justinian's legal corpus.³⁸ The only thing that can be said for this unhelpfully obscure passage is that it would at least place such an event in an appropriate time frame. The further effect of Justinian's codification upon Ravenna is considered in the succeeding sections.

After 554, the presumption is that imperial laws would be sent to the prefect (or later the exarch) in Ravenna for further dissemination and promulgation, although this cannot easily be traced, and direct dissemination at least to Rome is attested. For instance, a law of c.555 on Italian and Sicilian debtors was addressed to Narses, Panfronius [*sic*], and the Senate, suggesting a Roman rather than Ravennate focus.³⁹ A law of Maurice from 593, which attempted to bar those in the imperial service from becoming monks, although presumably sent also to the exarch at Ravenna, is only attested as having been sent directly to Pope Gregory I, who fiercely opposed it.⁴⁰ Boniface V (619–25) is supposed to have decreed that rules for wills be observed in conformity with an imperial *iussio*, whose original date and content are unknown.⁴¹ Similarly, imperial mandates confirming papal elections, a requirement somewhat unevenly enforced up to the reign of Constantine IV,⁴² usually seem to have been sent

³⁷ Agnellus, *LPR* LXXXI, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (*CCCM*, cxcix, Turnhout, 2006), 249; D. M. Deliyannis, *Agnellus of Ravenna: the Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna* (Washington, DC, 2004), p. 195.

³⁸ Paulus Diac., *Hist. Lang.* I.25.

³⁹ Justinian, *Nov. App.* VIII (Schoell and Kroll, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, iii. 803). Pamphronius was perhaps urban rather than praetorian prefect (so *PLRE* IIIB 'Pamphronius'; T. C. Lounghis and others, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 476 bis 565* (Nicosia, 2005), p. 337).

⁴⁰ Gregory the Great, *Reg.* III.61, ed. D. Norberg, *CCSL*, cxl. 209–11; J. R. C. Martyn, *The Letters of Gregory the Great* (Toronto, 2004), i. 280–2, reporting delivery by the *strator* Longinus. For further details, see F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*: i, pt. 1, *Regesten 565–867* (2nd edn., Munich, 2009), pp. 41–2.

⁴¹ *LP*, i. 321. There is no reference to this measure at the relevant place in Dölger's *Regesten*. Possibly the pope was simply ensuring that existing imperial rules were applied in ecclesiastical contexts.

⁴² For the abolition of the requirement, see *LP*, i. 363.

directly from Constantinople to Rome. At times in the earlier seventh century swifter approval was given by the exarch at Ravenna instead, but upon his own authority, and this later became the standard practice from 685 until the end of the exarchate.⁴³

Aside from the issue of where imperial laws were sent, it should be stressed that most of the post-codification imperial novels that became known in Italy in fact circulated as two sets of Justinianic materials, the *Epitome of Julian* and the *Authenticum* (discussed in the next section). These were created or assembled in the 550s in a teaching context that was not even originally Italian, and contained much legislation that was neither intended for nor obviously relevant to Italy (for example laws directed at specific provinces in the east). Justinian may at one time have imagined making an official collection of his novels to supplement his codification, but he never did so.⁴⁴ Nor does the wording of the Pragmatic Sanction (*Nov. App.* VII.11) easily suggest that it was the post-codification novels of the intervening period (534–54) that were to be published by edict, as opposed to any future legislation. Thus a mass promulgation of novels via Ravenna, as enacted by Valentinian III for those of Theodosius II, was not the means by which these sixth-century novels became known in Italy. Indeed, it is notable that even the Pragmatic Sanction itself, as the most famous of imperial texts addressed to Italy, came to circulate only in a summary version appended to the *Epitome of Julian*.

Thus Ravenna was not the automatic or sole conduit for the promulgation or dissemination of imperial enactments. Certainly the exarch was key to enforcing the imperial will in Italy, but this was mainly a matter of religious policy, at least viewed through the distorting lens of the uneven surviving evidence, and we have little idea what was happening with secular legislation, which is poorly attested in the empire generally in the crisis-ridden seventh century. One story illustrating the Ravenna court in action shows the exarch Theodore (678–87) recruiting a competent bilingual *notarius*, Johannicius, to handle the necessary correspondence with Constantinople, although this official of apparently rare capability was in due course poached by the emperor.⁴⁵

⁴³ For discussion of the complex chronology of imperial versus exarchal confirmations of papal elections in the 7th century, see J. Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476–752* (1979), pp. 203–4. The last pope to impetrate a direct imperial mandate was Benedict II (684; after a wait of a year!), while the last to seek exarchal confirmation was Gregory III (731).

⁴⁴ See *C. Cordi* 4 (Krüger, *Codex Iustinianus*, ed. minor, p. 4); Liebs, *Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien*, pp. 125–6.

⁴⁵ Agnellus, *LPR CXX*; cf. 146. Johannicius's later demise at the hands of Justinian II becomes a rather imaginative martyr story in the hands of Agnellus (J. M. Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna: the Liber Pontificalis of Andreas Agnellus* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995), pp. 75–6).

The activity of Justinian, however, was in any case exceptional in its scope and intention and not necessarily the obvious touchstone for others' legislative activity. Indeed, it was only in the dying days of exarchal Ravenna, in 741, that a significant piece of secular legislation was issued, the *Ecloga* of Leo III and Constantine V.⁴⁶ It was specifically intended to make a revised, updated and philanthropic version (preferring punishment by mutilation rather than execution) of Justinianic law in summary form available in Greek. Although this work is well known from copies in the south Italian manuscript tradition, albeit rather late in date,⁴⁷ it seems unlikely (though not impossible) that it was ever sent to northern Italy, or could have been effectively enforced or disseminated from Ravenna, especially at a time when Italian sentiment was hostile to imperial iconoclasm and the Lombards were also renewing their aggression.⁴⁸ Indeed, even the southern diffusion might represent a later process, with the *Ecloga* only spreading there during the Macedonian resurgence of the ninth/tenth centuries.⁴⁹ Only slight evidence exists that the work was ever rendered into Latin: the use of its heading at the beginning of a short eleventh-century legal miscellany from Veroli known as the *Lectio Legum*.⁵⁰ But there is little reason to think that any translation would have been an act of imperial Ravenna, rather than a much later response to Roman legal materials in Greek percolating up from the south.

It is not at all clear, therefore, that post-Justinianic legislation, where it did have an impact in Italy, owed that impact to being issued from or via Ravenna. Indeed, the most iconic legal text, from the Ravennate point of view, was a grant issued not from Ravenna, but for Ravenna. This is the

⁴⁶ *Ecloga: das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos' V.*, ed. L. Burgmann (Frankfurt, 1983); M. Humphreys, *Law, Power, and Imperial Ideology in the Iconoclast Era, c.680-850* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 81–129.

⁴⁷ For the manuscripts, see Burgmann, *Ecloga*, pp. 29–45; G. Cavallo, 'La circolazione di testi giuridici in lingua greca nel mezzogiorno medievale', in *Scuole, diritto e società nel Mezzogiorno medievale d'Italia*, ii, ed. M. Bellomo (Catania, 1987), pp. 87–136; L. Burgmann and others, *Repertorium der Handschriften des byzantinischen Rechts*, i: *Die Handschriften des weltlichen Rechts (Nr. 1–327)* (Frankfurt, 1995). The *Ecloga* travelled with various other texts and was also the basis for numerous later complex reworkings.

⁴⁸ For the weakness of exarchal Ravenna in its final years, see S. Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai Normanni* (Bologna, 2008), pp. 135–41.

⁴⁹ V. M. Minale, 'Sulla recezione dell'*Ekloge* isaurica nell'Italia bizantina', *HBI*, ii (2012), pp. 37–49.

⁵⁰ Burgmann, *Ecloga*, p. 160 reflected at F. Patetta, 'Adnotationes Codicum Domini Justiniani (Summa Perusina)', *Bullettino dell'istituto di diritto romano*, xii (Rome, 1900; repr. Florence, 2008), 294. On the *Lectio*, see briefly C. Radding and A. Ciaralli, *The 'Corpus Iuris Civilis' in the Middle Ages: Manuscripts and Transmission from the Sixth Century to the Juristic Revival* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 72–3. Note that the *Lectio's* first chapter is taken without explicit attribution from *Edictum Theoderici* 57 (Vismara, *Scritti*, pp. 263–5).

famous, if short-lived, *privilegium* of autocephaly for the church of Ravenna issued by Constans II in 666,⁵¹ and probably depicted in a mosaic in S. Apollinare in Classe.⁵² Two features are notable for our purposes. First, Constans landed in southern Italy and never progressed further north than Rome (the last emperor ever to visit the city as sovereign, July 663).⁵³ When Constans chose a western seat from which to govern, it was not Ravenna or even Rome, but Syracuse, strategically situated between Italy and Africa, and it was from Syracuse that the *privilegium* was issued.⁵⁴ Second, this document is a perfect illustration of long-standing late Roman imperial practice. It was issued on the basis of a *relatio* (request or referral) from the archbishop of Ravenna and a *suggestio* (draft) of the exarch of Italy, with the key intermediary being the *vicedominus* Reparatus (later also archbishop). The actual document will have been put together and written in Syracuse by the emperor's officials, before receiving his autograph subscription (apparently the word 'Fiat').⁵⁵ However, it is likely that the *relatio* and *suggestio* between them provided the blueprint for the text and that the emperor was largely reflecting back to Ravenna what that city actually wanted.⁵⁶ Thus this text issued from Syracuse was to a significant extent conceived in Ravenna.

⁵¹ O. Holder-Egger, 'Agnelli qui et Andreas liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis', in *MGH SRL* (Hanover, 1878), pp. 350–1; Dölger, *Regesten*, p. 109. Agnellus, although aware of the grant (*LPR*, cx), seems only to have seen a later grant of Constantine IV, which he thought was that of Constans II (*LPR*, cxv), perhaps because the original *privilegium* was later surrendered to Rome (*LP*, i. 361). However, neither Roman nor Ravennate sources seem entirely trustworthy in their accounts of the struggles between them, and the details remain opaque.

⁵² The mosaic seems originally to have depicted Constans II granting the autocephaly, and to have been made on the orders of Reparatus after he became archbishop to celebrate his role. It was probably adapted subsequently to show a later grant of tax exemptions from Constantine IV, presumably to gloss over the fact that the autocephaly was revoked, which would explain Agnellus's conflated interpretation that Reparatus gained tax exemptions (not autocephaly) from Constans II (see D. M. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 271–3, 283–4; M. David, *Eternal Ravenna: from the Etruscans to the Venetians* (Milan, 2013), pp. 208–10).

⁵³ For Constans's visit, see *LP*, i. 343–4; A. J. Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes* (Lanham, Md., 2007), pp. 171–7.

⁵⁴ For the choice of Syracuse, see J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century* (Oxford, 2010), p. 486; W. Kaegi, *Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 168–9.

⁵⁵ The emperor may also have written the 'SANCIMVS' in the middle of the document (Holder-Egger, p. 351).

⁵⁶ For this 'reflecting back', see Corcoran, 'State correspondence', pp. 190–2. Note also the similar case of Pope Agatho getting a *divalis iussio* in response to (and presumably written on the basis of) a petition (*LP*, i. 354).

With the fall of Ravenna in 751, it ceased to be a centre of government and also a source of or conduit for new legislation important for Roman law. Neither can the rulings of later kings and emperors, who passed through or resided temporarily (if sometimes frequently) in Ravenna, be considered of normative significance in this regard, even though the former imperial capital was seen as providing western emperors with an afterglow of Roman legitimacy, and coronations, synods and imperial hearings sometimes took place there.⁵⁷

Ravenna, teacher of Roman law

As the original source of the legal system, it is no surprise that Rome was the preeminent centre for the teaching of law in the late Roman west, where law students gained exemptions from public liabilities up to the age of 20 (*CTh* XIV.9.1), and that Rome was the city where salaried professors were at some point instituted.⁵⁸ Legal training could, in theory, take place anywhere, and it certainly seems that law was taught in Gaul (for example at Narbonne), to those who did not have the resources or inclination to travel to Italy.⁵⁹ Indeed, some legal works known from the late antique west tend to be associated with Gallic law schools, perhaps Autun.⁶⁰ As regards Ravenna, however, there is no direct evidence of law teaching there. The Ravennate sermons of Peter Chrysologus, appointed bishop during the residence of Valentinian III and Galla Placidia (c.431), show considerable legal knowledge,⁶¹ but when and where it was acquired (his birth and early education were at nearby Imola) are unknown. The presumption is that

⁵⁷ Thus note the Ottonian charters issued from Ravenna in the late 10th and early 11th centuries (*MGH DD O* II, nos. 241, 243, 314; *DD O* III, nos. 271, 272, 395, 398, 400, 402, 416, 419; *DD* Theophanu 2). For the Ottonian image of Ravenna, see R. Savigni, 'Memoria urbis: l'immagine di Ravenna nella storiografia di età carolingia-ottoniana', in *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale* (3 vols., Spoleto, 2005), ii. 615–701; D. Warner, 'The representation of empire: Otto I at Ravenna', in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800–1500*, ed. B. Weiler and S. MacLean (Leiden, 2006), pp. 132–4.

⁵⁸ Liebs, 'Roman Law', in *CAH* XIV, 253; L. di Paola, 'Insegnamento e diritto a Roma tra IV e VI secolo', in *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana*, xvi (Naples, 2007), 85–101. The later rulings of Athalaric and Justinian assume a pre-existing practice of paying a salary to law teachers, probably similar to the practice in Constantinople from 425 (*CTh* XIV.9.3).

⁵⁹ Liebs, 'Roman Law', in *CAH* XIV, 254–5; P. Riché, *Enseignement du droit en Gaule du VI^e au IX^e siècle* (Milan, 1965).

⁶⁰ Thus both the *Fragmenta Augustodunensia* (commentary on Gaius (*FIRA*² II, pp. 208–28)) and the *Consultatio veteris cuiusdam iurisconsulti* (*FIRA*² II, pp. 594–613), both of which seem to be teaching texts. See D. Liebs, *Römische Jurisprudenz in Gallien (2. bis 8. Jahrhundert)* (Berlin, 2002), pp. 123, 138–41.

⁶¹ N. J. Ristuccia, 'Law and legal documents in the sermons of Peter Chrysologus', *JLA*, iv (2011), 124–56.

for him any specific legal training, however elementary, was most likely acquired at Rome, as also in the case of Boethius, who makes use of several standard introductory textbooks for Roman law (the Institutes variously of Ulpian, Paulus and Gaius).⁶² Indeed, the addressee of Boethius's *Topica* commentary, the advocate Patricius, studied in Rome and was eventually appointed quaestor at Ravenna by Theodahad in 534.⁶³ It is also notable that when in 533 Athalaric urged the Senate at Rome to restore the salaries of the city's publicly funded teachers, including the one for law (described as *iuris expositor*), he gives no indication that rival Italian law schools or teachers might have existed in Ravenna or elsewhere.⁶⁴

In December 533 Justinian reorganized the empire's law schools and their syllabi, suppressing all other schools except those of Rome and Constantinople (the *regiae urbes*) plus Beirut.⁶⁵ Given that Italy was not yet under his control, the likely implication is that Rome is included to flatter imperial pride, and does not necessarily suggest that Justinian knew anything about the real situation in the Roman law school or of Athalaric's recent intervention. As mentioned in the previous section, some scholars have believed that Justinian's legal works were sent to the law school in Rome, or at least that the law teachers there might have been encouraged to acquire them, if only Justinian's Institutes, which were a reworking of the standard textbook by Gaius.⁶⁶ Indeed, it has even been speculated that Salaminus, the otherwise unknown man addressed last in the greeting to *C. Omnem*, was the official law teacher at Rome, presumably only appointed, or at least now salaried, following Athalaric's recent letter.⁶⁷ However, given the significant reforming imprint of Justinian's own legislation, which is repeatedly noted throughout the Institutes, the idea of law teachers in Italy engaging with this material, even if they knew about it, seems highly unlikely. Only much later, in 554, did Justinian also provide for the re-establishment of salaried law professors in Rome, just as he formalized the

⁶² Boethius, *In Ciceronis Topica*, II.3.14, II.4.19, III.5.28 (*PL* 64.1071, 1075, 1095); E. Stump, *Boethius' 'In Ciceronis Topica'* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), p. 11; H. Chadwick, *Boethius: the Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy* (Oxford, 1981), p. 119.

⁶³ *PLRE* II 'Patricius 12'; Cassiodorus, *Variae* x. 6–7. Patricius is mentioned in the proem to each of the *Topica* commentary's six books, except for Bk III (*PL* 64.1039, 1063, 1107, 1129, 1167).

⁶⁴ Cassiodorus, *Variae* ix. 21; Liebs, *Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien*, pp. 122–3.

⁶⁵ *C. Omnem* 7 (T. Mommsen, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, i: *Digesta* (Berlin, 1872), p. XVI).

⁶⁶ Liebs, *Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien*, p. 125.

⁶⁷ E.g. C. G. Mor, *Scritti di storia giuridica altomedievale* (Pisa, 1977), pp. 87, 93. *PLRE* IIIB 'Salaminus' tentatively suggests Beirut. Or perhaps he was a descendant or relative of the ecclesiastical historian, Sozomen (i.e., Salaminus Hermias Sozomenus), who had been a trained lawyer in Constantinople under Theodosius II.

status of his codification in Italy.⁶⁸ But, given that it is far from certain that even this did in fact happen, it is all the harder to suppose that a law school or formal law-teaching was established in Ravenna.

It is perhaps also noteworthy that Cassiodorus, who had had such extensive engagement with legal and legislative issues during his periods in office at Ravenna, had attempted while still praetorian prefect there to establish a Christian school in Rome instead with Pope Agapetus (c.536), a sign that Rome was the default location for such formal establishments.⁶⁹ Later, in his post-reconquest reborn monastic identity, Cassiodorus did not include any legal texts in his secular curriculum (Book II of his *Institutes*) in setting out his educational plan for Vivarium. Rhetoric, seen as a tool for use in legal dispute, is covered extensively,⁷⁰ but Roman substantive law is not considered important. Justinian's *Institutes* have no place, even if legal texts probably formed part of the library at Vivarium.⁷¹

A few legal texts are at least plausibly attributable to Italy in the sixth and early seventh centuries. These show engagement with Justinianic legal materials and are often used to demonstrate the existence of some teaching in Rome at least during this period.⁷² They generally survive in the form of summaries or scholia, which seem to reflect the teaching methods or texts of the *antecessores* (law professors). While some of these most likely derive directly or indirectly from Constantinopolitan materials (for example the

⁶⁸ Justinian, *Nov. App.* VII.22.

⁶⁹ *Institutiones divinarum et saecularum litterarum*, i. para. 1; Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, p. 15. For possible links between Cassiodorus and law schools, see F. de Marini Avonzo, 'Sulle tracce della scuola di Roma nel VI secolo', *Minima epigraphica et papyrologica*, ix (2006), 411–14. She somewhat speculatively explores a Cassiodoran connection to a manipulated text of Paul at Digest XXXII.78, a rather closer relationship between Italian and Constantinopolitan jurisprudence than might be expected.

⁷⁰ See Cassiodorus, *Inst.* II.pr.4 and II.2.

⁷¹ The Latin ecclesiastical history sponsored by Cassiodorus certainly used the Justinian Code: Cassiodorus/Epiphanius, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* IX.7 and 40 = *CJ* I.1.1 and IX.47.20 respectively. See F. de Marini Avonzo, 'Due citazioni del Codex Iustinianus nella *Historia Tripartita* di Cassiodoro', in *Scritti per il XL della morte di P.E. Bensa* (Milan 1969), pp. 95–106 (repr. in *Dall'impero cristiano al medioevo: Studi sul diritto tardoantico* (Goldbach, 2001), pp. 125–34).

⁷² The fullest discussion is Liebs, *Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien*, pp. 195–282, who is the most enthusiastic proponent of an active Roman law school, but some alternative datings and interpretations of key texts can be found in Radding and Ciaralli, *The Corpus Iuris Civilis*, pp. 38–44, which are more sceptical. For a new, balanced assessment of the evidence, see now L. Loschiavo, 'Insegnamento del diritto e cultura giuridica a Roma da Teoderico a Carlo Magno', in *Ravenna Capitale. Permanenze del mondo giuridico romano in Occidente nei secoli V–VIII*, ed. G. Bassanelli Sommariva and others (Santarcangelo di Romagna, 2014), pp. 9–50.

scholia to the Turin Institutes⁷³ and the Verona Code,⁷⁴ the *paratitla* to the Epitome of Julian⁷⁵), others may have been created in Italy, and both types could have been used to aid teaching and been further adapted. Certainly such texts ended up being assembled and copied in ways that suited the Italian context. This applies to the various works which came to travel with the Epitome of Julian, which originated as a Latin lecture course on the (mostly Greek) novels taught at Constantinople in the 550s.⁷⁶ However, it became the main way in which the novels were known in the early medieval west. Two alternative appendices of miscellaneous items were created to accompany the Epitome.⁷⁷ Indeed, it is 'Appendix A' that transmits the Pragmatic Sanction of 554, or at least the summary version of the original constitution that this appears to be, which was surely created in Italy.⁷⁸ It is a similar story with the *Authenticum*, comprising, as has become known, a version of Justinian's novels made up of some Latin originals but mostly Latin student-crib translations from the Greek.⁷⁹ The most likely view is that it was put together in its early medieval form in Italy in the 560s, although making use of a pre-existing Constantinopolitan teaching collection. It originally consisted of Greek text with interlinear Latin translation (except for those novels originally in Latin), that was designed to make Greek constitutions more accessible to Latin-speaking pupils.⁸⁰ That this was done in Rome is

⁷³ The dating of these scholia in the manuscripts is much disputed, but there is certainly a 6th-century layer (see Liebs, *Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien*, pp. 195–220; G. Falcone, 'I prestiti dalla Parafrasi di Teofilo nella cd. Glossa Torinese alle Istituzioni', *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*, lxii (1996), 255–86; Radding and Ciaralli, *The Corpus Iuris Civilis*, pp. 114–17).

⁷⁴ Published by C. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, 'Die griechischen Scholien der rescribirten Handschrift des Codex in der Bibliothek des Domcapitels zu Verona', *Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft*, xv (1850), 90–132 (repr. in *Kleine Schriften zur römischen und byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1973), pp. 313–59); discussed by Liebs, 'The Greek scholia of the Justinian Code manuscript in Verona compared with the Latin glosses of the one in Pistoia', in *Roman Law in Lombard and Carolingian Europe*, ed. M. Crawford and B. Salway (forthcoming).

⁷⁵ N. van der Wal, 'Die Paratitla zur Epitome Iuliani', *Subseciva Groningana*, ii (1985), 93–137; Liebs, *Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien*, pp. 246–64; W. Kaiser, *Die Epitome Iuliani: Beiträge zum römischen Recht im frühen Mittelalter und zum byzantinischen Rechtsunterricht* (Frankfurt, 2004), pp. 281–307.

⁷⁶ Kaiser, *Die Epitome Iuliani*, is an exhaustive account of the Epitome both east and west.

⁷⁷ Their contents are summarized at Kaiser, *Die Epitome Iuliani*, pp. 15–17.

⁷⁸ Liebs, *Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien*, p. 125; Kaiser, *Die Epitome Iuliani*, pp. 348–9.

⁷⁹ The most recent full text reconstruction is still that of G. E. Heimbach, *Authenticum* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1846–51).

⁸⁰ For the shape of the late antique *Authenticum*, see the crucial study by L. Loschiavo, 'Il codex graecus e le origini del Liber authenticorum', *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: romanistische Abteilung*, cxxvii (2010), 115–71. In the empire (at

merely a guess based on its being the most likely locus for a continuing law school, which would have required such a work.⁸¹ But any association with Ravenna, as is also often made, is even more of a guess.⁸² However, it should be observed that the *Authenticum* was not the sole source of Latin versions of the novels. Other translations and summaries circulated in Italy and they do not all need to have been made in the same place.⁸³

The same can be said of the *Summa Perusina*, which survives in an early eleventh-century manuscript and comprises a catena of comments upon the Justinian Code, deriving ultimately from seventh-century Italian glosses to a Code manuscript.⁸⁴ The comments are not obviously related to formal law-school teaching, and the frequent misunderstandings suggest that legal learning has now fallen away considerably, as is also found with some of the later summaries associated with the Epitome of Julian.⁸⁵ Further, the bilingual nature of much sixth-century normative law has vanished, since there is no engagement with the Greek texts in the Code, which are almost entirely ignored.⁸⁶ No wonder the exarch Theodore prized the *notarius* Johannicius. The fact that the *Summa*, as we know it, seems to have come into active use at Rome in the late tenth century (most famously being cited decisively to settle a case heard there before the emperor Otto III in December 999)⁸⁷ lends credibility to the belief that this material at least should properly be associated with Rome, although the text contains no

Constantinople and Beirut), most equivalent teaching materials were the other way round, designed to help Greek-speaking students cope with Latin legal texts, although the Epitome of Julian shows that the need for similar Latin materials was not confined to Italy.

⁸¹ E.g., Loschiavo, 'Il codex graecus', p. 148.

⁸² E.g., F. Wieacker, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, ii, ed. J. G. Wolf (Munich, 2006), p. 323; M. Ascheri, *The Laws of Late Medieval Italy (1000–1500): Foundations for a European Legal System* (Leiden, 2013), p. 15.

⁸³ In addition to the varied material in the two Julianic Appendices (Kaiser, *Die Epitome Iuliani*, pp. 15–17), note also *Nov.* 90 = *Auth.* 90 as known to Gregory the Great (*Reg.* XIII.49[50]; *CCSL* 140A, pp. 417–18; Martyn, *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, iii. 866); *Nov.* 5 = *Auth.* 5 from the *Sacra Privilegia Concilii Byzaceni*, ch. 6 (W. Kaiser, *Authentizität und Geltung spätantiker Kaisergesetze* (Munich, 2007), pp. 392–403); *Nov.* 123.pr. (Heimbach, *Authenticum*, ii. 1149; Kaiser, *Die Epitome Iuliani*, p. 423 n. 36).

⁸⁴ Patetta, *Adnotationes Codicum Domini Justiniani* = *BIDR* 12 (Rome, 1900); Radding and Ciaralli, *The Corpus Iuris Civilis*, pp. 42–3, 69–70.

⁸⁵ For this negative assessment of both the *Summa Perusina* and some of the Julianic materials, see Kaiser, *Die Epitome Iuliani*, pp. 325–46 and Radding and Ciaralli, *The Corpus Iuris Civilis*, pp. 41–4.

⁸⁶ Their existence is occasionally noted (e.g., *SP* I.29, III.2.2, III.9, IV.59.1, VI.48), and some Greek words may have been transcribed to judge by the vestige in *SP* VI.38.3.

⁸⁷ *MGH DD* O III no. 339 quoting *SP* VII.43.8–9.

indubitable proof of this.⁸⁸ Ravenna is mentioned nowhere. Certainly, for neither the *Summa* nor any of the legal materials mentioned above is there any positive indication of an association with Ravenna.

This is not to say that copying of legal texts did not take place in Ravenna. As suggested above, the *constitutionarii* may have been based in the city to make copies of the Theodosian Code. It is reasonable to suggest that it was precisely their location in Ravenna that created the circumstances necessitating their intervention to protect their monopoly from being broken at Rome, where there was perhaps high demand from teachers or students for copies of the new corpus. There is little direct evidence of legal works associated with teaching the Code, but they certainly existed.⁸⁹ Where exactly the surviving Code manuscripts were copied is not entirely certain, but, while they are generally thought to be Italian, none can be associated with Ravenna.⁹⁰

The same can be said for the early manuscripts of the Justinianic codification. Many of those which survive in an Italian context, generally only as fragments, were probably not written in Italy, but imported from Constantinople, and for those probably written in Italy (for example the Verona Institutes⁹¹ and the Naples Digest⁹²), a Ravennate origin can only be surmised.⁹³ The most plausible candidate is perhaps the Pommersfeld Digest fragment (*CLA* III 1351), which, although probably written in the east, could well have been brought to and used in Ravenna, to judge by its shared origin with the other Pommersfeld papyri. These contain both Latin *acta* and Greek *formulae* and are seen to fit the scenario well of having been created or at least assembled and used in a bilingual seat of government.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Possibly indicated by 'in hac urbe' (sc. Constantinople) of *CJ* VI.23.18 becoming 'in urbe Roma' at *SP* VI.23.18.

⁸⁹ See the so-called *Summaria Antiqua* from Vaticanus Reg. Lat. 886, ed. B. Sirks (Amsterdam, 1996). From the papyri, see F. Mitthof, 'Neue Evidenz zur Verbreitung juristischer Fachliteratur im spätantiken Ägypten: Zwei Bearbeitungen des Codex Theodosianus', in *Symposion 2003: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. H.-A. Rupprecht (Vienna, 2006), pp. 415–22.

⁹⁰ For the origins of the Theodosianus manuscripts, see B. Salway, 'The publication of the Theodosian Code and transmission of its texts: some observations', in *Société, économie, administration dans le Code Théodosien*, ed. P. Jaillette and S. Crogiez-Pétrequin (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2012), pp. 21–61.

⁹¹ Verona Bibl. Cap. XXXVIII(36) = *CLA* IV 495; F. Macino, *Sulle tracce delle Istituzioni di Giustiniano nell'alto Medioevo* (Vatican City, 2008), p. 29.

⁹² Naples Bibl. Naz. IV.A.8 = *CLA* III 402.

⁹³ See the discussion by B. Stolte, 'Some thoughts on the early history of the Digest text', *Subseciva Groningana*, vi (1999), 103–19, and 'Diritto romano e diritto bizantino: alcune osservazioni sul ruolo dell'Italia nella trasmissione del diritto giustiniano', in *HBI*, ii (2012), 23–36.

⁹⁴ *P. Ital.* II.59 (*ChLA* XII.547; on the verso is *CLA* III 1349); B. Sirks and others, *Ein Frühbyzantinisches Szenario für die Amtswechslung in der Sitionie: die griechischen Papyri aus Pommersfelden* (Munich, 1996) (hereafter *PPG*), pp. 17–19, 25–9.

Again, the occasional suggestion of Ravenna as the place of assembly of the diverse texts, including legal material, in the corpora of the *agrimensores*, one of which (Vat. Pal. Lat. 1564) contains selections from the Theodosian Code, the novels of Theodosius II and the Digest, is also just a guess, although the collections are clearly Italian.⁹⁵

Copying of books certainly took place in Ravenna, as witnessed by a subscription to Macrobius's *Saturnalia* by Symmachus, Boethius's father-in-law.⁹⁶ There is also evidence of at least one book dealer and copyist there in the sixth century (Viliaric).⁹⁷ Most significantly, several Latin translations of Greek medical works (Galen, Oribasius and treatises from the Hippocratic corpus) are reasonably attributable to sixth-century Ravenna and, while the resultant Ravenna 'medical school' may still be something of a modern scholarly construct, this makes by far the most coherent case for the city as an intellectual centre, producing texts in a bilingual environment.⁹⁸ For legal material, however, all is doubt and guess. Indeed, given the dubious story of *libri legales* travelling from Ravenna to Bologna with which this chapter began, it is worth noting that the similar story of the Codex Florentinus of the Digest travelling south to north from Amalfi to Pisa in the twelfth century is the more plausible, whether or not true.⁹⁹

This is not to say that no legal training took place in early medieval Ravenna, but, rather than being associated with any formal law-school-type education, it was more likely to be tied in to practice, with future *forenses* or *tabelliones* learning from older mentors, often their fathers (of which more in the next section).¹⁰⁰ Lack of evidence, however, means that

⁹⁵ W. Kaiser, 'Spätantike Rechtstexte in agrimensurischen Sammlungen', *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: romanistische Abteilung*, cxxx (2013), 278, 296.

⁹⁶ A. Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (New York, 2011), pp. 235–6.

⁹⁷ Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome*, p. 438. Viliaric is known from a subscription to Orosius Bk. V in MS. *Laur.* 65.1 = *CLA* III 298; and as 'bokareis' in *P. Ital.* II.34 [*ChLA* XX 704], l. 136 (dated 551). See also J.-O. Tjäder, *P. Ital.*, ii (Stockholm, 1982), pp. 95–6; R. Mathisen, 'Barbarian "Arian" clergy, church organization, and church practices', in *Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed*, ed. G. Berndt and R. Steinacher (Farnham, 2014), pp. 180–1.

⁹⁸ D. R. Langslow, *The Latin Alexander Trallianus: the Text and Transmission of a Late Latin Medical Book* (2006), p. 36; L. Totelin, *Hippocratic Recipes: Oral and Written Transmission of Pharmacological Knowledge in Fifth- and Fourth-Century Greece* (Leiden, 2009), p. 279.

⁹⁹ On the Codex Florentinus, see D. Baldi, 'Il Codex Florentinus del Digesto e il "Fondo Pandette" della Biblioteca Laurenziana', *Segno e testo*, viii (2010), 99–186 (with the Amalfi/Pisa story at p. 124). The presence of Beneventan script annotations supports the notion of a south Italian stage in the manuscript's life (Baldi, pp. 122–3).

¹⁰⁰ E.g. F. Santoni, 'Ravenna: tabellioni e notai', in *HBI*, i (2011), 125–31, noting palaeographical connections between the hands of related *tabelliones* of the late 9th and 10th centuries.

little more can be said. Peter Damian in a famous letter of 1046 refers,¹⁰¹ in a rather polemical passage, to persons (described as *sapientes*) at Ravenna, who seem to be severally teachers and lawyers (*iudices*), although not necessarily specifically teachers of law. They rely upon Justinian's Institutes to support the calculations of consanguinity of which Peter disapproves.¹⁰² Certainly the secular law to which Peter routinely refers, and which he even quotes verbatim, is Justinianic, even if dismissed as being the law of 'Justinianus vester', since he by contrast privileges biblical and canonical authorities.¹⁰³ Peter is both late and hardly intending to be precise, and so is of no help in identifying who the legally knowledgeable in early medieval Ravenna were or how they acquired their knowledge. If the *institutiones* of the late tenth-century arengas noted below are generously interpreted as denoting the Institutes of Justinian (although such a specific meaning seems unlikely), we might see this as a longer-standing tradition of a few of the educated elite having done some basic legal reading, even perhaps as a Boethius might have done 500 years earlier. This is hardly overpowering evidence, though, of an established Ravenna law-school and formal teaching.

Ravenna, user of Roman law

When it comes to the use of Roman law, we are rather better informed because of the survival of the Ravenna papyri, which number over sixty in all and date between the mid fifth and mid eighth centuries, although they mostly cluster in the sixth century.¹⁰⁴ The term 'Ravenna papyri' needs some qualification, since it essentially subsumes all surviving Italian non-literary papyri of the late antique period, which are thereby presumed either to have been written in Ravenna, or else to have ended

¹⁰¹ Peter Damian, *Epist.* 19, ed. K. Reindel, *MGH Briefe* IV.1 (Munich, 1983), pp. 179–99; cf. analogy to acquisition of legal knowledge at *Epist.* 152, *MGH Briefe* IV.4 (Munich, 1993), p. 8. Cf. Michael Gledhill in this volume.

¹⁰² Radding and Ciaralli, *The Corpus Iuris Civilis*, pp. 74–6, sceptical; contrast R. G. Witt, *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 141.

¹⁰³ Peter Damian, *Epist.* 19, *MGH Briefe* IV.1, p. 190; cf. *Sermo* 1 (*PL* 144.511).

¹⁰⁴ Generally cited from the versions published by Tjäder in *P. Ital.* I and II, now with new editions in *ChLA* (esp. vols. XX–XXII and XXIX). Texts not previously in *P. Ital.* are *ChLA* XXII.722 and XXIX.877 (both mid 8th century) and R. P. Salomons and others, 'Completo of a deed of donation', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, cxxiii (1998), 151–7 (mid 6th century). Note also the rediscovered fragment now at *ChLA* XLV.1349. A newly identified fragment is due to be published by A. Ghignoli and T. de Robertis, 'Un nuovo papiro latino del VI secolo', in *De la herencia romana a la procesal castellana. Diez siglos de cursividad* (Seville, forthcoming).

up archived there in ecclesiastical repositories (although few can be found there today), even when provenance cannot be definitively established.¹⁰⁵ Papyrus continued in common use at Ravenna up to the ninth century, when it was superseded by parchment and soon disappeared.¹⁰⁶ The range of late antique documents preserved is mostly legal, including sales, donations, wills, leases and inventories. There are few documents for the later seventh and eighth centuries, but, from the ninth century, they become more frequent and enable some assessment of continuity and change in legal formats.

Another point needs to be made. We cannot easily assume that Ravenna was always or necessarily typical of sixth-century Italy, let alone the empire in general. Similar issues are also usually raised for the only other region possessing documents for this period, Egypt.¹⁰⁷ Of course, for the imperial core in Constantinople there are no surviving documents for comparison (beyond possible Constantinopolitan strays in Egypt), but only extensive normative texts. How quickly or how far legislation from the centre is reflected (if at all) in a particular location will vary, but documents from widely separated places, while having local or regional differences, will also reveal their shared normative background.

The texts in the papyri are all in Latin, as would be expected for Roman legal texts in Italy, although the orthography and syntax can be quite irregular, becoming more so over time. Some reflection of the multilingual environment of Ostrogothic and Byzantine Italy can be seen through the occasional use in subscriptions of Gothic (if perhaps only as ossified

¹⁰⁵ See Salomons, 'Completio', p. 152; cf. F. Santoni, 'I papiri di Ravenna: *gesta municipalia* e procedure di insinuazione', in *HBI*, i (2011), 12. Note that *P. Ital.* I.17 is entirely independent of Ravenna, as deriving from a Roman text copied into a 9th-century inscription in S. Maria Maggiore (C. Carbonetti Vendittelli, 'Il sistema documentario romano tra VII e XI secolo', in *HBI*, i (2011), 89 n. 6).

¹⁰⁶ C. Carbonetti Vendittelli, 'I supporti scrittorii della documentazione: l'uso del papiro', in *HBI*, i (2011), 33–6. The few 9th-century papyri are: *ChLA*² LV.1, 3, 5, 6, 7; Florence Arch. di Stato P. Lat. 3 (*CR VIII/IX*, no. 20; not in *ChLA*²); Bibliothèque Nationale, Parisinus. Lat. 8843 (*CR VIII/IX*, no. 15; *Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France*, no. 1764 <<http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/charte1764/>>, this last giving an implausible 10th-century date), but perhaps even 8th-century (F. Santoni, pers. comment). For editions of all 8th-/9th-century texts, the most convenient source is *CR VIII/IX*, but most of the Ravenna originals are published to their best advantage in *ChLA*² LIV–LV.

¹⁰⁷ See J. Beaucamp, 'L'histoire du droit byzantin face à la papyrologie juridique: bilan et perspectives', *Fontes Minores*, xi, ed. L. Burgmann (Frankfurt, 2005), 5–55, and 'Byzantine Egypt and imperial law', in *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700*, ed. R. Bagnall (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 271–87.

formulae)¹⁰⁸ or of Latin written in Greek script.¹⁰⁹ No documents survive in Greek.¹¹⁰

The key virtue of the papyri is that they demonstrate a continuing vitality in the use of documents in early medieval Ravenna, and the importance placed on making sure that documentary evidence of transactions existed, especially by means of careful registration with the local curia. These acts of registration have been much studied recently and show that a single transaction would result in multiple documentary versions in different locations: the original deed, plus a copy with its registration procedure, archived in the municipal *acta*, and further copies of this registration kept by one or more of the interested parties.¹¹¹ Indeed, sometimes the documents are re-registered.¹¹² Although such registration was part of imperial policy, especially in relation to knowing whom to tax, it was also important for individuals and institutions not just for additional proof in defending title to property, especially in the disturbed conditions of the reconquest (those of Gothic descent feeling particularly vulnerable),¹¹³ but also in denying title against tax claims. While documentary formats of curial registration are found in Merovingian and Carolingian Gaul,¹¹⁴ it is Ravenna that most clearly shows this as a still living and functioning process in the sixth century. It is also important to point out that, as a result of later archiving of copies at Ravenna, some of the original registrations were carried out by *curiae* other than that of Ravenna (for example Syracuse [489], Rieti [557]).¹¹⁵ The

¹⁰⁸ Most markedly by some members of the Arian clergy of S. Anastasia (*P. Ital.* II.34 ll. 88–91, 94–7, 126–9, 136–9). See discussion by Amory, *People and Identity*, pp. 251–6, and G. Berndt and R. Steinacher, ‘The *ecclesia legis Gothorum* and the role of “Arianism” in Ostrogothic Italy’, in *Arianism* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 219–29.

¹⁰⁹ E.g., *P. Ital.* I.18–19 (*ChLA*.XX.718) ll. B18–28; *P. Ital.* II.37 (*ChLA* XX.716) ll. 78–83. For some examples of the opposite in Egypt (Greek in Latin script), see *P. Oxy.* I 126 l. 31, LXVI 4536 l. 37 and LXX 4794 l. 24.

¹¹⁰ But note references to documents in Greek at *P. Ital.* II.47–8 [*ChLA* XXV.792, XXIX.870] ll. A5, B16.

¹¹¹ See especially Santoni, ‘I papiri di Ravenna’, in *HBI*, i (2011), 9–32; N. Everett, ‘Lay documents and archives in early medieval Spain and Italy, c.400–700’, in *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Brown and others (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 63–94.

¹¹² *P. Ital.* I.4–5 (*ChLA* XVII.653 and XXIX.878); Everett, ‘Lay documents’, pp. 76–7.

¹¹³ See Cosentino, ch. 6 in this volume; Everett, ‘Lay documents’, pp. 81–2; S. Tarozzi, ‘La *petitio tutoris faciendi specialis* di Gundihild, *P. Ital.* I, 7’, in *Ravenna Capitale: territorialità e personalità, compresenza di diversi pianti normativi* (Santarcangelo di Romagna, 2013), pp. 107–26.

¹¹⁴ W. Brown, ‘The *gesta municipalia* and the public validation of documents in Frankish Europe’, in *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Brown and others (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 95–124.

¹¹⁵ Syracuse: *P. Ital.* I 10–11A–B = *ChLA* XX.703 and XLV.1331; Rieti: *P. Ital.* I.7 = *ChLA* XX.712; cf. the *licentia allegandi* at Rome, c.600 (*P. Ital.* I.17 ll. 3–5).

registration process, however, does not seem to have survived as a genuine procedure beyond the seventh century, the latest datable example being 625 (*P. Ital.* I.21 [*ChLA* XXII.720]).¹¹⁶

One key question for Roman law in Ravenna is when or how Justinianic law, whether his codification or his novels, can be seen reflected in the papyri. In the pre-Justinian texts, while an already obsolete formula such as that for *mancipatio* still appears as a relic,¹¹⁷ other changes can be seen occurring over time, even on the cusp of the capture of Ravenna.¹¹⁸ Unfortunately, there is then a gap in clearly dated papyri after 541 until the early 550s. From then on, however, the texts do clearly reflect innovative Justinianic legislation. Three matters deserve particular note. First is the application of Justinian's Novel 47 of August 537, which ordained the inclusion in formal dating clauses of the emperor's regnal year in addition to the consular year. This is routinely reflected in the documents of reconquest Ravenna, and indeed it would be a surprise if formal documents in the administrative capital of Italy had not complied with this practice.¹¹⁹ The reform is also widely reflected elsewhere, in inscribed documents across the empire and in the Egyptian papyri.¹²⁰ The second significant measure is the introduction under Novel 44 (again of August 537) of rules for an eschatocol of completion by *tabelliones*, guaranteeing the document's content, which states that the *tabellio* has completed and handed over the duly witnessed and confirmed document. In the most standard form, the subscriptions of the parties and witnesses immediately precede the *completio* of the *tabellio*, while in due course a summary note of the witnesses' names is added (usually on

¹¹⁶ The *licentia allegandi* does appear, perhaps as a formulaic fossil, in a later text of 767 (*CR VIII/IX*, no. 4 p. 11).

¹¹⁷ *P. Ital.* II.30 = *ChLA* XX.706 (539); P.†8 (538) (Marini 118) at Tjäder, *Nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri II*, pp. 43–5. Empty post-Justinian occurrences of the term exist, the latest in 625 (*P. Ital.* I.21 [*ChLA* XXII.720]). Formal *mancipatio* was obsolete long before Justinian, although he abolished the technical distinction between *res Mancipi* and *nec Mancipi* (*CJ* VII.31.1.5 (531)). See M. Nowak, 'Mancipatio and its life in late-Roman law', *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, xli (2011), 103–22.

¹¹⁸ J.-O. Tjäder, 'Alcune osservazioni sulla prassi documentaria a Ravenna nel VI secolo', in *Il mondo del diritto nell'epoca giustiniana: caratteri e problematiche*, ed. G. G. Archi (Ravenna, 1985), pp. 26–9.

¹¹⁹ Tjäder, *Nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri II*, pp. 7–8 and 'Alcune osservazioni', p. 31. See, for instance, *P. Ital.* I.4–5 (*ChLA* XVII.653) ll. BVI.12–13 (552); I.13 (*ChLA* XXIX.880) ll. 58–59 (553); *P. Ital.* II.35 (*ChLA* III.181) l. 1 (572); II.37 (*ChLA* XXI.716) l. 1 (591); II.49 (*ChLA* XXIX.885) l. 7 (557); cf. II.38–41 (*ChLA* XXIX.880) l. 45 (616/19).

¹²⁰ D. Feissel, 'La réforme chronologique de 537 et son application dans l'épigraphie grecque', *Ktéma*, xviii (1993), 171–87 (repr. in *Documents, droit, diplomatique de l'empire romain tardif* (Paris, 2010), pp. 503–24); R. Bagnall and K. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (2nd edn., Leiden, 2004), pp. 45–54, 252–71.

the dorse). This is the most typical and long-lasting feature marking out Ravenna's documents in early medieval Italy,¹²¹ although also attested in contemporary Egypt.¹²² A third evident change, which follows a ruling inserted in the Justinian Code (VIII.53.28), was the abolition of the need for physical delivery (*traditio*) in cases of sale, by means of a retention of a usufruct (enjoyment of use) for a nominal period. This was an extension by interpolation into an older rule from the Theodosian Code (VIII.12.9), which had already allowed this type of fictitious usufruct in the giving of donations.¹²³ The adoption of this practice is a step on the way to charters of sale or donation becoming the means of delivery in themselves, rather than being witnesses to or records of such acts. These three features are attested in the papyri in the early 550s, but each appears before 554 and so cannot be connected to the promulgation of the Pragmatic Sanction.

A clause found in only one document of 551 seems to reflect pre-Justinian practice. This is the presence of a stipulation clause invoking the *Lex Aquilia* (not **the** *Lex Aquilia*, but in fact an Aquilian stipulation; that is, a comprehensive novation that bundles up existing obligations into a single new undertaking) to make the legal act unshakeably firm.¹²⁴ Two features of this are important. First, it differs in wording from other stipulation clauses, which reflect more or less the oral question-and-answer format of the classical *stipulatio*, found elsewhere in the Italian papyri,¹²⁵ as also in not dissimilar forms in contemporary documents in

¹²¹ Tjäder, 'Alcune osservazioni', p. 31–4; Salomons, 'Completio'. The earliest example dates to 553 (*P. Ital.* I.13 [*ChLA* XXIX.880] ll. 82–3).

¹²² E.g., *P. Oxy.* LVIII. 3952 (c.610); *P. Budge* (A. A. Schiller, 'The Budge Papyrus of Columbia University', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, vii (1968), 79–118; rev. *Koptisches Sammelbuch* I 36) ll. 86, 105, 203 (646). See S. Kovarik, 'Die byzantinische Tabellonenurkunde in Ägypten', in *Quellen zur byzantinischen Rechtspraxis*, ed. C. Gastgeber (Vienna, 2010), pp. 27–38.

¹²³ Tjäder, *Nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri II*, pp. 37–8; and 'Alcune osservazioni', p. 41; *P. Ital.* I.13 (553) and 20 (c.600); *P. Ital.* II.35–38/41 (four documents dating between 572 and 619); cf. a similar text, dated at Rome in 587, known only from an early modern copy and probably a forgery, but reflecting a genuine 6th-century format (MS. Vaticanus Lat. 5617 fos. 257r–258v; *Il regesto del monastero dei Ss. Andrea e Gregorio ad Clivum Scaurum*, ed. A. Bartola (Rome, 2003) ii, pt. 1, 5, but more accessible in *Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum II*, ed. L. Hartmann (*MGH Epistolae* II (Hanover, 1899)), p. 438).

¹²⁴ *P. Ital.* II.34 (*ChLA* XX.704) ll. 57–8. There is a unique reference here to a *Lex Nerviana*, otherwise unattested, perhaps a device of one of the jurists called Nerva, by analogy with the Aquilian stipulation associated with the late Republican jurist Aquilius Gallus (see R. Rodríguez López, 'In solutum cessionis venditionisque documentum (consideraciones sobre el P. 34 de Ravenna)', *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*, 3rd ser., xlv (1998), 558).

¹²⁵ E.g., *P. Ital.* II.30 (*ChLA* XX.706) ll. 71–73 (539); II.31 (*ChLA* XX.707) I.12–13 (540); II.33 (*ChLA* XXV.793) l. 6 (541).

Greek from Egypt.¹²⁶ Second, it is cognate with a clause found in a Spanish donation of the same year,¹²⁷ and so must already have been common, probably from the fifth century, in order to appear in now widely separate jurisdictions. Although referred to in an eastern law of 381, this format presumably became widely known in the west only through that law's inclusion in the Theodosian Code (although dropped from the Breviary in 506).¹²⁸ The clause becomes common in documents and *formulae* of the Frankish kingdoms and, although often mangled and seldom retaining the Aquilian reference,¹²⁹ is typical of those areas where the Justinianic codification did not spread.¹³⁰ By contrast, this particular clause appears uniquely here within the Ravenna papyri and is absent from the city's later charter tradition, but not because this pre-Justinian clause is exactly un-Justinianic. Other stipulation clauses survive and continue to be echoed in Ravenna charters.¹³¹ Rather, because its core function in other regions was to bestow 'firmitas' on a document, this format of stipulation clause was probably, in Ravennate minds, better served by the authoritative *completio* of the *tabelliones*.

A contrasting example is the use in the papyri from c.600 of clauses whereby women explicitly reject the protection of the *Senatusconsultum Velleianum* and other legal privileges available only to their sex.¹³² The *Senatusconsultum* was a measure of the mid first century A.D. which impeded the suing of women, who assumed liabilities for third parties.¹³³ It reflected a standard view of 'womanly weakness' (*infirmitas* or *imbecillitas sexus*) in matters of law, so that even ignorance of the law, not usually a

¹²⁶ D. Simon, *Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel* (Munich, 1964), pp. 91–8.

¹²⁷ S. Corcoran, 'The donation and will of Vincent of Huesca', *Antiquité Tardive*, xi (2003), 219; cf. *Formulae Visigothicae*, vi (*Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. K. Zeumer (MGH Legum sectio V (Hanover, 1886), p. 578).

¹²⁸ *CTh* II.9.2, edited into *CJ* II.4.40.

¹²⁹ Compared to the common 'firmitas stipulatione subnixa' part of the clause, the Aquilian reference is always rare – e.g., *Form. Andecavenses* 37 and *Form. Turonenses* 17 (Zeumer, *Formulae*, pp. 17 and 145); *ChLA* I.40 and 44 (St. Gall, 744).

¹³⁰ Simon, *Studien*, pp. 33–40; M. Lupoi, *The Origins of the European Legal Order* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 283–93.

¹³¹ E.g., *P. Ital.* II.35 (*ChLA* III.181) ll. 59–60 (572); 10th-century examples standardized as 'sub stipulatione et sponsione' (e.g., *CR X*, ii, no. 120 p. 88 (965), no. 176 p. 241 (973), no. 184, p. 263 (974)).

¹³² *P. Ital.* I.20 (*ChLA* XXI.717) ll. 49–52 (c.600); *P. Ital.* II.56 (*ChLA* IV.232, IX.400) ll. 1–3 (613/41).

¹³³ J. Crook, 'Feminine inadequacy and the *senatusconsultum Velleianum*', in *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*, ed. B. Rawson (1986), pp. 83–92; N. Benke, 'Gender and the Roman law of obligations', in *Obligations in Roman Law: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. T. McGinn (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2012), pp. 228–30.

legal defence, was sometimes excused. This measure was still present in the Justinianic codification, although the rules as to how and when a woman could invoke it (always her choice) were highly complex.¹³⁴ There were also circumstances, however, when women had formally to renounce the protection of the decree.¹³⁵ The Ravenna texts are not concerned with the type of third-party obligations originally envisaged under the law. Either they have taken over a clause from a document where it was relevant, or they reflect a general unease that the invocation of some feminine exception might threaten the security of a legal transaction. Thus the voluntary renunciation of the *Senatusconsultum* or other ‘womanly weakness’ remedies was a precautionary safeguard for the other parties and can be seen as a logical extension of the renunciations already provided for in Justinianic legislation. This development is not confined to the Ravenna texts, but is general across the empire: this type of clause is also included in a contemporary Egyptian papyrus and in rather later Byzantine *formulae* and documents.¹³⁶ It is also found in a later Ravenna charter.¹³⁷ However, only at the time of the Roman law revival did such clauses start to be included routinely in documents elsewhere in the west, as a more active engagement with the implications of the *Senatusconsultum* and *infirmitas sexus* arose.¹³⁸

Beyond the presence of Justinianic law in Ravenna, the other major topic to address is that of the legal professionals in the city. We have already seen that it is difficult to find evidence of specific teachers of law or expert jurists. It is clear that documents were often drawn up by *forenses* or *tabelliones*, this latter the more usual and long-lasting term, typically employed in some other Roman law areas in Italy.¹³⁹ They also appear to be organized in a

¹³⁴ Dig. XVI.1; *CJ* IV.29; Just. *Nov.* 134.8; *Epit. Iul.* LV.198. For earlier legal texts, see *Brev. Pauli Sententiae* II.11; *Ed. Theod.* 133; cf. *CTh* II.16.3. See generally A. Arjava, *Women and Law in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 237–41.

¹³⁵ *CJ* V.35.3; Just. *Nov.* 94.2 (539) and 118.5 (543).

¹³⁶ *P. Herm.* 35; H. Saradi-Mendelovici, ‘A contribution to the study of Byzantine notarial formulas: the *infirmitas sexus* of women and the *sc. Velleianum*’, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, lxxxiii (1990), 72–90; A. Peters-Custot, ‘La mention du sénatus-consulte velléien dans les actes grecs d’Italie du Sud et Sicilie’, in *HBI*, ii (2012), 51–72. Much of the Byzantine evidence is very late.

¹³⁷ *CR VIII/LX*, no. 4, p. 11 (767).

¹³⁸ P. Riesenbergh, ‘Roman law, renunciations and business in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries’, in *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought in Honor of Austin P. Evans*, ed. J. H. Mundy and others (New York, 1955), pp. 207–25; J. H. Pryor, *Business Contracts of Medieval Provence* (Toronto, 1981), p. 25.

¹³⁹ *Forenses*: e.g., *P. Ital.* I.13 (*ChLA* XXIX.880) ll. 82–3 (553); II.29 (*ChLA* XLV.1332) l. 5 (504); II.36 (*ChLA* XXI.715) l. 59 (6th century). *Tabelliones*: e.g., *P. Ital.* I.8 (*ChLA* XVII.652) iii.12–13 (564); *P. Ital.* II.37 (*ChLA* XXI.716) ll. 3, 102 (591); II.56 (*ChLA* IX.400) l. 5 (613/641); *P.†44* (Marini 128) l. 9 = Tjäder, *Nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri II*, p. 48. For *tabelliones*

guild (*schola*)¹⁴⁰ and routinely describe themselves as *tabellio* of Ravenna (or Classe), although it is far from clear how formal membership or training was. Justinian decreed that *tabelliones* who failed to execute documents properly would lose their *statio* or formal place of business.¹⁴¹ Although he presumably had Constantinople in mind, where such control over *taboullarioi* is still attested in the early tenth century,¹⁴² this could have applied to Ravenna, where at least one writer of a document describes himself by his *statio*.¹⁴³ It is important, however, to distinguish *tabelliones* from *notarii*, who are primarily in the service of officials. There was a corps of notaries at the imperial court in the fifth century, some of whom were of particularly high rank. Indeed, the chief notary (*primicerius notariorum*), John, even donned the purple for a while after the death of Honorius (423–5).¹⁴⁴ So long as Ravenna was a ruling city, the government (emperor, king, prefect, exarch) was served by *notarii*, as with Marcianus serving Odovacer and Johannicius serving Theodore (both noted earlier) or Montanus serving Wittigis.¹⁴⁵ The *notarii* of the bishops, later archbishops, of Ravenna also become very prominent. However, in the papyri, *notarii* are not significant as drafters of documents.¹⁴⁶ Legal expertise can therefore be found nowhere else in the evidence but in the work of the *tabelliones*. This does not, of course, prove that there were no others with juristic experience, beyond these *tabelliones* who were the primary creators of legal documents, since the very nature of the documentary evidence means that it is only the work of this type of law professional that is usually seen. Many *notarii* would also have had some legal background, so it is perhaps no surprise to find the *scriniarius* Epiphanius advising Archbishop John V about a legal matter

and *notarii* in Ravenna generally, see M. W. Steinhoff, *Origins and Development of the Notariate at Ravenna (Sixth through Thirteenth Century)* (unpublished New York University PhD thesis, 1976); Santoni, ‘Ravenna: tabellioni e notai’, in *HBI*, i (2011), pp. 117–49.

¹⁴⁰ Only one mention survives, suggesting a joint *schola* for Ravenna and Classe, in a mid 7th-century papyrus (*P. Ital.* I.24 (*ChLA* XXIX.865)).

¹⁴¹ *Just. Nov.* 44.1 (*Auth.* 45.1; *Epit. Iul.* XL kp. 169).

¹⁴² *Book of the Eparch*, ch. I (J. Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 74–85). The *taboullarioi* were supposed to know the law-books, have good handwriting and be of good character, and had to pay a hefty registration fee after being examined and elected by their fellows.

¹⁴³ Iulianus, *vir honestus* (although not called a *tabellio* or *forensis*) at *P. Ital.* I.6 (*ChLA* XXI.714) ll. 28–9 (575).

¹⁴⁴ *PLRE* II ‘Ioannes 6’. Note also Caecilius, *vir spectabilis*, at *P. Ital.* II.59 = *ChLA* XII.547 (433).

¹⁴⁵ *PLRE* IIIB ‘Montanus’; *P. Ital.* II.31 (*ChLA* XX.707) ll. II.6. Montanus is not creating a document, but purchasing a property.

¹⁴⁶ See N. Everett, ‘Scribes and charters in Lombard Italy’, *SM*, xli (2000), 56–7. Note *P. Ital.* II.44 (*ChLA* XXII.721): Paulus, *notarius* of the Ravenna church, mid 7th century.

in the 730s.¹⁴⁷ There is also occasional reference to other officials of the administration, who may have been legally trained, presumably elsewhere than Ravenna, before taking office. This would seem more reasonable in the sixth century, when the flourishing of law schools in the empire meant that many entering government service would routinely have had some legal training. It was surely the case with the historian Procopius, who acted as *consiliarius* or *assessor* to Belisarius in Africa and Italy between the late 520s and early 540s, and who could have attended law school at either Caesarea or Beirut.¹⁴⁸ But what should be presumed for his namesake, Procopius the *consiliarius* of the exarch Eleutherius at Ravenna in c.616, long after even the eastern law schools had ceased to function?¹⁴⁹

The *tabelliones* and *notarii*, therefore, are the only visible preservers and continuators of Ravenna's Roman legal heritage through their documentary practices, and indeed, although Roman documents did not necessarily need to be written by a professional (holographic wills written by a testator, for instance, were valid), the 'professionals' came to enjoy a de facto monopoly in the production of documents. The evidence enters a trough between the later seventh and the mid ninth centuries, which means that the formal end of imperial rule falls in the least well-attested period. Yet what does survive in much later documents suggests that political change did not have much impact upon the law of the city.¹⁵⁰ The last attested legal text of Byzantine Ravenna is a donation made in 731 by Archbishop John V, preserved unusually on an inscription in S. Apollinare in Classe.¹⁵¹ The last text dated by reference to the emperors in Constantinople belongs to 767¹⁵² and from

¹⁴⁷ This case, which involved a considerable bribe to the exarch, is obscurely discussed by Agnellus, *LPR* 152. See N. Tamassia, 'L'enfiteusi ecclesiastica ravennate e un racconto di Agnello', *Atti e memorie della deputazione de storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, x (1920), 109–20, with F. Theisen, *Studien zur Emphyteuse in ausgewählten italienischen Regionen des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 2003), pp. 49–50. For a later *notarius et scriniarius*, note Timotheus (*ChLA*² LV.1 = *CR VIII/IX*, no. 9 [819]).

¹⁴⁸ For Procopius's possible education and training, see A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (1985), pp. 5–7; G. Greatrex, 'Perceptions of Procopius in recent scholarship', *Histos*, viii (2014), 79–82.

¹⁴⁹ *P. Ital.* II.38–41 ll. 8–9 and 53–4; *PLRE* IIIA 'Eleutherius' (himself described as a *chartularius* in the document); *PLRE* IIIB 'Procopius 10'.

¹⁵⁰ For the development of charters in the exarchate after the end of imperial rule, see F. Santoni, 'Il documento privato di area romanica in età carolingia', in *Die Privaturkunden der Karolingerzeit*, ed. P. Erhart and others (Zürich, 2009), pp. 73–83.

¹⁵¹ P. Rugo, *Le iscrizioni dei sec. VI VII VIII esistenti in Italia*, III (Cittadella, 1976) no. 9; *CR VIII/IX*, pp. 155–6.

¹⁵² *CR VIII/IX*, no. 4 (Constantine V and Leo IV). Note that the document of 826 dated by Michael II and Theophilus, cited in a text of 838, was probably written in Venice, then still part of the empire (*CR VIII/IX*, pp. XXIX–XXX and 27).

the 780s the Carolingians and their successors as kings and emperors in Italy routinely appear in dating formulae, as do the popes.¹⁵³

In fact the 767 charter, a donation by Eudochia, *ancilla Dei*, which only survives in a formal copy made by an imperial notary in 1031, contains numerous Roman law features typical of the earlier Ravennate material. Four of these features are their latest surviving attestations, namely: dating by the emperors (although soon replaced by the western emperors); the grant of the *licentia allegandi* in the municipal *gesta*; the retention of a temporary usufruct; and finally the renunciation of the benefit of the *Senatusconsultum Velleianum*. The document, however, should not be seen as the last relic of a vanishing tradition. Some later changes suggest a logical evolution from previous practice. Thus two ninth-century charters show men making a renunciation of the benefit of *ignorantia iuris*, which suggests an attempt at a general extension of the female renunciation clause, albeit one which apparently stalled, since this did not become established.¹⁵⁴ Again, from the ninth century, deeds were now allowing immediate entry to property. They state that they (the written instrument) are equivalent to valid *traditio*, showing that the fiction of the temporary usufruct was no longer deemed necessary.¹⁵⁵ Other features of the 767 document enjoy a long life, even up to the tenth or eleventh centuries. These include the *stipulatio* clause, used later in emphyteutic grants.¹⁵⁶ Most significantly, however, the *completio* by Vitalianus, *tabellio* of the city, appears at the end of the document.

It is the concluding *completio* that appears most distinctively Ravennate, indeed particularly distinctive of the city's *tabelliones*, more so than for anywhere else except perhaps Rome.¹⁵⁷ Despite the fact that the charter record is dominated by material from ecclesiastical archives, especially that of the archbishops, church notaries,¹⁵⁸ while certainly important, do not

¹⁵³ The earliest example dates to 783, at the monastery of S. Donato, Imola (*ChLA* XXIX.888; *CR VIII/IX*, no. 8).

¹⁵⁴ *CR VIII/IX*, no. 16 p. 38 (855) and no. 22 p. 55 (mid 9th century). I have failed to find later renunciations of this type in the early medieval Ravenna material.

¹⁵⁵ E.g., *CR VIII/IX*, no. 16 p. 37 (855), no. 35 p. 97 (883); *CR X*, i, no. 2 p. (901) and ii, no. 124 p. 99 (966); *CR XI*, i, no. 15 p. 45 (1004) and vii, no. 600 p. 101 (1062).

¹⁵⁶ E.g., *CR X*, ii, no. 120 p. 88 (965), no. 176 p. 241 (973), no. 184 p. 263 (974).

¹⁵⁷ On Roman *tabelliones*, see G. Nicolaj, 'Il *signum dei tabellioni romani*: simbologia o realtà giuridica?', in *Palaeographica diplomatica et archivistica: studi in onore di Giulio Battelli* (2 vols., Rome, 1979), ii, 7–40; C. Carbonetti Vendittelli, 'Il sistema documentario romano', in *HBI I* (2011), pp. 87–115.

¹⁵⁸ Fundamental to the identification of *notarii* and *tabelliones* from their documents is the study by G. Buzzi, 'La Curia arcivescovile e la Curia cittadina di Ravenna dall'850 a 1118', *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano*, xxxv (1915), 7–186; the church notaries are listed at 33–51.

become the default creators of documents. Rather it is the *tabelliones* of the city who dominate the records. As in the Byzantine period, these represent a group that is both lay and civic, with a significant hereditary element.¹⁵⁹ The *completio* clause that they use is remarkably stable throughout the early medieval period, and no significant modifications were made to its wording, position or function until the eleventh century.¹⁶⁰

There are two other long-lasting clauses, each of which claims to be in accordance with the laws – Justinianic law in fact. The first states the irrevocability of donations to ecclesiastical institutions, ‘ut legibus cautum est’,¹⁶¹ although it is not clear exactly which texts are thereby meant.¹⁶² The second appears in emphyteutic leases, a Roman type of long lease (in our evidence usually for three lives), which exists in a common Ravennate form in the early medieval period.¹⁶³ This clause allows for repossession, if rent goes unpaid for two years, ‘ut leges censeunt’, in accordance with a novel of Justinian.¹⁶⁴

The stability of so many *formulae*, however, might be taken as a sign of stagnation, not vitality, in the legal life of the city, and certainly the more routine charters can seldom tell us if their writers or framers had significant understanding of the normative texts upon which they were

¹⁵⁹ For the list of *tabelliones* and their interconnections, see Buzzi, ‘La Curia’, pp. 61–99.

¹⁶⁰ See *CR XI*, v, p. XXXIX; F. Santoni, ‘Un monogramma antico e una formula nuova: note intorno alle carte ravennate di XI–XII secolo’, in *Virtute et labore: studi offerti a Giuseppe Avarucci per i suoi settant’anni*, ed. R.M. Borraccini and G. Borri (Spoleto, 2008), pp. 43–76. Note that dating by the alien *consuetudo Bononiensis* is unattested until the very late 11th century, as first used by the *tabellio* Petrus XXIII in 1086 (Buzzi, ‘La Curia’, p. 113; *CR XI*, iv, nos. 387–8).

¹⁶¹ First attested in *P. Ital.* I.20 (*ChLA XXI.717*) ll. 36–42 (c.600). For some later examples, see *CR VIII/IX*, no. 16 p. 38 (855), no. 22 p. 54 (mid 9th century), no. 35, p. 97 (883), no. 54, p. 146 (896); *Le carte del monastero di S. Andrea Maggiore di Ravenna I*, ed. G. Muzzioli (Rome, 1961; repr. 1987), no. 5, p. 17 (942); *Regesto di S. Apollinare Nuovo*, ed. V. Federici (Rome, 1907), no. 2, p. 11 (973), no. 3, p. 15 (977); *CR XI*, i, no. 15 p. 45 (1004), vii, no. 577, pp. 50–1 (1013) and iv, no. 324, p. 32 (1073).

¹⁶² P. Frezza, *L’influsso del diritto romano giustiniano nelle formule e nella prassi in Italia* (Milan, 1974), p. 11, suggests *CTh XVI.2.4 = CJ I.2.1*, but *Just. Nov.* 131.4 and *CJ VIII.55.10* seem more likely.

¹⁶³ Tjäder, *Nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri II*, pp. 153–4, and ‘*Et ad latus*: il posto della datazione e della indicazione del luogo negli scritti della cancelleria imperiale e nelle largizioni di enfiteusi degli archivescovi ravennati’, *Studi Romagnoli*, xxiv (1973), 91–124; Theisen, *Studien zur Emphyteuse*, pp. 49–94.

¹⁶⁴ *Just. Nov.* 7.3.2 (*Auth.* 120.8). The clause should almost certainly be restored into *P. Ital.* II.44 (*ChLA XXII.721*) l. 6 (mid 7th century). For some later examples, see *CR VIII/IX*, no. 15, p. 37 (mid 9th century); *CR X*, ii, no. 102, p. 37 (960), no. 173, p. 233 (972), no. 185, p. 268 (974), no. 189, p. 277 (975); *CR X*, iii, no. 194, p. 12 (975/6); *CR XI*, i, no. 5, p. 15 (1001), no. 32, p. 88 (1012), no. 52, p. 138 (1017); *CR XI*, iv, no. 355, p. 93 (1078/9).

originally based, or show how they might wish to do imaginative things with the law. However, the use of a renunciation clause by some men in the ninth century and the development of charters as an effective means of *traditio*, suggest that documents may reflect experiment and evolution. A few documents, in fact, reveal direct engagement with the heritage of the Justinianic texts in an unusually explicit manner. Arengas, the opening statements giving the underlying justification for a document, are often as formulaic as the other features of the text.¹⁶⁵ They can be seen as pious platitudes or statements of the obvious. Commonly they self-justifyingly explain why it is necessary to put things into writing in the first place. Two tenth-century arengas written by various Ravennate *tabelliones* are rather more interesting.¹⁶⁶

One is attested first in December 975, in a *placitum* document written at Ravenna by the *tabellio* Dominicus,¹⁶⁷ although he may not have been its deviser. It was recycled and adapted by later *tabelliones* in *placita* of November 994 (or 995)¹⁶⁸ and August 1013.¹⁶⁹ The arenga invokes the *divalium et antiquarum legum institutiones*¹⁷⁰ for the principle that matters legally determined should not be reopened, and in support gives reference to and quotation from the *Liber Novellarum* (*Epit. Iul.* CUI kp. 370)¹⁷¹ and the *Liber Codicum* (*CJ* II.4.16). No doubt such a clear statement of the doctrine of *res iudicata* was intended to make the document it headed appear the last word for the matter it attempted to settle.

¹⁶⁵ For arengas in the Ravenna charters, see Buzzi, 'La Curia', pp. 120–4; *CR X*, ii, pp. XXII–XXVII, and *CR XI*, vii, pp. LXVI–LXXIII.

¹⁶⁶ For rather different views of the significance of these arengas at Ravenna, compare G. Nicolaj, *Cultura e prassi di notai preirneriani: alle origini del rinascimento giuridico* (Milan, 1991), pp. 37–41, with Radding and Ciaralli, *The Corpus Iuris Civilis*, pp. 73–4.

¹⁶⁷ C. Morbio, *Storie dei municipi italiani illustrate con documenti inediti, notizie bibliografiche e di belle arti*, i (Milan, 1836), no. 31, p. 116; J. Ficker, *Forschungen zur Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte Italiens*, iv (Innsbruck, 1874), no. 28, p. 37. The name 'Dominicus' is restored by Ficker. A fresh transcription of the arenga only is given by R. Volpini, 'Placiti del Regnum Italiae (secc. IX–XI). Primi contributi per un nuovo censimento', in *Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Medioevale*, iii, ed. P. Zerbi (Milan, 1975), p. 266 n. 83.

¹⁶⁸ G. Rabotti, 'Il placito di Bertinoro del secolo decimo', *Studi Romagnoli*, xlvii (1996), 24 = *CR X*, iii, no. 265, p. 187, at Castro Cesubeo (Constantinus *tabellio*). The arenga is very fragmentary, so that it is not clear quite how closely it relates to the other versions.

¹⁶⁹ *CR XI*, vii, no. 561, pp. 8–9, at Ravenna (Martinus *tabellio*).

¹⁷⁰ This reflects the text of the 1013 arenga. For 975 Morbio, Ficker and Volpini print 'divalium quidem agustorum', which does not make proper grammatical sense nor does it use the expected adjective. The text may represent medieval misconstrual. However, the second arenga discussed below does focus on the *divi Augusti*, so that perhaps this one also originally referred to both imperial constitutions and ancient institutes.

¹⁷¹ The text matches the *Epitome* rather than the equivalent passage in the *Authenticum* III.1.

The second arenga is attested most fully in a Pomposa investiture of December 986,¹⁷² although perhaps already present in some form in a fragmentary text of October 985,¹⁷³ and it is later partially reused in an investiture of April 998.¹⁷⁴ This invokes the ‘authority of the laws, the precepts of the divine (that is, imperial) institutes,¹⁷⁵ and the sanction of the *divi Augusti* for the rule that correct transfers of ownership of property (by *traditio* (delivery) and *usucapio* (possession for a period of time)) have more legal force than bare agreements (*nuda pacta*) (a version of *CJ* II.3.20); that physical delivery must be commanded by written documents with the subscription of the witnesses; and that all this is to be in accordance with what Justinian and earlier law-givers (*CJ* II.3.20 was originally issued by Diocletian and Maximian) decreed in their constitutions in the ‘*secundus liber Codicum*’ regarding ‘*traditionibus et usucapionibus*’ (the first two words of *CJ* II.3.20). The original author of this arenga seems to be emphasizing the need for the document as witness to actual delivery, and this does in fact suit the Pomposa document quite well, since it talks of transferring ownership (*dominium*), the key issue in *CJ* II.3.20, and is quite clear that the required delivery has been effected by the symbolic presentation from grantor to grantee of a sod (for the land) and a column (for the house). The document, of course, is not purely Roman, but a Romano-Germanic hybrid.¹⁷⁶ Note, for instance, the term ‘guazo’ (*waso*) used for the sod of earth delivered as part of the investiture.¹⁷⁷ Ravenna was not legally insulated from the rest of northern Italy. In a world in which emperors turned up in Ravenna with entourages of varied background and training (including in law), and land-holding crossed varied legal boundaries, it is no surprise that *tabelliones* from Ravenna could be concerned with procedures and documents that were not necessarily ‘Roman’.¹⁷⁸ This may, of course, make the invocation of Roman

¹⁷² P. Federici, *Rerum Pomposianarum historia* (Rome, 1781), i, no. 16, pp. 421–2, at Comacchio, near Pomposa Abbey (Mainfredus, *tabellio et dativus*).

¹⁷³ *CR X*, iii, no. 236 p. 115, at Ravenna. The fragment preserves enough for the date and the type of arenga to be clear. The writer was probably the *tabellio* Sergius.

¹⁷⁴ *CR X*, iii, no. 272 p. 205, at Ravenna (Petrus, *consul et tabellio*).

¹⁷⁵ Only the Pomposa text mentions the *divales institutiones*, which are *divales constitutiones* in the 985 arenga and omitted in the 998 arenga. As noted at the end of section 2 above, caution should be exercised in reading this as a specific reference to the Institutes of Justinian.

¹⁷⁶ Nicolaj, *Cultura e prassi*, p. 38 n. 91.

¹⁷⁷ *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch*, iv.6 (Munich, 2012), col. 857 s.v. guaso. This is related, of course, to the modern English ‘ooze’. For an even earlier instance in a Ravenna text, note *CR VIII/IX*, no. 54, p. 144 (896).

¹⁷⁸ For the spread of Germanic forms in the Roman law areas of northern Italy, see, for instance, A. Castagnetti, *Arimanni in ‘Langobardia’ e in ‘Romania’ dall’età carolingia all’età comunale* (Verona, 1996), pp. 149–76.

legal authority even more pointed, naturalizing it within a composite environment. Again, those involved in the Pomposa deed would have had no idea that *CJ* II.3.20 would in the future provide an oft-repeated brocard at the heart of the intense late medieval and early modern juristic debates over the role of actual (or symbolic) delivery, as opposed to bare agreement in property transactions.¹⁷⁹ However, the fact that some early documents had eschewed *traditio*, by means of the short-term retention of a usufruct, later replaced by those that considered that they alone were sufficient for valid *traditio*, may mean that there was some debate regarding the adequacy of purely documentary processes. Thus a Roman legal doctrine was found that required the physical act, properly witnessed. If this interpretation is correct, some consideration of how documents and practice related to key normative texts, which were evidently still known,¹⁸⁰ preoccupied a few people in tenth-century Ravenna.

Finally, the reference to the *divi Augusti* (that is, deceased emperors) is quite striking. Already the Carolingians had occasionally referred to their predecessors as *divi* in the ancient manner,¹⁸¹ but this is also an Ottonian trait. The actual combination ‘*divi Augusti*’ is rare, but is used, for instance, by the child Otto III (under his mother’s influence?) for his father and grandfather in a charter of 990.¹⁸² The invocation of the ancient Roman *divi* in Ravennate arengas of the later tenth century may not seem out of place in the world of Ottonian *renovatio imperii*.

The Ravenna charters, therefore, reveal *tabelliones* as continuators of the Roman legal tradition, more consistently and for longer than anywhere else in northern or central Italy, even than in Rome, another area of strong Roman-Byzantine heritage.¹⁸³ But they were also gradualist innovators, and even to a limited extent direct engagers with Justinianic texts. Leo VI had expected the *taboullarioi* in tenth-century Constantinople to know their way around the official law-codes (the *Prochiron* and the *Basilica*).¹⁸⁴ While nothing similar

¹⁷⁹ See E. J. H. Schrage, ‘*Traditionibus et usucapionibus, non nudis pactis dominia rerum transferuntur*: die Wahl zwischen dem Konsens- und dem Traditionsprinzip in der Geschichte’, in *Ins Wasser geworfen und Ozeane durchquert: Festschrift für Knut Wolfgang Nörr*, ed. M. Ascheri and others (Cologne, 2003), pp. 913–58.

¹⁸⁰ I see no reason to suppose these references are purely tralatianic. *CJ* II.3.20 could have derived from one of the north Italian ecclesiastical collections (e.g., *Lex Romana Canonice Compta* c.266; *Collectio Anselmo Dedicata* VII.98), but *CJ* II.4.16 and *Epit. Iul.* CVI.370 are in neither; cf. Nicolaj, *Cultura e prassi*, p. 38, n. 91.

¹⁸¹ E.g. *MGH DD LK* no. 28 (903 at Regensburg).

¹⁸² *DDO* III no. 62 (at Frankfurt); cf. *divi imperatores* at *DDO* II no. 276 (983 at Cassano).

¹⁸³ Carbonetti Vendittelli, ‘Il sistema documentario romano’, in *HBI* I (2011); G. Nicolaj, ‘Breve viaggio fra i documenti altomedievali dell’Italia bizantina’, in *HBI* I (2011), pp. 169–87.

¹⁸⁴ *The Book of the Eparch* I.2 (Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, pp. 74–5).

was formally expected of tenth-century *tabelliones* in Ravenna, they clearly had some acquaintance with their equivalent legal corpus.

By the next century, of course, there was an explosion of interest in the Justinianic texts across much of Italy. Despite the lasting impact of Roman law and legal forms upon Ravenna's charters, the fingerprints of Ravennate legal experts upon this legal renaissance are sufficiently smudged as to be almost unreadable. The attribution of texts or jurists to Ravenna in this period has seldom been beyond challenge, even if sometimes a coherent or defensible case can be made.¹⁸⁵ One well-known example can stand in for this debate, the figure of Petrus Crassus. He epitomizes the extent to which the image of Ravenna as a locus of a vibrant legal culture can be created from uncertain evidence. Crassus is the supposed author of the *Defence of Henry IV* of 1084¹⁸⁶ and he is also often presumed to be a Ravennate jurist, if only because of his familiarity with the Justinianic texts, from which he quotes more than two dozen times.¹⁸⁷ Yet both the identity and the locus of the author of the *Defence* are far from certain, built upon inference and even circular reasoning. 'Crassus' may in fact be a phantom, and any connection of the tract's author with Ravenna is guesswork.¹⁸⁸ The idea that by the late eleventh century only a Ravenna jurist would be able and willing to cite the Justinianic material for his purpose does not seem a necessary conclusion.¹⁸⁹

Concluding remarks

What can we conclude about Ravenna, maker, teacher and user of Roman law? Our evidence is so often thin that it has led scholars to considerable inference and even unsupported guesses. The view that sees Ravenna as the key thread linking the law of the late empire with that of the eleventh-century revival can hardly be given a ringing endorsement. In particular, the idea of

¹⁸⁵ Texts at times attributed have included the *Libellus de imperatoria potestate*, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH SS III* (Hanover, 1839), pp. 719–22 and the pseudo-Justinianic procedural constitutions in the Cologne Institutes manuscript (Historisches Archiv W328; Macino, *Sulle tracce*, pp. 92–3; *Die Institutionenglosse des Gualcausus*, ed. H. Fitting (Berlin, 1891), pp. 122–38). See, classically, P. S. Leicht, 'Ravenna e Bologna', in *Atti del congresso internazionale di diritto romano. Bologna*, i (Pavia, 1934), 284, 287. For recent controversies over the legal origins of the Cologne manuscript, see R. Feenstra, 'Zur Faksimileedition der Kölner Institutionenhandschrift und zur Glossa Coloniensis', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, lxxix (2011), 521–32.

¹⁸⁶ Ed. L. von Heinemann in *MGH LdL I* (Hanover, 1891), pp. 432–53.

¹⁸⁷ He quotes the Code, the Institutes and the *Epitome* of Julian (listed at *MGH LdL I*, pp. 665–6).

¹⁸⁸ See I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest* (Manchester, 1978), pp. 75–83; L. Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere: the Public Debate during the Investiture Contest (c.1030–1122)* (2 vols., Leiden, 2007), pp. 349–59.

¹⁸⁹ Radding and Ciaralli, *The Corpus Iuris Civilis*, pp. 100–1.

Roman law in Ravenna

a strong tradition of legal teaching at Ravenna is problematic, without clear evidence of the copying of older normative texts or the creation of newer commentaries and teaching materials. Indeed, such as exist are often clearly attributable elsewhere. But Roman law in some fashion was continuously used in Ravenna throughout the early medieval period and there was an unbroken tradition in documentary practice, stronger than elsewhere in northern Italy. This may suggest the stagnation of a moribund tradition, but some degree of evolution and innovation is also perceptible. Ultimately, the Justinianic reconquest left a significant legacy of law at Ravenna that never quite vanished from the former capital.

9. The church of Ravenna, Constantinople and Rome in the seventh century

Veronica Ortenberg West-Harling

Throughout the seventh century, great mutual amity was professed by the churches of Ravenna, Constantinople and Rome. Sometimes, there *was* amity. But the situation of the Byzantine empire was often so precarious as to threaten, directly and indirectly, the churches of Rome and Ravenna and hence preclude even a pretence of amity.¹

From the end of the sixth century the empire had had to contend with Persian attacks on its eastern front as well as Avar-Slav attacks in the Balkans, only temporarily halted by the victories of the emperor Heraclius both in defending Constantinople (626) and in recapturing Jerusalem in 628. Such military successes were short-lived, however. For the empire was confronted by a new threat: the expansion of Islam from 632, which rapidly shrank the empire's territory in Asia and Africa; while in Italy Lombard expansion restricted the areas conquered by Justinian in the mid sixth century to the old capital of Rome and the new capital of Ravenna, with a long but fairly narrow corridor dividing them along the Via Emilia by the end of the seventh century. At the same time, the crisis situation evoked a military reorganization of Italy in the form of the exarchate, with its capital in Ravenna.² The exarch's powers were not only civil and military: they extended ecclesiastically over the bishops, including those of Ravenna and Rome, and they specifically covered episcopal elections, behaviour

¹ The accounts of these events are too numerous to mention, and I will simply refer to one from the perspective of the Byzantine empire (J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (1st paperback edn., 1989), pp. 145–219, 250–90); one from the perspective of Italy (S. Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia Bizantina (sec. VI–XI) da Giustiniano ai Normanni* (Bologna, 2008)); and one from that of Ravenna (D. M. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 277–94).

² The history of the exarchate is widely discussed, most extensively in T. S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554–800* (Rome, 1984), and in his 'Byzantine Italy, c.680–c.876', in *NCMH*, ii (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 320–7; J. Ferluga, 'L'Esarcato', in *Storia di Ravenna*, ii, pt. 1: *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana. Territorio, economia e società*, ed. A. Carile (Venice, 1991), pp. 351–78; and G. Ravegnani, *I Bizantini in Italia* (Bologna, 2004), pp. 81–143.

and orthodoxy.³ The exarch, acting as imperial viceroy, was empowered to remove bishops deemed inadequate by the imperial government, and also to condemn and imprison them. The exarch could also present candidates to vacant sees, receive the tax on election, request from the emperor the concession of the pallium, preside over regional councils and examine schismatics. Above all, with the power to request the emperor's approval for papal elections, the exarch could control the election of the pope, for without imperial approval such an election would be invalid and the new pope could not be consecrated.

In 685 the emperor Constantine IV (668–85) accepted Pope Agatho's (678–81) request to abolish the tax levied on the confirmation of a pope, and at Pope Benedict II's (683–5) request he granted the exarch the right to order the consecration of the newly-elected pope straightaway.⁴ Justinian II kept the annulment of the tax but reinstated the obligation of confirmation by the emperor himself, though he gave to the exarch the right to deputize for him, as happened with the election of Pope Conon (686–7).⁵ This may have been a step too far, since for his successor Pope Sergius (687–701), the role of exarch was even more prominent in the election: promised large sums by one candidate called Paschal, Exarch Platyn found, when he arrived in Rome, that Sergius had already been elected by the people, the clergy and the army: he confirmed Sergius's election but requested Paschal's promised payment all the same.⁶ In addition, the church of Ravenna had particularly close economic links with the exarchs to whom it could lease out land and properties in exchange for a small rent, as for example with the emphyteutic lease to Exarch Calliopas for land and houses in Rimini.⁷ Such financial ties would remain even after the incumbent's period of office had ended: exarchs often married into the local elite and became part of local society, closely intermingled with the church and its personnel – Agnellus's family was descended from one such group.⁸

The first problems between exarchs and popes which came to involve Ravenna arose when Exarch Romanus (589–96) held off Gregory the

³ A. Simonini, *Autocefalia ed Esarcato in Italia* (Ravenna, 1969), pp. 42–4.

⁴ *Le 'Liber Pontificalis': texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne (3 vols., Paris, 1886–92), i (henceforth *LP* i), 363; Simonini, *Autocefalia*, pp. 107–8.

⁵ *LP*, i, 368.

⁶ *LP*, i, 371–2; Ferluga, 'L'Esarcato', p. 367.

⁷ Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 82–108, 199; T. S. Brown, 'The aristocracy of Ravenna from Justinian to Charlemagne', *CARB*, xxxiii (1986), 135–49, esp. pp. 140–1; T. S. Brown, 'The church of Ravenna and the imperial administration in the seventh century', *EHR*, ccclx (1979), 1–28, esp. p. 10.

⁸ Brown, 'The church of Ravenna', pp. 10–11 and Brown, 'The aristocracy of Ravenna', pp. 216–17.

Great, who wanted him to end the Istrian Schism, resulting from the Three Chapters Controversy. This attempt to reconcile Monophysitism and Catholic belief through condemning the works of three theologians particularly hostile to the Catholic or Chalcedonian church in 543, had led in 553 to a break between the churches of northern Italy, including Aquileia, Milan and Istria, and the church of Rome, since they refused to join in the condemnation.⁹ Gregory was also anxious to prevent the bishop of Ravenna from wearing the pallium on occasions when he was not supposed to, for this was a sign of imperial appointment which only the pope had the right to use whenever he wished, while the bishop of Ravenna was allowed it only on very special feast days.¹⁰ The exarch supported the bishop and the Emperor Maurice supported his exarch against Pope Gregory. The emperor also bestowed the title of 'oecumenical', implying a universal authority, on the patriarch of Constantinople, which made relations with Rome even worse. Gregory had some successes of his own: for example, when Bishop John of Ravenna died in 595, Gregory secured the election of his chosen man Marinianus rather than the local candidate.¹¹ But in other respects the problem between pope and emperor worsened, especially when Gregory made peace with the Lombards, an act to which he was driven by the papacy's dangerous situation in Italy and the Lombards' obvious successes, but which was viewed with grave suspicion by Exarch Callinicos, who used the army of Ravenna to restart the fight against the Lombards.

The relationship between Italy and the emperor saw its last relatively calm period for many years during the reign of Phocas, who came to power after a coup in 602. He replaced Exarch Callinicos with the more accommodating Smaragdus, exarch for the second time in 603, and the subsequent demonstrations of support for Phocas in Italy contrasted with the perception widely held elsewhere of his reign as a disaster.¹² He was the last emperor to have had a statue erected to him in the Roman Forum, by Smaragdus. Phocas and Smaragdus succeeded in creating slightly smoother relations with the Lombard forces, and in 603 the emperor confirmed the importance of papal authority, a gesture meant to allay the pope's resentment at the patriarch of Constantinople's assumption of the 'oecumenical' title. Phocas's stronger western interests are also visible in his approval of the first

⁹ On the various aspects of the schisms, see the most recent studies in *The Crisis of the Oikumene: the Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean*, ed. C. Chazelle and C. Cubitt (Turnhout, 2007).

¹⁰ *Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum*, ed. P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann, *MGH Epp.* (Berlin, 1899), viii. 36; G. Ravegnani, *Gli Esarchi d'Italia* (Bologna, 2011), pp. 58–64.

¹¹ Simonini, *Autocefalia*, pp. 46–8.

¹² Herrin, *Formation*, pp. 187–8.

moves by the popes to Christianize the pagan monuments in the centre of Rome, by allowing Pope Boniface to convert the Pantheon into the church of Santa Maria ad Martyres.¹³

There seems to have been a lull during the reign of Phocas, followed, after the coup in which Heraclius replaced him in 610, by the rapid deterioration of relations with the papacy on account of Monophysitism. Despite the loss of core Monophysite places like Antioch, Monophysitism, seen as heretical by the western church, remained strong in the east with imperial support. It did, however, come to be adapted into what the emperors had hoped would be a more acceptable version, in the form of Monothelitism. This formula was promoted by Heraclius, who issued the imperial decree of the *Ekthesis* in 638.¹⁴ Heraclius (610–41) opposed all of the policies of Phocas, and his political interests were concentrated on the east, leading him to extract higher taxes and to reduce aristocratic privileges generally, but especially in Italy. An immediate response was the killing of his appointed exarch John Lemigios, sent to implement imperial policy in Italy, in a rebellion.¹⁵ The new exarch Eleutherius put down the rebellion but in 619 personal ambition led him to rebel too, supported by Rome, the Lombards and possibly, secretly, Bishop John of Ravenna. Instead of agreeing to crown him in Ravenna, the bishop prudently sent him off to be crowned at Rome on the grounds that Rome was the ‘seat of empire’ (*solium imperii*). In the end Eleutherius was killed by an army group faithful to the emperor.¹⁶

Meanwhile eastern support for Monothelitism added to the complexity of the situation in Italy. Pope Honorius (625–38) half-heartedly accepted the decree of Heraclius, but his successor Severinus (638–40) at first refused it and then under pressure from the exarch Isaac accepted the *Ekthesis* in order to be elected. He refused it again later on and in 638 anathematized Monothelitism. So too did his successors John IV (640–2) and Theodore I (642–9), partly under the influence of the fiery refugee monk and theologian Maximos the Confessor and other eastern and African refugees in the city.¹⁷

After Heraclius’s death in 641, a coup led by the senate and Paul, the patriarch of Constantinople, created a new emperor, Constans II, grandson of Heraclius. He was crowned in 641 though he did not really govern until 650.¹⁸ Constans II continued to lose military ground in the east, but was

¹³ *LP I*, 317.

¹⁴ Herrin, *Formation*, pp. 206–9, 213–15.

¹⁵ Herrin, *Formation*, pp. 191–205; Ravegnani, *Esarchi*, p. 69.

¹⁶ Ravegnani, *Esarchi*, pp. 69–70; *LP I*, 321.

¹⁷ On the history of the Monothelite controversy and the vicissitudes of the papacy, see Herrin, *Formation*, pp. 217–82; Ravegnani, *Esarchi*, pp. 76–8.

¹⁸ Herrin, *Formation*, pp. 216–63.

determined to pursue Monothelite policies. Thus, for example, his Italian exarch Platon was a Monothelite. Constans II and Patriarch Paul attempted another kind of reconciliation with the intractable Pope Theodore in the form of a new imperial decree called the *Typos* in 648, whereupon Paul was promptly excommunicated.¹⁹ But the imperial attempt to use the exarch and other officials to force the western clergy to sign their adherence to the *Typos* and the throwing out of papal legates from Constantinople led, after Pope Theodore's death in 649, to the immediate election of one of these legates, Martin, as his successor. Since Pope Martin was also confirmed in post immediately, without waiting for the required imperial approval, the emperor refused to ratify his election unless the papal legates promised to guarantee the new pope's agreement to sign the *Typos*. He sent a new exarch, Olympios, to Italy to guarantee this, but by then Martin had already brought together a council of more than 100 bishops, who met at the Lateran Council and again condemned Monothelitism. Exarch Olympios was told to respond and went to Rome to put the condemnation into effect but, supported by the pope, he rebelled against the emperor and attempted to have himself crowned emperor in Italy. He almost succeeded, but went to fight in Sicily in 652 and died there. After Olympios's rebellion, the situation went from bad to worse: the uprising was stopped but Theodore Calliopas, the new exarch sent from Constantinople, accused Martin of complicity, and ordered him to be arrested, transported to Constantinople, tried for treason and eventually sentenced to exile at Cherson in the Crimea, in circumstances so harsh that his death soon followed in 653. The Romans had already chosen a more flexible pope, Eugenius I, who lifted the excommunication of the patriarch and did not openly speak against the *Typos*, and neither did his successor Pope Vitalian. But the issue of Monothelitism would not be finally resolved until the sixth oecumenical council held in Constantinople in 680–1, with the triumph of Roman orthodoxy.

How did all this turmoil affect Ravenna? In the previous century, the church of Ravenna had already developed a close relationship with that of Constantinople, and above all had shown itself a firm supporter of Roman orthodoxy during the schism of the Three Chapters, when the patriarchs of Aquileia and Milan embraced it. The bishops of Ravenna had already demonstrated a greater engagement with the emperor, especially once the exarch's seat was settled in the city, making it the capital of Byzantine rule in Italy, while Rome, like the rest of the exarchate, only had a duke subject to the exarch.

¹⁹ *LP* I, 333, 336–8. On Pope Martin, the Lateran council and the end of the story in 680–1, see Herrin, *Formation*, pp. 217–82; Ravegnani, *Esarchi*, pp. 76–8.

But in ecclesiastical terms, the situation of Ravenna was anomalous: while the bishop of Ravenna was the metropolitan bishop for the dioceses of the province of Emilia, he himself remained a suffragan of the pope – in other words, he had jurisdiction over other bishoprics but was himself subject to Rome. He had to have his election confirmed in Rome and be consecrated by the pope; he had to take part in Roman synods and keep Roman feast days, while decisions taken in synods in Emilia, which he presided over, were not technically applicable in Ravenna itself.²⁰ This anomalous situation had already posed a problem under Justinian, but he had used it to his advantage against Rome, during the Three Chapters schism when Pope Vigilius had been taken away from Italy as a ‘guest’ of the emperor. In 545 when Bishop Victor of Ravenna died, Justinian appointed his own man, Maximian of Pola, to the throne of Ravenna, and gave him the pallium.²¹ This was a kind of super-promotion bestowed directly by the emperor, with authority over Emilia but also over the technically schismatic churches of Aquileia and Milan, and it allowed Maximian to use the title of archbishop. Whether Maximian was the first bishop of Ravenna to have been granted the pallium is uncertain, but subsequently the archbishops of Ravenna effectively deputized for the emperor or the pope as leading opponents of the Istrian schism.

As Ravenna saw it, thereafter the pope was no longer the metropolitan head of the church of Ravenna but merely the patriarch, as he was for all western sees. Ravenna was finally no longer subject to Rome but could match its ecclesiastical status to its political role as capital of the western empire, of the subsequent Gothic kingdom, and now as the seat of the exarchate. This was all the more justified in Ravenna’s eyes since not only was it part of the Byzantine tradition that the religious and political functions of a city should correspond in their importance, but also Ravenna’s large ecclesiastical possessions in land and economic resources all over the Pentapolis, Umbria, Istria and above all Sicily, made its patrimony more or less equal to the patrimony of the church of Rome.²² Of greater relevance to this rise in the authority of Ravenna, however, was probably the fact that it was increasingly cut off from Rome by the expansion of Lombard territory, and on frequent occasions the need arose for powers to be delegated to the archbishops to deal with the situation in the exarchate locally.²³ By the end

²⁰ Simonini, *Autocefalia*, pp. 54–6; Brown, ‘Church of Ravenna’, pp. 7–8.

²¹ Agnellus’ *Liber pontificalis Ravennatis ecclesiae*, ed. O. Holder Egger, *MGH SRL* (henceforth *LPRE*), c. 70, p. 326; *LPI*, 297–9; Simonini, *Autocefalia*, pp. 56–60.

²² Simonini, *Autocefalia*, p. 61; G. Fasoli, ‘Il patrimonio della chiesa ravennate’, in Carile, *Storia di Ravenna*, ii, pt. 2, 389–400; Brown, ‘Church of Ravenna’, pp. 6, 9, 11–14.

²³ Brown, ‘Church of Ravenna’, p. 11.

of the seventh century, when the popes had to request imperial approval for their election from the exarch through their intermediary the archbishop of Ravenna, this could only make the latter feel even more aware of his power. All this was going some way towards the idea of autocephaly: the three great sees of Constantinople, Rome and Ravenna should accept Rome's pre-eminence among them, but not be subject to its jurisdiction.

The achievement of the autocephaly of Ravenna has to be seen, however, very much as part of the context of Constans II's reign, and his stay in Italy from 660 to 668. It was led by the strong personality of Archbishop Maurus (642–71).²⁴ Essentially, Constans II tried to use the church of Ravenna as an imperial church at the service of the emperor in the west, corresponding to the church of Constantinople in the east, through privileges, gifts and rights in exchange for full support of imperial policies. Ravenna, on the other hand, tried to use its traditional support for the emperor and his exarch as a way of ensuring its own autonomy from Rome. Maurus had been elected when the conflict of the popes with Heraclius was at its height, and relations between Rome and Constantinople were already very poor. Maurus was somewhat ambiguous in his attitude towards the *Typos*. When asked by Pope Martin to attend the Lateran Council of 649, he did not actually go himself, but he did send representatives and supported the bishops of Emilia who went in person. He also sent a letter to be read out at the synod, expressing support for Roman orthodoxy. After Olympios's rebellion and death, and when Calliopas had been appointed the new exarch, Ravenna supported him, to the extent that, faced with the refusal of the Roman militia to obey imperial and exarchal orders on that subject, Pope Martin had to be arrested by the *exercitus* of Ravenna.²⁵

Later, the need of a new pope to go through the archbishop to obtain confirmation of his election from the exarch led Maurus to make his final bid for autocephaly.²⁶ He went to Constantinople himself, bringing rich gifts to the imperial court and promises of greater economic support through large quantities of grain, gold and silver from Sicily, in addition to the church of Ravenna's already enormous contribution of 15,000 gold solidi, half of its income from the province. He obtained from Constans

²⁴ Ferluga, 'L'Esarcato', pp. 364–6; Simonini, *Autocefalia*, pp. 82–7; G. Orioli, 'L'autocefalia della Chiesa ravennate', *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* new ser., xxx (1976), 10–19; Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, p. 283; A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantin au VIIe siècle. L'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* (Rome, 1969), pp. 167–9, 206–7.

²⁵ *LP* I, 337–8.

²⁶ Agnellus, *LPRE*, cc. 110–14, pp. 349–53; *LP* I, 343–4; Brown, 'Church of Ravenna', pp. 11–17; Simonini, *Autocefalia*, pp. 82–104.

II a decree guaranteeing the autonomy of Ravenna vis-à-vis the papacy, and made Pope Vitalian officially recognize the right of the archbishops of Ravenna to that title. This had been employed in the city for a long time but had never previously been accepted by the popes, who regarded its use in Ravenna as abusive. Maurus, however, wanted stronger confirmation, and contributed greatly, as promised, to funding Constans's Sicilian military campaigns through the patrimony of the church of Ravenna in Sicily. In 666 Maurus's administrator, Reparatus, went to Sicily, bringing with him two documents: first, a copy of the *Passio S. Apollinaris*, which purported to show that the church of Ravenna had been founded by Apollinaris, a disciple of St. Peter, thus making it a church of apostolic foundation; and second, a spurious diploma of Valentinian III (425–55) in which the emperor gave the pallium and the title of archbishop to the bishop of Ravenna, as well as his metropolitan rights over Emilia.

The result of this long campaign of attrition was Constans II's privilege of autocephaly to the church of Ravenna: the emperor decreed that the archbishop would be free of any interference from others (*ab omni superiori episcopali conditione*) and in no way subject to the Roman patriarch (*et non subjacere pro quolibet modo patriarchae antiquae urbis Romae*) but would remain for ever autocephalous (*sed manere eum autocephalon*). From now on, the archbishop would be consecrated by his own suffragans, and would have the right to the imperial pallium (*a propriis consecratus episcopis, vestris videlicet, et decore palei sicut nostrae divinitatis sanctione, superna inspiratione, perlargitum est*).²⁷ Since only Rome and a few other patriarchates in the east had such a privilege, the archbishop of Ravenna would thus be on the same level as the other patriarchates. It is still unclear whether it was the granting of the privilege itself that was commemorated in Ravenna by a mosaic to one side of the altar, the gift being bestowed by the four emperors Constans II and his sons on Maurus and Reparatus, possibly commissioned by the latter for S. Apollinare in Classe, or a subsequent confirmation of it by the emperors Constantine IV and his brothers.²⁸ The privilege gave a great deal to Ravenna but it was also, in a way, an imperial triumph, which associated the archbishops of the exarchal capital more closely with the empire, and

²⁷ The privilege is edited by O. Holder-Egger in Agnellus, *LPRE*, cc. 111–12, pp. 350–1, n. 8.

²⁸ Agnellus, *LPRE*, c. 115, p. 354. This long-debated point has been recently summarized and the latter view convincingly argued in a paper by S. Cosentino, 'Constans II, Ravenna's autocephaly and the panel of privileges in St. Apollinare in Classe: a reappraisal', in *Aureus. Volume dedicated to Prof. Evangelos K. Chrysos*, ed. T. G. Kolias and K. G. Pitsakis (Athens, 2014), pp. 153–70. I am grateful to Salvatore Cosentino for allowing me to see it while it was in preparation. See Figures 3.10 and 4.15 for pictures of the mosaic.

prevented the association of both the church of Ravenna and the exarchs with the popes of Rome. Some modern historians have seen it as essentially a reward to Ravenna for its economic support of the empire, especially in Sicily.²⁹ In reality, being the beneficiary of such a privilege, especially one which appeared to reward the specific services of a bishop, was not uncommon in the east, where other metropolitan churches also had it. In a western context, however, which saw Rome increasingly becoming the centre, the new situation of Ravenna seemed highly unusual to the popes, and they took it extremely badly.³⁰

In 668 Constans II was assassinated in Syracuse by a usurper, against whom the new emperor Constantine IV sent an army, supported by both the papacy and Ravenna, and the rebellion was killed off. Constantine IV was much less inclined to support Ravenna and more interested in peace with the pope.³¹ Pope Vitalian summoned Maurus to Rome: he refused to go, was threatened with deposition, and ultimately the two prelates exchanged reciprocal anathemata, which continued until their respective deaths. At first Constantine IV refused to take sides, and Maurus was seen as the hero of independence of Ravenna from Rome. His last words to his clergy, according to Agnellus, were: '*non vos tradatis sub Romanorum iugo*'.³² He was succeeded by his old administrator Reparatus (671–7). He too went to Constantinople, where he obtained various privileges and fiscal immunities for the clergy, some of which were exemptions from taxes and dues, and confirmation of exemptions from secular jurisdiction. He may also have gained a renewal of the autocephaly privilege in a modified form. But perhaps not: we now hit a considerable divergence in our sources, for which no entirely satisfactory account has yet been given. What exactly did take place in Constantinople?³³ According to Agnellus, the archbishops continued to ignore Rome in the matter of consecration, and Reparatus was consecrated in Ravenna. But the Roman *Liber Pontificalis* says that Reparatus was consecrated in Rome. Again, Agnellus says that his successor, Theodore, was consecrated by his own suffragans. This may be just confusion, or possibly each believed his own version. Perhaps, as Simonini suggested, both embassies were in Constantinople at the same time, where they agreed to a compromise, with Ravenna accepting future consecration in Rome and Rome agreeing not to make the process take longer than eight

²⁹ Brown, 'Church of Ravenna', p. 17.

³⁰ Brown, 'Church of Ravenna', pp. 12–13; T. S. Brown, 'Justinian II and Ravenna', *Byzantino-slavica*, lvi (1995), 31; *LP I*, 348; Simonini, *Autocefalia*, pp. 87–95.

³¹ Simonini, *Autocefalia*, pp. 102–9.

³² Agnellus, *LPRE*, c. 115, p. 353.

³³ Agnellus, *LPRE*, c. 115, pp. 353–4; Simonini, *Autocefalia*, pp. 102–4.

days. When they returned to Italy, each embassy went back to its previous position, thinking the problem had been solved to their satisfaction. Thus it has been possible for historians to claim that the privileges obtained in Constantinople were a way for Ravenna to agree to the loss of independence, while being richly compensated for it by fiscal and economic privileges, but also to suggest that these may have been a reward for the church's loyalty after the death of Constans II and the ensuing attempt at usurpation.

The fact is that after a relative peace with the Arabs in 677, followed by a few other military successes, Constantine IV wanted peace within the church. He attempted a reconciliation with Pope Donus (676–8) and Pope Agatho (678–81), which ended with the Sixth Oecumenical Council in 680–1 condemning Monothelitism; and the emperor also gave further proof of the supremacy of Rome, including accepting the consecration of popes immediately after their election.³⁴ The issue of the end of the autocephaly of Ravenna was thus slow to evolve but it had already moved in that direction by the time of the Lateran Council of 680, which was the preliminary western meeting before the council in Constantinople. Archbishop Theodore of Ravenna, who had succeeded Reparatus in 677, and had been consecrated in Ravenna, was invited to Rome.³⁵ Unfortunately for the clergy of Ravenna, Theodore had his own plans. He had fallen out badly with his own clergy when he used a grain crisis to make them give up their traditional rights to a quarter of the church's income. The clergy hated him so much that they organized a boycott of his Christmas Vigil in the cathedral by taking themselves en masse to Classe, and refusing to come back. The archbishop beat his chest and claimed that he felt eternal regret and repentance, but the clergy would still not return; the exarch intervened, under threat from the clergy, to ask Constantine IV for the archbishop to be replaced, and only at the eleventh hour did they finally all get together to celebrate.

Whether because he could not forgive them this humiliation or because he had a better grasp of political realities, Theodore then secretly asked the pope to send him a letter summoning him to Rome: serendipitously it arrived in 680 at the same time as a summons to Rome for the Lateran Council. With grave misgivings but having no choice, the clergy of Ravenna allowed Theodore to leave. Once in Rome, he immediately agreed to give up unconditionally any claim to autocephaly: '*cum pervenisset Romam, subiugavit se suamque ecclesiam sub Romano pontifice*', says Agnellus.³⁶ The decree of Constans II had to be given back and a new rescript from

³⁴ *LPI*, 350–4, 360.

³⁵ Agnellus, *LPRE*, c. 124, pp. 359–60; Simonini, *Autocefalia*, pp. 109–13.

³⁶ Agnellus, *LPRE*, cc. 117–24, pp. 355–60.

Constantine IV was issued. Archbishop Theodore managed to retain the limit of eight days' maximum in Rome for consecration and the definitive remission of the tax for obtaining the pallium, as well as limiting the archbishops' obligation to go to Rome to only once a year. In exchange he guaranteed Ravenna's commitment not to celebrate Maurus, who was condemned to a kind of *damnatio memoriae*. But the see of Ravenna also gained the primacy of honour in the west after Rome – it was to be second only to Rome – a status it would keep in the future. This achievement did not gain recognition for Maurus, even 200 years later: for the Ravenna clergy he remained the archbishop who '*non sub Romana se subiugavit sede*'.³⁷

The story did not quite end there. A further attempt to revive the independent status of the church of Ravenna may have been made by Archbishop Felix (711–24), while he attempted to decide which emperor to support. First, he chose (badly) against Justinian II, then (better) his successor, Philippikos, who had got rid of Justinian II, reinstated Felix at the cost of his possible support of Monothelitism. But ultimately even Felix gave way and before his death, accepted that the cause of autocephaly was a lost one.³⁸ The popes, however, may have found this hard to believe: certainly they remained very anxious as late as the mid eighth century lest the issue might be revived.

Ultimately, two conclusions can be drawn from this rapid tour of relations between Constantinople, Rome and Ravenna. Both deal fundamentally with more general issues. The first is cultural history. The phenomenon of the gradual disaffection of the church and the city of Rome vis-à-vis its Byzantine imperial association during the 150 years after Gregory the Great's death is a well-studied subject.³⁹ Its roots have been identified in the mixture of despair at the lack of support from the emperors in the papacy's and Italy's fight against the Lombards, and the parallel despair at the constant need to fight off decrees and policies issuing from Constantinople

³⁷ Agnellus, *LPRE*, c. 115, p. 354; Simonini, *Autocefalia*, pp. 113–15; on the later perception of the period of independence from Rome, see R. Savigni, 'Memoria urbis: l'immagine di Ravenna nella storiografia di età carolingio-ottoniana', in *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale. Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo, Ravenna, 6–12 giugno 2004* (2 vols., Spoleto, 2005), ii. 648–50.

³⁸ Simonini, *Autocefalia*, pp. 123–32.

³⁹ There are many discussions of this issue (see, e.g., O. Bertolini, *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e ai Longobardi* (Bologna, 1941); P. Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (1970), pp. 109–228; and J. Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476–752* (1979), pp. 181–232). Two of the best remain D. H. Miller, 'The Roman revolution of the eighth century', *Medieval Studies*, xxxvi (1974), 96–101; and P. Llewellyn, 'The Roman church in the seventh century: the legacy of Gregory I', *JEcCH*, xxv (1974), 363–80; and Brown, 'Justinian', pp. 29–36.

which were perceived as heretical. I have highlighted elsewhere my theory and that of several eminent historians of what was at the root of a by then fairly irreconcilable cultural gap between the Greek east and the Latin west. The gap was certainly perceived in that way, at least by the western side.⁴⁰ It does not appear that Ravenna's 'separatism' can be ascribed to any deliberate pro-Byzantine and Greek leanings against Rome: rather, its desire for independence from Rome arose from a heightened view of its own importance, based on its past as an imperial and exarchal capital. It was no more Greek by the end of the seventh century than Rome was; it was difficult to find among its clergy a fluent Greek speaker and interpreter in Johannicius.⁴¹ Further, it was no more prepared to accept Monothelitism, for example, than the popes were, even at the cost of supporting the latter wholeheartedly in that respect, for example at the Lateran synod in 649 and later. But Ravenna, unlike Rome, could use its imperial connections and economic support to try to gain for itself the autonomy it regarded as a right on the basis of its political status and alleged apostolic origin. Ravenna managed this successfully while circumstances allowed. After all, if the emperors were prepared to play Ravenna against Rome, why should Ravenna not play the emperors against Rome and vice versa?

But by the end of the seventh century, this was no longer the most important issue. Social transformation was this chapter's second conclusion. By then, both Rome and Ravenna were no longer simply elements of the Byzantine exarchate; they had increasingly seen the personnel in charge, politically and in terms of their churches, become far more closely associated with their local power and economic base. Such expressions of regional identity were far more likely to constitute negative responses to any attempt at Byzantine intervention, as when the Roman militia defended Pope Martin, for example, and equally when the Ravenna militia later defended the pope against the emperor's envoy the *protospatharius* Zachariah. The latter had been sent to arrest Pope Sergius in 693 for resisting Justinian II's order that he accept the acts of the Quinisext Council in Trullo.⁴² What this implies, in my view, is an increasing detachment from Byzantine and imperial interests on the part of the social and political elites of both Rome and Ravenna, elites which saw their interests increasingly identified with those of their respective territories and their western, not to say Italian, roots.

⁴⁰ V. Ortenberg, 'Angli aut angeli: Les Anglo-Saxons ont-ils sauvé la papauté au VIIe siècle?', *Revue Mabillon*, vi (1995), 5–14.

⁴¹ Agnellus, *LPRE*, c. 120, p. 357; L. M. Hartmann, 'Johannicius von Ravenna', in *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz* (Vienna, 1902), pp. 319–23.

⁴² *LP I*, 372–4; Ravegnani, *Bizantini*, p. 120; Brown, 'Justinian II', p. 32.

10. Nobility, aristocracy and status in early medieval Ravenna*

Edward M. Schoolman

The history of the elites of Ravenna in the early middle ages provides a glimpse into the ways in which members of new aristocracies or nascent hereditary nobilities promoted their status, especially in the ninth and tenth centuries. It also shows how these social positions were understood and reinforced through narrative sources and legal arrangements. Although never completely static, the decline of imperial Roman administration based in the city led to the slow transformation of the upper echelons of society. Throughout the former territory of the western Roman empire, gone were families whose social and cultural authority rested in their participation (either in name or in fact) in Rome's institutions, through the Roman Senate or through imperial service. Such families were replaced instead by those who claimed territory through violence (real or threatened), royal prerogative or ecclesiastical rights, or who held it through reciprocal arrangements with others. These new aristocracies existed in areas held by non-Romans and Romans alike and in many ways resembled their earlier senatorial counterparts, for these new elites' power could be measured in land and in military, bureaucratic or ecclesiastical service.

In the major urban centres of Italy beyond Ravenna, the process was well documented and has been closely studied. By the seventh century in northern Italy, Lombard families, from those with relatively modest holdings to the dukes and bishops they served, formed the basis for a new, predominantly Germanic and hereditary elite, almost entirely replacing or displacing the local Romans (some of whom may have 'Lombardized' themselves to adapt to the new social and political system, while the Lombards themselves underwent an equally adaptive process of 'Romanization').¹ A different

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¹ Tabacco suggests that with the arrival of the Lombards in the 7th century, 'in the confusion of the earliest period, especially in the decade of ducal anarchy, the search for booty led to the destruction of almost all the greater and lesser landed aristocracy', whose property

process took place in Rome. Here the nobles and elites ossified, since the local senatorial class was transformed into a cohesive aristocracy with little influence outside the city except through its position and proximity to the papacy, an office and institution which aristocrats or their appointees had come to dominate by the end of the eighth century.² Further south, in Naples, a landed elite built on both Latin and Greek roots coalesced first under a *dux* appointed by Constantinople and the archbishop who maintained a connection to Rome, but by the ninth century a hereditary office of *dux* tied these two positions together (sometimes in the body of the same person) and stabilized the aristocracy, a process likely influenced by the surrounding Lombard principalities and especially Benevento.³

would be given or distributed through new Lombard royal, episcopal and ducal channels (G. Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy*, trans. R. B. Jensen (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 94–5). In private documents of the eighth century, Chris Wickham has demonstrated that these new Lombard aristocrats showed a remarkable degree of royal dependence while focusing on exercising authority within the realm of local cities (C. Wickham, 'Aristocratic power in eighth-century Lombard Italy', in *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History*, ed. A. C. Murray (Toronto, 1988), pp. 153–70 at 157–9). Other Romans, without holdings but with some levels of status, clearly remained as important components in Lombard society, reflected in the continuities of property law and others (C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 210–11). The transformation to Lombard aristocracies marked by their military status can also be seen through the lens of discontinuity within late Roman society (D. Harrison, 'The development of elites: from Roman bureaucrats to medieval warlords', in *Integration und Herrschaft: Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organization im Frühmittelalter*, ed. W. Pohl and M. Diesenberger (Vienna, 2002), pp. 289–300 at 295–6). On the opposite side, there was a great deal of 'Romanization' of the Lombards (adoption of Roman forms of Christianity, patronage and language), even to the extent that Roman and Christian names become commonplace as names or name-components (W. Haubrichs, 'Langobardic personal names: given names and name-giving among the Lombards', in *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest*, ed. G. Ausenda, P. Delogu and C. Wickham (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 195–250); and see Wolfgang Haubrichs's chapter in the present volume.

² The aristocratic factions operating in Rome ultimately took over the most important ecclesiastical positions, and 'the pontificates of Paul I (757–67) and Hadrian (772–95) appear to have been transitional stages on the road to aristocratic dominance' (T. F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: the Birth of the Papal State: 680–825* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1984), p. 210).

³ The predominant historical material for the period before the 10th century comes from the *Gesta Episcoporum* for Naples, but strong evidence supports the survival of Neapolitan urban life from late antiquity onwards (P. Arthur, 'Naples: a case of urban survival in the early middle ages?', *MEFR – Moyen-Age*, ciii (1991), 759–84; P. Arthur, *Naples, from Roman Town to City-State: an Archaeological Perspective* (2002)). After the 10th century, documentary sources point to well-established patterns of local aristocracy, especially connected to the ducal family, and one that was essentially urban (P. Skinner, 'Urban communities in Naples, 900–1050', *PBSR*, lxii (1994), 279–99. New research into Naples in the 10th–12th centuries by A. Feniello has clarified the relationship between mercantile wealth and aristocratic

Ravenna differed from these other Italian cities: it was unique in the way its urban political elites held power, in how the local aristocracy was formed, and in how its composition shifted over time.⁴ Rather than one group immediately and entirely supplanting the other (as in Lombard, northern Italy) or the elites remaining static in Rome or Naples, Ravenna tended to absorb new elites into the fabric of noble families upon their arrival. Though the causes behind this are complex, at least some of the continuities are rooted in the many efforts by foreign kings and emperors to legitimize power by possessing and keeping intact the past royal and imperial capital with its institutions (including the local nobility). This entire process is demonstrated by the following phenomena: the survival and influence of aristocratic and wealthy Romans in the court of Ostrogothic Ravenna in the last two decades of the fifth century and first decades of the sixth century (epitomized by Boethius, Cassiodorus's father and Cassiodorus himself);⁵ the absorption of the Ostrogoths and Lombards into the local society of Byzantine Ravenna in the last decades of the sixth and seventh centuries;⁶ the importance of seventh- and eighth-century Byzantine bureaucrats and soldiers in the formation of a new local elite; the merging of local Ravennate families with Frankish nobles in the ninth century; and the subsequent integration through the tenth century of new Germanic arrivals into the local aristocracy. The last two themes' ongoing process of integration correlates with the continued importance of Ravenna within the complex political geography of the Carolingian kingdom of Italy even after it ceased to

land-holdings, noting the especially rapid rise in the cost of land due to the limited quantity available within Neapolitan territory (A. Feniello, *Napoli: Società ed economia (902–1137)* (Rome, 2011)).

⁴ The bibliography for Ravenna's aristocracy and nobility is rich, and a general overview may be found in T. S. Brown, 'L'aristocrazia di Ravenna da Giustiniano a Carlo Magno', *Felix Ravenna*, cxxxi/cxxxii (1986), 91–8.

⁵ On the Senatorial Romans in Ravenna, see P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy: 489–554* (Cambridge, 1997). For an overview of the collaboration between the Goths and the Gothic administration and the local Romans, see S. Lazard, 'Goti e Latini a Ravenna', in *Storia di Ravenna*, ii, pt. 1: *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana. Territorio, economia, società*, ed. A. Carile (Venice, 1991), pp. 109–34, at pp. 112–18.

⁶ A. Guillou, 'Demografia e società a Ravenna nell'età esarcale', in Carile, *Storia di Ravenna*, ii, 101–8, at p. 106. On the Goths in Byzantine Italy and Ravenna, see Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy*, pp. 179–92; T. S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554–800* (Rome, 1984), pp. 75–7; Lazard, 'Goti e Latini a Ravenna', pp. 112–18. On the appropriation of 'Gothic' monuments, see A. Urbano, 'Donation, dedication and *damnatio memoriae*: the Catholic reconciliation of Ravenna and the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, xiii (2005), 71–110.

be a royal or even regional capital and instead became a relatively minor centre.⁷

This chapter's central objectives are: first, to provide a general sketch of the appearance of nobles and aristocrats in the documentary and literary sources from the seventh to the early eleventh century in order to re-evaluate the evidence for patterns of integration in Ravenna; second, to examine the role of land exchange, the collecting of witnesses in confirming elite status, and the emergence of new forms of hereditary markers found in papyrus and parchment documents; and third, to follow the fortunes of a 'new family' in the ninth and tenth centuries, tied both to local Ravennate elites through the *Dux* Gregory and to nobles connected with the Carolingian court through the family of the *comes sacri palatii* Hucbald, in order to understand how Frankish immigrants were integrated permanently into the aristocracy. What binds these disparate threads together is a broad hypothesis that regime change, and especially the slow consolidation of power under Otto I, had a significant effect both on political and social hierarchies in Ravenna and the shift from a semi-permeable aristocracy to a hereditary nobility.

Ravenna's aristocracy and nobility: definitions and sources

While the sources are not uniform, the wide range of documentary, literary and epigraphic evidence makes it possible to examine the composition of the aristocratic and noble families in Ravenna and how they demonstrated their status. The modern historiography on early medieval elites, nobles and aristocrats in Ravenna and Italy in general is exceedingly rich and diverse in focus, from Lombard princes and dukes to the noble families of the city of Rome.⁸ By untangling the individuals, families and networks of the highest echelons of society, scholars have made major advances in assessing social and political hierarchies and in the analysis of prosopographical data.⁹ Debate has centred on two major issues: the nature and reliability of the

⁷ Even in the late Carolingian period, Ravenna still maintained its significance, especially as a place where laws and proclamations were issued; particularly important are the Ravenna constitutions of 882, in which Charles the Fat reiterates Lombard traditions as a means of expressing his own authority as king (S. MacLean, 'Legislation and politics in late Carolingian Italy: the Ravenna constitutions', *EME*, xviii (2010), 394–416). Even during the Ottonian period Ravenna retained an important role (while losing value as an administrative capital) by continuing to be a centre for the issue of edicts.

⁸ For a general overview, see S. J. B. Barnish, 'Transformation and survival in the western senatorial aristocracy, c. A.D. 400–700', *PBSR*, lvi (1988), 120–55. On Italy in particular, see Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 203–19.

⁹ For examples, see J. Jarnut, *Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zum Langobardenreich in Italien (568–774)* (Bonn, 1972).

surviving literary and documentary sources, and how ‘noble’ and ‘aristocrat’ may be defined.

My own view is that titles are generally unreliable indicators of status in Ravenna, and that without clear hereditary lines (which only appear in the latter half of the ninth century) family relationships are often unhelpful and frequently invisible in the record. Furthermore, as Timothy Reuter noted in his introduction to a volume on medieval nobility, ‘our knowledge of family relationships is to a large extent determined by the nobility’s own sense of family, and this did not remain constant’.¹⁰ Elite status belonged to those who held a ‘monopoly on political power’, often through wealth, in this case in the form of land or through their position in royal administration. The nobility in seventh-century Ravenna, eighth-century Rome or ninth-century Milan might have had vastly different backgrounds, social networks and regional importance, yet all had in common their control of land and power and a trend towards hereditary positions.¹¹

The evidence for the composition and transformation of Ravenna’s elites falls into two broad categories: documentary sources composed of the records on papyrus and parchment from the city’s episcopal and monastic archives and literary sources including the sixth-century *Variae* of Cassiodorus and the ninth-century *Liber Pontificalis* of Agnellus.¹²

The papyri records of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries offer tantalizing glimpses of the effects of the period’s social and political changes, including the survival and decline of Goths in Byzantine Ravenna and, in the seventh century, the formation of a relatively homogeneous nobility formed from an earlier aristocracy composed of military and bureaucratic

¹⁰ T. Reuter, ‘Introduction’, in *The Medieval Nobility: Studies on the Ruling Classes of France and Germany from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. T. Reuter (Amsterdam, 1978), pp. 1–16, at p. 6.

¹¹ In essence this follows Wickham’s definition of aristocrat in Lombard society: ‘those who were rich enough to have access to royal/public political power’ (Wickham, ‘Aristocratic power in eighth-century Lombard Italy’, p. 157). On the example of Milan in particular, see C. Violante, *La società milanese nell’età precomunale* (Bari, 1953). In the mid 10th century, because of the political instability and the general weakness of the the king of Italy’s position, ‘the Italian nobility overhauled the political system to ensure the *de facto* heritability of ecclesiastic and public offices and power’ (G. Sergi, ‘The kingdom of Italy’, in *NCMH* (Cambridge, 1999), iii. 346–71, at p. 355).

¹² Rather than a collection of correspondence, edicts and formulae composed by Cassiodorus during his time within the Ostrogothic administration, the *Variae* is a hybrid document, carefully edited and reworked both to preserve and exalt Cassiodorus’s career as well as to promote and rehabilitate the status of the Amal family. On the political nature of the text, see M. S. Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna, and Constantinople: a Study of Cassiodorus and the ‘Variae’, 527–554* (Cambridge, 2013). See also Peter Heather’s chapter in this volume.

officers, merchants and to some extent the ecclesiastical elite (in the person of the bishop).¹³ Yet as a corpus the papyri are neither homogeneous nor representative, but instead offer a limited range of legal documents once part of the episcopal archive of the church of Ravenna and surviving only by good fortune.

Within the corpus of the Ravenna papyri the modern distinction between an aristocracy of office and inherited nobility is blurred; indeed it does not seem to correspond with the changing political and cultural scene of the region in the late antique period. In the early surviving documentary papyri of the sixth and seventh century, *nobilis vir*, *nobilis femina* and *nobilis matrona* all appear as titles belonging to those who appear to be members of the aristocracy, along with titles or ranks connected to senatorial status, such as *vir clarissimus* and *inluster vir*, and military or administrative positions, *magister militum*, *comes*, *consul* and *dux* (although all these titles typically appear as abbreviations in documents, for instance *nv* for *nobilis vir* and *vc* for *vir clarissimus*). Together with members of the ecclesiastical elite, those who carried these titles and participated as donors of property and witnesses to such donations, or as buyers and sellers, collectively represented the dynamic elite of the city as an aristocracy.¹⁴

As papyrus gave way to parchment in the eighth and ninth centuries, far greater numbers of documents survive, most of which illustrate the entrenchment of a hereditary aristocracy emerging from the more permeable and heterogeneous elite. The process was accelerated and catalysed by the end of the exarchate in 751, which eventually ushered in the formation of semi-hereditary 'dukes' and 'consuls' associated with the city in the early ninth century (as exemplified by the family of Gregorius discussed below), and for the first time lineages of noble families that are traceable in the historical and documentary sources. In addition, in each successive century greater numbers of documents were preserved, the majority of them as part of archiepiscopal and monastic archives; taking just the archiepiscopal archive of Ravenna, eight documents date to the eighth century (the smallest number on a century-by-century basis since the fifth century, and perhaps an indication of the political

¹³ Masterfully edited by J.-O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri italiens aus der Zeit 445–700* (3 vols., Lund and Stockholm, 1954–82) (hereafter *P. Ital.*). It follows the earlier publication of many of these records in *I papiri diplomatici*, ed. G. Marini (Rome, 1805). The papyri were also published in facsimile in the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* under their present locations. On the networks visible in the papyri, see E. M. Schoolman, 'Local networks and witness subscriptions in early medieval Ravenna', *Viator*, xlv (2013), 21–41.

¹⁴ For the relationship between the various elite groups in Ravenna and the ways in which they supported each other in the creation of legal documents, see Schoolman, 'Local networks'.

tumult of the period), forty-nine to the ninth century, and 276 to the tenth century.¹⁵ This increase in the number of documentary texts which can be used to identify members of the new nobility and their relationships with each other greatly influences the strength of conclusions about the elites in the tenth century, but also raises question marks over findings based on the small sample of earlier records. It should be taken into consideration that these will be far more general and tentative.

As to the value of the literary sources, two composed in Ravenna particularly stand out in light of their content, although both have limitations in respect to examining the city's elites. The *Variae* of Cassiodorus, compiled in the 540s, portray in minute detail the responsibilities of and relationships among the varied late antique aristocracies operating in Italy, although with a particular focus on the Senate in Rome and the Ostrogothic court in Ravenna.¹⁶ Composed after Cassiodorus's retirement from official service to Theoderic and his immediate successors, the *Variae* have been extensively mined for information on the final century of the senatorial aristocracy in Italy, most recently by Shane Bjornlie.¹⁷ This collection of letters, edicts and *formulae* as examples of senatorial and court protocol, and edited significantly before publication, is at the same time a set of normative texts and one with overt political and cultural agendas, assembled and arranged in the aftermath of the collapse of the royal house to which Cassiodorus had dedicated himself in a range of important administrative positions. Its contents offer limited perspectives.¹⁸ For Cassiodorus, the world was

¹⁵ The scarcity of documents in the 8th and 9th centuries may have been caused by their destruction in 841 in the aftermath of the battle of Fontenoy. According to Agnellus, *LPR*, George, the archbishop of Ravenna, travelled to France to gain an audience and press the claim of Ravenna's autocephaly (and perhaps other claims as well) to Charles the Bald, but he was detained, his gifts of gold and gems confiscated, and 'the ancient privileges, in which it was stated that he should be removed from the power of the Roman pope, were cast into the mud and were pierced by sharp lances' (trans. Deliyannis, p. 175). Over the last 15 years, the archiepiscopal archives have received new treatment and modern editions (*Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono*, ed. R. Benericetti (Faenza, 2006) (hereafter *Cart. Rav. VIII–IX*); *Le carte del decimo secolo nell'archivio arcivescovile di Ravenna, i: 900–957*, ed. R. Benericetti (Ravenna, 1999); *Le carte del decimo secolo nell'archivio arcivescovile di Ravenna, iii: 976–999*, ed. R. Benericetti (Imola, 2002); *Le carte ravennati del decimo secolo: Archivio arcivescovile, ii: 957–976*, ed. R. Benericetti (Faenza, 2002) (hereafter *Cart. Rav. X*)).

¹⁶ For issues concerning the dating of the *Variae*, see Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, pp. 19–26.

¹⁷ Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*.

¹⁸ Of particular interest was his rivalry with and connection to the Anicii family, of whom Boethius was an important member, and who continued to hold sway in the imperial court of Constantinople after their decline in the west and the end of the Gothic wars (Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, pp. 134–62).

clearly divided between the Roman senatorial elite (of which he himself was a member and advocate) and the militarily-based Ostrogothic nobility, particularly the ruling Amal family, during the time when Ravenna was an actual political capital.¹⁹

Two examples from the *Variae* attest to the clear division between Ostrogothic and Roman senatorial elites, but also suggest that while Cassiodorus presents his conception of nobility and status within a classical model, he also reflects the political realities of Italy and Ravenna during the first half of the sixth century.²⁰ The reliance on ancient practice is evident in many of his letters; in one example from a proclamation given by Theoderic to the Senate on the granting of the position of *patricius* to Inportunus (a member of Cassiodorus's own *gens* of the Decii), Cassiodorus makes the following statement about the status of Senate members and the derivation of their own nobility: 'Ancestry itself is already glorious; praise is born with nobility; for you, life and honour have the same beginning. For the fullest honour of the Senate, which others scarcely attain in maturity, you acquire by birth'.²¹ This formulaic language reiterates a long-understood Roman definition of nobility, and especially senatorial nobility, as exclusively hereditary, although also tied to one's behaviour. While Cassiodorus continues to use this language with the Senate, he also adopts it for his employers, using the trope of inherited noble status to impute legitimacy to Ostrogoths who serve in leadership roles. In one letter for example, a *comes* responsible for Pavia is described in terms of 'the honour of his noble birth

¹⁹ Although originally composed in the Ostrogothic court and later edited and compiled, the *Variae* remains essentially late Roman in construction and purpose. The language used in Book VII's *formulae* in reference to the elevation to senatorial ranks and the investment in imperial offices such as tribune is an example of the illusion that senatorial ranks in Italy continued to exist.

²⁰ Bjornlie notes that throughout the *Variae*, the notion of *antiquitas* is considered to be essential and its survival beneficial while *novitas* was a destabilizing force (Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, pp. 227–30). As to the political division between Ostrogoths and Romans, in a letter from Athalaric to the people of Rome, Cassiodorus divides Italy into the Goths who fight and the Romans who increase in population (Cassiodorus, *Variae* viii. 3.4).

²¹ Cassiodorus, *Variae* iii. 6.1. 'Origo ipsa iam gloria est: laus nobilitati connascitur. Idem vobis est dignitatis quod vitae principium. Senatus enim honor amplissimus vobiscus gignitur, ad quem vix maturis aetatibus pervenitur' (translation in *Selected Variae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. S. J. B. Barnish, *Translated Texts for Historians*, xii (Liverpool, 1992), 49). It should also be noted that since the end of the 4th century senators who had served as *praefecti* had taken administrative positions that increasingly held greater responsibilities. In the letter to Inportunus on his own promotion, Cassiodorus noted that while he had been noble both in birth and in actions, his promotion to *patricius* was also due in part to the service of his father and uncle, who held a number of administrative positions but also 'antique virtues' (*Variae* iii. 5.1).

and the proof of his great fidelity'.²² With regard to Ravenna specifically, Cassiodorus offers us surprisingly little given his administrative post in the city. Nevertheless, his production as a whole sheds light on the stresses that were already altering the make-up of an Italian elite divided into Gothic and Roman, categories being progressively undermined with the decline of the Ostrogothic Kingdom and the reassertion of imperial control.²³

Three centuries pass before we can point to another source that gives information on the situation in Ravenna, namely Agnellus of Ravenna's *Liber Pontificalis*. This was the serial biography of the bishops of Ravenna from the church's foundation by Apollinaris, allegedly a disciple of Peter, to Archbishop George, who died in 846. Although he modelled it in part on the papal biographies of the Roman *Liber Pontificalis* (with the addition of hagiographical and polemical material), Agnellus created 'a text that would express his themes of independence from Rome, proper behaviour of bishops, and the glory of Ravenna'.²⁴ For Agnellus, aristocratic power was not rooted in the church. It was hereditary but also connected to wealth and military service. On three occasions he described bishops in terms of their nobility.

Agnellus first mentioned the hereditary nature of the status of *nobilis* in his description of the fifth bishop of Ravenna, Marcian, who was 'born of a noble family (*ex nobili ortus est progenie*)' and served during the third century.²⁵ A variant of the phrase was used later to describe the sixth-century archbishop Agnellus as well, which is especially interesting given his earlier life. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, that bishop had been a wealthy soldier and had only turned to a role in the ecclesiastical aristocracy 'after the death of his wife' and 'putting his military belt aside'.²⁶ The description

²² Cassiodorus, *Variae* x. 29.1: 'generis tui honoranda nobilitas et magnae fidei documenta'.

²³ Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy*, pp. 50–78.

²⁴ *LPR*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis, (*CCCM*, cxix, Turnhout, 2006).

²⁵ *LPR* 5.1–2.

²⁶ 'post amissam coniugem, relictum militiae cingulum' (*LPR* 84.6). Agnellus of Ravenna, *The Book of Pontiffs*, p. 98. When Agnellus was composing his work, possession of a *cingulum militiae* was considered a sign of great status and high office. While laying down one's *cingulum* was considered a sign of penance by the 9th century, it was also a relatively standard (although uncommon) trope following conversion in hagiography, famously by Victricius of Rouen in the late 4th century. Other sources suggest that a man previously holding civil or military office might be ineligible for ordination and, by extension, episcopal office, although a great deal of evidence points to instances of those with curial positions becoming bishops after setting aside their civil authority (G. D. Dunn, 'Canonical legislation on the ordination of bishops: Innocent I's letter to Victricius of Rouen', in *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Leemans and others (Berlin, 2011), pp. 145–66, at pp. 159–62; C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: the Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley, Calif., 2005), pp. 204–7).

continued: he had ‘sprung from noble stock, wealthy in possessions, rich in animals, abounding in wealth’.²⁷ For Agnellus, these were the requirements for noble status, and it is likely that he had them in mind when he described the noble men sent by the exarch as messengers during the troubled archiepiscopate of Theodore.²⁸ The last archbishop Agnellus described as a *nobilis* – Sergius, who oversaw the church of Ravenna from 744 to 769 and through the collapse of the Byzantine exarchate – was also described as having some aristocratic position before taking over the see. The *Liber Pontificalis* introduced him as being ‘young in age, short of body, smiling of face, pleasing of form, with grey eyes, sprung from most noble stock. He was a layman and had a wife’.²⁹ Agnellus took no issue with this marital status (Sergius consecrated his wife as deaconess after he became archbishop), and although his episcopate was marred by the political conflicts between the Lombards, Franks and the papacy, and a rivalry with Rome itself that led to the despoliation of the church’s treasures by Pope Stephen, he was celebrated for taking over the political governance of the city after the Lombards’ defeat, at which point he ‘ruled everything like an exarch’.³⁰

In more general terms, Agnellus of Ravenna categorized the people of Ravenna into two groups: the nobles and the commons, *nobiles* and *ignobiles*.³¹ In this organization, the *nobiles* bore not only the weight of their rank but also civic responsibilities, and were often also called *proceres*. The use of this latter term connoted a position of leadership tied to their civic authority, an inference supported by Agnellus’s use of *nobiles* to describe a group of Ravennate notables (*Rauennenses iudices*) who were imprisoned in Rome for an alleged plot against the pope during the episcopate of Sergius.³²

Although both Cassiodorus and Agnellus showed interest in the aristocracies of their respective periods and presented internally consistent views on their status, there is little to be gleaned from their writings as to the evolution from the segregated Ostrogothic and Roman aristocracies in late antique Italy to the homogeneous nobility in ninth-century Ravenna. Given the limitations of literary texts on the specifics of the local Ravennate

²⁷ ‘Ex nobili ortus prole, diues in possessionibus, animalibus locuples, abundans opibus’, *LPR* 84.11–3. Agnellus of Ravenna, *The Book of Pontiffs*, p. 198.

²⁸ ‘Patricius uero subito misit nobiles uiros’ (*LPR* 122.270).

²⁹ ‘Iuuenis aetate, breuis corpore, ridens facie, decorus forma, glaucis oculis, nobilissimis ortus natalibus. Iste laicus fuit et sponsam habuit’ (*LPR* 154.1–3, translation, p. 278).

³⁰ ‘exarchus sic omnia disponebat’ (*LPR* 159.3).

³¹ *LPR* 129.155

³² ‘In the late seventh and eighth centuries the coalescence between social pre-eminence and military office-holding had become so complete that *iudices* became a collective term for the highest stratum of society’ (Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, p. 12).

aristocracies and nobilities, the evidence of land donation and the creation of legal documents provides a much clearer lens through which to examine the process of integration, homogenization and status in the aristocracy of Ravenna.

Land exchange and aristocracy in the seventh and eighth centuries

Most of the actors in the land exchanges in Ravenna from the seventh and eighth centuries are known only through the single instances of their donations and leases or in service as witnesses. Documents were preserved in far greater numbers in the ninth and tenth centuries, and more patterns become visible as individual members of the local elite begin to appear in multiple records as donors, recipients, lenders, lessees and witnesses or as memorialized deceased.

The categories of documents under review here, the legal records of land exchange, whether temporary or permanent, provide glimpses into the aristocracy of the exarchate in Ravenna, its interests and the networks visible in those selected to witness the legal proceeding and subscribe to the documents. A number of problems are associated with interpreting these papyrus and parchment records of sales, donations, wills and grants of emphyteutic leases or *livelli* (long-term leases of land in exchange for payment, maintenance of the land or its improvement) connected to Ravenna and its church, since only a limited number survive. For the sake of comparison: for the seventh century eight records associated with land exchange have survived, all of them donations; for the entire eighth century only five are known, of which two are very fragmentary, one is a lease, and three are donations; for the ninth century, when papyrus gave way to parchment, there are thirty-four. Once we conceptualize these documents as tools for identifying members of the local aristocracy and their families, however, we are faced with the problem of determining what exactly in the exchange defines their status: the properties and land involved, the parties to the exchange or the witnesses collected.³³

At a quick glance, many property transactions must be treated tentatively; few donations or sales adequately describe the quantities of land involved, and while some leases are taken by those of high standing, at least in terms of title, other individuals requesting leases of land are described as *coloni* by the ninth century, when those documents became common. Given the prices for rents in lease agreements, some of these exchanges do suggest that the buyer, seller, donor, lender or lessee were members of the local aristocracy

³³ On the use of emphyteutic leases in Ravenna and Romagna, see F. Theisen, *Studien zur Emphyteuse in ausgewählten italienischen Regionen des 12. Jahrhunderts: Verrechtlichung des Alltags?* (Frankfurt, 2003), pp. 34–44.

defined in terms of their monetary wealth or land-holdings. Looking back to the donations preserved from the period of the exarchate, some could possibly have been the gifts of aristocratic individuals. Yet the documents do not allow us to view more than a hint of the gifts being presented to the church of Ravenna: at the end of the sixth century, the freedwoman Sisivera bequeathed a portion of the *fundus* called *Balonianus*; Iohannis, a former *spatharius* to a *magister militum*, offered half of all his worldly possessions; and a Neapolitan Greek named Stephanus gave property in and around the city of Gubbio.³⁴

In these documents, the more important variables are the titles and positions still referring to actual roles in the administration of the exarchate claimed by or assigned to those involved in the exchanges, as well as those requested as witnesses and to authenticate the gifts and receipts. The overall pattern visible in the networks documented in the subscriptions to these wills and donations is that, during the later exarchate, Ravenna's aristocracy was composed primarily of those who dominated the military and administrative elite. They tended to exist in networks of those holding similar positions and status, though were not limited to them, and often formed bonds which stretched across the spectrum of elites. On the other hand, some forms of identity, such as a Greek linguistic or ethnic identity, seemed to be far less important than social rank or occupation.

A good example is demonstrated in a donation dated to 639 by Paulacis to the church of Ravenna. Although Paulacis received money in exchange for his land in the arrangement known as *launegild*, that is, the provision of offering a counter-gift to conclude a donation, the example fits well the societal model described above: Paulacis was a soldier and used witnesses almost exclusively from within the ranks of the military and surviving members of the late Roman administration.³⁵ The only surviving sections of the document are the subscriptions of the witnesses who attest that Paulacis gave to the church of Ravenna a three-twelfths share of a *fundus* known as

³⁴ *P. Ital.* 20, 16 and 18–19, respectively. The example of the donation of Stephanus is also significant as it seems to mark the end of the church of Ravenna's importance in terms of its influence on Italy as a whole, at least as far as we can tell from the surviving documentary sources. This Ravennate record is the only one with a donor from Naples, and the last written in Rome. After this 7th-century example, all the donations are recorded in Ravenna or in the Pentapolis where the Ravennate archbishop continued to exert great influence.

³⁵ *P. Ital.* 22. Although rarely described as such, a number of the donations to the church of Ravenna include some form of counter-gift (even if only *pro anima*), however its existence has been seldom noticed. On the function and appearance of *launegild* in neighbouring regions, see C. Wickham, 'Compulsory gift exchange in Lombard Italy, 650–1150', in *The Language of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 193–216.

Terriaticus, that he received thirty-six *solidi* in the presence of Iohannes, the leader of the *numerus Argentensium* (a local military unit comprising 200–400 men) and that this was done in the municipal archive. A basic soldier's yearly salary in the sixth century would have been between ten and fourteen *solidi*, and likely would have remained so in the early seventh century, making a sale of thirty-six *solidi* a large amount, and implying that the entire *fundus* would have been worth 144 *solidi*.³⁶

Paulacis was a member of another local military unit, the *numerus Arminiorum*, one of the many that flourished in this period of the exarchate.³⁷ There was also a hereditary aspect to his military service, as his father was Stefanus, a lower-ranking military officer who belonged to the *numerus Veronensium*.³⁸ To witness his donation, he assembled a group with representatives from both the military and bureaucratic administrations: Theodoracis, a soldier and former clerk of the *numerus Arminiorum*; Iohannes, a retiree from military service with the title of *devotus*; Vitalianus, a former *numerarius* (clerk) of the regional tax office (*scrinia canonum*); Germanus, a short-hand scribe or official assigned to the *praefectus*; and Theodorus, who was assistant to a *numerarius*. Although the extent of the land being donated was presumably not large, this document demonstrates that in the sixth century some of the military classes were landowners and were deeply connected to the administrators and tax officials overseeing the civil bureaucracy of Byzantine Italy. While both the soldiers and officials may have operated in separate sections of the administration, as individuals they were members of Paulacis's circle, or perhaps that of his father, demonstrating the heritability not only of status within the elites of the exarchate in Ravenna, but also of the maintenance of elite networks by family connections.³⁹

The importance of the military caste in Ravenna persisted even after the end of direct Byzantine or exarchate control. Consider the case of Albano's gift: in the eighth century, more than a quarter-century after the

³⁶ Although the receipt of 36 *solidi*, and a gift of land of an equivalent amount, would have been valuable in this period, the sum pales in comparison to the donations of the middle of the 6th century, and in particular of Iulianus Argentarius, who spent more than 60,000 *solidi* on the church over a ten-year period (539–49) (see S. J. B. Barnish, 'The wealth of Iulianus Argentarius: late antique banking and the Mediterranean economy', *Byzantion*, lv (1985), 6–38, at p. 6). During this same period, commanders in Africa earned 1,582 *solidi* a year (although they had to pay their personal staff from this amount); see Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 124–5.

³⁷ On the role of the *numeri*, see Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 89–91.

³⁸ Stephanus held the rank of *primicerius*, 'an adjutant of a unit commander'; for the hierarchy of these lower-grade military offices, see Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 58–60.

³⁹ Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 61–80.

conquest of the city by the Lombards and its return to Roman control, a donation was made of which only a small fragment remains. This gift of one-twelfth of two *fundi* made by a free farmer (*agellarius*) named Albano was witnessed by five men, four of whom identified themselves in terms of their military positions: a *primicerius* of the *bandon Secundus*, a *domesticus* of the *numerus Invictus*, a soldier (*miles*) of the same unit, and a former *tribune* or commander of the *numerus Iuniorum*.⁴⁰ While the donation itself may have been small, and the former identity of Albano unknowable, the fact that high-ranking and retired officers were witnesses suggests cohesion within the military caste.

While these seventh- and eighth-century examples are unique in terms of the individuals involved in their creation and their terms, a comparison to the land exchanges of the ninth century not only shows the persistence of the same patterns of linked witnesses and ecclesiastical donations, but in addition sheds light on the way in which the elite ranks had been transformed. Soldiers and administrators had given way to local hereditary nobles with the collapse of the exarchate and perhaps under the influence of the Carolingians. Yet the surviving land exchanges in Ravenna in the seventh and eighth centuries reveal one lasting phenomenon: while the titles connected to the aristocracy, their civic functions and the hereditary nature of their possessions changed over time, there continued to be a pattern of insularity in the networks they made to formalize their legal documents.⁴¹

Confirming identity in the ninth and tenth centuries

In 893, a noble woman named Lucia, who had become a nun in the aftermath of her husband's death, donated the land of two *fundi* to another woman of high standing. She was Ingelrada (who is alternatively known as Angelrada in some documents).⁴² What tied these women was not just their status, as Lucia was the daughter of a *consul* named Paulus, and Ingelrada was a *comitessa*, wife of Duke Martinus of Ravenna and daughter of the *comes sacri palatii* Hucbald, but their common interest in monasticism: Lucia had become a nun, a title Ingelrada would later adopt as well. Three men were

⁴⁰ *Cart.Rav. VIII-IX*, no. 6. On the definition of *agellarius* in these papyri, see Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, p. 200.

⁴¹ Another important shift is that by the 8th century, the church of Ravenna tends to lease territory outside Ravenna to those living nearby, as 'the archbishop of Ravenna's land in Rimini was leased to notables from Rimini, that in Senigallia to notables from Senigallia' (Wickham, 'Social structures in Lombard Italy', in *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest*, ed. G. Ausenda, P. Delogu and C. Wickham (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 118-48, at p. 119).

⁴² *Cart.Rav. VIII-IX*, no. 47.

asked to witness this exchange, through a charter which is 'signed' by Lucia, each of them representing what had become a noble family at the end of the ninth century: Romaldus, a *dux*; Anastasius, a *consul*; and Iohannes, a *magister militum*. While all three titles, *consul*, *dux* and *magister militum*, have their roots in Roman administration and military affairs, by this point their functions had completely diverged from their original late antique origins, and the men who held these posts at the end of the ninth century were perceived to do so hereditarily (although this was not explicit).⁴³

The figures who assisted in the witnessing of this document merit further investigation, as they all represent early members of a newly emerged nobility holding office hereditarily. In addition to the title of *dux*, Romaldus was presented as 'the son of Sergius', who had himself been a *dux*; Romaldus's descendants formed two clans of hereditary *duces*, the Romualdi and the Sergii, based in Romagna throughout the eleventh century at least.⁴⁴ The second witness, Anastasius, was only a *consul*, the lowest of the new hereditary titles, yet still became the progenitor of a line of consuls and was the son of a Constantius Blancus, who also held the title *consul*. Anastasius's family was not without members of higher ranks, as he was also the nephew of Leo, a *magister militum* who founded a ducal line known as the '*duces Deusdedit*' which eventually became intertwined with the ducal Traversaria clan. The third witness, the *magister militum* Iohannes, was Leo's son and Anastasius's cousin.⁴⁵ The recording of this simple gift of land brought together the early members of the most important noble families in Ravenna: the Guidi (through Ingelrada), the Sergii (through Romaldus), the *duces* Deusdedit and the consuls. Although each would continue to play varying roles in the city's development during the regional instability of the late ninth and early tenth centuries with differing degrees of success, the records of land transfers, gifts and other legal documents point to the fact that their interests frequently intersected.

The example above suggests that by this time a strong degree of aristocratic exclusiveness already existed, with local nobles serving as witnesses to each other's transactions, and the political changes in the tenth century provided further groundwork for this new nobility to become entrenched. This is perhaps nowhere as clear as in the appearance of a new form of hereditary identity in the legal documents of the period which heralded a significant change in the mentality behind nobility and the shift to a hereditary

⁴³ In the documentary texts from Ravenna (both late papyri and parchment), names of Greek origin are frequently written in alternative forms, such as Anastasius for Anastasius.

⁴⁴ G. Buzzi, 'Ricerche per la storia di Ravenna e di Roma dell' 850 al 1118', *Archivio della reale societa Romana di storia patria*, xxxviii (1915), 107–213, at pp. 198–201.

⁴⁵ Buzzi, 'Ricerche per la storia di Ravenna e di Roma', pp. 202–3.

aristocracy. In a range of documents produced in Ravenna, in addition to the signs of inherited ethnicity known from earlier documents and throughout Europe, such as *ex genere francorum* or *ex nationi Langobardorum*, a new kind of phrase was adopted to indicate inherited nobility: *ex genere ducum*, *ex genere magistri militum*, and *ex genere consulis*.⁴⁶ These three phrases do not appear in a large number of documents, or for a wide range of individuals, but in the last four decades of the tenth century they are used with enough frequency to warrant more substantial examination here.

Two of the earliest examples of this new statement of heredity appeared in imperially sponsored charters. In an imperial legal judgment issued in Ravenna on 16 July 983, to affirm the ownership of three plots of land illegally held by a man called Constantius but owned by the monastery of Santa Maria on the island of Serra, one of the witnesses called by Otto II was listed as *Paulus Christo miserante diaconus ex genere ducum* ('Paul, by the mercy of Christ deacon and of the family line of dukes').⁴⁷ Paul was clearly not a duke, although some of those present during the creation of the *placitum* who were acting as witnesses held the title, including Peter and Paul of Traversaria and Romualdus, from whom ducal families were established.⁴⁸ In a second charter, which reaffirmed the granting of a lease, issued by Otto III in 1001 in Ravenna, in addition to the many clerics, monks, abbots and various imperial and local officials, the following individuals can be found: Farualdus who is called Paul, '*iudex* and from the family of dukes'; Peter, a judge, and 'the son of the deceased Paul from the family of dukes who was called de Traversaria'; and a local scribe named Andreas who was described as *ex genere consulum*.⁴⁹ Clearly the second example of Peter, the son of Paul of Traversaria who was recorded in the *placitum* of 983, further suggests that in Ravenna certain families began to articulate the *idea* of holding the title of duke as a part of hereditary patrimony, even if they themselves did not hold that title, as in the case of Farualdus and Peter.

From the entire corpus of surviving imperial charters, these are the only two documents which contain this type of hereditary notation, sharing both the location where they were produced (Ravenna) and many of the same families. At a more local level, a series of leases from Ravenna (Table 10.1) suggests that those who held these three hereditary titles were part of

⁴⁶ The phrasing is common in Ravenna only in reference to these families, while appearing rarely in other Italian contexts.

⁴⁷ *MGH DD OII/OIII*, n. 315, p. 372. In the *MGH* edition, Farualdus appears as Tarualdus, although this is likely incorrect.

⁴⁸ 'Petrus dux de Traversaria et Paulus item dux consanguineus ... Romualdus dux'. Another witness is described as 'Iohannes genere consulibus', and while the grammatical construction is different, the idea of hereditary position is not.

⁴⁹ *MGH DD OII/OIII*, n. 369, p. 828.

Nobility, aristocracy and status in early medieval Ravenna

a small group, with each member being active in the lending of land either as a witness, or in the case of Petrus in the 980s, as a scribe.

Table 10.1. Appearance of hereditary titles in the charters from Ravenna (tenth century)

[the titles and names given here are in the forms the documents employ]

Date	Document type	Name and identity (and role)
1 Feb. 972	emphyteutic lease request	<i>Iohannes Dei nutu ex genere consulis et tabellio</i> (witness) ⁵⁰
30 Apr. 972	emphyteutic lease request	<i>Andreas et ex genere dux</i> (witness) ⁵¹
13 Aug. 972	emphyteutic lease request	<i>Andreas ex genere militum</i> (witness) ⁵²
1 Nov. 972	emphyteutic lease request	<i>Andreas ex genere magistri militum</i> (witness) ⁵³
11 May 973	donation	<i>Andreas ex genere magistri militum</i> and <i>Petrus filius quondam Andreas ex genere ducum</i> , (witnesses) ⁵⁴
1 Aug. 973	emphyteutic lease request	<i>Andreas ex genere magistri militum</i> and <i>Andreas ex genere dux</i> (witnesses) ⁵⁵
[974–5]	emphyteutic lease request	<i>Iohannes Dei nutu ex genere consulis et tabellio</i> (witness) ⁵⁶
[975–6]	emphyteutic lease request	<i>Iohannes Dei nutu ex genere consulis et tabellioni</i> (witness) ⁵⁷
19 May 977	emphyteutic lease request	<i>Petrus filio condam Pauli ex genere ducis</i> (witness) ⁵⁸
23 June 977	emphyteutic lease request	<i>nobiles viri Ronaldo et Andreas germani ex genere magistri militum</i> (requestors) ⁵⁹
[ante 978?]		<i>Faraldus filius Pauli ex genere duci atque dativi</i> and <i>Petrus filius quondam Pauli ex genere ducis</i> (witnesses) ⁶⁰
5 Sept. 980	emphyteutic lease request	<i>Paulus filius quondam Pauli ex genere ducis</i> (witness) ⁶¹

⁵⁰ *Cart. Rav. X*, no. 158.

⁵¹ *Cart. Rav. X*, no. 159.

⁵² *Cart. Rav. X*, no. 166.

⁵³ *Cart. Rav. X*, no. 173

⁵⁴ *Regesto di S. Apollinare Nuovo*, ed. V. Frederici (Rome, 1907) at no. 2 (hereafter *Reg. Apollinare Nuovo*).

⁵⁵ *Cart. Rav. X*, no. 176.

⁵⁶ *Cart. Rav. X*, no. 189.

⁵⁷ *Cart. Rav. X*, no. 190.

⁵⁸ *Cart. Rav. X*, no. 198.

⁵⁹ *Cart. Rav. X*, no. 201.

⁶⁰ *Le Carte del Monastero di S. Andrea Maggiore di Ravenna*, ed. G. Muzzioli (Rome, 1961) (hereafter *Cart. S. Andrea*, no. 29).

⁶¹ *Cart. Rav. X*, no. 215.

Ravenna: its role in earlier medieval change and exchange

22 May 982	emphyteutic lease request	<i>Petrus filio Andra genere magister militum</i> (witness) ⁶²
25 Sept. 982	<i>livello</i>	<i>Petrus Dei nutu ex genere consulis et tabellionem</i> (scribe) ⁶³
982	emphyteutic lease agreement	<i>Andreas ex genere magistris militum</i> (witness) ⁶⁴
19 Apr. 988	<i>livello</i> request	<i>Petrus Dei nutu ex genere consulis et tabellionem</i> (witness) ⁶⁵
17 May 988	<i>livello</i>	<i>Petrus Dei nutu ex genere consulis et tabellionem</i> (scribe) ⁶⁶
23 May 993	emphyteutic lease request	<i>Ioannis qui vocatur Bonizoni ex genere consolis</i> <i>negociator</i> (witness) ⁶⁷
[993?]	<i>livello</i>	<i>Petrus Dei nutu ex genere consulis et tabellionem</i> (scribe) ⁶⁸
4 Sept. 993	<i>livello</i>	<i>Petrus Dei nutu ex genere consulis et tabellionem</i> (scribe) ⁶⁹

Unlike the imperial charters, the local documents from Ravenna which survive are all preserved leases (with the exception of the donation in 973). Furthermore, these documents note quite similar land exchanges between various locals and the church of Ravenna or its local monasteries, in which either members of the local nobility or scribes with claims to inherited titles, serve to legitimate the requests or agreements. The request for an emphyteutic lease from November 972 is a good example: in it, a group of *coloni* led by Bonizo, with their extended families, request areas of two *fundi* in exchange for twelve *denarii* a year from the church of Ravenna's holding.⁷⁰ The document was written by a *notarius* of the church of Ravenna named Deusdedit and signed by a certain Bonizo as a representative of the group of *coloni* together with three witnesses: Rodaldus, a *magister militum*, Andreas *ex genere magistris militum* and Rodaldus, presumably the son of the first Rodaldus. Like many of the other grants or requests for an emphyteutic grant or *livello* from Ravenna in the tenth century, only one part of the process survives; likewise in its form, content, and in the individuals who take part in its creation, Bonizo's request is representative of these documents.

⁶² *Cart. Rav. X*, no. 225.

⁶³ *Cart. S. Andrea*, no. 39.

⁶⁴ *Reg. Apollinare Nuovo*, no. 5.

⁶⁵ *Cart. S. Andrea*, no. 42.

⁶⁶ *Cart. S. Andrea*, no. 43.

⁶⁷ *Cart. Rav. X*, no. 256.

⁶⁸ *Cart. S. Andrea*, no. 46.

⁶⁹ *Cart. S. Andrea*, no. 47.

⁷⁰ *Cart. Rav. X*, no. 173.

A unique trend appearing in these examples of the use of the formula 'ex genere' is the prominence of the lesser 'title', *ex genere consulis*. While the title of *consul* reflects a 'respect for Roman traditions' in common with the other titles used in the tenth century, by the early eighth century it had been significantly devalued, although often held simultaneously with that of *dux* in Byzantine Italy. By the end of that century, however, it was also being used by notaries.⁷¹ After that time, its original meaning and earlier military use was lost in favour of a lower aristocratic status designation. In the examples here, those with a broad range of occupations are assigned the hereditary rank of *ex genere consulis*, including the rather ignoble jobs of scribe and merchant (*negociator*). They also only barely qualified as members of the nobility, if at all. Perhaps because it offered a small dignity to those for whom actual elite status was a distant possibility, this particular hereditary indicator of *ex genere consulis* survived long after *ex genere ducum* fell out of fashion in the early eleventh century. It continued to appear throughout that century in relation to the scribes who maintained this hereditary legacy and who were frequently called on both to record and to witness documents.

Hereditary nobility and German integration in the ninth and tenth centuries

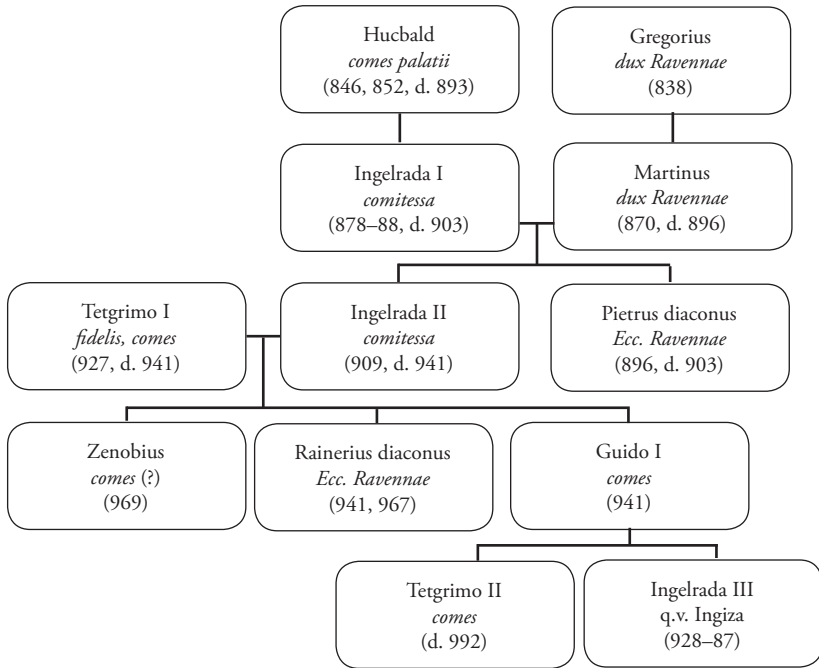
In addition to the establishment of local noble and quasi-noble lines, during the ninth and tenth centuries Ravenna also witnessed the arrival and settlement of Franks, some of whom became intertwined with local nobility. The process of integration of these immigrants, who brought with them separate status qualifiers, into the community, and its long-term effects, were important in establishing other signs of nobility and identity in the city. The most prominent example of this is the appearance and activity of the family descended from the *dux* Gregory (*fl.* 838–58), the father of Martin (also a *dux* of Ravenna) and father-in-law of Ingelrada, and their descendants who occupied major positions as *comites*, *duces*, deacons and abbots in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Another example, this time from the twelfth century, was the family later known as the Guidi, who were based in hereditary holdings in the Apennines.

The family of the *dux* Gregorius epitomized the nature of noble families in Ravenna, as it was deeply entrenched in the Byzantine heritage of Ravenna and its traditional aristocracy, but was also firmly connected to

⁷¹ Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 134–9. See also V. Franchini, 'Il titolo di consul in Ravenna: a traverso l'alto medio evo', *Bulletino della Società Filologica Romana*, ix (1908), 33–44.

new Frankish immigrants linked to branches of the ruling Carolingian-descended families. While the land exchanges show the interconnectedness of noble families on a local level, a short overview of the history of one family demonstrates the changing dynamics of the nobility in Ravenna with its political realignment from Constantinople to the Carolingians. In particular, the strategies for marriage and the patterns of integration of recent immigrants from beyond the Alps can now be seen in the records.

Figure 10.1. Stemma of the family of the *dux* Gregory



Of *dux* Gregory's origins, we know nothing. He first appears as a witness in a *placitum* of 838, issued in Rovigo and Ravenna, against Bruning (an imperial vassal) awarding contested property to the church of S. Apollinare in a case brought by and won by Archbishop George of Ravenna.⁷² The four men who witnessed this document were also local, and their participation

⁷² The judges were Teodorus, a bishop and papal *missus*, Vuitgherio, the bishop of Torino, and Count Adelghiso, both *missi* of the emperor (*Cart. Rav.* VIII–IX, no. 11).

was crucial for the efficacy of the judgement; it was not enough to reaffirm the church's possession of land, but it had to have been done in the presence of Ravenna's leading citizens. Unfortunately, Gregory does not appear again in the documentary records until 858, when he was the possible beneficiary of a renunciation of a claim to land, and perhaps witnessed a judgement produced between 850 and 859 during the episcopate of Archbishop John.⁷³ Neither of these documents gives any indication as to his role in the city, other than his network of relationships to other dukes and local and regional nobles; it is only from later sources memorializing his life or affirming the hereditary line of his heirs that we know the name of his wife (Valbesinda or alternatively Albesinda), and that his son, Martin, also took the title of duke.⁷⁴

Rather than tie Martin to the other nascent and newly established noble families of Ravenna, it can be observed that he married the daughter of the *comes sacri palatii* Hucbald, who may have arrived in Italy as early as the 830s. By the 850s, Hucbald had established his family in various important posts: his son, also named Hucbald, was given the same position and held sway in Tuscany; his first daughter, Berta, was made the abbess of the convent of S. Andrea, while his other daughter, Ingelrada, was selected as a match for Martin.⁷⁵

As a pair, the *dux* Martin and *comitessa* Ingelrada were presumably active in Ravenna's political realm, given the nobles who had been called to witness their legal documents; and even before Martin's death in 896,

⁷³ *Cart. Rav.* XIII–XI, nos. 18 and 19. All that survives of the former document are the signed statements of the parties and the witnesses, which say nothing of the territory or the details of the dispute; the latter, like the first document in which Gregory appears, is a judgement in favour of the church of Ravenna authored by the imperial *missus* which affirmed the church as the rightful owner of a property occupied by a number of men from Comacchio.

⁷⁴ In a now-lost deed of sale from the mid 9th century, presumably after the death of Gregory, Valbesinda gave to her son Martin a large number of properties throughout Emilia (*Cart. Rav.* VIII–IX, no. 14). Valbesinda may have been the sister of Petrus, a *magister militum* (R. Savigni, 'La Chiesa di Rimini nella tarda antichità e nell'alto Medioevo', in *Storia della chiesa riminese, i: Dalle origini all'anno mille*, ed. R. Savigni (Rimini, 2010), pp. 29–68, at p. 58).

⁷⁵ On Hucbald and his impact in Italy, see E. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774–962)* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1960), pp. 204–6; R. Rinaldi, 'Le origini dei Guidi nelle terre di Romagna', *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel medioevo: Marchesi, conti, e visconti nel Regno Italico (secc. IX–XII)* (Rome, 1996), pp. 211–40, at pp. 218–21; R. Rinaldi, 'Esplorare le origini: note sulla nascita e l'afferazione dell stirpe comitale', in *La lunga storia di una stirpe comitale: I conti Guidi tra Romagna e Toscana*, ed. F. Canaccini (Florence, 2009), pp. 19–46, at pp. 26–9.

Ingelrada independently acted as a conduit for land transfers and leases.⁷⁶ This is first documented in a donation from 893, when she received land from the nun Lucia; although Martin was named in the donation as her husband, he was not party to the agreement.⁷⁷ In 896 after Martin's death, Ingelrada gave her son Peter, a deacon in the church of Ravenna, a large number of properties in the areas of Faenza, Forli, Ravenna, Comacchio, Ferrara, Gavello and even Tuscany, as well as the monasteries of S. Eufemia and S. Tomasso in Rimini and several houses in Ravenna.⁷⁸ The importance of this donation, a sizeable inheritance, is further suggested by the range of witnesses to the donation; the first was Adelengo, who described himself as *ex genere Francorum*, and his appearance in this document reaffirms Ingelrada's background as well as the status of Peter, who through his father presumably had local connections and status, and through his mother a claim of continued 'Frankish'-ness. The other witnesses include a Natalis *dux*, Peter *dux* and *iudex*, a deacon Peter, two consuls, Gregory son of Peter, and Martin. Though little is known about their status and lineage based on their subscriptions, from their titles we can assume that they were representative of the local nobility.⁷⁹

Ingelrada appeared as an actor in land transfers on three more occasions, when she received a donation from the *consul* Aldo in 901, was granted a lease on the monastery of S. Ermete and its territories in 909, and was the grantor of another lease of half a *fundus* in the territory of Rimini the following year.⁸⁰ Each of these leases took the form of a *livello*, a fixed-term lease of generally twenty-nine years; two copies were made of the concession agreement, which often served as a mark of ownership of land if other transfer agreements or proof of sale or donation were not available. Unlike donations or sales, *livelli* were not witnessed and only bore the signature of the lender; nevertheless, they can be used to assess at least the economic and practical relationships between the lender and the lessee. For example, the *livello* of 909, like Ingelrada's gift to her son Peter, suggests her continued contact with the newly integrated arrivals from the north and their descendants. In this case, the grantor of the lease was Adamo, who was

⁷⁶ D. Herlihy, 'Land, family and women in continental Europe, 701-1200', *Traditio*, xviii (1962), 89-120, at pp. 105-8.

⁷⁷ *Cart. Rav.* VIII-IX, no. 47.

⁷⁸ *Cart. Rav.* VIII-IX, no. 54; some of the property, including the Monastery of S. Tomasso, had been part of the Valbesinda's gift to Martinus.

⁷⁹ No witness to this donation seems to appear in other documents from Ravenna, although a duke named Natalis is a witness in a synod which transfers land from the bishop of Ferrara to the archbishop of Ravenna in 955 (*Cart. Rav.* X, no. 86).

⁸⁰ *Cart. Rav.* X, nos. 2, 15, 17.

accorded the title of *inlustris vir* within the *livello* and gave his lineage as the son of the deceased Milteo *ex genere Francorum*. Although nothing else is known about Adamo, his title and his ethnic modifier would have placed him in the same category as Ingelrada and her children, among those who traced their lineage to the Franks, used the honorifics common to Italy, and held land.

Adalengo and Adamo were not the only recent arrivals with whom Ingelrada had dealings, as she was able to find a match for her daughter from within the same group in the shape of a *comes* named Tetgrimo (also known as Teudigrimo and later Tegrinus), following a pattern of marriages to newly arrived Franks, as Ingelrada herself had done. Although details of his background are unknown, Tetgrimo first appears as the recipient of a royal donation in 927.⁸¹ Through this gift he secured hereditary rights over the royal monastery of S. Salvatore in Agna (located outside Pistoia) from the recently crowned king of Italy, Hugh of Provence, who addressed him as 'beloved and faithful compatriot'.⁸² Perhaps more telling evidence of his origins is that the grant of this monastery was made at the request of Alda, Hugh's second wife, who is described by Liudprand of Cremona as being *ex Francorum genere Teutonicorum*, 'from the people of the German Franks'.⁸³ Even in the muddled context of this document it seems clear that although Tetgrimo was a newcomer to Italy, he had allies in the Carolingian kingdom of Italy and ties to noble lines in Germany, and would eventually become a member of the local Ravennate nobility through his marriage to Ingelrada the younger.

Nothing else is known about Tetgrimo's marriage to Ingelrada the younger, and he disappears as an active player in the texts and charters directly after the imperial grant of 927. His name does, however, reappear in a flurry of documents issued in the early 940s by his sons, Count Guido and Deacon Rainerius of the church of Ravenna, who both engaged in large-scale donations in Tuscany. At this point, as far as the sources are concerned, this family returns to a relatively homogeneous local nobility, and the strategy of marriages to new noble immigrants disappears in favour of maintaining diverse holdings in both Romagna and Tuscany within the framework of local nobilities. In parallel, the direct statement of Frankish

⁸¹ *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berenario II e di Adalberto*, i, ed. L. Schiaparelli (Rome, 1924), 29–32.

⁸² 'Tetgrimo dilecto compatri et fideli nostro', in Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario*, i. 31.

⁸³ 'Hic [Ugo] ex Francorum genere Teutonicorum uxorem acceperat nomine Aldam' (Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, ed J. Becker, *Liudprandi Opera, MGH SRG*, xli (Hanover, 1915), iii. 20, p. 82).

identity demonstrated by *ex Francorum genere*, while rare to begin with in Ravenna, disappeared from the documents in the tenth century, with two exceptions, while the honorifics, military titles and family relationships continued to be used throughout those centuries.⁸⁴

In fact, the only element of 'Frankish' identity which remained after the middle of the tenth century was onomastic although, even within patterns of naming, local transformations took place. For example, among the descendants of Ingelrada and Martin, the names Ingelrada and Tetgrimus continued to appear, although after a point they came to be somewhat Romanized, with Ingelrada shortened to Ingiza within one generation, and the name Tetgrimus becoming Tegrimus.⁸⁵ While the name Ingelrada had ceased to be used by the middle of the eleventh century, Tegrimus continued to be common within the Guidi family up to the thirteenth century, when, for example, Guido VII (also known as Guido Guerra III) gave the name Tegrimus (V) to one of his sons, who became the first of the counts of Modigliana and Porciano.

Before going further, the reasons behind the joining of the family of *Dux* Gregory to that of Hucbald in the middle of the ninth century, and the marriage of Ingelrada to Tetgrimus in the following generation, need to be made clear. These two marriages mark a turn in the nature of the local nobility towards integrating new Carolingian families into those already established in Ravenna, and thence challenging the impregnability of the Ravennate elite.

For the *Dux* Gregory, legitimizing the heritability of the ducal title may have led directly to the marriage arrangement between his son Martin and

⁸⁴ The last appearance of the designation of '*francorum*' relates to Esmido, who describes himself as *nacioni Francorum*. From Esmido himself, there are two requests for emphyteutic leases from Archbishop Peter, one in 949 or 950 and the other in 967 (*Cart. Rav. X*, nos. 69, 133). The first document is unique in that it actually includes the witnesses collected by Esmido who were not from Ravenna (and not necessary). In addition, although their names do not survive in the document, all three are defined solely by *nacioni Langobardorum*; as no other information is available, the social status of all three witnesses and Esmido is uncertain. Esmido appears again, although only as part of the identity of his son, Tetbaldus, *filio Esmidonis ex genere Francorum*, 'son of Esmido from the people of the Franks'. He is described as a *nobilis vir*, who made a request for an emphyteutic lease from the archbishop Honestus of Ravenna with his wife Amelgarda and their (or possibly only her) brothers in 979 (*Cart. Rav. X*, no. 211). Although he is called a *nobilis vir*, it is unclear whether he lived in Ravenna or was a member of its local nobility. The second instance follows the example of Tetbaldus, where a certain Vualingo requests a lease of a *fundus* from Onestus in 981, and is identified as *filio quondam Tedmarii ex genere Francorum*, 'son of the deceased Tedmarius from the people of the Franks' (*Cart. Rav. X*, no. 221).

⁸⁵ On the onomastic considerations of naming and identity and the Frankish origins of Ingelrada and Tetgrimus, see W. Haubrichs's contribution to this volume.

the family of Hucbald, *comes sacri palatii*. This was because Hucbald, or his father of the same name active in Verona in the 820s, was probably a beneficiary of the seizure of Lombard property under Louis the Pious that began in 834, and the establishment of Frankish families like the Unruochings, Widonen and Supponids, with cognatic links to the Carolingians, as the ruling aristocracy.⁸⁶ Hucbald's presence in Tuscany and his land-holdings there, as well as his proximity to Ravenna and status within the kingdom of Italy, would have made him an exceptionally suitable ally if the position of Ravenna's 'hereditary *dux*' was challenged within the city itself.

In the following generation, early in the tenth century, a similarly advantageous position was likely sought by Tetgrimo through marriage to Martin's daughter Ingelrada II. As a Frank (or at least of Germanic origins) with holdings limited to Tuscany, Tetgrimo may have desired to increase his property by expanding into the territory of neighbouring Romagna. The territory of the Pentapolis was left relatively undisturbed and neither redistributed nor occupied by other Carolingian-connected families, as had occurred in the case of the former Lombard territories in the eighth and ninth centuries. The Pentapolis therefore remained territory into which expansion was possible without upsetting political balances within the Carolingian Italo-Frankish nobility. As with the marriage arranged between Hucbald's daughter and *Dux* Martin, the protagonists' proximity was the key to the success of their strategies: it was no coincidence that the children of Tetgrimo and Ingelrada II were active as patrons in both Romagna and Tuscany.

The family and descendants of *Dux* Gregory were not representative, however. In fact, few families and individuals in Ravenna took advantage of 'extra-territorial' marriage-alliances with non-Italians, or with Carolingian-connected families established in Tuscany or elsewhere during the middle of the eighth to the middle of the ninth century, perhaps because of the political conflicts and instability in Italy as a whole during that period. Nor did later ducal families, like the Traversaria, take up a strategy of marriage alliances with the new families, both Frankish and local, who were elevated during the reign of Otto I. While the Traversaria did enjoy local political power, they may have had little else to offer.

Ravenna's nobles and Otto I

While Ravenna's hereditary nobility was able to develop under the benign neglect of the various kings and pretenders during the first six decades of

⁸⁶ On these new noble dynasties and the ascendancy of the family of Berengar I, see B. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999), pp. 140–2.

the tenth century, the arrival of Otto I and his focus on Ravenna changed the status quo. Families who had once tied themselves to the Carolingians and their allies and descendants now found themselves without power and in direct conflict with Otto, who had been forced to deal harshly with his rivals and opponents and their allies north of the Alps since his coronation in 936. This was to have direct ramifications in Ravenna. With Otto's consolidation of his authority throughout the kingdom of Italy and with the eventual defeat of Berengar II, new local families were given positions of power, while some established families who had served or supported Berengar suffered both a loss of access to royal authority and a lack of position – or worse.

In the case of Ravenna, one of the clear winners was the family of the Traversaria, who were able to seize the hereditary status of *dux* and remain within the good graces of the Ottonian kings. Peter of Traversaria, the first member of that family to use the geographic identifier, is known from a judgement he ordered in 983, by which point the family had become well established. In addition to the Traversaria, many of the families represented by those who had witnessed Ingelrada's gift to her son Martin in 893 managed to take advantage of the Ottonians' interest in Ravenna successfully to reassert their own claims to land through leases and judgements, and at the same time to assume positions of de facto hereditary nobility.

On the other hand, the arrival of Otto I had a detrimental effect on the heirs of Tetgrimus and Ingelrada II, who became embroiled in a dispute with Peter IV, the long-reigning archbishop of Ravenna and supporter of Otto. An abbreviated timeline of the dispute runs as follows: in 963, Deacon Rainerius, son of Tetgrimus and Ingelrada II, and Count Tetgrimus II, Rainerius's nephew and Tetgrimus's grandson, donated reclaimed marshland (*ronco*) and saltworks to the archbishop of Ravenna. This donation, rather than being motivated by the donors' wish for spiritual benefits, seems to have been extracted from them under some duress 'for the diverted and overdue payments [owed to the Church]'.⁸⁷ The language of a penalty like this is unprecedented among donations to Ravenna. In 964, the situation worsened for Rainerius and Tetgrimus when the property was leased by the archbishop to a *negociator* Laurentius and his wife Elizabeth, and the land recorded as having been a donation for the spiritual benefit of Ingelrada: a misrepresentation surely intended to slight her and her family.⁸⁸ This episode, and the friction between a faction of Ravennate nobles and Archbishop Peter, who was from Bologna and had been a longstanding

⁸⁷ 'pro diversis et preteritis pensionibus' (*Cart. Rav.* X, no. 109).

⁸⁸ *Cart. Rav.* X, no. 116.

supporter of Otto, came to a head in 965. The archbishop was captured by Rainerius and imprisoned, the episcopal palace sacked and documents purposefully destroyed. In April 967, while residing in Ravenna, Otto I issued a *placitum* depriving Rainerius of his property and awarding it as compensation to Peter.⁸⁹

While the fortunes of the family which descended from Duke Gregory did not prosper in Ravenna after the arrival of Otto in 951, its members still survived in the Apennines until the fourteenth century as the Guidi.⁹⁰ Perhaps the family fared worse than others in that it had relied on the strategy of marriage to recent Frankish arrivals with royal connections, especially the *comes palatii* Hucbald and Tetgrimo, the friend of Hugh of Provence. Unlike the noble families who remained based in Ravenna, by seeking alliances through marriage into families in outlying regions, Gregory's descendants were able to preserve their status through significant shifts in Italy's political structure.

Conclusion

The transformation from Byzantine military aristocracy to northern Italian nobility in Ravenna was a gradual process interrupted by distinct changes catalysed through shifts in regional politics. Yet it suggests a great degree of stability and continuity within the upper echelons of society. Titles like *dux*, *magister militum* and *consul* remained essential parts of elite identity, at least so the written sources strongly imply, when the pseudo-senatorial honorifics like *vir clarissimus*, *inluster vir* or *nobilis vir* appeared alongside the titles once tied to military and administrative service in the exarchate. Local Ravennate families, emerging from the presumed political chaos of the late eighth and early ninth centuries, continued to dominate land exchanges in Ravenna, and continued to influence the archbishopric

⁸⁹ *Cart. Rav.* X, no. 128. This was a major case, and Otto's court included Pope John XIII, bishops and a diverse group of nobles in the service of Otto from across Italy, which the document describes as 'men of the Romans, Franks, Lombards and Saxons, and tribe of the Allemanni'. Otto also handled other political and legal matters while in Ravenna (see D. A. Warner, 'The representation of empire: Otto I at Ravenna 961–964 and 966–972', in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800–1500*, ed. B. Weiler and S. MacLean, (Turnhout, 2006)).

⁹⁰ On the Guidi in Tuscany, see L. Chiappelli, 'I conti Cadolingi, i conti Guidi, ed il comitatus Pistoriensis', *Bullettino storico pistoiese*, xxiv (1932), 117–34; C. Curradi, 'I conti Guidi nel secolo X', *Studi Romagnoli*, xxviii (1977), 17–64, 431–50; *La lunga storia di una stirpe comitale: I conti Guidi tra Romagna e Toscana*, ed. F. Canaccini (Florence, 2009); G. Pinto, 'La storiografia sui conti Guidi', in Canaccini, *La lunga storia*, pp. 1–17; and, still useful, L. Eckenstein, 'The Guidi and their relations with Florence', *EHR*, xiv (1899), 235–46.

through their donations and advocacy, and through inserting their scions into ecclesiastical and monastic life.

Despite these continuities through the period, two major political shifts fostered dramatic changes in the way local political power and authority could be expressed: these were the end of the exarchate in 751, and the arrival of Otto I two centuries later. With the disappearance of the Byzantine military hierarchy, the last tenuous ties to Constantinople were broken, and the locals of Ravenna, previously often at odds with the Greek exarchs placed over them, coalesced around families who had served in the military, yet had integrated into Italian society, coming to value the former roles of *dux*, *comes* and *magister militum* above specific military or cohort identification. The arrival of Otto in Ravenna and his activities thereafter caused further direct changes. The most visible were the short-lived claims to ducal or consular hereditary status, expressed in such phrases as *ex genere ducum* or *ex genere consulis*, that appeared in the years before Otto I's death. With these identifications, local Italian Ravennate nobles and aspirants to nobility sought to legitimate their hereditary positions through imitating the 'ethnic' hereditary identities found throughout Italy. In addition, those who traced their cognatic connections back to Frankish or Lombard royalty often claimed to be *ex genere francorum* or *langobardorum*. In the short and medium terms, the patterns of transformation from an aristocracy to a nobility that emerged in Ravenna differed from those in other Italian cities; and the stability of Ravenna's local Italian population and its unique position as a former imperial capital helped to produce an effect of continuity. With its integration into the kingdom of Italy, however, the changes in the elite of Ravenna ultimately began to mirror those across the region.

II. Charlemagne and Ravenna*

Jinty Nelson

This chapter focuses on a subject which, patchily documented though it is, has its own significance, both for what is revealed about Ravenna at a critical juncture in the city's history, and for what is implied about Charlemagne's interests *in urbe et orbe* – in the city and in his own wider world. Ravenna has tended to be seen as peripheral to the story of Charlemagne. My focus makes it central.

The evidence of the Codex Carolinus

The crucial evidence consists of letters sent by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne on, or including material about, the subject of Ravenna: four in 774–6, and three thereafter, in 783, 787 and 791. They are preserved in the Codex Carolinus (hereafter CC), a collection of 'all' the eighth-century letters from a series of popes to Frankish rule: the earliest is from Gregory III to Charles Martel (d. 741), the last from Hadrian (d. 795) to Charlemagne.¹ The original letters do not survive. What does survive is a single copy made c.840 probably at Cologne, said in a colophon to have been made from a copy produced for Charlemagne in 791.² Why this decision to copy? The colophon says it was 'because the originals were becoming unreadable' – they were made of papyrus which crumbles unless conditions are right.³ Were *all* the letters copied? It seems clear that they were not. Seven *deperdita*, that is, 'lost' letters, absent from the CC, are mentioned in one or another of the letters that are extant.⁴ An unknowable number of other letters may have been omitted.

* My thanks go to Simon MacLean and Jenny Davis for commenting on a draft of this chapter, and to Judith Herrin for scholarly comradeship, and friendship, over many years.

¹ MGH *Epistolae* III, ed. W. Gundlach (Berlin, 1892), 469–637, from the unique manuscript, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 449. Many of the letters dating to between 770 and 791 have been translated into or summarized in English by P. D. King, *Charlemagne. Translated Sources* (Kendal, 1987), pp. 269–307; and see his introductory comments at pp. 36–8. Understanding of the collection has recently been transformed by A. T. Hack, *Codex Carolinus: Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert* (2 vols., Päpste und Papsttum, xxxv, Stuttgart, 2006–7).

² Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, i. 60–6, 78–82.

³ Making this point at our 2013 colloquium, Salvatore Cosentino presented and discussed an instructive photo of Tjäder 49 (Marini 150; *ChLA*, XXIX, no. 885).

⁴ Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, ii. 952–6.

What were the principles of selection? They included the priorities of 791, as viewed at Charlemagne's court which was then in Regensburg.⁵ They divided what should be saved from what should be destroyed, what promised relevance to likely future options from what was of merely historic interest, what could be consulted and given ongoing publicity from what was too hot to handle, rather as Alcuin in 799 threw on the fire a letter from Rome he thought too dangerous to keep.⁶ In 791, Charlemagne's horizons had just recently expanded on two main fronts: in the south Benevento and its neighbours had become strategically more vital and more sensitive than before, while in the north-east, his realm, which since 788 embraced Bavaria, now abutted the empire of the Avars, more dangerously aggressive than for a very long time. Beyond, yet diplomatically linked with, both Beneventans and Avars was Byzantium, with urgent reasons for concern on those frontiers. Tectonic plates were shifting between Europe, Asia and Africa.

A sign of Charlemagne's extended interests was the production at his court in 791 of a parallel selection, now lost, but explicitly mentioned in the CC's colophon, of letters *de imperio*, 'from Byzantium'.⁷ If only it were still possible to view the overlap, on frontier zones, between the two selections of correspondence. Ravenna belonged in the area of overlap. It can be no more than a guess that the Byzantine letters about Ravenna were weightier in proportion to the total volume of correspondence than the papal ones. In both cases, historians looking to reconstruct the motivations of the principals ought to be as interested in the recipient's selections as in the senders' themes. A couple more points are worth noting: the scribe(s) of the lost 791 manuscript, or of the surviving copy, left out the dates, though modern scholars have been able to date a few precisely; and the scribes did not regard chronological order as a priority, though in some places there are signs of sequence.

⁵ That the CC was a selection from those held in the archive was argued in a still unpublished paper by Clemens Gantner at the Leeds International Medieval Congress in 2008 (see C. Gantner, 'The eighth-century papacy as cultural broker', in *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe 400–1000*, ed. C. Gantner, R. McKitterick and S. Meeder (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 245–91). For the king's residence in and near Regensburg in much of 791–3, see J. Nelson, 'Staging integration in Bavaria', in *Neue Wege der Frühmittelalterforschung: zu Ehren von Herwig Wolfram*, ed. M. Diesenberger and B. Zeller (Vienna, forthcoming 2016).

⁶ Alcuin, Ep. 184 (799), ed. E. Dümmler, MGH *Epp.* IV (Berlin, 1895), 309, 'sic tradita est [epistola] igni, ne aliquid scandali oriri potuisset'.

⁷ Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, i. 64. D. van Espelo, 'A testimony of Carolingian rule? The *Codex epistolaris carolinus*, its historical context, and the meaning of imperium', *Early Medieval Europe*, xxi (2013), 254–82, offers a useful synoptic view of early medieval meanings of *imperium*, but I am unpersuaded by her argument that *imperium* in the CC colophon means the territories under Charlemagne's rule and government.

These letters, like all letters, have the charm of capturing precise moments: even if it is often unclear exactly when those moments were, their senders were unaffected by hindsight. For Ravenna in the early 770s, the papal letters are the nearest to contemporary information we have. Best not to think of them as factual records, then, but more like dispatches from a war zone: versions of reality as seen by ‘us’ – that’s the papal ‘we’, the successor to St. Peter and our entourage – in a time of high hopes, for Charlemagne’s conquest of Italy promised protection of papal interests, but also of great anxiety. Hadrian faced so many known unknowns, and it was too soon to say whether the conquest would stick and, if so, what the Franks would make of it. Extreme tendentiousness and rhetorical colouring are qualities that send coded messages of their own. These letters’ purpose is to respond to messages from Charlemagne and/or elicit responses from him. His attitude to the papacy was paradoxical: he could be a tough customer in dealings with successive heirs of St. Peter, yet he believed himself dependent on St. Peter’s protection for the welfare of his realm and for his own and his family’s salvation.

Ravenna looms large in CC nos. 49 (end 774), 53 (775), 54 (27 October 775), and 55 (November 775/early 776).⁸ In subsequent letters Ravenna more or less disappears, but there are three exceptions, nos. 75 (783), 81 (787) and 94 (790/1).⁹ The *Life of Hadrian*, extraordinarily detailed for 772–4 and probably written up in or soon after 774 (chapters 1–44), thereafter becomes a list of the pope’s benefactions to the churches of Rome (chapters 45–96), invaluable on papal resources and local clergy, for instance, inevitably much less useful for historians seeking to trace political relations.¹⁰ There

⁸ Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, ii. 1077; and see ‘Register der zitierten Briefe’, ii. 1274.

⁹ For CC 75, see M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300–900* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 749, 880; and also F. Hartmann, *Hadrian I (772–795)* (Päpste und Papsttum, xxxiv, Stuttgart, 2006), 260–1. For CC 81, see Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, ii. 839–43; and J. L. Nelson, ‘The settings of the gift’, in *The Languages of the Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 116–48, at pp. 134–40. For CC 94 and the letter from Charlemagne to which it responds, see Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, ii. 973–4. In CC 85 (788 or 769), Hadrian acknowledged a letter in which Charlemagne referred to the participation of his *missi* in the election of Leo as archbishop of Ravenna in 769; Hadrian reminded the king that the *scriiniarius* Michael had seized the church of Ravenna at that time, and held it for a while with Desiderius’s help (cf. *Vita Stephani III*, cc. 25, 26, ed. L. Duchesne, *LP*, i. 477; T. F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: the Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1984), pp. 119–20; and Hartmann, *Hadrian*, pp. 250–5, 261). For the sake of comparison, of the 10 extant letters of Leo III dating from between 806 and 814, no. 9 (808(?) × 814) throws a little light on Ravenna and its environs (see MGH *Epp.* V, ed. K. Hampe (Berlin, 1899), pp. 100–2).

¹⁰ *Vita Hadriani*, I, with Duchesne’s commentary, i. ccxxxiv–ccxliii. The translation and commentary by R. Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes* (Liverpool, 1992), is particularly valuable (see esp. pp. 123–72, with commentary, pp. 107–22).

are other more or less contemporary sources, but, as it happens, none, not even Agnellus's *Book of the Pontiffs of Ravenna*, written a generation or so after Charlemagne's death, helps much for the subject of this chapter.¹¹ There is a charter of Charlemagne's for the church of Ravenna, known to a nineteenth-century editor but now lost; and there are annalistic records of two visits made by Charlemagne to Ravenna in 800, and in 801, which suggest that the imperial title notably enhanced his ongoing interests in what had been an imperial capital in late antiquity.¹² I shall return to empire at the end of this chapter.

Historiographically, Ravenna in the later eighth century has been depicted in strongly contrasting ways. On the one hand, there is a long tradition and teleology in the Roman Catholic strand of church history-writing that follows a papal dotted line. When there is no information in papal sources it fills in plausibly hypothesized dots, creating a story in which Pope Hadrian, backed by Charlemagne, was more or less successful in making good his claims to power and authority over Ravenna. Behind this is a much bigger story, whose highlights are the 'rise of the Carolingians' and the ensuing alliance between Rome and the Franks, legally enshrined and ideologically fixed in so-called donations. These highlights are seen as shapers of the future right up to our own day-before-yesterday, when Charlemagne could still be assigned an imagined role as the father of Europe. In this historiographical tradition, T. F. X. Noble is an emblematic figure.¹³ In the alternative tradition which fuses more materialist and secularly orientated themes, the story centres on the arms and the men who built economic and military power regionally from the bottom up in the seventh and eighth centuries (this has its own *campanelismo* and teleology), and crucially contributed to the effective creation of an archiepiscopal principality centred on Ravenna. Emblematic figures here are Giovanni Tabacco (d. 2002) and Tom Brown.¹⁴ I sketch these contrasted traditions

¹¹ Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, edited Latin text with introduction, (CCCM, cxcix, Turnhout, 2006), and trans. D. M. Deliyannis as *Agnellus of Ravenna: the Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna* (Washington, DC, 2004); see also Deliyannis in this volume.

¹² *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* (Hanover, 1895), s.a. 800, 801, pp. 110–1, 114; *Annales Laurisshamenses*, s.a. 801, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH *Scriptores* I (Hanover, 1826), 38.

¹³ Noble, *Republic*, esp. pp. 168–72, 242; cf. his appreciative and perceptive review of Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, in *Early Medieval Europe*, xviii (2010), 233–6.

¹⁴ G. Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: Structures of Political Rule* (Cambridge, 1989); T. S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, 554–800* (Rome, 1984), and *idem*, 'Byzantine Italy, c.680–c. 876', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ii, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge,

rather crudely. The argument of this chapter presupposes that the second embodies a more convincing interpretation of the evidence than the first, but that elements of both can be woven into a story – still a story, of course – about Charlemagne and Ravenna.

The four letters written in 774–5

One is the very first letter of Hadrian's to have been included in the *Codex Carolinus*: no. 49.¹⁵ Some adviser, or a group of *consiliiarii*, at the court of Charlemagne in 791 might well have thought this a good place to begin to document the relations between Charlemagne and Hadrian.¹⁶ In no. 49, written in late summer/early autumn 774, the pope begins curiously abruptly (*Pervenit nos ...*) by telling Charlemagne what he has just heard about the archbishop of Ravenna:

It has come to our ears that envoys of the insolent and exceedingly arrogant Leo (*protervus et nimis arrogans Leo*), archbishop of the city of the Ravennans, ... have been opposing us by telling lies. For truly since Your Excellence returned to Francia after July 774, he, Leo has stood out as a rebel against St. Peter and us in a tyrannical and utterly shameless manner (*tyrannico atque procacissimo intuitu*). He is evidently holding in his power various cities in Emilia, namely Faenza, Forlimpopoli, Forlì, Cesena, Sarsina, Comacchio, the duchy of Ferrara, Imola and Bologna, loudly claiming that these cities, along with the whole Pentapolis have been granted (*concessae*) to him by Your Excellence ... That nefarious archbishop holding those cities of Emilia in his power, has established in them officers (*actores*) of his own choice, and thrown out the officers that we put in post there, and he has also taken control of all public institutions (*actiones*) in the city of Ravenna ... Never did we expect this! What in the times of the Lombards we held in our power (*potestative*) and clearly controlled and governed, now in your times, godless and wicked people are striving to take away from our power. They reveal themselves as your rivals as well as ours. And now, look! Many who are our enemies are taunting us and reviling us, and saying: 'What good did it do you that the people of the Lombards was destroyed and put under the yoke of the kingdom of the Franks? Now look – not one of the promises made has been kept. And worse, what was granted to St. Peter before then by the lord king Pippin of holy memory is now all taken away'.

1995), pp. 320–48, at pp. 328–35, and in the present volume; see also C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400–1000* (1981), pp. 47–9, 74–9, and *idem*, *The Inheritance of Rome: a History of Europe 400–1000* (2009), pp. 267–8, 378–9; McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 322, 704 n. 43, 749.

¹⁵ CC 49, 567–9.

¹⁶ The likely candidate is Angilram of Metz, who spent the early months of 791 at Regensburg with the king (Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, i. 81, also Hartmann, *Hadrian*, p. 29).

Three observations can be made. First, the adjectives *protervus* and *procax* both come from the rhetorical toolbox of gender-laden innuendo – they mean provocative, saucy, cheeky, insolent. In feminine form, classical poets applied these words to women, especially whores. Second, there is a strong note of actuality in the shift of register to precise mapping of Leo's political power in Ravenna's territories, and the crucial importance of controlling the choice of local officials. Third, Hadrian underscores, with more than a dash of bitterness, the enormity of the moment of change from Lombard times to Frankish times, contrasting them in the piece of direct speech which is short, to the point and memorable.

Letter two is Codex Carolinus no. 53 (probably late summer 775), responding to a letter of Charlemagne. Hadrian writes:

As regards your informing us of Archbishop Leo's having hastened to you, as truth is our witness, we very happily receive those who hasten to your royalty, since one love ... exists between us. And if the archbishop had sent us word that he wanted to go to your presence, we would with happy heart have sent an envoy of ours with him.¹⁷

This letter is written in a calmer spirit than no. 49, but there is irony here. The archbishop had *not* sent word of his wish to visit Charlemagne, and Hadrian's heart was not happy. Certainly there is no sense of warmer relations between pope and archbishop. Hadrian was anxiously awaiting news of the outcome of Leo's visit. He was getting even more concerned that Charlemagne should fulfil his promise at the beginning of that year to visit Rome in October 775.¹⁸

CC 54 is exceptional in being dated internally:¹⁹

We inform Your Excellence [Charlemagne] that we have received a letter despatched to us by John patriarch of Grado, which reached us this very day 27 October [775]; and we immediately, that same hour, that same moment – neither we nor the notary writing this have taken a moment to eat or drink – have forwarded this to you, with our apostolic words.

We have been greatly distressed to discover that the seals on that letter have been tampered with. The whole thing was read by Archbishop Leo of Ravenna before it was forwarded to us. Your most excellent Christianness can see proven here how false is the faith (*qualis est fraudulenta fides*) of Archbishop Leo, because he dared to open and read this letter before forwarding it, for no other

¹⁷ CC 53, 574–6, at 575.

¹⁸ See CC 51, 571–3.

¹⁹ CC 54, 576–7. For comment on this letter's content, see Hack, *Codex Carolinus* i. 463–5, 468–9; and, on the lack of formal dating-clauses in all the letters of the CC, pp. 141–3.

Charlemagne and Ravenna

reason than so that he could reveal all that was written in it – as surely everyone can see – to the duke of Benevento and to the others who are our rivals (*emuli*) and yours. The archbishop has clearly told all these rivals everything...

The pope ends the letter with conventional formulae of well-wishing to Charlemagne, the queen and their children. Now follows an EMBOLUM or annex (in the manuscript the word is written in capitals across the middle of the page) about Archbishop Leo:

We inform Your Christianness that when Archbishop Leo returned from your royal presence he got into a state of huge pride and tyrannical elation (*magna superbia ac tyrannica elatio*). He has shown no intention whatsoever of obeying our apostolic commands, nor allowing any Ravennans or Emilians to come to us to receive orders about various offices. Indeed he became so enraged that he threatened them saying that if any of them dared come to us, he would not come back again. ... [Hadrian claims that Pentapolitans have entered papal service.] but in other cities, those of Emilia, including Gavello, those appointed by us have been driven out by him, except that he is keeping some of them in chains. About Imola and Bologna, he uttered such profanities as that your excellence never gave those cities to St. Peter and us, but that you granted and handed them over to him, to remain permanently under his power, and therefore he has allowed no-one from those cities to come to us, instead appointing officials of his own choosing, and holds them in his power. May it not be your will, most excellent son, that he should hold this apostolic loyalty in such contempt [and fall into the crime of perjury ... We firmly believe you will fulfill all you promised to St. Peter in 774].²⁰

I will comment on nos. 54 and 55 together for reasons that will become obvious. No. 55 was written ‘in the present month of November [775]’.²¹ After waiting all through September and October for the promised visit from Charlemagne, Hadrian says he has sent a message to the king’s officials in Pavia, asking them to inform him of the coming of the king’s *missi*, ‘but they have sent us the reply that the *missi* are certainly not at the moment about to set out to visit us ...’. There are more reminders of broken promises, and more urgent requests for fulfilment.

Then there is another EMBOLUM:

EMBOLUM DE PROTERVIA LEONIS ARCHIEPISCOPI

(‘Annex about the insolence of Archbishop Leo’)

²⁰ I have slightly abbreviated in translating parts of this passage.

²¹ CC 55, 578–80.

Ravenna: its role in earlier medieval change and exchange

Of this too we inform Your God-protected Excellence that Archbishop Leo, after he came back from his visit to you, puffed up to the utmost of pride, refused, as before, to obey our commands. Instead, he is clearly keeping Imola and Bologna in his power by force, saying that you granted those cities not to St. Peter and us, but only to Archbishop Leo alone. We sent there as our envoy Gregory our man with the money-bags (*saccellarius*, treasurer), with orders to bring the leading men (*judices*) of those cities over to us, and to receive from all the people of each city oaths of fidelity to St. Peter, us, and your excellence. But that archbishop absolutely refused our treasurer entry to any of those cities. Nor would he allow Dominic, whom you commended and committed to us in the church of St. Peter and whom we appointed count in the very small city of Gavello and gave him authority there, to carry out his official duties to the least extent, but instead sent an army, carried him off in chains to Ravenna and kept him under lock and key. Also he has allowed no one from any of the other cities of Emilia, that is to say: Faenza, the duchy of Ferrara, Comaccio, Forlì, Forlimpopoli, Cesena and Sarsina of the Tenth Tribunate, to come to us and receive official posts. Yet in the cities of the two Pentapolis from Rimini to Gubbio, all have come to us and received official posts in customary fashion, and they all stand faithful in obedience ...: only that archbishop stands alone in the pride of his savagery (*ferocitatis superbia*). We beseech you before the living God, most excellent son, do not allow what your father and you yourself granted to St. Peter to be – *quod absit* – taken away in your times, and St. Peter's church humiliated by evil men ...

Both these letters show vividly how political control was exercised through local notables – and the role of violence and the implied role of cash – in securing loyalties. Equally revealing are Hadrian's attempted flanking action of putting his nominee in charge of Gavello to the north, and Leo's response to this, and, again, the precise definition of the territory Leo controlled. Hadrian insistently presents his and Charlemagne's interests as identical, and his and Charlemagne's rivals or enemies as the same people. The phrase 'your times', Charlemagne's times of power in Italy, carries the strong implication that times have changed. Finally, both letters have EMBOLA, capitalized across the line of the page. These are rare in papal letters: there are only a handful of precedents.²² In these two cases the embolus has what Achim Hack calls appellative character in the sense of making an appeal in particularly urgent terms.²³ The meaning of an appeal might be stretched towards a legal function: registering a charge-list of Leo's crimes for use in a trial, perhaps? Hadrian's language is desperate: Leo's *tyrannica elatio* and

²² There are just one or two in the pontificate of Pope Leo II (682–3) and five instances earlier in the Codex Carolinus, more in the nature of postscripts, sometimes listing gifts sent with the letter (see Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, i. 156–8).

²³ Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, i. 156.

ferocitatis superbia, his *despectus* and his disobedience (*nullo modo obtemperare inclinatus, nullo modo oboedire voluit*) are making Hadrian's life impossible. All these papal letters are pragmatic in the sense of being written to get a result. But the embolism has, in especially concentrated form, the quality of an intervention at a particular moment: it is an update, at the last possible minute, to a letter already written, while the messenger already booted and spurred stamps his feet impatiently in the courtyard. The embolism urgently seeks a response from Charlemagne, the recipient: a response not in a letter back, not mediated through envoys, but by appearance in person on the Italian scene.

These letters of Hadrian's can be read against the grain: that is, as revealing the success of Archbishop Leo in maintaining his own distinctive territory, a revised version of the exarchate under new auspices, as it were, putting specific rights into action, exercising power over people, and affirming the identity of an ecclesiastical lordship, and all this with the backing of Charlemagne. This was just what Hadrian wanted to deny. Whatever his claims, his 'rivals' and Charlemagne's 'rivals' were not the same people. These letters allow a retriangulation from three points. Rather than Tom Noble's 'dual dyarchy',²⁴ Charlemagne simultaneously created new relationships with both Rome and Ravenna, because he needed to work with both to maintain overall control of his new kingdom in Italy. He very quickly saw what he had to do and, after returning from Italy to Francia in July 774, he set about doing it. Hadrian's responses in the letters of 774–5 showed the early stages of papal adjustment and accommodation to new political realities.

Later letters

Three later letters responding to Charlemagne's later tweaks and twists of action backhandedly confirmed the basic consistency of Hadrian's initial overall assessment. In CC 75 (783), he wrote to Charlemagne complaining about two *iudices* of Ravenna, Heleutherius and Gregory, who had committed various crimes including selling men to pagan peoples. The nub of the complaint, though, was that these 'foolish, useless and worthless fellows ... borne up by proud arrogance' had betaken themselves to Charlemagne 'without our knowledge, thinking to separate you from the love of St. Peter and of us'. The pope asked Charlemagne not to listen to their *procacitas*, but to have them brought to Rome by his royal *missi* for papal judgement, 'so that the offering of Pippin, your father, brought to St. Peter's tomb by your royal hands, should remain unbroken and immaculate'.²⁵ This was to

²⁴ Noble, *Republic*, p. 172.

²⁵ CC 75, 606 (see McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 749, 880; Hartmann, *Hadrian*, pp. 260–1).

return with a vengeance to charges like those of 774, but apparently with no more effect.

In CC no. 81 (787), Hadrian replied to a letter of Charlemagne's 'in which it was mentioned (*referebatur*) that we should assign (*tribuissemus*) to you mosaics and marbles with other items situated on both the floor and on the walls in the palace of the city of Ravenna'. Hadrian complied: 'We have, with very great love of Your Excellence, given effect to this assignment and we have conceded (*concedimus*) that the mosaics and marbles and other items must be taken away (*abstollendum*) from that palace, because the church of your patron, St. Peter, ... benefits every day from your many and good and laborious royal efforts, so that your plentiful reward will be ascribed in heaven'. The language – *tribuere*, *concedere*, *abstollere* – affirms a legal 'must' as well as a moral 'must', for rights over spolia were an imperial preserve; but the context suggests that Charlemagne gave orders which Hadrian had to obey, a point which the verb *referre* obscured. The remainder of the letter is, in effect, a papal complaint about the poor quality of the king's gifts, sent with the king's letter: two horses, one of which was 'useful', the other had died en route. In future, Hadrian asked, could Charlemagne send horses 'distinguished in their bones and the fullness of their flesh (*in hossibus atque plenitudinem carnis decorati*) which would shine to praise your name already bright with triumphs'? The discourses of law and gift-exchange overlapped, but were distinct. Hadrian sounds an unmistakable note of resentment for an imputed slight and an implication that Charlemagne had deliberately sent a sub-standard gift.²⁶ In 787, relations between king and pope had soured while Charlemagne was in Italy, determined to crack the whip in Benevento, and to break with Byzantium if that was the price to be paid.²⁷ He most probably stayed at Ravenna en route from Rome back to Francia. Later that year, he cracked the whip on mosaics and marbles *from Ravenna*.²⁸ The letter in which he set the transfer moving is of course

²⁶ CC 81, p. 614. See J. Nelson, 'The settings of the gift in the reign of Charlemagne', in *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 116–48, at pp. 134–40; and *eadem*, 'The role of the gift in early medieval diplomatic relations', *Settimane Spoleto*, lvi (2011), 225–253, at pp. 244–8, with n. 58 citing Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, ii. 854: 'Dabei ist seine [i.e., Hadrian's] offene Kritik an den Geschenken des Königs kaum unter dem Mantel der Höflichkeit versteckt' ('Here [Hadrian's] open criticism of the king's gifts is barely concealed beneath the cloak of courtesy').

²⁷ For the context, see Nelson, 'Settings', pp. 137–8. Other 'rivals' (*emuli*) and rumours of a plot in (probably) 784/5 by Charlemagne and Offa to oust Hadrian had caused him acute anxiety until disclaimed (CC 92; Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, ii. 972–3 with n. 50). On the broader context of the relationship between Charlemagne and Hadrian in the late 780s, see the penetrating account of Hartmann, *Hadrian*, pp. 244–50 (though not dwelling on CC 81 or CC 92).

²⁸ For comment on the mosaics and marbles, see Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, ii. 840–3, plausibly inferring that Charlemagne, en route from Rome to Francia, stayed at Ravenna

lost, yet its peremptory tone echoes in CC 81. Hack infers that Hadrian's response was a demonstrative use of imperial rights. That may well have been the papal long view. Charlemagne's immediate reaction was that he needed actual imperial spolia to create a palace at Aachen with an imperial look. He had got what he wanted by the time he wintered there in 788/9.²⁹ Marbles and mosaics were hard realities in a sharp focus: legalities could be left fuzzy and for later negotiation.

In CC 94 (790 × 791), Hadrian wrote to Charlemagne complaining bitterly about 'Raviniani and Pentapolenses and other men who come to you without our authorization, elated by the arrogance of pride (*ceterique homines qui sine nostra absolutioe ad vos veniunt, fastu superbiae elati*), scorning our orders to come [to us] for judgement to be given [on them] and not recognizing the jurisdiction conceded to us by St. Peter'. Hadrian asked that they be 'sent to us, as you sent [men in comparable circumstances] to the duke of Benevento'. 'Your *missi* when they brought Raviniani to us saw for themselves in what a state of arrogance they were with regard to us'.³⁰ In this case Charlemagne gave way. Hadrian sought assurances that no innovation would be made in the offering of Pippin, confirmed by Charlemagne himself. But the anxious tone of his letter's final part, vehemently insisting on an equivalence of papal and royal rights to vet their own would-be border-crossers – referred to here as 'bishops and counts and others', seeking justice from the other's 'side' – strongly suggests that, viewed from the papal side, the problem of porous jurisdictions was endemic. Ravinian elites were more liable than Franks or Lombards to bouts of *superbia elationis*, and they were favoured by the political geography of the north-east. This again was a return to the themes of 774–6 and 783. The weeding process of 791 that produced the *Codex Carolinus*, whatever gaps in the record it may have left to baffle modern historians, suggests retrospective acknowledgement of the consistency of papal grievances and of Charlemagne's frequent willingness to welcome Ravinians seeking his justice.³¹

sometime between April and June 787. At his command, his son Louis campaigned in Italy in 792–3, spending Christmas at Ravenna (*Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*, c. 6, ed. E. Tremp, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, lxiv (1995), 180).

²⁹ R. Schieffer, 'Vor 1200 Jahren: Karl der Große läßt sich in Aachen nieder', in *Karl der Große und sein Nachwirken*, ed. P. Butzer, M. Kerner and W. Oberschelp (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 3–21, at pp. 13–4, emphasizing the needs of the moment: an imperial capital was not yet in view.

³⁰ CC 94, pp. 632–6, esp. p. 635. For Charlemagne, appearing to condone the sale of Christians to pagans was perhaps a bridge too far.

³¹ On Charlemagne's notorious willingness to welcome exiles and émigrés to Francia, see J. Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750–870*

Post-imperial prospective

This chapter will end with a brief comment on the appearance of Ravenna in the account of Charlemagne's will, that is, the disposition of his moveable wealth, given by Einhard in the *Vita Karoli*. The date is 811:

He divided it into three parts, and two of the three, he divided into twenty-one parts, keeping the remaining third in reserve. The twenty-one parts, created because there were twenty-one metropolitan sees in his *regnum*, were to be put to charitable purposes (*nomine eleimosinae*). ... Each part was to be put aside by itself in a box labelled with the name of the city for which it is destined. The names of the cities to which these alms or gifts are to be given are the following: Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Friuli, Grado, Cologne ... etc.³²

Einhard's account continues:

Among the other treasures and money, there are three silver tables, and one very large and massive golden one. [Charlemagne] directs and commands that the square table, upon which there is a representation of the city of Constantinople, shall be sent to the church of St. Peter the Apostle at Rome ...; that the round one, adorned with the likeness of the city of Rome, shall be given to the episcopal church of Ravenna; and that the third ... showing the plan of the whole universe in three circles ... shall go, together with the golden table, to increase the share that is to be distributed between his heirs and for alms.³³

In the list of metropolitan sees, Ravenna is placed second after Rome. Charlemagne continued his father's enhancement of the administrative role of metropolitans: they were to function as agencies at provincial level, and provide crucial points of articulation between centre and localities. In and long after Charlemagne's reign, the metropolitans' roles in a hierarchy

(Aldershot, 2003), pp. 137–67; and for Visigothic/Spanish immigrants, see Nelson, 'The *libera vox* of Theodulf of Orleans', in *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of John J. Contreni*, ed. C. J. Chandler and S. A. Stofferahn (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2013), pp. 288–306, at p. 289. For a border-crosser in the opposite direction, see the case of the Lombard, Aio (D. 187, ed. Mühlbacher, *MGH DD Karolinorum* I, 251).

³² Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 33, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* XXV (Hanover, 1911), 38–9. See M. Innes, 'Charlemagne's will: piety, politics and the imperial succession', *EHR*, cxii (1997), 833–55, at pp. 850–53; M. Chazan, 'Les testaments de Charlemagne', in *Herrscher- und Fürstentestamente im westeuropäischen Mittelalter*, ed. B. Kasten (Cologne-Weimar-Vienna, 2008), pp. 331–59, at pp. 334–6; A. Scharer, 'Das Testament Karls des Großen', in *Urkunden – Schriften – Lebensordnungen, Neue Beiträge zur Mediävistik*, ed. A. Schwarcz (Vienna/Munich, 2015), pp. 151–60.

³³ D. M. Deliyannis, 'Charlemagne's silver tables: the ideology of an imperial capital', *EME*, xii (2003), 159–77, at pp. 170–7.

of communications continued to sustain the state.³⁴ In the listing ‘Rome, Ravenna ...’, which is also a ranking, Ravenna’s status as an imperial city with apostolic credentials (allegedly created by St. Peter’s brother Andrew) is second only to Rome’s. It made perfect sense that Charlemagne’s first major port of call after Rome in the early summer of 801 was Ravenna, where he stayed for a little while ‘dealing just judgements and making peace (*iustitias et pacem faciendo*)’.³⁵ Ravenna also supplied Charlemagne with symbolic capital. As noted, he had already commandeered Hadrian’s help in securing mosaics and marbles in 787. Einhard, writing decades later, thought Charlemagne ‘saw to the transporting of columns and marbles from Rome and Ravenna because he could get them nowhere else’; and in 801, the emperor had the statue of Theoderic carried away to Francia and put up in the palace complex at Aachen, near the church whose form and look owed much to S. Vitale, Ravenna.³⁶

Charlemagne’s instructions about the square table with ‘the *descriptio* of the city of Constantinople’ and the round table with the ‘likeness (*effigies*) of the city of Rome’ can be understood in this context of an ordering of relationships which had more to do with allocating shared responsibilities in a new empire. There has been debate over Charlemagne’s specific purpose in sending to Ravenna the round table with the likeness of Rome. Tom Brown thought it ‘an ironic reflection of Charles’s exasperation at being called on to decide between the claims of squabbling ecclesiastics’.³⁷ The suggestion is à propos, but I do not think it quite does justice to Charlemagne’s priorities in 811 and in this solemn testamentary setting. He wanted to see relations with Constantinople stabilized in what could be represented as parity, and he wanted to leave his own imperial authority confirmed and appropriately symbolized. With hindsight, he can be judged successful on all counts, at least in the short term, which is the term on which any ruler ought primarily to be judged. Ravenna retained its rank and responsibilities as an imperial capital, its metropolitan the emperor’s right-hand man in north-eastern Italy. Did Charlemagne sense benefits in having Rome and Ravenna as options? Did he sometimes (and this would be a variant of Tom Brown’s

³⁴ M. Gravel, *Distances, Rencontres, Communications. Réaliser l’empire sous Charlemagne et Louis le Pieux* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 205–17.

³⁵ See above n. 12.

³⁶ ‘Mosaics and marbles’: CC 81, as above; ‘columns and marbles’: Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 26, p. 31 (Einhard may have exaggerated, but he *had* visited Rome in 806); Theoderic’s statue, Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis* c. 94, ed. Deliyannis; and see Deliyannis, ‘Charlemagne’s silver tables’, pp. 170–5. Cf. M. Carile’s chapter in this volume.

³⁷ T. S. Brown, ‘Louis the Pious and the papacy: a Ravenna perspective’, in *Charlemagne’s Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)*, ed. P. Godman and R. Collins (Oxford, 1990), pp. 297–308, at pp. 301–2.

Ravenna perspective) think of setting them at loggerheads, and then acting as arbiter? Once back at Aachen, when Charlemagne looked about the columns and marbles of *his* church, he remembered the Christian Roman Emperor whose mosaic image adorned the church of St. Vitale at Ravenna. And at Ravenna had he not also seen the mausoleum of Theoderic, and – then, and there – had the idea of importing that great king’s statue northwards to Aachen?³⁸ There, when he looked down from his high tower, he saw what he believed to be Theoderic’s image. Perhaps this inspired a final twist in an old tale guaranteed to keep courtiers guessing: his decision to name his last-born son Theoderic.³⁹

³⁸ See C. Hammer, ‘Recycling Rome and Ravenna’, *Saeculum*, lvi (2005), 295–325, at pp. 309–19, 321, who accepts Agnellus, c. 94, as cited in n. 36 above, dating Charlemagne’s removal of Theoderic’s statue to 801. An alternative possibility, given that Agnellus can’t always be relied on, is that Charlemagne, who had seen the statue in 787 when he stayed briefly in Ravenna, actually had it brought north at some point between then and 801. Whatever the date, I find both persuasive and thought-provoking Hammer’s key argument, that Charlemagne saw the statue as portraying a warlike image of Theoderic, but wished at the same time to propagate the more positive ‘message’ in the mid 7th-century *Chronicle of Fredegar* II, 57, ed. Wolfram, pp. 50–62, borrowing from the 6th-century *Excerpta Valesiana*, where the author’s account of Theoderic’s bloody victories over the Avars also celebrated the heroic acts and pacific outcomes characteristic of ‘ancient songs’, see Hammer, ‘Recycling’, pp. 315 and 324–5. I am much indebted to Carl Hammer for sending me an offprint of his paper.

³⁹ As Tom Brown reminded us at the Ravenna colloquium, baby Theoderic was born in 807 to the last (so far as we know) of Charlemagne’s concubines (Einhard, *Vita Karoli* c. 18, p. 23; *Annales Lobienses* ed. G. Waitz, s.a., MGH *Scriptores* XIII, 231 (Hanover 1881 Ndr. Stuttgart – New York 1963), a late 10th-century set of annals: ‘Natus est imperatori filius nomine Theodericus’). Among possible models evoked, alongside one or more of Charlemagne’s maternal kinsmen, was surely the king who had ruled Italy from Ravenna. Cf. Nelson, ‘Making a difference in eighth-century politics: the daughters of Desiderius’, in *After Rome’s Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. A. C. Murray (Toronto, 1998), pp. 171–90, at pp. 174–5, on Desiderius’s possible imitation of Theoderic’s policy of dynastic marriages for daughters and nieces.

12. The early medieval naming-world of Ravenna, eastern Romagna and the Pentapolis*

Wolfgang Haubrichs

Between Rome, Ravenna and the regnum Langobardorum

Names, in so far as they are things people choose, are both elements in and tools of social inclusion and the integration of individuals and groups in an existing society. In choosing names, and in their motivations for such choices, adults and particularly families create clues concerning their cultural affiliations, their desires for belonging or for segregating, and their conscious or unconscious drives for inclusion or exclusion. Inclusion can be rooted in biology or in environment, created above all through marriage and then signalled, in a somewhat secondary way, in the names of children. However, it can also, and just as significantly, be negated on one side or the other in such a way that inherited naming-traditions are excluded from the inheritance. Thus research into filiations and the name-givings that go with them can both document relationships and reveal social processes. On the other hand, name-giving, even where there is no biological link, can point to distinctive cultural traits that demonstrate the influence of models, or the prestige of great names, and thus signal a kind of mental inclusion best denoted by the ambivalent idea of ‘fashion’.¹

* For the translation of this chapter, I wish to express my warm thanks to Jinty Nelson.

¹ Cf. W. Haubrichs, ‘Typen der anthroponymischen Indikation von Verwandtschaft bei den germanischen *gentes*: Traditionen – Innovationen – Differenzen’, *Verwandtschaft, Name und soziale Ordnung (300–1000)*, ed. S. Patzold and K. Ubl (Berlin and New York, 2014), pp. 29–71; see also S. Wilson, *The Means of Naming. A Social and Cultural History of Personal Naming in Western Europe* (1998), pp. 65–85, 86–114; W. Haubrichs, ‘Amalgamierung und Identität – Langobardische Personennamen in Mythos und Herrschaft’, in *Die Langobarden. Herrschaft und Identität*, ed. W. Pohl and P. Erhart (Vienna, 2005), pp. 67–99; Haubrichs, ‘Langobardic personal names: given names and name-giving among the Langobards’, in *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest: an Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. G. Ausenda, P. Delogu and C. Wickham (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 195–236. Cf. for the system of Germanic name-giving, H. B. Woolf, *The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving* (Baltimore, 1939); S. Sonderegger, ‘Prinzipien germanischer Personennamengebung’, in *Nomen et gens. Zur historischen Aussagekraft frühmittelalterlicher Personennamen*, ed. D. Geuenich, W. Haubrichs and J. Jarnut (Berlin and New York, 1997), pp. 1–29; G. Schramm, *Namenschatz und Dichtersprache. Studien zu den zweigliedrigen Personennamen der Germanen* (Göttingen 1957); G. Schramm, *Zweigliedrige Personennamen der Germanen. Ein Bildetyp als gebrochener*

All this is, of course, particularly instructive and meaningful where situations of contact between languages, peoples and cultures are concerned. The scholar who first opened up research into names in the area of Ravenna is Sylviane Lazard. She once wrote (in 1978) that, except in the very early stages of contact, it was difficult to use names to draw conclusions about ethnicities and cultures, but that these 'could nevertheless be linked by naming practices which reflected the dominant culture of a group: thus while one might well infer a connexion between personal names and ethnicity, it would have been an indirect one, culturally formed and imprinted'.²

It was this kind of contact-situation which in many respects existed in the early medieval exarchate of Ravenna and its territories in eastern Romagna and the Pentapolis (Marche). After the Ostrogothic kingdom ended (552), and during the period of Lombard rule over large areas of northern and central Italy, this part of Italy remained under Byzantine government, where Greek and Latin culture and language met and mingled. The conquest of these areas by the Lombard king Aistulf in 751, however, was followed by their nominal transfer to the papacy by the Frankish king Pippin in 753/4; and after Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombard kingdom in 774, a *regnum Italiae* was set up under Frankish rule. Ravenna and its environs now underwent 'a transformation of its population' with extensive effects, especially 'in the ruling class', thanks to the exodus of Byzantine officialdom.³ True, 'the longest-established part of this Greek or Byzantine population remained in the Ravenna area', comprising artisans and traders, as well as a few officials. Despite the indigenous clerical and lay elites and the old institutions clinging to their resources, the aristocracy of the *regnum Italiae* gradually became more influential. This is evident from the increase in aristocratic names of overwhelmingly Germanic provenance. At the same time parts of the Lombard upper stratum had already been Romanized and the new ruling elite of the Carolingian *regnum Francorum* had partly come from the transalpine west, including Gaul, and partly from the Germanic-speaking north (Franks, Alemans, Bavarians and others). Their names make it possible to trace in detail, over a long time span, a slow process of the reception of influence that was partly mental and cultural, partly imposed through marriage ties, family alliances and economic relations.

Widerschein früher Heldenlieder (Berlin and Boston, Mass., 2013) (this work, unfortunately, lacks almost any reference to the research literature of recent decades).

² S. Lazard, 'Evènements historiques et anthroponymie à Rimini de la fin du VII^e au milieu du X^e siècle', *Onoma*, xxii (1978), 1–15, at pp. 9–10.

³ Lazard, 'Evènements', pp. 1–2.

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Here again, the pioneering studies of Sylviane Lazard must form the starting-point: 'Tradition ancienne et influence chrétienne dans l'anthroponymie ravennate du Xe siècle' (1974);⁴ 'Evènements et anthroponymie à Rimini de la fin du VIIe au milieu du Xe siècle' (1978),⁵ a paper focusing on a single city in the Pentapolis but going deeply into the political context; and her overview of the Ravenna summary of the *Codice Bavaro*, 'Studio onomastico del "Breviarium"' (1985).⁶ All subsequent research owes a large debt to Lazard's work. This does not mean, though, that certain weaknesses in her analysis of Germanic names can be ignored.

The following names should not be classed as Germanic:

Audirosus is probably hybrid with a Romance suffix added to the r-expanded Germanic element also documented elsewhere *Aud(a)*- 'rich'.⁷

Cristoduli fem. (Greek).

Bacaudanis (Gallo-romance *Bacauda* 'belonging to the group of the *Bagaudi*').

Lauterio is the short form of Greek *Eleutherius*, attested by personal identity.

Leopardus, -a is the late Latin form of the animal name.

Lupu-vara belongs not to the Germanic **leuba*- 'lieb', but is the hybrid name from *lupu*- 'wolf' and Germanic **wara* 'protection'.

The non-Germanic *Baro* has nothing to do with Germanic *bero* 'bear'.

Massus has no connection with Frankish *madal* 'court', but is probably Romance in origin.⁸

The etymological attributions are not always convincing, but that is not, of course, statistically significant.

Among names of Greek provenance, *Migali* has no connection with *Michael* but rather to the Greek word for 'ermine'.⁹ The connection of *Leo* and its Latin derivatives *Leontius*, *Leonianus* etc. to a Greek name-type is problematic.¹⁰

⁴ S. Lazard, 'Tradition ancienne et influence chrétienne dans l'anthroponymie ravennate du X^e siècle', in *Actes du 99^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes: Philologie et Histoire* (Besançon, 1977), pp. 445–54.

⁵ Lazard, 'Evènements'.

⁶ S. Lazard, 'Studio onomastico del "Breviarium"', in *Ricerche e Studi sul "Breviarium ecclesiae Ravennatis" (Codice Bavaro)* (Rome, 1985), pp. 33–61.

⁷ Expanded Germanic stems are frequently found in the name-giving of the Lombard aristocracy: cf. Haubrichs, 'Amalgamierung', pp. 91–3; W. Haubrichs, 'Viri illustres. Romanizzazione e tratti conservativi nei nomi della nobiltà longobarda del VII secolo', in *I nomi nel tempo e nello spazio. Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Onomastiche 2005*, iv (Pisa, 2010), 513–40, at pp. 422–3.

⁸ Lazard, 'Studio onomastico', pp. 39–40.

⁹ Lazard, 'Tradition ancienne', p. 448.

¹⁰ Lazard, 'Evènements', p. 5.

The most important objection, however, must be that, with the partial exception of the 'Breviary' study, the quantitative analyses rest on samples too small to be statistically meaningful. The investigations that follow therefore rest, for the ninth and tenth centuries, on assessments not only of the *Breviarium* of the Codice Bavaro (CB), but also of the edited documents of the Ravenna Archive. My approach links onomastic and prosopographic with social and historical aspects.

The material and the statistics

The bases of the following statistical researches and case studies for name-giving in the early medieval exarchate of Ravenna are *breviaria* (lists or inventories of estates or properties, rent-rolls; in German, 'Urbare', 'Güterverzeichnisse') and documents which report legal proceedings from the eighth to the ninth century and the persons recorded as acting in those. The *Breviarium Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, preserved in manuscript Clm. 44 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, and referred to because of its location as 'the Bavarian Codex' or Codice Bavaro, has been published in two modern editions, both with commentaries, which were published in quick succession:¹¹

1. *Codice Bavaro. Codex Traditionum Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. E. Baldetti and A. Polverari (Ancona, 1983).
2. *Breviarium Ecclesiae Ravennatis (Codice Bavaro) seculi VII–X*, ed. G. Rabotti (Rome, 1985).

The more recent edition will generally be cited here (CB 1985 not., plus no.), which in some ways improves on the slightly earlier edition. The *Breviarium* contains shortened versions, akin to *notitiae* (legal records), of precarial leases made by the archbishops of Ravenna to various predominantly elite leaseholders (requesters), but it also includes some gifts to the church of Ravenna, mostly in the areas of the Pentapolis and Marche (Rimini, Senigallia, Osimo, Montefeltro, Urbino, Jesi, Fossombrone, that is, the *civitas* of *Forum Simfroni*). Not considered here are the *notitiae* pertaining to Gubbio and Perugia.

¹¹ Cf. E. Baldetti and A. Polverari, 'Premessa', in *Codice Bavaro. Codex Traditionum ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. E. Baldetti and A. Polverari (Ancona, 1983), pp. 5–12; G. Rabotti, 'Introduzione', in *Breviarium Ecclesiae Ravennatis (Codice Bavaro) seculi VII–X*, ed. G. Rabotti (Rome, 1985), pp. xxxi–lxxv; A. Vasina, 'Il "Breviarium" nella storia della chiesa Ravennate', in *Ricerche e Studi*, pp. 9–32; T. Bacchi, 'Ipotesi sul rapporto fra "Breviarium" e altre registrazioni di atti della curia arcivescovile Ravennate del tardo X secolo: Il "Register traditionum" del Ferrarese', in *Ricerche e Studi*, pp. 179–91.

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The rich archival material of the church of Ravenna survives almost entirely in the form of original documents. With few exceptions the material was available until a few years ago only in older and by modern standards inadequate editions:

3. M. Fantuzzi, *Monumenti Ravennati de secoli di mezzo per la maggior parte inediti*, i (Venice, 1801) (cited as Fantuzzi 1801 plus no.).
4. A. Vesi, *Documenti editi e inediti che servono ad illustrare la Storia di Romagna*, i (Bologna, 1845) (cited as Vesi 1845 plus page) [containing along with the *Inediti* nearly all previously unpublished documents for the history of Ravenna].
5. A. Tarlazzi, *Appendice ai monumenti Ravennati dei secoli di mezzo del Conte Marco Fantuzzi* (Ravenna, 1884) (cited as Tarlazzi 1884 plus no.).

These editions are marred by many uncertain readings which render them problematic for graphematic and phonological study; for typological and lexical analyses of the name material, they are, however, sufficient. In addition, since 1985 an admirably edited supplement to CB has been available consisting of smaller documents, in the form of three 'Appendici':

6. *Appendici documentarie*, ed. C. Curradi, G. Rabotti and A. Vasina, in CB 1985 (see above no. 2), S. 109–243 (cited as CB 1985 apps. I–III plus no.).

Recently published is a new edition of the documents of Ravenna in several volumes (up to the year 999):

7. *Le carte del decimo secolo nell'Archivio Arcivescovile di Ravenna*, i: 900–57, ed. R. Benericetti (Biblioteca di 'Ravenna Studi e Ricerche', II) (Ravenna, 1999) (cited as CRA I 1999 plus no.).
8. *Le carte del decimo secolo nell'Archivio Arcivescovile di Ravenna*, ii: 957–76; iii: 976–99, ed. R. Benericetti (Faenza, 2002) (cited as CRA II/III 2002 plus no.).
9. *Le carte Ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono*, ed. R. Benericetti (Faenza, 2006) (cited as CRA 2006 plus no.).

The documents contain numerous names from Ravenna, especially those of clerics and functionaries, but also concern places in eastern Romagna like Imola, Faenza, Forlì, Cesena, Ferrara and (going far beyond the cities mentioned above) places in Marche such as Pesaro and Ancona.¹²

¹² See also the facsimile edition of the Ravenna charters of the 9th century, in *ChLA*, 2nd ser., liv (2000), lv (1999). Cf. also G. Vespignani, *La Romagna italiana dall'Esarcato al Patrimonium. Il Codex Parisinus (BNP, N.A.L. 2573) testimone della formazione di società locali nei secoli IX e X* (Spoleto, 2001).

The statistics on personal names extracted from *breviaria* and documents and those given below are, insofar as they are drawn from Ruggero Benericetti, presented in prosopographical form, that is, they contain names of individual persons. However, personal names (PNs) cannot in many cases be attached to like-named people in the documents with any certainty. The archbishops of Ravenna are presented in a list of their own, as are the names of frequently reappearing Ravenna scribes (*tabelliones, notarii*) who are generally numbered only once.

Frequently information is added to the names, for instance father or mother, occupation, or place of origin. These will only be taken into account when new person-names are included alongside them (double names as, in the year 943, *Leo qui vocatur Bonizo*: CRa I 1999, no. 48), and the year 957, *Benedictus qui vocatur Beroaldo* (Vesi 1845, 239–41); or the parents' names as in the year 955, *Leo de Patro nati* (Vesi 1845, 227)). Nicknames will not be included, though, as for the year 973, *Martinus Perdilupum* (CRa II 2002, no. 179), and the year 978, *Bario Bibiaqua* (CRa III 2002, no. 206). Nor will hypocoristic shortened names such as *Ermin-(i)za*, the year 957, *Ermengarda qui vocatur Erminza clarissima femina* (CRa I 1999, no. 90). The following analysis, it should be understood, is provisional in many respects, partly because of the limited space available, and partly because of the peculiarities of the material. An analysis differentiated by social rank would be difficult to undertake, for most if not all of the Breviarium's *notitiae* and documents concern people of the upper stratum, the frequently-encountered *duces, comites, magistri militum, iudices, dativi* (judges), *tribuni, consules, viri nobiles, tabelliones, negotiatores*, etc, with lineage denoted by such a formula as *ex genere ducum*, or *ex genere consulum*, or the richly attested clergy. By contrast, people of middling rank, such as *coloni*, are rarely found in the documents, but little groups of *servi*, or associations such as a *schola piscatorum*, often are (see below, p. 265).

There is a high number of *coniugales*, married couples, in the Ravenna documents, a relationship frequently mentioned because of its obvious legal relevance for married women; and it would in principle be possible to differentiate women's names onomastically, but it was decided at the outset that this should be dealt with in a separate study, since there is insufficient space here. Worth noting, though, is that in Ravenna, unlike the Po valley in northern Italy and the north alpine regions, the name *Maria* is by far the commonest female name (in a distant second place is *Anna*, the name of Mary's mother). Numerous too are female names formed from male names with special significance: *Justina, Martina, Petronia, Demetria*. These have been given a separate category in the statistics.

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The basic Romanity of Ravenna's former exarchate

In the multi-ethnic and, until the end of the eighth century, multi-lingual *regnum Langobardorum*, naming traditions in northern and central Italy long bore a Langobardic stamp.¹³ The Byzantine part of Italy, after the end of Gothic rule in 552, was completely different: there the population consisted entirely of people with Latin, Latin-Christian, and to a significant extent also Greek or Greco-Latin names¹⁴ far into the ninth and tenth centuries, especially in the special milieu of the clergy and lay office-holders. Increasingly, though, from the ninth century, as will be shown, regional themes in names, signifying a position separate from Ravenna, become more evident.

The episcopal lists of Ravenna suggest a socially and long-established special case. In contrast to the episcopal lists of Gaul and of northern and central Italy, it is only at the end of the ninth century that the earliest bishops of Ravenna are found with names that are etymologically Germanic:¹⁵

Marinianus a. 595–606

Johannes (III) a. 607–13

Johannes (IV) a. 613–30

Bonus a. ± 631–48

Maurus a. ± 649–71

Reparatus a. 671–7

Teodorus a. 677–88

Damianus a. 689–705

Felix a. 708–23

Johannes (V) a. ±724–±748

¹³ Cf. W. Haubrichs, 'Sprache und Schriftlichkeit im langobardischen Italien – Das Zeugnis von Namen, Wörtern und Entlehnungen', *Filologia Germanica*, ii (2010), 133–201.

¹⁴ Cf. *Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas Empire, part II: Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne (313–604)*, ed. C. Pietri and L. Pietri (Rome, 1999–2000); S. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia Bizantina (433–804)*, i–ii (Bologna, 1996–2000); T. S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554–800* (Rome, 1984); S. Lazard, 'Les noms de personne dans les papyrus Ravennates du VI^e siècle', *Studi Mediolatini e Volgari*, xxi (1973), 7–38; Lazard, 'Goti e Latini a Ravenna', in *Storia di Ravenna*, ii, pt. 1: *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana. Territorio, economia, società*, ed. A. Carile (Venice, 1991), pp. 109–133; A. Carile, 'Terre militari, funzioni e titoli bizantini nel "Breviarium"', in *Ricerche e Studi*, pp. 81–94, at pp. 83–4.

¹⁵ Rabotti (CB 1985), p. XXVI. Cf. for Gaul, W. Haubrichs, 'Hybridität und Integration. Vom Siegeszug und Untergang des germanischen Personennamensystems in der Romania', in *Zur Bedeutung der Namenkunde für die Romanistik. Romanistisches Kolloquium XXII*, ed. W. Dahmen, G. Holtus, J. Kramer and others (Tübingen, 2008), pp. 87–140, at pp. 114–21.

Ravenna: its role in earlier medieval change and exchange

Sergius a. ± 748–69

Leo a. ± 770–7

Johannes (VI) a. ± 778–84

Gratiosus a. ± 785–8

Johannes (VII) a. ± 788–806

Valerius a. 806–10

Martinus a. ± 810–16

Petronax a. ± 818–34

Georgius a. ± 834–46

Deusdedit a. ± 847–50

Johannes (VIII) a. ± 850–78

Romanus a. 878–88

Dominicus a. 889–98

Kailo a. 898–904

Johannes (IX) a. ± 905–14

Constantinus a. 914–27

Petrus a. 927–71

Honestus a. 971–83

Johannes (X) a. 983–98

Of the twenty-nine archbishops between the seventh and tenth centuries, one alone had a Germanic, Langobardic form of name, and he only appears at the end of the ninth century:

Kailo < Westgerm. *Gailo* (OHG *Geilo*) with the root **gaila-* ‘gay, cheerful, lively’ (cf. OS *gēl* ‘merry’, OE *gāl* ‘light, pleasant, wanton’, OHG *geil* ‘elated, high-spirited’)¹⁶ with a shift of the media [g] > [k] and the preservation of the archaic Germ. diphthong [ai], which in this combination is typically Lombardic.

Equally clear are the findings for the well-documented series of *tabelliones* and *notarii* of the archiepiscopal court and the city of Ravenna in the period from the eighth to tenth centuries:¹⁷

¹⁶ V. Orel, *A Handbook of Germanic Etymology* (Leiden and Boston, Mass., 2003), p. 122; F. Kluge and E. Seebold, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin and Boston, Mass., 2011), p. 341.

¹⁷ Cf. R. Benericetti, *Le carte Ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono* (Faenza, 2006), pp. XIII–XXII; Benericetti, *Le carte Ravennati del decimo secolo. Archivio Arcivescovile II (aa. 957–76)* (Bologna, 2002), pp. VIII–XX; Benericetti, *Le carte Ravennati del decimo secolo. Archivio Arcivescovile III (aa. 976–99)* (Bologna, 2002), pp. vi–xiii; *ChLA*, 2nd ser., liv–lv (cf. n. 12).

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Epifanius a. 717/41
Benenatus a. 767
Vitalianus a. 767
Johannes (I) a. 838
Johannes (II) a. 851–88/9
Dominicus (I) a. 844
Moses a. 855–58/9
Petrus (I) a. 850/9–870/7
Elmengausus a. 838
Marinus a. 850/77–8
Leo (I) a. 850/77–892
Grimoaldus a. 872
Petrus (II) a. 877–851/82
Honestus a. 882–92
Donatus a. 883
Vitalis a. 890
Dominicus (II) a. 892
Dominicus (III) a. 896
Dominicus (IV) a. 899
Johannes (III) a. 889–918
Constantinus (I) a. 891–905
Dominicus (V) a. 893–96
Desiderius a. 912
Johannes (IV) a. 918
Petrus (III) a. 917–55
Johannes (V) a. 919
Georgius a. 940–80
Johannes (VI) a. 942–58
Constantinus (II) a. ± 950–78
Gregorius a. 952
Apolinaris a. 954–92
Petrus (III.) a. 955–94
Dominicus (VI) a. 948–98
Stefanus a. 949–80

Leo (II) a. 944–73

Deusdedit (I) a. 960–92

Sergius (I) a. 964

Sergius (II) a. 972–85

Deusdedit (II) a. 971–1014

Gerardo a. 976–1024

Aldo a. 996ff.

Apart from the notaries *Elmengausus* (a. 838) and *Grimoaldus* (a. 872) who were only occasionally active, the etymologically Germanic names first appear only at the end of the tenth century:

Gerardo (romanized in spoken form and with Germ. ai > OHG ē) < Westgerm. **Gaira-* + *hardu-* (cf. OS, OHG *gēr*, OE *gār* ‘spear, javelin’ and OS *hard*, OHG *hart*, OE *heard* ‘hard’)¹⁸ and *Aldo* (related to Westgerm. **alda-*, OS *ald*, OHG *alt*, OE *ald* ‘old, venerable’).¹⁹

Gerardo here fits (with the Romance loss of the [h] in the second element) the Frankish-OHG development of the diphthong [ai] > [ē] before [r], not the Langobardic, and this *notarius* seems therefore to be the descendant of a family from north of the Alps.²⁰

In onomastic terms, the high-status group known as the *notarii* and *tabelliones*, associated with the *consules*, particularly in kinship-references and witness-lists, is thus characterized by being exclusively Romance (and linked with Greco-Latin elements) right down to the end of the tenth century. It is hardly a coincidence that there is still an overall impression of these being the most frequent contemporary PNs in the metropolis of the Adriatic.

The list of those consenting to a document of 974 drawn up by Archbishop Honestus (CRa II 2002, no. 180) provides a fleeting glimpse of the cathedral church of Ravenna’s clergy. Under the lead of *Petrus archidiaconus* and *Constantinus archipresbiter*, eleven clerics sign with the formula *in hac donacione consensi*. Of these eleven, ten have Romance names (*Andreas*, *Dominicus*, *Georgius*, *Constantinus*, *Petrus*, *Johannes*, *Sergius*, *Paulus*). Only *Romualdus sanctae Ravennatis ecclesie levitarum infimus* has a Langobardic name: the same as that of the *duces* Romuald I (671–87) and Romuald II (+732), whose family rose to the kingship in 662. This name is reminiscent of Friuli and Benevento, and is not isolated in tenth-century Romagna.

¹⁸ Orel, *Handbook*, p. 162; Kluge and Seebold, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 349, 369.

¹⁹ Orel, *Handbook*, p. 13; Kluge and Seebold, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 396–7.

²⁰ W. Braune and I. Reiffenstein, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik* (2 vols., Tübingen, 2004), i. 43–4.

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The clergy of Ravenna were also called to a *placitum* (judicial assembly) in 983, held by Otto II in his palace outside the walls of Ravenna in the presence of Archbishop Johannes and other bishops of the Romagna and Marche.²¹ At the top of the list is the *Romualdus diaconus* just mentioned, followed by the subscriptions of the following deacons who had also appeared in 974: *Constantinus, Paulus ... ex genere ducum et Gerardus gener ejus, Petrus ..., Johannes ...*, and – these are new names – *Andreas* and *alius Andreas ... qui vocatur de Severo* (probably the son of Severus). Again, it looks as if only one man, *Gerardus*, perhaps a layman, for his clerical status is unmentioned, bears a name of Germanic origin.

The same document also contains a striking list of lay office-holders, from the environs of Ravenna, the majority of whom also appear in other documents. Led by *Petrus dux de Traversaria* (from Traversara on the Scolo west of Ravenna) *et Paulus item dux consanguineus ejus, et filii eorum Johannes et Amelricus*, the following are then listed: *Randoinus genere ducibus, Rodaldus, et Andreas gener magistri milit[um], et filii eorum Adelbertus, et Sergius gener ducibus, Johannes consul qui vocatur Pava, Deusdedit de Ponte Augusti. Et quod superius non recordavi: Ibi fuit Petrus consul qui vocatur de Augusta, Johannes Paterius, et Johannes genere consulibus, G[e]riardus consul, Teobaldus de Posterula, Johannes de Liveo, Romualdus dux, Ratfianus (?) tabellio, Andreas tabellio et Mepresius (?), Sergius [...] tabellio, Bernardus tolonarius, Martinus cancellarius, Riculfus cancellarius et alii plures quod longum est ad scribendum ...*

This makes twenty-four people in all, of whom nine still hold Germanic names (that is, 37 per cent). Some of them are sons (*Amelricus, Adelbertus*) of families with titles such as *duces* and *magistri militum*, or like *Geriardus*, who was himself a *consul*, and *Romualdus* who was a *dux*. Then on the edge of the ruling elite come the toll-master *Bernardus*, and perhaps from a suburb of Ravenna, *Teobaldus de Posterula*.²² The strong preference for long-established names of Lombard and Italian kings and dukes (*Rodaldus, Romualdus, Bernardus, Amalricus* of Milan, *Adalbertus*) is especially striking here, and will be confirmed later in this study. In 984, what can be generally observed is that new names are pushing themselves into the lay society of Ravenna.

²¹ A. Vesi, *Documenti editi e inediti che servono ad illustrare la Storia di Romagna* (2 vols., Bologna, 1845), i. 391–3; *MGH DD O II*, no. 315.

²² Cf. for the elites of Ravenna in the 9th and 10th centuries (including the *notarii*), A. Carile, 'Continuità e mutamento nei ceti dirigenti dell'Esarcato fra VII e IX secolo', in *Istituzioni e società nell'Alto Medioevo Marchigiano*, i (Ancona, 1983), pp. 115–45; also A. Polverari, 'Introduzione al Codice Bavaro', in *Istituzioni e società*, pp. 159–216; Vespignani, *La Romania italiana*, pp. 60–81, 148–81 ('Titoli e funzione del servizio pubblico').

Comparing these findings with the lists of those present and those in the witness-lists in the protocol of the synod of Ravenna in 955 (CRa I 1999, no. 86), it can be seen quite clearly that the church of Ravenna's clergy – so far as can be ascertained in a partly legible document – have names that are entirely Romance: *Dominicus ... presbiter* (he was also the abbot of S. Apollinare in Classe), *Martinus ... presbiter* (he was also the abbot of the monastery of S. Lorenzo in Cesarea), *Petrus vir venerabilis*, *Paulus ...*, *Petrus ... diaconus*, *Leo ... diaconus*, *Johannes archipresbiter*, the subdeacons *Petrus*, *Honestus* (son of the *dativus Johannes*), *Johannes*, then a son of the *dux Honestus*, and finally *Georgius*. In another document of Archbishop Domenicus of 894 (CRa 2006, no. 49), all seventeen witnesses of the cathedral clergy had names that were entirely Romance. Those who subscribed were the *archipresbiter Deusdedit*, the priests *Desiderius*, *Deusdedit*, *Leo*, *Demetrus*, *Stephanus*, another *Stephanus*, *Johannes*, then the archidiaconus *Paulus*, the deacons *Severus*, *Johannes*, *Leo*, *Georgius*, *Constantinus*, *Paulus*, *Dominicus* and *Petrus*.

The 955 list of the laity, consisting of numerous *duces*, *comites*, *magistri militum*, *dativi* and *tabelliones* here embraces (excluding the witness-list) no fewer than thirty persons. Often information is given about their families (*filius N. N.*); at the same time there are six (or 20 per cent) who have Germanic names, of which the following have already been cited: *Gerardus* (brother of *Petrus* and *Severus*), *Romualdus*, *Teudaldus*. In addition, however, are men with Langobardic names, like *Faro*, or kings' names, like *Guido* (*Wido*), and other such names as *Guinigisius qui vocatur Guinico* (*Winigis* with the short name of *Winicus*, meaning 'little friend'). Here too the familiar integration of Germanic names, including some of high symbolic value, was already underway in the middle of the tenth century. True, not all the laity came from Ravenna. Some clearly came from Comacchio and Ferrara (the legal purpose of this meeting was the investiture of the archbishop of Ravenna with an estate (*massa*) by Bishop Martin of Ferrara) and perhaps also other places beyond Romagna.

By contrast, of the *iudices* of the *civitates* of Ravenna and Ferrara at a *placitum* held by Otto I and Pope Johannes in 967 in the monastery of S. Severo at Ravenna (MGH DD O I no. 340; CRa II 2002, no. 128),²³ all, like the clerics and *tabelliones*, had Romance names: *Johannes*, *Stefanus miculator* ('baker of small loaves'), *Paulus*, *Ursus*, *Petrus*, *Leo*, *Petrus*, *Stefanus* (the picture would look different, of course, in the case of the imperial judges).

In a happily still-extant *placitum* of the Empress Theophanu of 990, held in a place called *Sabionaria* behind the imperial palace at Ravenna,²⁴ the list

²³ MGH DD O I Nr. 340; CRa II 2002, no. 128.

²⁴ Vesi, *Documenti*, pp. 400–2.

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The list was framed by the judges (*dativi*) at the top and the *tabelliones* at the bottom. Among the thirty persons only four (13 per cent) bore a Germanic name, including the *consul Gerardus* already mentioned, and also the notary *Aldo*, as above. Finally, two members of a family whose names were mixed: *Paulus dativus*, meaning *iudex*, whose son *Farualdus* added the significant by-name *Paulus* to his Lombard name, and – immediately alongside him – *Gerardus de Farualdo* ('de' in the sense, here, of descending from a father). The impression this list gives concerning the well-represented family of the *Traversaria* (with their traditional names *Petrus* and *Paulus*) is yet again the case of an inner circle of Ravenna society, in onomastic terms still characterized as traditionally Roman at the end of the tenth century.

In a few cases, the sources give us a glimpse into the name-giving practices of other ranks as well. Perhaps the most spectacular example is that of a document of Archbishop Peter, from 943 (CRa I 1999, no. 48) on the fishing rights of the *Scola Piscatorum* at the river Badareno.²⁵ The following belonged to the fishermen's association: *Johannes qui vocatur Zuccula* (or *Zacula*) ('bottle-gourd') *et Demetrius germani, Leo qui vocatur de Scamperto, Dominicus et Ursus germani, Stephanus, Dominicus de Mercuria, Honestus, Leo qui vocatur Bonizo, alio Leo, Petrus, vel cunctos et consortes nostros ...* All eleven men have Romance names, so can be considered as having been named conservatively.

Something quite similar can be found in a group documented in 927 by Archbishop Peter. These are the names of the people engaged in working various parts of four *fundi* (farms) near Montefeltro (S. Leo) which they took on lease as *precaria* (CRa I 1999, no. 37), inland to the west of San Marino. The twenty-nine people in the group are: *Ursus et Cristina iugalis, Martinus*

²⁵ Another cooperative we can find is for instance a. 850–59 (CRa 2006, no. 19).

qui Heldebrandus et Grimuala iugalis, Leo et Maria iugalis, Stephanus et Maria iugalis, Romanus et Formosia iugalis, Leo et Martina iugalis, necnon alio Leo et Petronia (iugalis), Stephanus et Maria iugalis, Ursus et Pulchra iugalis, Iohannes et Maria iugalis Ursus et Martina iugalis, Leo et Marina, Petrus et iugalis, Apolenaris et Maria iugalis, Iohannes presbiter (et) Ursa iugalis, seu filiis. The only Germanic names are the by-name *Hildebrand*, and his wife's name, *Grimuala* (formed from Germ. *Grim(a)-* 'mask' + *-walaha-* 'Roman woman').

Only slightly different is the case of a group mentioned in 955 which farmed parts of the same four *fundi* they leased in the *territorium* of Montefeltro (San Leo) (CB App. II no. 14; CRa I 1999, no. 83). Twenty-four people are named: *Ursus de Marino et Albesinda iugalis, Leo de Anna, Ste[p]hanus et conius quem sortitus fuerit, Iohannes atque Ursa iugalis, Urso de Gariprando, Dominicus et Pulchra iugalis, Leo germano suo, Maria ancilla Dei, Urso et Martina iugalis, Leo de Apolenaris cum fratribus suis, Iohannes de Leo cum fratribus suis, Theoderata cum fratribus suis, Leo de Iohannes Brendurio et Ihoannia cum fratribus suis, Petrus de Leo presbiter cum fratribus suis, Leo de Laurencio, Leo de Iohannes et Ursa iugalis ...*

Typical of the naming-practices of people who are probably *coloni*, as attested in both these documents, and typical, too, of the recording practices, is the fact that a father or mother or wife is given for most individuals. This allows some in-depth analysis of the names in question. Among the thirty-one PNs found in the record of 955, only three (10 per cent) are of Germanic provenance, two of the three being the names of women, *Albesinda* < **Alba-swinþa-* (from Germ. **alba-* 'elf' + **swinþa-* 'strong')²⁶ and *Theoderata* < **Theuda-ræda-* (from Westgerm. **þeuda-* 'people, gens' + **ræda-* 'advice, counsel'.²⁷ The paternal name *Gariprando* is a typically Langobardic-romanized PN < **Gaira-branda-* (from Westgerm. **gaira-* 'spear' and the oft-chosen Langobardic name-element **branda-* 'sword'), here with a shift of the media [b] > [p] and the spoken Romance substitution of the Germanic diphthong [ai] by [a]. In this Appennine region immediately next to the old *regnum Langobardorum*, the germanizing of personal names is still at an early stage. By contrast, it is clear that the variety in Romance PNs is limited: here there are eight men called *Leo*, five called *Iohannes*, four called *Ursus*, whereas in Ravenna thereophoric names like 'lion' and 'bear' are not so frequent.

The conclusion that naming has undergone less germanization is confirmed by a document from 972 of Archbishop Honestus (CB App. III

²⁶ Orel, *Handbook*, pp. 13, 394–5; Kluge and Seebold, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 28, 353.

²⁷ Orel, *Handbook*, pp. 423, 303–4; Kluge and Seebold, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 194, 747.

The early medieval naming-world of Ravenna, eastern Romagna and the Pentapolis no. 18). This concerns the case of another group of people on properties leased as *precaria* in the area of Montefeltro, especially the parish of S. Stefano *ad Murulum*. The people listed here are: *Bonizo* (< **Bon-itius*) *cum fratribus meis et sorore*, *Stephano cum fratribus meis*, *Bonizo cum fratribus et sororibus meis*, *Leto* (< **Laetus*) *cum fratribus et sororibus*, *Leo et Maria iugalis*, *Iohannes cum fratribus*, *Anselmo cum sorore mea Teuderada*, *Leo cum sororibus*, *Martino seu filiis et nepotibus nostris*. Of the eleven people named, there is one family with PNs of Germanic provenance – that of the well-known *dux* of Emilia *Ans(h)elm*, founder of the monastery of Nonantula, and the equally well-known woman's name *Teuderada*.

In 977 in Comacchio to the north of Ravenna, a group headed by a single estate-manager, a *vilicus*, comprises eleven people acquiring rights to fisheries: *Petro vilico qui vocatur de Ursone Vecclo, atque Gregorio qui vocatur de Blanda, seu Leo de Profecta, Mercurio de Ceravalia, Natali de Profecta, Iohanne de Gregorio Nauto, Iohanne Cantamissam* ('Sing the Mass'), *Martino Caroso* ('dear one'), *Leo de Ursone de Gregorio Nauto, Petro genero de Ursa Carimanna, Apollinare ...* (CRa III 2002, no. 195). All sixteen PNs are of Romance or Latin origin.

Other regions produce similar findings. In Romagna, in the *territorium* of Ferrara in 933, a group of thirty-two people leased portions of property (CRa I 1999, no. 43): *Leo et Ianuaria iugalis seu filiis, [.....] Iohannes qui vocatur de Urso, Martinus et Deodati iugalis, Martinus qui vocatur de Venerosa, Iohannes et Gemma iugalis, Iohannes et Maria iugalis, Iohannes et Georgia iugalis, Andrea et Maria iugalis, Grim[o.....] iugalis, Iulianus et Maria iugalis, Ursus et Leoncia iugalis, Iohannes et Maria iugalis, Ursus et Petronia iugalis, Iohannes et Maria iugalis, Vitalis et Maria iugalis, Petrus et Dominitia iugalis, Leo et Cristina iugalis, Iohannes et Audechia iugalis seu filiis nostris ...* Just one Germanic name can be found here, *Grimo*, the shortened form of Grimoald, probably named after the Lombard king. The parents' names are of Romance type.

Again in Ferrara in 952 a group is listed of what look like lease-holding kinsfolk, probably *coloni*, thirteen in all, clustered around a man called *Venerius*. All have Romance names (CRa I 1999, no. 70): *Gaudiosus, Iohannes qui vocatur de Venerio atque Matrus [.....]tici[.] Iohannes filio Venerio, Martinus nepus Venerii, Maria nepta Venerii, Martinus de Albesinda, Stephanus Balbo, Leo de Petronaci, Leo massario, Valeri ad Fan[.....]tinus, Agneta, Iohannes seu filiis nostris ...* Just one name is of Germanic provenance, that of a mother called *Albesinda*.

Another quite large group of *coloni* holds leased land in 957 at the estate of Castellione in the region of Ferrara (CRa II 2002, no. 91): *Leo Stancario et Maria iugalis, Romana cognata ipsius Leone, Iohannes de Stefano presbitero*

et Maria iugalis, Petrus de Albarita et Petronia iugalis, [Mart]inus et Maria iugalis, Iohannes de Leogienzo et Gisa iugalis, Leo et Maria iugalis, alio Leo et Ianuaria iugalis, Bonizo et Giseverga iugalis, Stefanus et Bonesenda iugalis, Leo et Maria iugalis, Petrus et Maria iugalis, Maria de Gregorius de Vico Variana, Marcurius et Leoncia iugalis, Iohannes et Petronia iugalis, Petrus de Agneta et Gausperga iugalis, Iohannes et Formosa iugalis, Martinus de Marino et Maria iugalis, Dominicus et Venerosa iugalis, Natalia et Andrea filio suo, Petrus qui vocatur Calbulo ('little baldy'), Guntari et Cristina iugalis, Martinus et Iulia iugalis, Maria de Guilielmo, Restano faber et Stephania iugalis, Martinus de Stalinda, Petrus de Ursa, Aeva Gregorius de Septe et Maria iugalis, Paulus et Maria mater sua, Martinus et Anna iugalis, Martinus et Dominitia iugalis, Paulus et Auria iugalis, Petrus de Paulo et Bornia iugalis, Martinus de Paulo et Stantia iugalis, Boniza, Andrea et Leoperga iugalis, Martinus et Maria iugalis, Paulus de Gariberto et Agneta iugalis, Bonizo de Rufino seu filiis nostris ... Of these eighty-five names, 88.2 per cent are of Romance type, with 10.6 per cent, nearly all women's names, of Germanic provenance, one of them a hybrid-named *Bone-senda* (from Lat. *bona* + Germ. **swinþa*-).

A further example comes from the region of Rimini, where in 955 fifteen people, with a *dativus* at their head, leased properties (CRA I 1999, no. 82): *Maria filia quondam Leo, conius vero pressenti et consentienti Martinus dativus, sitque Rocia et Berta germanes filie quondam Farualdo, nec non Cristina relicta quondam Leo clericus, atque Petronia conius pressenti et consentienti Paulus, verum eciam Leo et Sabbatinus atque Ursus germanis filii quondam Ursus, itemque et alio Leo Extralumini et Marina seo Fusca sitque Migali germanis filii quondam Mauricii ...* Just one family had two daughters with Germanic names and their late father bore the typically Langobardic name *Faruald*.

The examples given above certainly include people from specific milieux, those of the clergy and lay elite, and especially men holding office in Ravenna; but there are other groups too: fishermen, *coloni* in the Apennines and in the Romagna, a judicial officer from Rimini with a following, though these, while sometimes important, as in the case of the Adriatic metropolis Ravenna, are nevertheless quite rare exceptions with relatively low numbers of PN examples. Statistically meaningful results for the whole of eastern Romagna and the Marche as the territory controlled by Ravenna can only be achieved by an analysis of the data in their entirety.

The following statistics are arranged by century – eighth, ninth, tenth – and by the name-groups etymologically defined by Sylviane Lazard as Latin, Greek and biblical.²⁸

²⁸ There are some problematic aspects to Lazard's definitions of groups: for instance, since late antiquity some of the names of Greek origin were well-established as Greco-Latin

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Table 12.1. PNs (Ravenna, eastern Romagna, Pentapolis)

	Period I (eighth century) (CB only)		Period II (ninth century) (CRa + CB)		Period III (tenth century) (CRa + CB)	
Latin PN	34	55.6%	311	48.8%	1065	37.9%
Greek PN	16	26.2%	93	14.6%	174	6.2%
Biblical PN	11	18.0%	148	23.2%	891	31.7%
Romance PN	61	100.0%	552	86.6%	2030	75.8%
Germanic PN	/		85	13.3%	651	23.2%
Hybrid PN	/		1	0.2%	26	0.9%
			638		2707	

For Period I (eighth century) only the CB has been analysed, and the few early Ravenna documents excluded. Both types of sources, however, show that personal names of Germanic provenance in the Ravenna area are virtually non-existent in this period. Sylviane Lazard has already established this for the seventh and eighth centuries (not taking her work on the Ostrogothic period into account). It is only in the ninth century (86.6 per cent) and in the Ottonian period (75.8 per cent) that a slight diminution in non-Germanic (Romance) names becomes evident. The same is true for the PNs of Latin provenance: here there was a strong decline from 55.6 per cent in the eighth century, to 48.8 per cent in the ninth century, to only 37.9 per cent in the tenth. The analysis of case studies given above shows that this decline is much smaller for the area of Ravenna itself.

Within this pool of names, it is particularly those of Greek provenance that decline sharply by more than half, to 14.6 per cent (already) in the ninth century, and by a further half in the tenth, to 6.2 per cent. Sylviane Lazard²⁹ identified this trend, and rightly attributed it to the Byzantine exodus after the reign of Charlemagne, who had attached the archbishops of Ravenna to his own political sphere of influence.³⁰ Lazard's argument that a similar decline was true in the case of PNs of biblical origin is not correct, however: these in fact increased from 18 per cent to 23.2 per cent, then to 31.7 per cent in the tenth century. Typological analysis of the PNs can explain this.

names in the Italo-Romance society; also names of important biblical figures like Maria, Petrus, Iohannes, Andreas, were better known as universal saints and church patrons than as heroes of biblical narratives.

²⁹ Lazard, 'Evènements', pp. 6–11.

³⁰ A. Vasina, 'Ravenna', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vii (1994), 481–4; see also Jinty Nelson in this volume.

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How representative the findings from Ravenna are for the ninth century can be seen still more clearly through comparison with the other name worlds of northern and central Italy. This analysis uses statistics from the lists of Nonantula and Leno monks, south of Brescia, as well as a list of the diocesan clergy of Brescia, the charters of Lucca in Tuscany, of Milan, of Verona, and, still within the orbit of Ravenna's influence, of Emilia Occidentale (Modena, Parma, Reggio, Piacenza):

Table 12.2. Romance and Germanic PNs in Langobardic northern and central Italy

	Romance	Germanic	Hybrid		
			RG	GR	
Oath-list of St. Paul	31.8%	62.0%	0.6%	5.6%	5.0%
Leno c.830	33.6%	64.7%	1.4%	1.7%	1.4%
Emilia Occ. 820–70	36.3%	62.3%	1.2%	1.4%	0.3%
Nonantula 804/22	46.4%	50.7%	2.5%	2.9%	0.5%
Nonantula 860	40.6%	56.9%	2.0%	2.5%	0.5%
Milan 820–70	31.6%	65.1%	2.8%	3.4%	0.6%
Verona 820–70	33.4%	59.7%	6.9%	6.9%	/
Brescia 851/56	23.7%	69.8%	6.5%	6.5%	/
Lucca 820–70	21.1%	73.7%	0.9%	6.2%	5.3%

It is immediately apparent that the numbers of Romance names are strikingly different from the northern Italy analysis and from Tuscany where the percentages vary from around 21 per cent (Lucca) to 40–46 per cent in Nonantula. The relatively high number of Romance names in Nonantula is explicable in terms of the activities of Abbot Anselm (804–22), whom a contemporary called *dux monachorum*. Anselm successfully established for Nonantula, his new foundation in the diocese of Modena, an economic and demographic anchorage in territories further east, especially in the *civitas* of Bologna. In ninth-century Ravenna, by contrast, the percentage of non-Germanic names held firm at 86.5 per cent, approximately double the percentage of such names at Nonantula.

Also informative is an internal subdivision of Romance PNs by frequency (calculated as a percentage of the total number of Romance names):

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Table 12.3. The most frequent non-Germanic PNs in Ravenna and its environs

		Period II (ninth century)	Period III (tenth century)
1)	Johannes, -ia	10.1%	16.1%
2)	Petrus, -onia	6.3%	12.1%
3)	Leo etc.	6.7%	8.1%
4)	Dominicus, -icia	5.4%	6.3%
5)	Martinus	4.4%	5.0%
6)	Ursus etc.	4.2%	4.5%
7)	Andreas	2.4%	3.9%
8)	Maria	2.9%	3.3%
9)	Paulus	1.3%	2.9%
10)	Stephanus	2.7%	2.3%
11)	Sergius, -ia	1.3%	2.0%
12)	Vitalis, -ianus	2.2%	1.9%
13)	Bonio, -izo	0.1%	1.8%
14)	Gregorius	4.0%	1.8%
15)	Marinus	1.6%	1.5%
16)	Romanus	1.1%	1.3%
17)	Constantinus	3.1%	1.1%
18)	Apollinaris	0.7%	1.1%
19)	Deusedit	1.1%	1.0%
20)	Georgius	1.3%	0.9%
21)	Honestus	1.6%	0.6%
22)	Severus	0.5%	0.6%

Despite the greater variety of the name-spectrum (see ‘Typological survey’ below) the process of name-concentration emerges clearly. In the ninth century the names in the first ten places (see Table 12.3 above) form 46.6 per cent of the PN total, and the first twenty-two constitute 65.4 per cent, while in the tenth century, the first ten constitute 64.5 per cent, with the first twenty-two already making up 80.1 per cent. It is worth drawing some comparisons and contrasts in the rises and falls in percentages of each of the most common PNs.

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Table 12.4. The rise and fall of the most common non-Germanic PNs in Ravenna

increasing PN			decreasing PN		
1)	Johannes	+ 6.1%	1)	Gregorius	- 2.2%
2)	Petrus	+ 5.8%	2)	Constantinus	- 2.0%
3)	Bonio, -izo	+ 1.7%	3)	Honestus	- 1.0%
4)	Paulus	+ 1.6%	4)	Stephanus	- 0.4%
5)	Andreas	+ 1.5%	5)	Georgius	- 0.4%
6)	Leo	+ 1.4%	6)	Vitalis	- 0.3%
7)	Dominicus	+ 0.9%	7)	Marinus	- 0.1%
8)	Sergius	+ 0.7%	8)	Deusededit	- 0.1%
9)	Martinus	+ 0.6%			
10)	Severus	+ 0.5%			
11)	Maria	+ 0.4%			
12)	Apollinaris	+ 0.4%			
13)	Ursus	+ 0.3%			
14)	Romanus	+ 0.2%			

Particularly striking is the decline in biblical or Latin-based names, previously especially favoured in the Greek-Byzantine milieu: *Gregorius*, *Stephanus*, the imperial name *Constantinus*, while the incidence of *Romanus* (also an ethnogenetic name, of course) remains almost unchanged, as does that of *Theodosius* (from 0.5 per cent to 0.3 per cent). Other names whose numbers fell slightly were those containing wishes for well-being, and specifically Christian names like *Deusededit*, *Vitalis*, *Honestus*, but not *Dominicus*. The thereophoric names of ‘warlike beasts’, *Ursus* and *Leo*, resisted the trend, but this was notably not the case with *Lupus* and derivatives, of which not a single instance can be found in the ninth century (though there was a minute increase to 0.3 per cent in the tenth century). The ethnogenetic traditional name *Maurus* favoured in other regions (with its meaning probably altered) declined from 1.4 per cent to 0.3 per cent.

Apart from the names of martial beasts (*Ursus*, *Leo*) and hypocoristic everyday names (*Bonio* and *Bonizo*),³¹ the only names increasing in quantity

³¹ Hypocoristic names are, for example, in modern English, *Bob*, *Bobby* for *Robert*, often also derived from a singular element of a full (dithematic) name with a special suffix like the Italian *Alessandro*, short name *Sandro* with hypocoristic suffix *Sandr-uccio*. Another example is a person with the Germanic full name *Arni-frid* with the Romance *supernomen* *Arn-ucci-olu*, in the Langobardic bilingual society of 752 (*Codice Diplomatico Longobardo*, I, ed L. Schiaparelli (Rome, 1933), no. 104). *Bon-io*, *Bon-izo* are hypocoristics to Latin *Bonus*.

The early medieval naming-world of Ravenna, eastern Romagna and the Pentapolis were those of saints attached to important basilicas and monasteries in Ravenna and its environs: the cathedral church of S. Martino, the church of the Apostles (S. Pier Maggiore), S. Maria Maggiore, S. Giovanni Evangelista, S. Andrea with the Relics, SS. Sergio e Bacchio, S. Apollinare in Classe and S. Apollinare Nuovo (originally S. Martino in Cielo d'Oro), S. Severo, S. Giorgio, and slightly further away San Marino near Rimini.³² It is surprising that the important church of S. Vitale could not buck the trend of decline in the case of the PN *Vitalis*. The most notable cases of increase were, of course, those of the universal saints *Petrus*, *Paulus*, *Johannes Evangelista* and, in its wake, *Baptista*: parts of a north Italian trend.

Table 12.5 compares the most common non-Germanic PNs found in the ninth century at the monastery of Nonantula, at Leno near Brescia and among the diocesan clergy of Brescia, and in the charters of Milan and Emilia Occidentale:³³

Table 12.5. The most common non-Germanic PNs in Langobardic northern Italy

	Nonantula I / II		Leno	St. Paul	Emilia	Brescia	Milan
					Occ.		
Johannes	7.3%	13.8%	15.0%	5.4%	20.7%	7.8%	9.5%
	(29)	(59)	(6)	(3)	(70)	(4)	(38)
Petrus	5.5%	7.0%	2.5%	19.6%	19.5%	2.0%	9.3%
	(22)	(30)	(1)	(11)	(66)	(1)	(37)
Dominicus	5.3%	7.3%	5.0%	/	6.2%	2.0%	4.0%
	(21)	(31)	(2)		(21)	(1)	(16)
Ursus	3.5%	5.8%	5.0%	21.4%	5.9%	7.8%	4.0%
	(14)	(25)	(2)	(12)	(20)	(4)	(16)
Benedictus	3.0%	4.0%	7.5%	/	5.0%	7.8%	3.5%
	(12)	(17)	(3)		(17)	(4)	(13)

³² Cf. for the Ravenna churches their partially Greek patron saints and connected personal names: A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantin au VII^e siècle. L'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* (Rome, 1969), pp. 173–4; Lazard, 'Tradition ancienne', pp. 449–53; C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400–1000* (1981), p. 76; Carile, 'Continuità', pp. 123–4; E. Morini, 'Santi Orientali a Ravenna', in Carile, *Storia di Ravenna*, ii. 283–303; Morini, 'Le strutture monastiche a Ravenna', in Carile, *Storia di Ravenna*, ii. 306–21; J.-M. Sansterre, 'Monaci e monasteri greci a Ravenna', in Carile, *Storia di Ravenna*, ii. 323–9.

³³ Cf. W. Haubrichs, 'Die Namenwelt der Eidliste von St. Paul. Sprachwissenschaftliche und onomastische Beiträge zu Struktur, Herkunft und Zeitstellung', in *Verwaltete Treue. Ein oberitalienisches Originalverzeichnis (breve) mit den Namen von 174 vereidigten Personen aus der Zeit Lothars I*, ed. S. Esders and W. Haubrichs (forthcoming 2016), section III, 3.

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Deusdedit	2.5% (10)	1.9% (8)	/	1.8% (1)	0.9% (3)	2.0% (1)	2.5% (10)
Lupus	2.3% (9)	3.8% (16)	15.0% (6)	/	2.7% (9)	7.8% (4)	3.8% (15)
Maurus	2.3% (9)	2.3% (10)	/	1.8% (1)	1.2% (4)	/	0.5% (2)
Laurentius	2.0% (8)	1.9% (8)	/	1.8% (1)	0.9% (3)	/	0.8% (3)
Leo	1.8% (7)	1.9% (8)	2.5% (1)	7.1% (4)	10.0% (34)	13.7% (7)	6.5% (26)
Andreas	1.5% (6)	2.6% (11)	2.5% (1)	12.5% (7)	5.0% (17)	2.0% (1)	4.5% (18)
Stephanus	0.5% (4)	2.1% (9)	2.5% (1)	1.8% (1)	3.0% (10)	/	/
Latinus	/	/	/	7.1% (4)	/	/	/

The differences between the Romance name-worlds of the Po plain and of Ravenna are clear. Among the first twelve PNs in the central part of northern Italy, the following simply do not appear: *Sergius*, *Romanus*, *Gregorius*, *Vitalis*, *Constantinus*, *Marinus*, *Honestus*, *Georgius*, *Severus*, *Apollinaris* (not *Bonio*, *Boniza* either). There are, in other words, none of those names that have any stronger connection with Byzantium or the saints venerated in the Adriatic metropolis. By contrast, of the traditionally most popular northern Italian PNs, the only ones missing are the typically monastic *Benedictus*, the Roman *Laurentius* and the much less frequent thereophoric PN *Lupus*, which is particularly well-represented in Brescia and nearby Leno.

It is equally clear that processes of name-concentration were being played out in the rest of northern Italy, as in Ravenna where *Johannes*, *Petrus*, *Dominicus*, *Ursus* and *Leo* (the last of these much diminished) were rising to occupy the top five places. Readily comparable to Ravenna is the Lombard metropolis Milan (which also had a distinctive liturgy of its own), where *Johannes*, *Petrus*, *Leo*, *Ambrosius*, *Andreas*, *Dominicus*, *Ursus* and, unexpectedly, *Paulus* predominate. The importance of the Milanese *Ambrosius* is comparable to the role played by the clerical saints of Ravenna in eastern Romagna and the Pentapolis.³⁴

Worth stressing at the same time, along with the role of saints in connection with the accelerating processes of name-concentration, is the

³⁴ Cf. Lazard, 'Studio Onomastico', pp. 33–45.

The early medieval naming-world of Ravenna, eastern Romagna and the Pentapolis increasing role of naming after grandfather and grandmother, father and mother.³⁵ In this last respect, there was already a strong tradition in late antique society. The Ravenna documents and the notitiae in the Breviary (Breviarium CB) offer numerous examples of the growing embeddedness of this customary naming-practice. Only a few examples can be cited here:

Naming after grandfather or grandmother:

- in 893, *Lucia ancilla Dei filia ... Pauli consule* with *avia Lucia* (CRa 2006, no. 47)
- in 955; *Johannes ... dux filio quondam Sergius dux et Sergius nobili viro filio suo ...* (CRa I 1999, no. 86)

Naming after father or mother:

- in 851/52 and 866/67: *Petrus vir clarissimus filio quondam Petrus* (CRa 2006, no. 22)
- in 850/59: *Gregorio de Gregoria* (*ibid.*, no. 19)
- in 855: *Atilianus filio quondam Atiliani* (*ibid.*, no. 16)
- in 867: *Martinus vir clarissimus filio Martino tabellione* (*ibid.*, no. 21)
- in 877: *Honestus filio quondam Honesti ducis* (*ibid.*, no. 31)
- in 883: *Gregorio filio quondam Gregorio vir clarissimus* (*ibid.*, no. 35)
- in 896: *Iohannes filius Iohannis consulis* (*ibid.*, no. 51)
- in 937: *Honestus filius quondam Honesti ducis ...* (Vesi 1845, 181)
- in 942: *Iohannes filio quondam Iohannes Callicario* ('boot-maker') (Vesi 1845, 188)
- in 949: *Iohannes vir clarissimus filio quondam Iohannis callegario* (CRa I 1999, no. 62)
- in 955: *Leo et Sabbatinus atque Ursus germanis filii quondam Ursus* (CRa I 1999, no. 82)
- in 955: *Andreas filio Andreas dativus und Iohannes filio quondam ... Iohannes dativus ...* (CRa I 1999, no. 86)
- in 956: *Marina nobilissima femina relicta quondam sancte memorie dominus Andreas dativus ... consenciente Andreas suavissimo filio meo ...* (Vesi 1845, 233)
- in 957: *Leo filio quondam Le[*o* qui vocatur de Fori C]omini*; also *Leo filio Leo tabellio* and *Leo filio quondam Leo de Nocito ...* (CRa I 1999, no. 85)

³⁵ Cf. Haubrichs, 'Typen', pp. 60–4.

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- in 964: *Iuliano, et Cristina, et Petronia ... filii Cristina quae vocatur Bonagenitrix* (Vesi 1845, 277)
- in 964: *Petrus filius condam Petrus dativus ...* (Vesi 1845, 278)
- in 965: kinsmen alongside each other in a witness-list: *Johannes consul pater civitatis, Johannes consul, Johannes filius Joannis patris civitatis ...* (Vesi 1845, 283; cf. CRa II 2002 no. 140 a. 968)
- in 972: *Petrus filius Petri ducis ...* (CB 1985, App. III no. 3)
- in 974 *Stephan filio Stephani ...* (CB 1985, App. III no. 11)
- in 971/83: *Iohannes filio quondam Iohannis de Guido et Rosa iugalis ...* (CB 1985, no. 47)
- in 977: *Vitalis filio quondam Vitalis negociator ...* and *Vitalis filio Vitalis negociatur* as witnesses (CRa III 2002, no. 203).

Naming after parents had clearly become much more frequent, above all in the case of common Romance names. One consequence was that the close identification of an individual by means of information on parental names (often characterized by a prepositional construction like *Johannes de Petro*), place of origin or residence, profession and status, and finally through alternative names or nicknames, was becoming much more common now. This class of new nicknames (in Italian sources called *supernomina* or *cognomina*), in particular, would merit a study of their own, but here are a few examples that go back to the ninth century:

- in 834/46 *Martini qui vocatur Pirotulo* that is *Martini Pirocti* (probably related to Greek *pyrrôtēs* ‘ruddy’, ‘bronze-coloured’) ... (CB 1985, no. 69)
- in 850/59: *Carvitalis Trigintafascio* and *Marinus Tregintafascio* (‘thirty-bundles’) (CRa 2006, no. 19), also *Iohannes Pitulo* (‘tiny’), *Natale qui vocatur Vaccolario* (‘cow-herd’) and *Leo Dicomolex*, all inhabitants of Comacchio
- in 870: *Iohannes qui vocatur Magusculo* (‘just a bit bigger’, ‘give-me-a-bigger-helping’) (CRa 2006, no. 25)
- in 885: *Urso qui vocatur Pittulo* (‘tiny’) ... (Vesi 1845, 123)
- in 893: *Constantino Blanco* (‘white’)... (Vesi 1845, 140)
- in 896: *Leo qui vocatur Albo* (‘white’) ... (CRa 2006, no. 54)
- in 901: *Petrus vir clarissimus filius quondam Gregorius qui vocatur Squilla* (‘bell’) and *Gregorius vir clarissimus filio Iohannes qui vocatur Barbuto* (‘beardie’ or ‘helmeted warrior’) (CRa I 1999, no. 2)
- a. 907 *Ursus qui vocatur Barbalongo* (‘long-beard’), a *colonus* (CRa I 1999, no. 7)

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- a. 915 Imola *Martinus qui vocatur Pitulus* ('tiny') (CRa I 1999, no. 26)
- a. 919 *Vitalis qui vocatur Curto* ('shorty'), ein *colonus* (CRa I 1999, no. 31)
- a. 927/71 *Leo Mamolo* ('poppet', 'mummy's boy?') ... (CB 1985 App. III no. 20); a. 963 *Leo Mamolo*, also a. 972 and a. 986 (CRa II 2002, no. 113, 162; III, no. 92)
- a. 927/71 *Urso et Iohanne germani qui vocantur Aquaviuli* ('walkers-on-water?') ... (CB 1985, no. 68)
- a. 944 *Maria qui vocatur Quertia* ('oak-tree') (CRa I 1999, no. 53)
- a. 947 *Martino qui vocatur Castaldio* ... (Vesi 1845, 195)
- a. 949 *Dominicus qui vocatur Scottto* ('the burned one') *presbiter et cantor* (CRa I 1999, no. 62)
- a. 950 *Andreas qui vocatur Bono* ... (Vesi 1845, 206)
- a. 953 *Marinus qui vocatur Bonizo capitulario Schole Negociatorum* ... (Vesi 1845, 321)
- a. 954 *Vitus negociator qui vocatur Battifolle* ('felt-trampler')³⁶
- a. 955 *Leo Extralumini* ... (CRa I 1999, no. 82)
- a. 962 *Johannes qui vocatur Vacario* ('cow-herd') ... (Vesi 1845, 262)
- a. 964 u.ö. *Dominicus Divini Luminis* ('with-divine-light') *tabellio* (CRa II 2002, no. 114)
- a. 967 *Iohannes Navicula* ('incense-burner' or 'little boat') (CRa II 2002, no. 134)
- a. 973 *Andreas qui vocatur Turco* ... (Vesi 1845, 321)
- a. 973 *Martinus qui vocatur Perdilupum* ('slay-the wolf', 'wolf-slayer') (CRa II 2002, no. 179)
- a. 977 *Dominicus qui vocatur Bestiolo* ('beastie-boy') (CRa III 2002, no. 196)
- a. 977 *Iohannes qui vocatur Buccaluvio* ('wolf-jaws') and his kinsman *Sergio qui vocatur Buccaluvio* (*ibid.* III, no. 201)
- a. 977 *Johanne Cantamissa* ('sing-the-Mass') ... (CRa III 2002, no. 195)
- a. 978 *Dominico qui vocatur Benibono* ('well-and-good') ... (CRa III 2002, no. 206)

³⁶ *Lessico Etimologico Italiano*, v, ed. M. Pfister and W. Schweickard (Wiesbaden, 1997), p. 452.

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- a. 978 ... *heredes quondam Bario **Bibiaqua*** ('drink-water') ... (*ibid.*)
- a. 982 *Paulus vero filius Romanus qui vocatur **Romizo*** (hypocoristic < *Rom-itio* 'little Roman') (Vesi 1845, 383)
- a. 982 *Dominicus negotiatur qui vocatur **Vulpio*** ('fox') ... (CRa III 2002, no. 225)
- a. 983 *Johannes consul qui vocatur **Pava*** ('peacock?') ... (Vesi 1845, 392f.)
- a. 983 *Leo **Zoppo*** ('lame', 'the one with a limp') ... (*ibid.*)
- a. 983 *Dominico **Tornafoglia*** ('turn-the-leaf') ... (*ibid.*)
- a. 983 *Bonizo **Tenca*** (from *tinca, tenca*, 'tench' (a small fish) ... (*ibid.*)
- a. 985 *Dominico qui vocatur **Guerra*** ('quarrel'), a *colonus* (CRa III, no. 234)
- a. 988 *Martinus **Guardabovi*** ('watch-the-ox', 'ox-guard') (CRa III, no. 240)
- a. 992 *Johannis dux et Maria magnifica femina quae vocatur **Marocia*** (hypocoristic < **Mar-uccia*) *jugalis* ... (CRa III 2002, no. 255)
- a. 996 *Andreas dativus qui vocatur **Hutilis*** (*utilis* 'handy') ... (Vesi 1845, 410)
- a. 997 *Rodulfus filius quondam Severus qui vocatur **Battisigillo*** ('hammer-the-seal') ... (Vesi 1845, 419)
- a. 998 *Iohannes **Tjanella*** (hypocoristic form of *Tjan, Cian* 'Johannes') (CRa III 2002, no. 274)
- saec. X ec. *Sergio qui vocatur **Caro*** ('dearie') ... (CB 1985 App. III, no. 6; CB, no. 9)
- saec. X ex. *Martinus agellarius qui vocatur **Gallato*** ('braggart') ... (CB 1985, no. III)

The special characteristics of the native name-giving traditions of Ravenna emerge more sharply not when they are categorized from an etymological point of view, that is, based on whether they derive from Latin, Greek or biblical origins, but when they are considered typologically, that is, classified not by reference to their origins but, instead, in terms of their contemporary function and motivation.³⁷

³⁷ Cf. for name-typology of the early middle ages: N. Gauthier, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne*, i: *Première Belgique* (Paris, 1975), pp. 82–90, 103–5; W. Haubrichs, 'Romanen an Rhein und Mosel. Onomastische Reflexionen', in *Deutsche Sprache in Raum und Zeit. Festschrift für P. Wiesinger*, ed. P. Ernst and F. Patocka (Vienna, 1998),

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1. PNs that carry Roman (*gentilicia, cognomina*) and Celtic traditions:

Armentarius, Attilianus, Bar(io), Cesario, Constantinus, Donatianus, Fusca, Gavriolus (< **Capriolus*), *Gavus, Grateria, Hadrianus, Ianuaria, Iulianus, Iustinianus, Laurio, Maioranus, Marcellus, Massus, Mulcus* (?), *Musivius, Priscus, Romanus, Rufinus, Secundus, Severus, Severinus, Silvarus, Tansilus, Tereius, Tiberius, Valentius, Valentinus, Valerius, Venerius* etc.

In these various groups are included many of the most diverse PNs, but perhaps some of those Roman and late antique names as well, passed on for family reasons. Particularly clear, and striking, are the after-effects of emperor-names as models – names like *Cesario, Constantinus, Hadrianus, Iulianus, Iustinianus, Maioranus, Severus, Tiberius, Valentinus, Valerius* (from *Valerianus*).

2. Theriophoric PNs: *Acceptor, Corvius, Leo, Leontius* etc., *Leo-parda* and *Flori-parda, Lupus, Lupucinus, Ursus* and Greco-Latin *Migale* ('Ermine').

Theriophoric PNs are confined exclusively to the aggressive, 'warrior-like' animals, as can be seen so well in the reception of *Acceptor* ('hawk') and the exotic (feminine) *Leo-pardus*, who metaphorically-speaking evolved even further into a feminine *Flori-parda*. These names correspond to an important element of Germanic name-giving, in which bear, wolf, boar, eagle, ravens and to some extent hawk and falcons play roles that are significant in terms of meaning.

3. PNs deriving from ethnic, geographical and linguistic motives:

Bacauda-, Bulgarus, Castell-ulo, Cerrito, Gallius, Maurus, Maurinus, Ravennus, -a, **Romanus**, Tuscus.

Probably only local and regional roles are at play in motivating these PNs, apart from *Maurus* and *Romanus*. These can be found, for example, in the case of an unfree man named *Castell-ulo* ('the little castle-dweller'); *Cerrito* as the by-name of a man called *Rodelandus* referring to the place of his residence; newly coined names like *Ravennus*, denoting origin in the metropolitan seat of Ravenna; finally, the name of an area, the *terra Bulgarium* near Rimini, which probably went back to the name of a zone of military settlement (CB 1983, table 1; cf. CRa 2006, no. 14).³⁸

pp. 385–96; also Haubrichs, 'Baiern, Romanen und Andere. Sprachen, Namen, Gruppen südlich der Donau und in den östlichen Alpen während des frühen Mittelalters', *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*, lxix (2006), 395–465, at pp. 417–18, 451–65.

³⁸ Cf. for settlements of *Bulgari* in the region of Ravenna and in the Pentapolis: A. Polverari, *Una Bulgaria nella Pentapoli. Longobardi, Bulgari e Sclavini a Senigallia* (Senigallia,

4. PNs promising well-being ('salvation-bringing names'):

Amabilis, Amicus, Armatus, Basilius (Greek 'king'), *Benedictus, Benigna, Bennatus, Blanca, Bonifatius, Bono, -itius, Desiderius, Digna, Domnellus* ('little lord'), *Eleutherius* (Greek 'noble, generous'), *Eudoxia* (Greek 'of high repute'), *Eufraxia* (Greek 'joy'), *Eustorgia* (Greek 'the well beloved'), *Faustus, Felicitas, Felix, Florentius, Florus, Formosa, Gaudentius, Genetia, Gloriosa, Hilaria, Honestus, Honoratus, Hypatia* (Greek 'the highest'), *Justus, -inus, Laetus, -ulus, Lilius, -osus, Magnus, Patricius, Prestabilis* ('ready and willing', 'forgiving'), *Pulchra, Rosa, Senator, Tribunus, Verus, Vitalis, -ianus* etc.

Inherent in this group of names is the meaning of good wishes for the name-bearer's well-being (e.g., *Amabilis, Prestabilis, Verus*); salvation and good fortune (e.g., *Benedictus, Faustus, Felicitas*); partly metaphorical, wishes for a desired outward appearance (e.g., *Blanca, Formosa, Pulchra, Florus, Lilius, Rosa*); and finally for a man's future social status (*Basilius, Armatus, Domnellus, Patricius, Senator, Tribunus*). Some of these could, of course, be reckoned in certain contexts as saints' names (as in the cases of the monastic founding-fathers *Basilius* and *Benedictus*). The Greek and Greco-Latin names may be Byzantine imports to Ravenna, although such name-types can be found in the west too from late antiquity onwards.

5. Theophoric and Christian PNs:

Agn-ellus ('little Christ-lamb'), *Anastasius* (linked to the Greek *anastasis* 'resurrection'), *Campana* ('bell?'), *Columba* ('dove') *Cristi(a)nus, Cristodulos* ('slave of Christ'), *Cristophorus* ('Christ-bearer'), *Deodatus, Deusededit, Dominicus, Donatus, Donumdei, Natalis* (linked to Latin *natale* 'Christmas'), *Paschalis* (linked to *pascha* 'Easter'), *Peregrinus* ('pilgrim'), *Sabbat-inus* (linked to *sabbatum*, 'the Sabbath'), *Speraindeo* ('hope-in-God'), *Theucaristus* (Greek 'pleasant to God?'), *Theodokia* (Greek 'received by God' ?), *Teodosius* (Greek *theodósios* 'gift of God'), *Theodorus, -acus* ('given by God'), *Teofilactus* (linked to Greek *theophilos* 'friend of God'), etc.

In this group, there is a high number of Greek names relating to God and Christ. These attest, yet again, to Byzantine influence in Ravenna.³⁹ There

1969); R. Bernacchia, 'L'assetto territoriale della bassa valle del Cesano nell'alto Medioevo', in *Istituzioni e società nell'alto Medioevo Marchigiano*, II (Deputazione di storia patria per le Marche, Atti e Memorie 86, 1981) (3 vols., Ancona, 1983), ii. 683–714; P. Galetti, 'Citta e campagna nella Pentapoli: Strutture materiali e tipologia dell'insediamento nei secoli VIII–X', in *Istituzioni e società nell'alto Medioevo Marchigiano*, ii. 635.

³⁹ Cf. for the Byzantinization of the Exarchatus and the Pentapolis: Guillou, 'Régionalisme', *passim*; A. Benati, 'Bologna dalla caduta dell'Impero Romano d'occidente

The early medieval naming-world of Ravenna, eastern Romagna and the Pentapolis are direct parallels between such new name-types in Greek and in Latin (*Theodosius* = *Donumdei*, *Theodorus* = *Deodatus*, *Deusededit*, *Donatus*). The most common names, however, are those with *Dominicus*, *Deusededit* in the Latin-speaking areas. A second group present names derived from those of major church feasts: Christ's Nativity, the Sabbath, Easter, Ascension. A third group consists of Christian symbols: the Christ-Lamb, the dove, the clear-sounding bell. In a few cases, such as *Anastasius*, *Christophorus* and *Theodorus*, the cult of the saints could also have been an influence.

6. Saints' names:

Agatha (Catania, Rome), Agnes (Rome), ***Ambrosius*** (Mailand), ***Apollinaris*** (Ravenna), *Demetrius* (Byzantium, Thessalonika), ***Georgius*** (Byzantium, Ravenna), *Germanus* (Paris?, Auxerre?), ***Gregorius*** (Byzantium, Nyssa, Nazianzus etc., Ravenna), *Laurentius* (Rome), *Lucia* (Syrakus, Ravenna), *Marcus* (Alexandria, Venice), ***Marinus*** (San Marino), *Martinus* (Tours, Ravenna), *Mauritius* (Saint-Maurice d'Agaune in Burgundy), *Mercurius* (Byzantium), *Nicolaus* (Byzantium), *Savinus* (Piacenza), ***Sergius*** (Byzantium, Ravenna), ***Severus*** (Ravenna), ***Vitalis*** (Bologna, Ravenna), *Zeno* (Verona).⁴⁰

This group is at once functionally powerful and unstable as a category because it quite naturally feeds off all the other name-types. From the standpoint of functionality, PNs of biblical origin need to be numbered along with saints' names as those most often given: ***Andreas***, ***Johannes*** (*Evangelista* and *Baptista*), ***Maria***, ***Paulus***, ***Petrus*** and ***Stephanus***, the *protomartyr*.

The high frequency of these biblical names can be explained only in terms of the growing veneration, from the fifth/sixth centuries onwards, of the mother of God, the Apostle and the proto-martyr Stephen – veneration underlined by the many churches in Ravenna dedicated to them.

7. Biblical PNs:

By contrast with the seven holy personages just mentioned, other biblical names are attested by only one or two examples: *Abraham*, *Adam*, *Anna*, *David*, *Josephus*, *Michael*, *Moyses*, *Susanna*, *Tedeus*. The

alla lotta per le investiture (secoli V–XI)', in *Storia di Bologna*, ed. A. Ferri and G. Roversi (Bologna, 1978), pp. 91–125, at pp. 91–110; A. Guillou, 'L'Italia bizantina dell'invasione longobarda alla caduta di Ravenna', in *Storia d'Italia*, i, ed. G. Galasso (Turin, 1980), pp. 220–340; Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy* (1987), pp. 64–79; Carile, 'Continuità'; Haubrichs, 'Hybridität und Integration', pp. 115–45; Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers, passim*; E. Zanini, *Le Italie Bizantine. Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo)* (Bari, 1998).

⁴⁰ See n. 32 above for the Greek saints.

fall in their numbers and the decline of Byzantine influence in Ravenna were really brought about by similar mutually dependent conditions.⁴¹

A consideration of name-typology readily demonstrates the great variety of the Romance name-world in Ravenna. Already by the ninth and tenth centuries only a vestige remained, for, while the most common twenty-two names already comprised 65.4 per cent, rising to 80.1 per cent, of the total name-stock, typological analysis of these twenty-two names reveals that no fewer than fourteen can be categorized as saints' names of varied provenance. Alongside these there remained only the emperor-name *Constantinus*, the warlike-beast names *Ursus* and *Leo*, the auspicious PN *Honestus*, perhaps *Vitalis*, and *Bonus* whose ascent was already under way. Of the theophoric and Christian PNs, *Deusededit* and especially *Dominicus* ('he who belongs to the Lord') enjoyed a certain success. But it has already been shown that practically only names associated with the veneration of saints continued to increase up to the end of the tenth century.

The rise of Germanic PNs

The PNs of Germanic provenance increased during the ninth century (from virtually none) and still more in the tenth when the percentage rises from 13 per cent to 23 per cent. They remain a minority in a still largely Romance name-world. What is surprising is the lack of variety: the names that recur most often are those whose models hark back to traditional Ostrogothic names like Theodericus and Amalricus, and to Lombard kings and dukes: Grimoald (662–71), Aistulf (749–56), duke Romuald (662–87), Duke Gisulf (689–706); also Carolingian names like Arnulf, Drogo, Pipino (at Rimini: Vesi 1845, 172), Carlus (CB 1985, no. 75), Bernardus (812–17); and then the names of Italian kings: Wido (889–95), Lambert (891–8), Rudolf of Burgundy (922–6), Hugh of Arles (926–47), Adelbert (950–62); perhaps also the names of *marchio* Arduin of Ivrea and the East-Frankish Konrad (911–18) and probably from the oral tradition of heroic poetry *Eldebrandol* Hildebrand and *Rodelandus*/Roland.

These names, at any rate, were taken up as whole names and the old Germanic-Langobardic custom of name-variation within families (as in the cases of *Ans-prand*, *Hilde-brand*, *Liut-prand*) was no longer practised. Neither their semantic meaning nor their morphology was understood any

⁴¹ Compare the analogous processes in the province of Salzburg in Bavaria: Haubrichs, 'Baiern, Romanen', pp. 425–27, 462–5; W. Haubrichs, 'Bavarii, Romani and others: language, names and groups south of the River Danube and in the eastern Alps during the early middle ages', in *The Baiuvarii and Thuringi: an Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. J. Fries-Knoblach and H. Steuer with J. Hines (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 23–81, at 42–3, 65–7.

The early medieval naming-world of Ravenna, eastern Romagna and the Pentapolis longer. It was, rather, a matter of adopting the names of significant models, in a way resembling that of saints' names. It was thus a special form of naming a child after someone.

Yet the increase in Germanic PNs in the ninth and tenth centuries cannot be explained simply in terms of a new fashion or popular practice, or a new usage. To begin with, regional differences remained in the density of Germanic PNs. In the eighth century they were still insignificant and, as noted above, present only in miniscule numbers in the inner circle of the civitas of Ravenna among the clerical and lay elites. But in Ravenna's broader zone of influence (eastern Romagna, Pentapolis, Marche),⁴² these names first sustained a level of c.13 per cent during the ninth century, and then rose to 23 per cent in the tenth. In a third area, represented in the Breviarium CB, comprising more southerly cities like Rimini, Senigallia, Osimo, Jesi, Urbino and Montefeltro, it was another story: the percentage rose from 18 per cent in the ninth century, to 47.7 per cent in the tenth, thus almost to the level already reached in the ninth century in the old Lombard areas of northern Italy. This change is confirmed by a small Breviarium (CB 1985 app. III, no. 6) of the late tenth century concerning the possessions of the church of Ravenna in the territories of Osimo and Senigallia. Here, of a total of forty-three PNs, there were eighteen Romance (41.9 per cent) against twenty-five of Germanic origin (58.1 per cent). Although the small Breviarium's name-list is relatively short, and hence offers less weighty testimony, there are comparable proportions of Germanic names in the following lists: Nonantola II, made in 860: 56.9 per cent; Leno: 64.7 per cent; Emilia Occidentale: 65.2 per cent; and the oath-list of St. Paul:⁴³ 64.5 per cent. What is being dealt with here must be either migration or intermarriage with families that had stronger Lombard, Frankish or generally transalpine naming-traditions. Of special interest are cases in which the PNs of husband and wife seem to come from

⁴² See for Ravenna's zone of influence: A. Vasina, 'Possessi ecclesiastici ravennati nella Pentapoli durante il Medioevo', *Studi Romagnoli*, xviii (Cesena, 1967), 334-67; Guillou, 'Régionalisme', pp. 94-115, 182-3; A. Vasina, 'La chiesa ravennate e il Ferrarese attorno al mille', in *Romagna Medievale*, ed. A. Vasina (Ravenna, 1970), pp. 49-71; C. Curradi and M. Mazzotti, 'Carte del Montefeltro nell'alto medioevo (723?-999)', *Studi Montefeltrani*, viii (1981), 5-96; G. Fasoli, 'La Pentapoli fra il papato e l'impero nell'alto medioevo', in *Istituzione e società nell'alto medioevo*, i, 55-88; T. Bacchi, 'Ipotesi sul rapporto fra "Breviarium" e altre registrazioni di atti della curia arcivescovile ravennate del tardo X secolo: Il "Register traditionum del Ferrarese"', in *Ricerche e Studi*, pp. 179-91; V. Fumagalli, "'Langobardia" e "Romania": L'occupazione del suolo nella Pentapoli altomedievale', in *Ricerche e Studi*, pp. 95-107; A. Carile, 'La società ravennate dall'Esarcato agli Ottoni', in Carile, *Storia di Ravenna*, ii, 379-404, at pp. 395-9.

⁴³ Cf. Haubrichs, 'Namenwelt', section III, 3.

different traditions: *Georgius et Gisiltruda ...*, *Leo et Ota iugalis ...*, *Iulianus qui vocatur Bonizo et Transberga iugalis et Constantino germanii ...*, *Stephanus et Alina iugalis ...*. Interestingly, it is the women who are often the bearers of Germanic PNs. In other cases, whole families are to be found with the same Germanic name-tradition, suggesting that its adoption occurred through immigration, in-marriage, or the borrowing of custom: *Aldo filio quondam Aldo et Gisulfo et Guarino (<*Warin-) germani ...*, *Pecius et Gisolerius et Leutari et Gubertus germani ...*, *Sigfredu[s] ... filio] Sigfredo et Gaviardo ...*. In any event, it can be concluded that the use of Germanic names spread earlier and more rapidly in what had been territories bordering the heartlands of the former Lombard kingdom.⁴⁴

It is worth pursuing further the earliest cases of Germanic name-giving in the territories of the Pentapolis and Marche: in Rimini the first recorded appears between 834 and 846 (CB 1985, no. 69), with an exceptional case: an already deceased *argentarius* ('silversmith') called *Rodemario* had had a *curtis* in the city; and compare later, in 955 (CRa I 1999, no. 80), *Hugo vir clarissimus* and *aurifex ex genere Langobardorum*. Again, between 850 and 878 there first appears in the family of a *dux* a woman with a Germanic name (CB 1985, no.76): the case concerns the petition of a group headed by *Martinus dux civitatis Ariminensis et Cristoduli iugalis seu Albesinda et Petrus sitque Agnellus clericus honesti pueri germani ...*; also appearing as their neighbour in Rimini is another office-holder, *Adulfo auctenta numero Armensi* (a military rank in a Rimini unit). The Martin mentioned above is probably a kinsman of the *Martinus gloriosus dux* who in the mid ninth century inherited properties in Rimini from his mother *Valbesinda* and sold *Bulgaria Nova* (CRa 2006, no. 14). Archbishop Romanus between 878 and 888 granted (CB 1985, no. 78) a *petitio* of *Ingelrada comitissa* in Rimini; also active in Rimini between 889 and 898 was an association of *Picardus* (with Langobardic shift [b]>[p] <*Bik-hard-) et *Cristoduli iugalis*, *Petrus magister militum et Anna iugalis* (CB, no. 77)). Before 889 × 898 *Tepaldus* (with Langobardic [b]>[p] and Romance sound-shift [eu]>[e] etc. <*Theud-bald-) *filius Leonis de duce Ursone* had *terra et silva qui vocatur Sancti Theodoro ...* (CB 1985, no. 79) (between Cervia and Rimini), where in 959 in Montefeltro *Leo filius Ursi ducis* was mentioned together with his mother *Adeltruda*, whose PN was Germanic. It looks as if in-marriages of

⁴⁴ For Langobardic influences see P. Delogu, A. Guillou and G. Ortali, 'Longobardi e Bizantini', in *Storia d'Italia*, I, ed. G. Galasso (Turin, 1980), pp. 3–219; A. Cherubini, 'Presenza longobarda nel territorio Jesino', in *Istituzioni e società nell'alto medioevo marchigiano*, ii, 515–50; B. Baldetti, 'Per una nuova ipotesi sulla conformazione spaziale della Pentapoli', in *Istituzioni e società nell'alto medioevo marchigiano*, ii, 779–894, at pp. 790–5; R. Bernacchia, 'L'assetto territoriale', pp. 696–8.

The early medieval naming-world of Ravenna, eastern Romagna and the Pentapolis people from areas of Lombard or Frankish tradition into the native elite lay behind the adoption of new names. Further south in Senigallia (north-west of Ancona) no Germanic PNs appear before 889 × 898 (CB 1985, no. 98, 101).

Frankish nobles occasionally pushed their way into the region of Ravenna, however, as can be seen in the case of wrongfully appropriated properties given back to the monastery of S. Apollinare in 838 (CRa 2006, no. 11). An important lord like *Gisulphus filius quondam Romualdi ducis comanente in territorio Corneliense* (both father and son were distinguished by names of the ducal house of Friuli-Benevento) showed his devotion to the church of Ravenna in 855 (in a document drawn up at S. Apollinare) when he gave lands to it at Bologna, Imola and Faenza (CRa 2006, no. 16).

The picture was quite different at the inland town of Osimo, south of Ancona. There, as early as 806 × 810, a Lombard office-holder *Radigis castaldus*, along with his Greek-named wife *Eustorgia*, received lands from Ravenna in the *fundus Lotaciano* (CB 1985, no. 135); another gastald with the typically Langobardic name *Asprandus* (with [b]>[p] from **Ans-brand-*) appears in an undated Osimo charter (CB 1985, no. 153). Also at an early date and a bit further inland at Jesi there is evidence of a woman called *Trasperga* (with lgb. [b]>[p] from **Thrasi-berga*) *ancilla Dei relicta* ('widow') *quondam Faraone magister militum*, hence, the widow of another high office-holder, whose name in this case included the distinctive Langobardic element *fara* ('group of military companions', 'kindred').⁴⁵ In the *fundi* of *Cornianello* and *Valle* near Osimo, *Verfualdus* (probably from *Wulfoald-*) *et Theudelaupa* (with lgb. [b]>[p] from *-leuba*, 'love') accepted lands from Ravenna between 813 and 834 (CB 1985, no. 131); at about the same time, *Ansiperga* (with lgb. [b]>[p] from *-berga*) and her Greek-named husband *Iohannaci* obtained property in the *fundus Calvigiano* (CB 1985, no. 139). *Ottiperga* (with lgb. [d]>[t] and [b]>[p] from **Odi-berga*), her husband *Iohannes dux* and a deacon of the church of Osimo got parts *de fundo qui vocatur Ecclesiastico* between 846 and 850 (CB 1985, no. 125). At a similar date, *Wido comes*, probably of Frankish descent and perhaps a member of the emperor Lothar's entourage, along with his wife *Ita, Itana* (with lgb. [d]>[t] from **Ida*) received the *massa Afraniana* near Osimo as a lease (CB 1985, no. 162). Here, it becomes clear that not only did in-marriage occur but that Lombard and Frankish office-holders themselves were keen to get a foothold in formerly Byzantine territory.

⁴⁵ For Langobardic *fara*, see W. Haubrichs, 'Leudes, fara, faramanni und farones: Zur Semantik der Bezeichnungen für einige am Konsenshandeln beteiligte Gruppen', in *Recht und Konsens im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. V. Epp (forthcoming).

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Some of these presumably new *advenae* were explicitly (probably because of the requirement to ‘profess one’s law’) identified as Franks or Lombards:

- a. 850/59 *Dominicus Franco* (CRa 2006, no. 19)
- a. 896 *Adelengo qui vocatur Acio ex genere Francorum* (CRa 2006, no. 54)
- a. 909 *Adam inlustris vir filius quondam Milteo ex genere Francorum* (CRa I, no. 15)
- a. 927/71 *Osimo Ermenaldus* (brother of *Arnustus*) *genere Francorum et Betta iugalis* (CB 1985, no. 124)
- a. 927/71 *Senigallia Paulus qui vocatur Aucello et Lupo de Viciliano ambo natione Longobardorum* (CB 1985, no. 85n.)
- a. 944 *Maria simplex femina nationi Slavorum* (CRa I 1999, no. 52)
- a. 948 *Acadeo* (< Greek *Agatheus*) *vir magnificus filius Guinigisi ex (g)enere Alamannorum; Adalo qui vocatur Acius ex (g)enere Allamannorum et Anna clarissima femina iugalis* (CRa I 1999, no. 59)
- a. c.950 *Esmido* (< *Smido* ‘smith’) *nacioni Francorum* with three names illegible in the witness list *nacioni Langobardorum* (CB 1985 App. III, no. 14; CRa I 1999, no. 69); a. 966 at Osimo *nobili viro Esmido ex genere Francorum* with neighbours *Johannis dux* and *Ageltrudis regina*, wife of the emperor Guido, duke of Spoleto (CB 1985 App. III, no. 12 and no. 121);⁴⁶ the successor to the properties in question is the *illuster vir Arduinus vir filius quondam Arduini et Gisla iugalis* (CB 1985, no. 122)
- a. 955 *Acio/Azo vir clarissimus filius quondam Leoni ex genere Langobardorum; Hugo vir clarissimus aurifex (ex genere) Langobardorum* (CRa I 1999, no. 80)
- a. 957 witnesses *Arialdo nacione Langobardorum and Rodaldo qui vocatur Bo(n)izo natione Langobardorum* (Vesi 1845, 247)
- a. 969 *Adelbertus ex genere Langobardorum* and the *germani Amelricus* and *Lambertus*, both *ex genere Langobardorum*, with rights to salt-pans at Comacchio (CRa 2006, no. 54)
- a. 978 from the same family *nobili viro Tetbaldo* (with Romance phonetic substitution [eu]>[e] from **theud-*) *filio Esmidonis ex genere Francorum, et Amelgarda eiusdem iugali* in Ravenna (CB 1985 App. III, no. 13)

⁴⁶ For further possessions of Queen *Ageltrudis* in the region of Jesi cf. Baldetti, ‘La conformazione’, p. 839.

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- a. 981 in the same way *nobili viro Lamberto filio Smidonis comitis et Adelberga clarissima femina iugalis* (CB 1985 App. III, no. 15)
- a. 981 *Vallengo filio quondam Tedmari* (with Romance [eu] > [e]) *ex genere Francorum sitque Adelbertus filius Aimeradi* (with Westfrankish-Romance aphaeresis of [h] from **Haima-rad-*) *qui vocatur Domnellus* ('little lord') (CB 1985 App. III, no. 5)

Thus men professing themselves legally Lombard and Frankish are predominantly involved in Ravenna and its environs. But, surprisingly, there are people who as late as the tenth century have the by-name *Greco*, for instance in 965 an already deceased *Petrus qui vocabatur Greco*, and between 969 and 970 *Leo qui vocabatur Greco* (CRa II 2002, no. 120, 152). Most of these Franks show typically Romance peculiarities in the PNs (phonetic substitution [eu] > [e], unorganic vowel before s + consonant). So they should probably be considered men of West Frankish origin.

Some people can be recognized as having names with specific OHG, not Langobardic, phonetic traits, as in 927/71 the umlaut [a]>[e] in the (already romanized) name *Gisl-erius* < **Gisal-hari-* (CB 1985, no. 160f.) and 903 *Regizo* < **Rag-izo* (Vesi 1845, 152), or 971/83 the monophthongization of the Germanic diphthong [ai] > [ê] in *Frogerio* < **Frôt-gair-* (CB 1985, no. 86), 978 *Gerizo* < **Gaira-* (CRa II 2002, no. 206), 927/71 *Keri-berga* < **Gaira-* (CB, no. 161), here again with the medial shift [g]>[k], allowing Alamannic or Bavarian origin to be inferred.⁴⁷

The shift of the pre-OHG media [d, b, g] to [t, p, k] is also to be seen as a distinctively Langobardic symptom, especially if accompanied by other features that can be considered romanisms.

- [d]>[t]: a. ± 850 *Ottiperga* < **Odi-* (CB 1985, no. 125); a. 889/98 *Rotdegario* < **Rōdi-* (CB 1985, no. 98); a. 941 *Alti-perga* < **Aldi-* (CB 1985, no. 187); a. 971/83 *Liuttefre[do]* < **Liudi-* (CB 1985, no. 4); a. 971/83 *Tacemanno* < **Dagi-* (CB 1985, no. 120); undated *Adteperga* < **Ada-berga* (CB 1985, no. 109); undated *Guittinis* > **Widīn-* with Romance substitution <gu> for Germ. [w] (CB 1985, no. 61)
- [b]>[p]: a. 806/10 *Trasi-perga* < **berga-* (CB 1985, no. 164); a. 816/34 *Ansi-perga* < **berga-* (CB 1985, no. 139); a. 816/34 *Theudeleupa* < **-leuba* (CB 1985, no. 131); a. 834/46 *Leopertus* < **Leod-pert-* (CB 1985, no. 136); a. 898/904 *Gariprandus* < **Gairi-brand-* (CB 1985, no. 185); a. 889/98 *Picardus* < **Bik-hard-* (CB 1985, no. 77); a. 889/98 *Tepaldus* < **-bald-* (CB 1985 no. 79); a. 941 *Gariprando* < **-brand-* (CB 1985, no. 187); a. 927/71 *Giselprandus* < **-brand-* (CB

⁴⁷ See further examples at the end of this chapter, pp. 294–5.

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1985, no. 115); a. 970/71 *Gari-prando* < *-brand-* (CB 1985, no. 181); a. 971/83 *Otperto* < **Od-bert-* (CB 1985, no. 86) etc.

- [g] > [k]: a. 954 *Guntardus*, *Contardus* < **Gunda-hard-* (Vesi 1845, 230); a. 971/83 *Droconis* < **Drogo* (CB 1985, no. 112); 10th c. *Tacemannus* < **Dagi-* (CB 1985, no. 128).

This finding means that among those in Ravenna's sphere of influence bearing Germanic names considerable numbers of people had a Lombard background.

Especially telling are those cases in which Germanic-Romance or Romance-Germanic filiations occur, such as a father with a Romance name and his son a Germanic one, or vice versa. Only a few examples can be given here: they are typically attested among the elite from c.896, and their first apogée comes only in the later tenth century.⁴⁸

- a. 851/2 or 866/7 *Leutericus filio Lupicinus vir clarissimum* (CRa 2006, no. 22)
- a. 853/4 or 868/9 Faenza *Iohannes filius condam Raginaldo vir clarissimus* (CRa 2006, no. 24)
- a. 873 *Ildiprando notarius filius quondam Tribunus* in the territory of Galatea (CRa 2006, no. 28)
- a. 850/77 *Grauso filio quondam Dominico* in the territory of Montefeltrone (CRa 2006, no. 30)
- a. 877 Ravenna *Ursus vir clarissimus filius quondam Gumperto* (< **Gund-bert-*) (CRa 2006, no. 31)
- a. 891 *Pellegrino seu Alperto filio meo, a colonus* (CRa 2006, no. 40)
- a. 896 *Iohannes consul filius quondam Wandilo seu Iohannes ... filio meo* (Vesi 1845, 140f.)
- a. 896 *Ingelrada filia Apaldi comitis palatii*, wife of *Martiua gloriosus dux*, with *Petro venerabili diacono S. Ravennatis ecclesie dulcissimo et suavissimo filio meo* (CRa 2006, no. 54; cf. Vesi 1845, 142); a. 909 daughter *domna Ingelrada gloriosissima comitissa filia quondam bone memorie domni Martini comitis* (CRa I 1999, no. 15; cf. no. 17, 33); a. 943 Rimini *Raginarius* (< **Ragin-hari*) *umilis diaconus et domno Guido* (< **Wido*) *comes ... filiis bone memorie Teudigrimo et quondam Incelrada comitissa* (*ibid.*, no. 49)⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Cf. above p. 285–7 for the indication of *gens* ethnic origin.

⁴⁹ For the family of *comitissa Ingelrada* see C. Curradi, 'I conti Guidi nel secolo X', *Studi Romagnoli*, xxviii (1977), 17–64, with genealogy at p. 52; see also *ChLA*, 2nd ser., liv (2000), no. 9, 17.

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- a. 909 *nobili viro Adam et Mariae clarissimae femine iugalis, seu Engelbaldo germano meo et Albesinde iugalis* (CB 1985 App. II, no. 5; CRa I 1999, no. 16)
- a. 915 *Paulus Immolensis* (from Immola) *filio Romualdo* (CRa I 1999, no. 26)
- a. 928 *coloni* and *habitatores* in the territory of Bagno: *Georgius cum tres filiis suis, idest Albericus, Gandulfus atque Frodgerius* (with OHG [ai] > [ê] < *-gair-) (Vesi 1845, 177)
- a. 937 *Tustus* (< *Tuscus?) *filius quondam Conradi* and *Urso ... filius quondam Guimberto* (< *Wini-bert-) (Vesi 1845, 184)
- a. 948 *Acadeo ... filius Guinigisi* (< *Wini-gis-) (CRa I 1999, no. 59)
- a. 949 Comacchio *Paulus filio quondam Rotelmo* (CRa I 1999, no. 66)
- a. 950 Montefeltro *Urso scavino et Heldericus filio suo* (Tarlazzi 1884, no. 6; cf. CB 1985 App. III, no. 19; CRa I 1999, nos. 67, 68)
- a. 952/53 *Guarinus* (< *Warin-) *filio quondam Petrus* (CRa I 1999, no. 74)
- a. 954 *Guido* (< *Wido) *filio Marini (negotiatoris)* (CRa I 1999, no. 75)
- a. 954 *Johannes vir clarissimo et Guntardus venerabilis diaconus germani* (CRa I 1999, no. 75)
- a. 954 *Rofredus filio Petri* and *Guido* (< *Wido) *filius Marini (ibid.)*
- a. 955 *Lupicinus qui vocatur de Artoino* (< *Ard-win-) (Vesi 1845, 223)
- a. 955 *Conradus qui vocatur Teudus filius quondam Leo de Petro nati*; the cognomen refers perhaps to a theodisic origin of the mother (Vesi 1845, 227)
- a. 955 synodal participant *Guido filio quondam Iohannis qui vocabatur de Senatore* (CRa I 1999, no. 86)
- a. 955 *Acio/Azo ... filius quondam Leoni* (CRa I 1999, no. 80)
- a. 956 Comacchio *Ingica filia quondam Leo sitque Iohannis et Adstregunda germani filii mei* (CRa I 1999, no. 88)
- a. 957 witnesses at Ravenna: *Ricardo (vir clarissimus) filio quondam Benato* and *Petrus (vir clarissimus) filio Richardus* (CRa I 1999, no. 90)
- a. 960 *Ingo filio Stefano dativus* (CB 1985 App. II, no. 8)
- a. 963 *Johannis dux et Marie ... sitque Amelricus laudabilis vir et Guilla* (< *Willa) *nobilissima femina cognate, fili nure quondam Iohannis dux* (Vesi 1845, 266)

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- a. c.966 a family of Theoderici: **Theodericus** filius quondam **Theoderici** et **Iohannes** honesta persona filius **Theoderico** with a neighbour called **Theoderico** filio quondam **Gregorio** (CB 1985, no. 117)
- a. 968 Osimo **Amelricus** filius **Iohannis** dux (CB 1985 app. III, no. 16; CRa II 2006, no. 144)
- a. 927/71 Rimini **Teutruda**, **Serg(i)us** ... germani filii quondam **Ausprandi** (CB 1985, no. 11)
- a. 927/71 **Lupo** et **Eldeprandus** germani filii **Giselberto** (CB 1985, no. 87)
- a. 972 **Liutefredus** filio quondam **Sergii** ducis et **Gisel(t)ruda** iugalis (CB 1985 app. III, no. 3)
- a. 974 **Grimualdo** filii quondam **Iohannis** consul et tabellio (CB 1985 app. IV, no. 11)
- a. 975 **Ioanni** et **Rodulfo** atque **Ragimberto** germani consules filii quondam bone memorie **Iohannis** consulis qui vocabatur de **Amoneta** (Vesi 1845, 340)
- a. 981 **Iohannes** filio quondam **Rodalendo** et **Gumperto** suo germane ... **Teucio** (< **Theud-s-io*) et **Inciza** (< **In-gisa*) coniunx sua (Vesi 1845, 375)
- a. 971/83 **Ildebertus** et **Constantinus** germani filii **Emmonis** (CB 1985, no. 127)
- a. 996 **Petrus** germanus **Gerardus** (with OHG [ai] > [ē] < **gair-*) quondam filius **Farualdi** (Vesi 1845, 410)
- a. 997 **Rodulfus** (ed. *Red-*) filius quondam **Severus** qui vocatur **Battisigillo** comes (Vesi 1845, 419)
- a. 997 **Tedeus** **Erchenfredus** qui vocatur **Ercheiuzzo** (< **Erkan-iuzzo* 'little Ercanfrid') filius quondam **Erchenfridi**
- a. 998 **Paulus** et **Hubertus** atque **Almenfredo** germani, filii quondam **Romanus** consul (Vesi 1845, 427)

The onomastically-mixed Romance-Germanic filiations show how acculturation had gained an entry into the naming-system in particular families, and how often it was that intermarriage between a woman with a Germanic name and a man with a Romance one carried this process forward. This idea is supported, too, by the considerable numbers of marriages between people of different provenances. Here are just a few examples:

- a. 846/50 Osimo **Iohannes** dux et **Ottiperga** iugalis (CB 1985, no. 125)

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- a. c.860 Montefeltro *Honestus gloriosus dux et **Rodelinda** (d)uc(a) rissa iugalis* (CB 1985, no. 183)
- a. 889/98 Rimini ***Picardus** (< *Bik-hard-) et Cristoduli iugalis* (CB 1985, no. 77)
- Ninth/tenth cent. Senigallia *Savinus et **Rodelinda** iugalis* (CB 1985, no. 81)
- Ninth/tenth cent. Rimini ***Giso** and *Campana iugalis** (CB 1985, no. 19)
- Ninth/tenth cent. Rimini *Lupicinus agellarius* ('small farmer') *et **Ratilda** iugalis* (CB 1985, no.58)
- a. 898/904 Osimo *Urso et **Rotruda** iugalis* (CB 1985, no. 116)
- a. 909 Faenza *Dominicus qui vocatur de Adriano et **Adae** iugalis* (CRa I 1999, no. 13)
- a. 917 Rimini *Leo humilis dux et **Rotruda** magnifica femina iugalis* (Tarlazzi 1884, no. 5; CRa I 1999, no. 27; cf. nos. 34, 36)
- a. 944 Rimini *Dominicus (et) **Adeltruthe/Athaltrutha** iugalis* (CRa I 1999, no. 53)
- a. 948 Ancona *nobili viro Maurino et **Adelberga** clarissima femina iugalis* (CRa I 1999, no. 60)
- a. 950 Montefeltro *prudenti viro Leo filio Urso duci et **Odeltruda** nobilissima matrona iugalis* (CRa I 1999, no. 67, 68)
- a. 955 Montefeltro *Urso de Marino et **Albesinda** iugalis* (CB 1985, no. 181; app. II, no. 14; CRa I 1999, no. 83)
- a. 955 Ravenna *Stefanus qui vocatur Castaldio et **Sigilinda** iugali* (Vesi 1845, 223)
- a. 967 ***Gosberto** et Petronia iugalis*; apparently, Petronia is the heir of one *Ingelrada*, probably the above mentioned *comitissa* (CB 1985 app. II, no. 1)
- a. 973 Ravenna *Petrus Dei gratia dux et comes filius quondam Severi comite presente et placente simulque consentiente **Actia** (< *Abt-ja-) illustrissima comitissa iugali ...* (Vesi 1845, 316)
- a. 978 Senigallia *nobili (v)iro Gallio et **Gisa** clarisma femina iugalis ...* (CB 1985 app. III, no. 4)
- a. 971/83 Pesaro ***Teotgaldo** et Maria iugale sua ...* (CB 1985 app. III, no. 21)

Ties between women or men both bearing Germanic names (with a high participation-rate of wives) and between women or men with Romance ones, typically start appearing in the Marche and neighbouring areas

early in the ninth century, suggesting that this phenomenon was related to the expansion of Frankish rule over previously Byzantine territory. In this context, it is worth noting that people with Germanic PNs appear strikingly often in the Ravenna area in association with fortifications and strongholds: between 927 and 971 we hear of a *castellum quod fuit de Hubaldo et Hermenaldo* in the territory of Osimo (CB 1985, no. 160). Before 980, this *Ubaldu* (< **Hug-bald-*) was in conflict with the archbishop of Ravenna over the *castrum qui vocatur Ubaldi*, where the name-giver was probably the father and namesake of this Hugbald (CB 1985, app. III, no. 9). The *Hermenald* (< **Ermen-(w)ald*) just mentioned between 898 and 900 is named as *Ermenaldo*, along with his brother *Arnusto*, as getting a lease on a neighbouring *massa*, whose history can be traced right through to 971 × 983 and is linked exclusively to people with Germanic PNs (CB 1985, no. 161; cf. no. 123). This is probably the same fortress as the one mentioned in a petition of *Ermenaldus genera Francorum* as *castellum quod vocatur de Ernsto* (CB 1985, no. 124). Linked c.950 with the family of *Rambertus dux* and his father *Lambertus comes*, residing in Ravenna in the *Turre maiore*, are the *Castello Bertinoro* and the *Castello Cesubeo* between Forlì and Cesena near the Via Emilia (Vesi 1845, 200). *Imelperga religiosa ancilla Dei* around this period in the tenth century is *habitatrice in Castello Felicitatis* between Cesena and Ravenna (CB 1985, no. 54). In 978 is to be found, as a dependency of Ravenna, and provided with a circle-shaped area of jurisdiction, *castello quod est aedificatum in Monte Sentino qui Offania vocatur quem tenet Stephanus et Rodulfo*, that is, Offagna north-west of Osimo (CB 1985 app. III, no. 8). All five *castella* mentioned in the Ravenna documents are linked with men who have Germanic PNs. This surely means that the organization of *castella* in Ravenna's territory and zone of influence was one of the means by which these new groups gained a foothold here.

There is a gradual mixing of naming practices and consciousness of identity on the part of these native, characteristically Latin-Greek elites with those from the Lombard-Frankish *regnum Italiae*. This is especially evident in the choice of second or alternative names: they seem deliberately taken from another linguistic world, but perhaps they also raise the question of whether non-Romance languages were still being spoken in this period:⁵⁰

- a. 927 Montefeltro *Martinus qui Heldebrando et Grimuala* (CRa I 1999, no. 37)

⁵⁰ For early Romance alternative names see above n. 31, a. 752 Sovana: the example *Arni-frid* with the *supernomen Arn-ucci-olu*. Langobardic as a spoken language ends at the end of the 8th century or at the beginning of the 9th century: cf. Haubrichs, 'Langobardic personal names', pp. 217–22; Haubrichs, 'Sprache und Schriftlichkeit', pp. 186–8.

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- a. 943 Forlimpopoli *nobili viro Severus qui vocatur **Sigizo*** (< Romance hybrid-name **Sig-itia*) and *Petrus qui vocatur **Teucio*** (< **Theud-s-io*) *negociator* (CRa I 1999, no. 51; cf. CRa II 2002, no. 151, 178)
- a. 955 synodal participant *Guinigisus qui vocatur **Guinico*** (< Romance hybrid-name **Win-itia*) (CRa I 1999, no. 86)
- a. 956 Cesena *Argentia qui vocatur **Grimiza*** (< Romance hybrid-name **Grim-itia*) (CRa I 1999, no. 87)
- a. 957 *Benedictus qui vocatur **Beroaldo*** (Vesi 1845, 239)
- a. 957 *Ermengarda qui vocatur **Erminza*** (< Romance short-name **Ermin-itia*) *nobilis (clarissima) femina* (CRa I 1999, no. 90)
- a. 960 *Petrus qui vocatur **Teucio*** (CB 1985 app. II, no. 8)
- a. 962 *Johannes qui vocatur **Attius*** (< **Hadd-jo*; cf. OHG *Hatto*) *de Vigo et Paulus filio suo* (Vesi 1845, 263)
- a. 962 *Johannes qui vocatur **Sceufa*** (< Germ. **skeuba-* ‘push’; cf. German *schieben*) (Vesi 1845, 263)
- a. 972 *nobili viro Cerrito qui vocatur **Rodelandus*** (CB 1985 app. III, no. 1)
- a. 980 *Ubalduus qui vocatur **Barocco*** (‘Tölpel’, ‘blockhead’) (CB 1985 app. III, no. 9)
- a. 981 *Gumperto ... (qui vocatur) **Teucio***, brother of *Johannes*, son of Rodalendo (Vesi 1845, 375)
- a. 981 *Adelbertus filius Aimeradi qui vocatur **Domnellus*** (< *Dominellus* ‘little lord’) (CB 1985 app. III, no. 5)
- a. 982 *Ingelrada nobilis matrona qui vocatur **Ingiza*** (Romance hybrid-name **Ing-itia*) (Vesi 1845, 377; cf. CRa III 2002, nos. 224, 255, 261)
- a. 984 *Guinibaldo* (romanized < **Wini-bald-*) ... *qui vocatur **Guinizo*** (< Romance short-name **Win-itia*) (Vesi 1845, 396f.)
- a. 986 *Agata qui vocatur **Burga*** (< Germ. **burga-* ‘protection’) (Vesi 1845, 398)
- a. 997 *Tedeus Erchenfredus qui vocatur **Erchejuzzo*** (‘little Ercanfrid’, Romance short-name with hypocoristic suffix *-ucio*), son of *Erchenfredus* (Vesi 1845, 419)
- a. 998 *Dominicus qui vocatur **Teucio** ... tabellio* (Vesi 1845, 427)

It is characteristic that this hybrid, bicultural naming-practice first became significant in the final phase of the period under discussion. Similar

conclusions apply to hybrid composite-names, typical of final phases of linguistic and cultural contacts, as, for instance, in eighth-century Lombard regions.⁵¹ There are two types: first, Romano-Germanic hybrid-forms following the rules of Germanic composite names and bithematic names, in which the first element comes from a Romance PN; while the second is of Germanic origin. In Ravenna names of this type are extremely rare. There are only five examples: between 889 and 898 *Lupu-vara* (from Lat. *lupus* and Germ. **wara-* ‘protection’ (CB 1985, no. 141); 947 *Leonardus filius condam Leonardus* (from *leone* and Germ. **hardu-* ‘strong’) (Vesi 1845, 195); 957 *Bonesenda colona* < Lat. *Bona* + romanized *-senda* < Germ. **swinpa-* ‘strong’ (CRa II 2002, no. 91); 966 the priest *Petroperus* (from *Petrus* and Germ. **bero* ‘bear’, certainly a Langobardic import because of [b]>[p] (Vesi 1845, 291); 971 *Boniverga colona* < Lat. *Bona* + romanized *-verga* < Germ. **berga-* ‘protection’ (CRa II 2002, no. 155).

The second type, Germano-Romance hybrid names, are more numerous: in these a Germanic first element has had a suffix attached to it, Romance-fashion, and often hypocoristic. Examples are *Guin-izo*, *Ing-iza*, *Ermin-iza*, *Grim-iza*, *Win-ico* and *Erche-j-uzzo* < *-uccio*, already characterized above in the section dealing with the double-names. Further examples are:

- a. 889/98 *Gualdesia* < Germ. **Wald(a)-* (‘ruler’) + suffix *-esia* (CB 1985, no. 98)
- a. 903 *Amizo* < Germ. **Ama-* (‘keen’) + suffix *-itio* (Vesi 1845, 152)
- a. 903 *Regizo* < Germ. **Rag-* (‘advice’) + suffix *-itio* (ibid.)
- a. 922 Comacchio *Gregorio filio quondam Mainartino* < **Magin-hard-*, romanized *Main-ard* + suffix *-ino* (CRa I 1999, no. 43)
- a. 933 Ferrara *Iohannes et Audechia iugalis* < Germ. **Auda-* (‘wealth’) + suffix *-ichia* (CRa I 1999, no. 43)
- a. 950 *Imilla* < Germ. **Im(a)-* + suffix *-ella* (Vesi 1845, 201)
- a. 952 *Guidello* < Germ. **Wid(u)* (‘wood’) + suffix *-ellus* (Vesi 1845, 209)
- a. 961 *Eldulzi nobilis vir* < Germ. **Hild(i)-* (‘battle’) + suffix *-itio* (Vesi 1845, 260)
- a. 963 *Ermiza* < Germ. **Erm-* (‘big, sublime’) + suffix *-itia* (CRa II 2002, no. 112)
- a. 970 *Ingelramo qui vocatur Ingizo* < Germ. *Ing(el)-* + suffix *-itio* (Vesi 1845, 301)

⁵¹ N. Francovich Onesti, ‘L’antroponimia longobarda della Toscana: caratteri e diffusione’, *Rivista Italiana di Onomastica*, vi (2000), 357–74; Haubrichs, ‘Langobardic personal names’, p. 221; and Haubrichs, ‘Sprache und Schriftlichkeit’, pp. 187–8.

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- a. 970 *Imeltruda qui vocatur Imiza* < Germ. *(H)im(il)- ('heaven') + suffix -itia (ibid.)
- a. 973 *Amizo* < Germ. *Ama- + suffix -itio (CRa II 2002, no. 178)
- a. 974 *Nordil(l)o* < Germ. *North(a)- ('north') + suffix -ellus (CB 1985, no. 113; CRa II 2002, no. 183)
- a. 974 *Ugizo* < Germ. *Huga- ('brain') + suffix -itio (CRa II 2002, no. 186)
- a. 977 *Ubertellus* < Germ. (H)u(g)bert- + suffix -ellus (CRa III 2002, no. 200)
- a. 978 *Gerizonis de Gipso* < Germ. *Gair- ('spear', here with OHG [ai] > [ē]) (CRa II 2002, no. 206)
- a. 981 *Inciza* < Germ. *Ing- + suffix -itia (Vesi 1845, 375)
- a. 981 *Grimaldelli* < Germ. Grim(w)ald- + suffix -ellus (CRa III 2002, no. 219)
- a. 981 *Albertuci* < Germ. Al(a)bert + hypocoristic suffix -ucius (ibid.)
- a. 987 *Baldaci* < Germ. *Balda- ('bold, brave') + Graecolat. suffix -aci (CRa III 2002, no. 239)

With the rise of hybrid forms beginning from the end of the ninth century, the cultural integration of new groups into Ravennate society probably entered its last phase.

13. San Severo and religious life in Ravenna during the ninth and tenth centuries

Andrea Augenti and Enrico Cirelli

Introduction

In 2006, new investigations began at San Severo in Classe (Ravenna). Until then, knowledge had been limited to the great late antique basilica, built in the second half of the sixth century, close to the mausoleum and the Roman villa underneath. The buildings had been brought to light in the 1960s, following a series of massive excavation campaigns. It had long been realized that this ecclesiastical site was extremely important: it was the last great basilica to be built in the second half of the sixth century in the late antique conurbation of Ravenna, which included the walled city itself, the suburb called Caesarea and the port city of Classe. The basilica of San Severo was within the walls of Classe (Figure 13.1), and it was similar in size and decoration to the nearby suburban sanctuary of S. Apollinare in Classe. Building San Severo was the last great act of monumental character to construct the urban space of the enlarged capital of the late antique western empire: with this, a complex, centuries-long project came to a close.

The current excavations are being conducted by the University of Bologna (Dipartimento di Storia Culture Civiltà), in collaboration with the RavennAntica Foundation (Figure 13.2).¹ This chapter, which is divided into several parts, focuses on the most substantial finds brought to light since 2008: the previously unidentified remains of the medieval monastery. The first section presents, through the written sources, the general framework in which the monastery evolved between the ninth century and the fifteenth. It is followed by a section on the archaeological evidence, offering a series of discussions about the various parts of the monastery so far excavated.

¹ *La basilica e il monastero di San Severo a Classe. La storia, gli scavi*, ed. A. Augenti (Ravenna, 2006); A. Augenti, 'Dalla villa romana al monastero medievale: il complesso di San Severo a Classe', in *Ideologia e cultura artistica tra Adriatico e Mediterraneo orientale (IV–X secolo). Il ruolo dell'autorità ecclesiastica alla luce di nuovi scavi e ricerche*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Bologna-Ravenna, 26–29 Novembre 2007), ed. R. Farioli Campanati, C. Rizzardi, P. Porta, A. Augenti and I. Baldini Lippolis (Bologna, 2009), pp. 245–60; A. Augenti, 'San Severo: archeologia di un complesso monumentale', in *La Basilica ritrovata. I restauri dei mosaici antichi di San Severo a Classe, Ravenna*, ed. P. Racagni (Bologna, 2010), pp. 21–38; *Classe. Indagini sul potenziale archeologico di una città scomparsa*, ed. A. Augenti (Bologna, 2011).

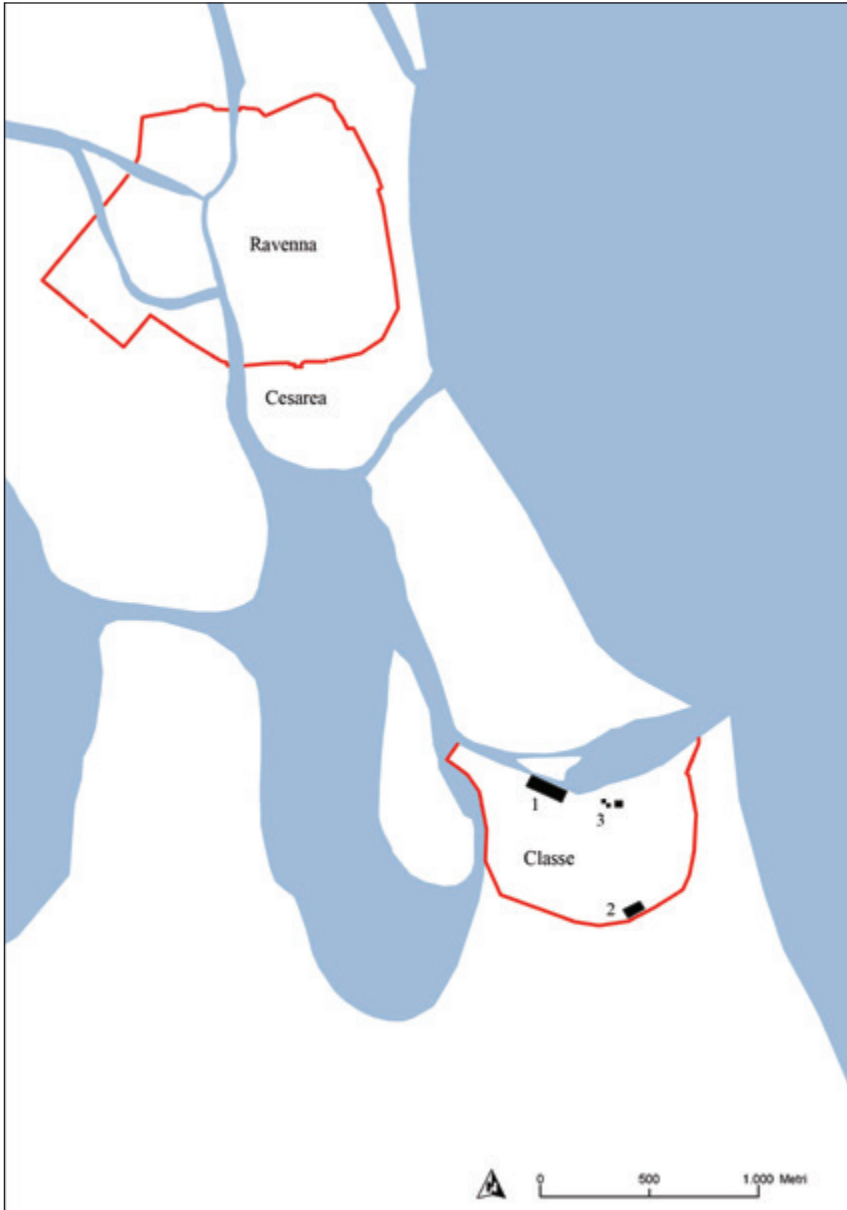


Figure 13.1. Ravenna and Classe between the fifth and eighth centuries showing the position of San Severo (no. 2) (A. Augenti).

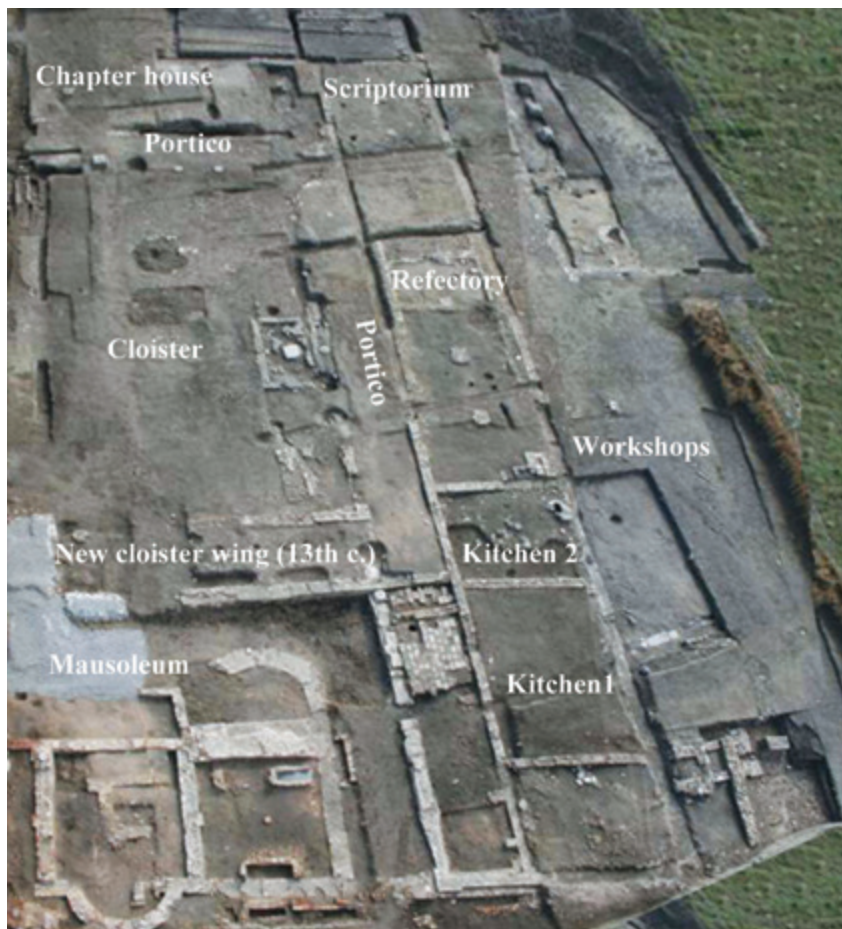


Figure 13.2. The monastery of San Severo (photo by E. Cirelli).

The monastery

The historical context as represented in the main documentary sources

The first written evidence of a monastery at the basilica of San Severo dates back to the year 955 when an abbot is mentioned.² Not long after that date, documents attest San Severo's already considerable importance: the emperor Otto I is said to have stayed in a *mansio dominicata* at the monastery, and it was here too that the Emperor himself held a large assembly (*placitum*) in 967

² R. Benericetti, *Le carte del decimo secolo nell'Archivio Arcivescovile di Ravenna, 900–957*, i (Ravenna, 1999).

in the presence of Pope John XIII and Archbishop Peter IV of Ravenna.³ The monastery was a Benedictine foundation, which passed to the Cistercians between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but the exact history of this transition remains uncertain. The late antique basilica remained the centre-piece of the complex for a long period, despite several restorations and renovations. The most substantial of these dates back to the fifteenth century, when the basilica was rebuilt twice. By 1455, the monastery was in decline, and it was attached to the assets of the community of Camaldolesi based in the nearby monastery of S. Apollinare in Classe.

The first monastic complex: new archaeological data

The most significant changes to the San Severo complex occurred between the late ninth and early tenth centuries (Figure 13.3). This was demonstrated first by ceramic evidence associated with the foundations of an impressive building, located on the south side of the basilica. Recognizable here were the cloister of the Benedictine monastery and the entire perimeter of the building. The complex, rectangular in shape and covering some 2,500 square metres, was bounded on the west side by a shrine built during late antiquity and its vestibule.

The monastery is entirely constructed of reused bricks recovered from the Roman villa beneath it, destroyed at the end of the sixth century when the basilica was built. Other bricks and marble perhaps came from other abandoned buildings of the city of Classe, which at this time was in a state of decline and ruin. The cloister was bordered on two sides (east and south) by a monumental *portico*, supported by alternating columns and pillars with lesenes (pilaster strips) on the south, while on the east side the columns were solely of marble. The bases were still preserved in situ. They are all of the same type, perhaps stripped from a single building, rather than specially made for the monastery itself. The west side of the building was near the mausoleum of San Severo and of its monastic *familia*. This was paved with beautiful mosaics (Figure 13.4) and surrounded by aristocratic burials (Figure 13.5).

During the last few years, some rooms in this complex have been investigated. A few are easy to interpret: on the south side of the complex, for instance, the chapter house, the refectory, the kitchens and a laundry were located in an area devoted to productive activities; and perhaps the latrines were there as well. At the same time as this phase of construction

³ *MGH DD*, O I, no. 340, *Regesta Imperii* II, 1, ed. J. F. Böhmer, revd. E. von Ottenthal and H. Kaminsky (Hildesheim, 1967), no. 445; D. A. Warner, 'The representation of empire: Otto I at Ravenna', in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 800–1500*, ed. B. Weiler and S. MacLean (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 221–40, at pp. 134–40.

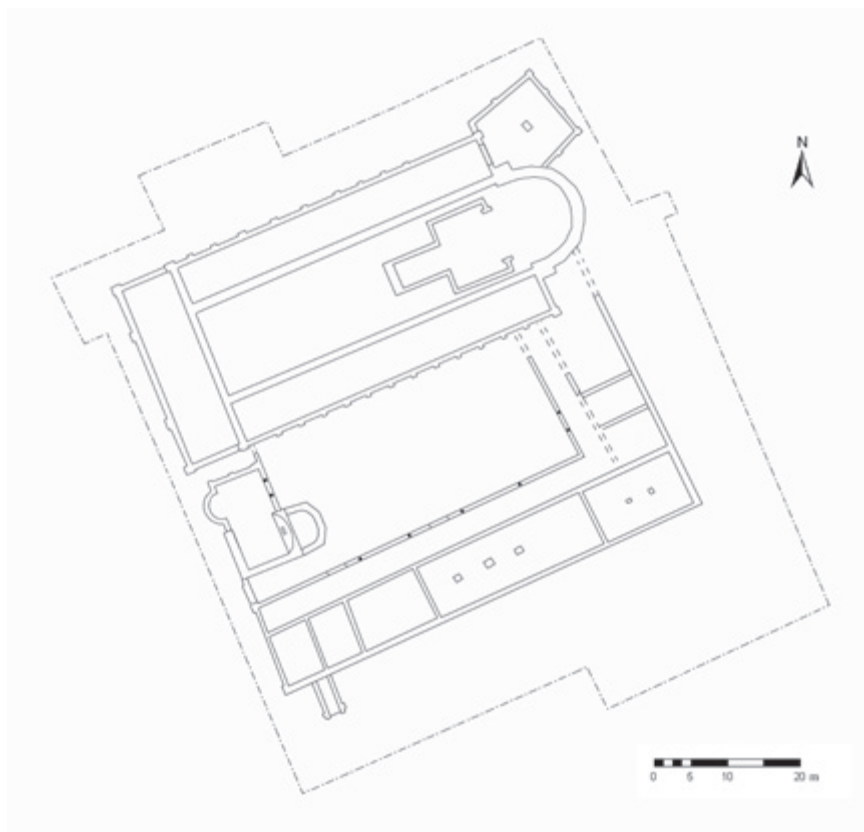


Figure 13.3. The monastery of San Severo, ninth–tenth century (E. Cirelli).

occurred, one chapel room was enlarged and the most recent polygonal apse with an eastward orientation was lengthened. This changed the appearance of the building, making it conform to the most common type of private single-nave chapel which spread to Ravenna in the same period, for instance *S. Giustina in Capite Porticus*, *S. Giorgio de Porticibus*, and a small building close to the *Via Antica Zecca* whose dedication has not yet been identified.⁴ Some changes were also made in how the space around the funerary complex was used, especially in front of the vestibule, where a large number of burials took place inside the shrine zone.⁵

⁴ E. Cirelli, *Ravenna: archeologia di una città* (Florence, 2008).

⁵ D. Ferreri, 'Spazi cimiteriali, pratiche funerarie e identità nella città di Classe', *Archeologia Medievale*, xxxviii (2011), 53–68.



Figure 13.4. 580 A.D. mosaic at San Severo (photo by P. Racagni).

The monastery during the middle ages

As early as the eleventh century, restorations to the monastery were consistent (Figure 13.6). The floor levels of the *portico* were raised and the column bases obliterated by a pavement constructed with bricks taken from one of many old Roman buildings nearby. Important changes also occurred on the south side of the complex, in the production area, where a new rectangular room fitted with pilasters was created. Various activities have been identified here, including the production of iron and glass objects. At the same time, abutting the main body of the building were a series of small rooms and shelters for animals, necessary for monastic life to function. To the north side of the church a square bell-tower was constructed, on foundations formed of material pointing to a twelfth-century date. The construction of the tower destroyed a quadrangular building put up in the seventh century on the north-east side of the basilica's apse.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, a new gallery was added to the cloister, separating the shrine area from the cloister itself (Figure 13.7). Within the cloister, two small square fountains were also added (at different



Figure 13.5. The mausoleum of San Severo and its surrounding burial plots (photo by D. Ferreri).

times). The first is located in the south-west, while another more complex fountain was built in front of the refectory. This second fountain was made with architectural elements and with an undecorated tank, at the centre of which stood a stone base, to support a decorative feature in the cloister that is no longer preserved. At the same time, a new building was created in the south-east side of the complex, containing a stone platform used as a fireplace. Inside, numerous food remains were found, especially fish and freshwater mussels. To the south of the monastic complex, a large rectangular building of strong masonry with angled buttresses was also built. It was probably used as a barn and later transformed into a production zone.

Finally, at the end of the fourteenth century, various monastery spaces began to shrink, and evidence of material culture becomes increasingly scarce.⁶ Towards the mid fifteenth century the complex began to be abandoned, and by the end of the century it had become a veritable quarry of building-materials, not only for the city of Ravenna, but also for Rimini and Venice.⁷

⁶ E. Cirelli and E. Lo Mele, 'La cultura materiale di San Severo alla luce delle nuove scoperte archeologiche', in *La Basilica ritrovata. I restauri dei mosaici antichi di San Severo a Classe, Ravenna*, ed. P. Racagni (Bologna, 2010), pp. 39–53.

⁷ G. Ricci, 'Ravenna spogliata fra Tardo Medioevo e prima età moderna', *Quaderni Storici*, lxxi (1989), 537–61.

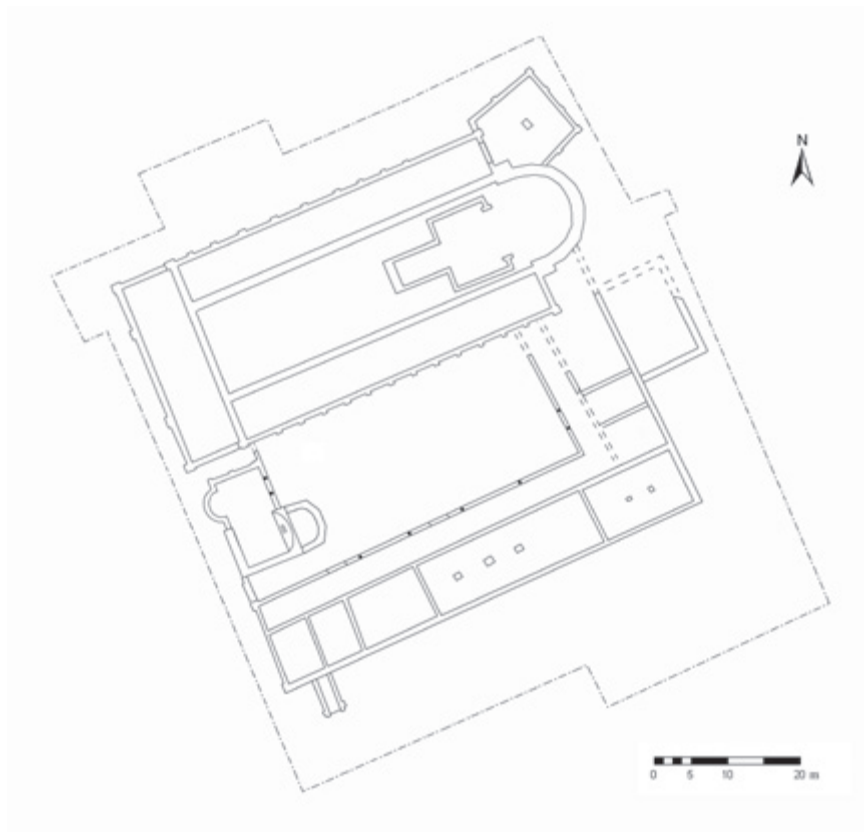


Figure 13.6. The monastery of San Severo, eleventh century (photo by E. Cirelli).

The parts of the monastery

The chapter house

In the eastern area of the cloister, in a space between the outside of the south aisle of the basilica, the apse and the outside of the monastery's perimeter wall, an area of about 120 square metres was investigated. The chapter house (Figure 13.8), one of the monastery's most important buildings, has been identified thanks to the way in which the spaces of monastic structures were organized. Other chapter houses similar to this in structure and position have been identified during investigations into several monasteries in Italy. These include the monastery of S. Michele alla Verruca⁸ and San Salvatore

⁸ *L'aratro e il calamo. Benedettini e Cistercensi sul Monte Pisano. Dieci anni di archeologia a San Michele alla Verruca*, ed. S. Gelichi and A. Alberti (Pisa, 2005).

al Monte Amiata⁹ in Tuscany, St. Sebastian at Alatri in the *territorium* of Rome,¹⁰ S. Gregorio in Valconca, in the Romagna,¹¹ and in San Vincenzo al Volturno.¹²

The area has been subjected to numerous depredations which destroyed parts of San Severo's structures in the later middle ages. The destruction of the great perimeter wall to the east of the monastery is dated to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Within the chapter house a solid mortar pavement has been identified, probably in preparation for a marble floor built in the eleventh century; and the floor level was raised during the fourteenth century. Associated with this activity are numerous fragments of marble and mosaic *tesserae* (many of glass and others covered in gold leaf) and these materials indicate that the room was paved and its walls decorated with quality materials. On the eastern side of the room and in the same phase of this flooring, an elevated area was discovered, accessible via a few steps in the masonry.¹³ The survey was only carried out in one part of the chapter house, which in the first phase was included in the eastern arm of the monastery, and later extended eastward. Close to the south side of the *aula*, various burial plots have been found near the outer wall.¹⁴ The practice of burial within the chapter house or in the immediate vicinity was common in many monasteries in Italy and elsewhere.¹⁵ At San Severo the most important burials have been discovered in the middle of the original chapter house, cut into a thirteenth-century pavement, where an abbot was probably buried (Figure 13.9). This burial was marked out by a red block of marble carrying a metal sign (a cross?). Excavation of a dump containing material of late ninth- and early tenth-century date revealed some layers

⁹ F. Cambi and L. Dallai, 'Archeologia di un monastero: gli scavi a San Salvatore al Monte Amiata', *Archeologia Medievale*, xxvii (2000), 193–210.

¹⁰ E. Fentress, C. J. Goodson, M. Laird and S. C. Leone, *Walls and Memory. The Abbey of San Sebastiano at Alatri (Lazio): from Late Roman Monastery to Renaissance Villa and Beyond* (Turnhout, 2005).

¹¹ D. Ferreri, 'San Gregorio in Valconca: storia di un monastero medievale', in *Morciano di Romagna. Storia e Identità*, ed. L. De Nicolò (Rimini, 2014), pp. 53–66.

¹² *San Vincenzo al Volturno, 1, The 1980–1986 Excavations*, ed. R. Hodges (1993).

¹³ A. Augenti, I. Begnozzi, M. Bondi, E. Cirelli, D. Ferreri and P. Scozzari, 'Il monastero di San Severo a Classe: risultati delle campagne di scavi 2006–2011', in *Atti del VI Convegno SAMI* (L'Aquila, 2012), ed. F. Redi and A. Forgione (Florence, 2012), pp. 238–45.

¹⁴ D. Ferreri, 'Sepolture e riti funerari a Classe: una lunga prospettiva diacronica', in *V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale* (Foggia, 30 settembre – 3 ottobre 2009), ed. G. Volpe and P. Favia (Florence, 2009), pp. 459–64.

¹⁵ F. Sbarra, 'Il cimitero: cronologia, organizzazione e aspetti della ritualità', in *L'aratro e il calamo. Benedettini e Cistercensi sul Monte Pisano. Dieci anni di archeologia a San Michele alla Verruca*, ed. S. Gelichi and A. Alberti (Pisa, 2005), pp. 217–37; R. Gilchrist and B. Sloane, *Requiem: the Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (2005).

containing numerous ceramic finds, and organic materials were identified inside the chapter house enlargement. It should be noted that prior to that expansion, this area had been outside the perimeter wall east of the monastic complex.

The portico and the entrance to the monastic complex

The different rooms of the monastery (kitchen, refectory, *scriptorium* and chapter house) looked out on a monumental porch characterized by the presence of columns and pillars on the south side, but only by columns on the east side, as shown by the many bases identified. These were all of the same size (53cm in diameter in the area in contact with the column) and some, such as those on the east side, still had traces of molten lead for attaching the shaft of the column. All the other columns have long since been removed, yet an idea of how they were disposed can be gleaned from the negative evidence found when a circular area between the porch and back yard was uncovered, from which bases and columns had been extracted. The monastery entrance was located between the mausoleum and the monastery on the west side, that is, the side that gave access to the basilica. A kiln for making small bells was also discovered close to the cloister entrance: the bells' function was presumably to mark the time and the hours of the monks each day.

In a second phase, during the eleventh-century, the portico was paved with reused bricks, more specifically *tegulae mammatae* (Figure 13.10). Along the eastern, covered side of the porch were some burial spaces.¹⁶ The floor was subsequently damaged by modern and contemporary spoliation.

During the final phases of occupation the portico was divided into individual rooms, as indicated by the presence of a small masonry structure with a north-south orientation and some post-holes, probably associated with internal partitions.

The cloister

The new excavations conducted on the south side of the late antique basilica have revealed several structures related to a large rectangular cloister, built upon the foundations of the monastic complex. The cloister consisted of a large courtyard surrounded by a colonnaded portico. From the central area of the garden looking towards the columns, there was access to the arcade connecting the cloister with the interior of the monastery. The portico surrounded the courtyard on all four sides, including the north, and ran

¹⁶ B. Effros, 'Beyond cemetery walls: early medieval funerary topography and Christian salvation', *Early Medieval Europe*, vi (1997), 1–23.

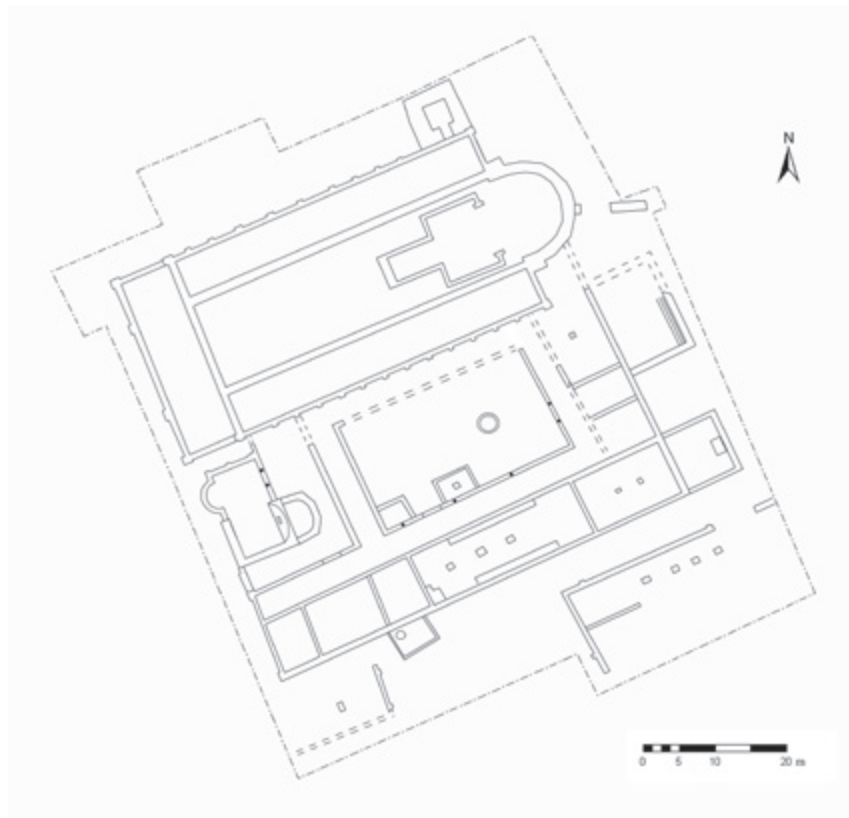


Figure 13.7. The monastery of San Severo, thirteenth century (E. Cirelli).

closely parallel to the south exterior wall of the basilica. Investigations were carried out in the central part of the cloister, where two areas containing elements of rectangular shape abutting the porch were dug (one in the south-west, the other on the south side). The first element was surrounded by walls of reused bricks, robbed down to the foundation, which enclosed a rectangular area. The compacted earth forming the decking was cut transversely by a small drainage channel and consisted of some blocks of marble, sunken and held together by iron clamps over a brick foundation. The second element, of the same size and rectangular shape, was bounded by walls made of recovered bricks resting on the pavement of the cloister portico, to the middle of the south side. At the centre of this small structure a square marble base was placed. It was surrounded by some small brick structures and other mixed materials, including a composite capital positioned upside down (Figure 13.11). This constituted what remained of



Figure 13.8. The chapter-house of San Severo (photo by D. Ferreri).

a further small interior quadrangular chancel. Inside the enclosure, smaller layers of almost pure sand were excavated; part of a brick floor was instead found outside the fence and the entire enclosed area. The structure was also entirely crossed from west to east by a brick gutter, on the level of the portico pavement; another channel probably carried water into the central space.

In the central area of the cloister, but off centre to the east, the remains of a pit lined with bricks and mortar were identified: a well that had been almost completely plundered. Inside it, fragments of fifteenth-century

majolica were discovered, as well as three fragments of a marble slab decorated with leaves and vine tendrils, which had probably been reused to decorate the outside of the well (Figure 13.12). The rest of the uncovered area probably consisted of a garden with flower beds, with, according to archaeobotanical evidence, malvaceae, chenopodiaceae, cruciferae and other species, separated by walkways crossing along the entire length of the cloister. A few remnants of these walkways have been found mainly in the central area around the well, paved with pebbles and pressed gravel. After its abandonment, this section had been dug out to gather material, which had completely destroyed the structure. To judge by what happened to the rest of the monastic buildings, this spoliation must have occurred in the sixteenth century, as is also suggested by the ceramic finds.

The kitchen, refectory and exterior court

The kitchen and the dining room were located to the south of the cloister, in the south wing of the monastery. These two rooms bore evidence of late medieval phases of occupation and signs of neglect, with further systematic plundering of masonry structures dating from the late fifteenth century. The restored room inside the kitchen consisted of a quadrangular space communicating with the cloister and the refectory, as in many other Benedictine complexes.¹⁷ Here, several reconstructions of an oven dating to the late medieval period were found, indicating at least three remakes mainly related to the oven's hotplate. Adjoining the east of the kitchen was the refectory, connecting the cloister with the outside area to the south. One of the oldest phases brought to light by excavation was indicated by two huddled structures along the perimeter walls with brick facing and a clay core (Figure 13.13). Interpreted as benches and dated to the end of the fourteenth century, these are similar to features identified at S. Vincenzo al Volturno. The refectory floor was made up of a mixture of earth, in which were found several small bays to support items of furniture. The room had evidently been restructured: the two lateral structures had been obliterated along with the mezzanine, and the erection of a number of central pillars had divided the refectory into two aisles, length-wise. Later, two more series of smaller supports at the outer walls had been added. At the west side of the refectory was a platform made of badly preserved bricks: this suggests the presence of a pulpit.

A third room has been investigated on the opposite side, divided from the refectory by a fourteenth-century timber wall. In this room were structures

¹⁷ E. Cirelli, 'La dieta dei monaci. Cultura materiale e alimentazione nei monasteri benedettini tra IX e XI secolo', *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, xix (2013), 227–40.

of clay and bricks similar to those in the refectory, with a mortar floor adjoining the perimeter. The type of deposit, characterized by thousands of fish bones and traces of fire, allowed us to conjecture that this zone was a drying room for fish. This consisted of a fireplace set directly on the floor, with small wooden supports to hold the fish hung around the room, in an arrangement similar to those found in some French monasteries. The space was subsequently restricted in an easterly direction, with a partition in the clay partly paved with bricks to facilitate processing. The fish-drying room was certainly used until the first half of the fifteenth century.

The survey also covered the outdoor area directly in front of the kitchen. Here, the excavation reached the level of an early medieval site. The area is closed to the north by the perimeter of the kitchen and is bounded on the west by a wall with pilasters protruding from the structures organized around the cloister: this area probably served as a link between the various monastic buildings. During the tenth century, to the east of the sector, a quadrangular structure of posts was built whose function has not yet been clarified: perhaps it was a hen-house or a tool-shed (Figure 13.14); also a recovered path of trachyte paving stones was found set around it. Between the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, the area continued to function as a courtyard: the 'fence' was dismantled and, at the opposite end, a channel roughly parallel to a nearby stable was built using recovered stone material to serve as a conduit. During the latest phase (that is, after the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), some working areas have been found consisting of several wall foundations that seem to define small spaces, perhaps for sharpening tools or grinding stones. Again, all these features fit with the description of the area as a yard in which members of the monastic community had to perform various service activities as well as the work stipulated by the Benedictine Rule.

Outside the monastery: the south-west zone

The area of excavation located in the south-west zone of the monastic complex was used for different purposes over the centuries. The earliest phase can be identified with a complex structure, where two parallel water conduits covered by small brick vaults formed rectangular ponds (Figure 13.15). The property, including two parallel brick walls, seems to have ended here. When this element lost its *raison d'être*, the entire area was covered by collapsed debris and rubble that around the twelfth century destroyed the conduit. The area's original intended use then changed, as can be seen from the base of the brick pillar built at the mouth of the conduit, indicating that this was now completely non-functional. Quantities of coal and decomposed organic material datable to between the tenth century and the



Figure 13.9. The abbot's grave in the chapter house (photo by A. Augenti).

thirteenth, found in an open area with fragments of a chain and horseshoe, confirm the above interpretation, and even permit the hypothesis that it was used as a stable or a shelter for animals.

During the same phase, a kiln was located close to the south boundary of the area. This can be linked, at least in part, to the large accumulations of coal and ash that characterize this phase. It was probably associated with a sunken workshop producing iron objects. Even when the kiln was no longer exploited, there ensued a phase in which space was rationalized by the creation of adobe structures functioning as partition walls between the structures in the east and those in the west. One of these was constructed by adopting an east-west alignment of an existing brick wall. This suggests a plan to isolate the area to the south. Within this context, the square structure in the middle of this area led directly to the adobe wall just mentioned. Also built with perishable materials on a brick base, it was probably a storage place made at the same time as the new arrangement of space in this area. New activities could indicate some development on the site, but the construction techniques and materials indicate a qualitative decline from at least the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries onwards.

The south building

In the south-east zone of the complex, detached from the main body of the monastery, part of a large building has been identified, dating back in its original phase to the thirteenth century. It is characterized by a rectangular plan with an east-west orientation and internally by the presence of masonry pillars to support the roof. Later, considerable transformations of the site occurred. The space between the perimeter wall on the north side and another structure was closed by a brick wall set in clay and aligned with the same perimeter at a distance of about eight metres further east. The pillars



Figure 13.10. Monks' burials in the east side of the portico (photo by E. Cirelli).



Figure 13.11. Capital reused in the lavatory (photo by E. Cirelli).

San Severo and religious life in Ravenna during the ninth and tenth centuries

were restored at the same time and a floor of Roman bricks was laid with a concave profile along the entire northern side, possibly to collect water for a covered fountain or washhouse flanked by pilasters (Figure 13.16).

Above the paving bricks large quantities of ceramic materials were found, almost intact or else in quite large fragments, that had been abandoned at the end of the fourteenth century. In addition, organic remains and glass fragments were discovered, probably indicating the monastery's use of this area as a dump, located here after the building had ceased to perform its main functions. This activity was probably undertaken in a fairly limited time period, as suggested by the data from the study of materials, dating to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. In a second phase, the process of abandonment was extended to the southern area, resulting in the almost total destruction of the internal walls. These events followed the collapse of a perimeter wall, as suggested by the thick layer of tiles extended uniformly over the whole area. But the building was not abandoned during the fifteenth century. In the east, over a thick layer of clay fill, a large fireplace was made consisting of a low brick wall put *in opera* on the short side, and a series of functional structures. During the sixteenth century, however, the structures of the abandoned building were finally subject to systematic spoliation.

Material culture

Monasteries were certainly important centres of spiritual life: as such they signified detachment from earthly concerns, and at the same time were often places of burial for neighbouring communities, playing a fundamental role in medieval European societies. A monastery was indeed a centre of power, decisive for the economy of the countryside and for the development of urban aristocracies. Monasteries were fundamentally important for the management of elite properties and the monks were, at every level, representative of the most important European families. Their spread into such important early medieval cities such as Ravenna was symptomatic of their social roles in localities (Figure 13.17). Although the monks' lifestyle was governed by the Benedictine Rule, a monastic community belonged, in the end, to an elite and wealthy social class. The material forms of representation of these elites in Italy have only recently, thanks to archaeology, become apparent in Italian monastic contexts. At San Severo, despite the monumentality of the early medieval buildings found in the excavation campaigns of 2009–11, characterized by the vast colonnades and porticoes built in solid masonry structures surrounding the monastery, there are few if any traces in the early medieval period of elite reception-places or other expressions of social distinction.



Figure 13.12. Capital reused in the cloister well (photo by E. Lo Mele).



Figure 13.13. Side-bench in the refectory (photo by E. Cirelli).

Perhaps the representation of power in this period was not expressed in these forms. The grandeur of the monastic complex built in the last quarter of the ninth century beside the basilica of San Severo constitutes the last episode in the public demonstration of the power of the archbishops of Ravenna. All this sent out a strong signal, contrasting with the surrounding landscape of the city's ruins and far from the rival monastic complex developed close to the basilica of S. Apollinare in Classe. Compared to the archaeological finds of many other monasteries in Italy, here were elements that markedly distinguished San Severo from contemporary rural or urban settlements. San Severo, for instance, dealt in materials that did not generally circulate in other contexts but are found exclusively inside monasteries or cities and in some of the most dynamic sites crossed by major commercial routes (for example, the *vicus Wallari*).

Such cases are few, and for this reason it is hard to judge how representative they were, especially since the circulation of goods between the ninth and tenth centuries is rather rare in districts closer to the places of production. Glazed ceramics produced in the Islamic world, for example, have been recovered in various monasteries, yet otherwise are almost entirely missing in other ninth- and tenth-century archaeological contexts. The glazed and painted mug recovered in the monastery of S. Caprasio at Aulla probably came from Tunis, and a glazed imported dish from the Islamic world (probably the Maghreb or Sicily) has also been identified in the monastery of S. Michele alla Verruca, in Tuscany, even if out of context. Such finds are otherwise rare outside urban centres in this region, with the exception of the village of S. Genesio, situated in the heart of an important road network. Glazed imported vessels are also seen in the monastery of SS. Ilario and Benedict in the Venetian lagoon. These were, according to many researchers, objects of gift-exchange among elites, testimony to the status of centres of power, of which monasteries were prime examples.

First, the imported vessels from Maghreb and from Syria found in San Vincenzo al Volturno demand attention, as do similar wares recovered in the monastery of San Severo in Classe in ninth- and tenth-century contexts: these include some glazed samples and polychrome, coming from the eastern Mediterranean, and even an extraordinary enamelled dish produced in Iraq. As well as these exceptional finds, the archaeological data attest commercial exchanges of manufactured articles for domestic and monastic use between religious communities and the world beyond. One of the most telling kinds of evidence for commercial exchange is the soapstone (*pietra ollare*) containers found in all excavated Italian monastic contexts, not only those closer to the Alps but also those of the north Adriatic area and further south in Italy. This type of material is, of course, quite widely diffused in the

early middle ages in all kinds of rural and urban contexts. Nevertheless, the presence of datable transport containers between the eighth century and the eleventh confirms in an exceptionally clear way the openness of monastic sites to commercial transactions with the outside world. Nor is this the only evidence. An Aegean amphora of this period found in the monastery of SS. Ilario and Benedict in the Venetian lagoon is also attested at San Severo in Classe. These are monastic centres close to the widest area of diffusion of such containers. Linked to the circulation of goods along the course of the Po river and in the Po delta, Ravenna and Comacchio represented zones of particular attraction and redistribution in northern Italy, at least up to the eighth century. Transport containers in ceramics, once more of globular form, are also found in monasteries of the Tyrrhenian area, as for instance in the complex of SS. Nicandro and Marciano at Naples (then known as S. Patrizia), at Rome in the monastery of St. Lawrence in Pallacinis built on the ruins of the Crypta Balbi, and at Cagliari, Sardinia, in the monastery in the neighbourhood of Bonaria. They have also been discovered elsewhere in the peninsula further away from the principal commercial routes, as in the case of the monastery of S. Pietro of Villamagna, near Anagni. The lack of coins in such contexts – at S. Vincenzo al Volturno, at Farfa, at San Severo and even at S. Michele alla Verruca – near the end of the ninth century is not surprising, despite the fact that they are rather common in other types of contemporary settlements. It is worth considering a possible link between this absence of coin finds on monastic sites and monks' respect for Benedict's prohibition against their accepting coins.

Conclusions

The data collected so far at the site of San Severo are particularly important for many reasons. Here, the focus is on the implications of these findings for the monastery's origins. First, the history: the discovery of pottery dating to the last quarter of the ninth century in the layers cut when the monastery was first founded now strongly suggests that the creation of the monastic complex occurred at least fifty years earlier than its appearance in the written documentation.¹⁸ Hitherto, the dating of the monastery relied only on a *terminus ante quem*: in the first mention of an abbot in a document in 955. Now, instead, the new archaeological evidence proves that by 955 the community had already existed for at least fifty years, maybe 100. The early history of the monastery of San Severo therefore needs to be rewritten. Moreover, our discoveries require further reappraisal of the monumental buildings associated with Ravenna c.900,

¹⁸ Cirelli and Lo Mele, 'La cultura materiale di San Severo', p. 41.



Figure 13.14. Hen-house in the south side of the monastery (photo by E. Cirelli).

and, more broadly, of the rhythms, modes and location of monasticism in the Ravenna area.

Two conclusions can be offered. First, the building projects carried out at San Severo between the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth require the dismantling of the accepted chronology of building activity in Ravenna. Current orthodoxy enshrines the notion of decline from the beginning of the seventh century onwards, and a resumption of activity only in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁹ The construction

¹⁹ Cirelli, *Ravenna*, p. 170; A. Augenti, 'A tale of two cities: Rome and Ravenna between the seventh and ninth century AD', in 774: *ipotesi su una transizione (Atti del Seminario di Poggibonsi, 16–18 febbraio 2006)*, ed. S. Gasparri (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 176–98.



Figure 13.15. South basins outside the monastery (photo by E. Cirelli).



Figure 13.16. Pavement of the south-east building (photo by E. Cirelli).

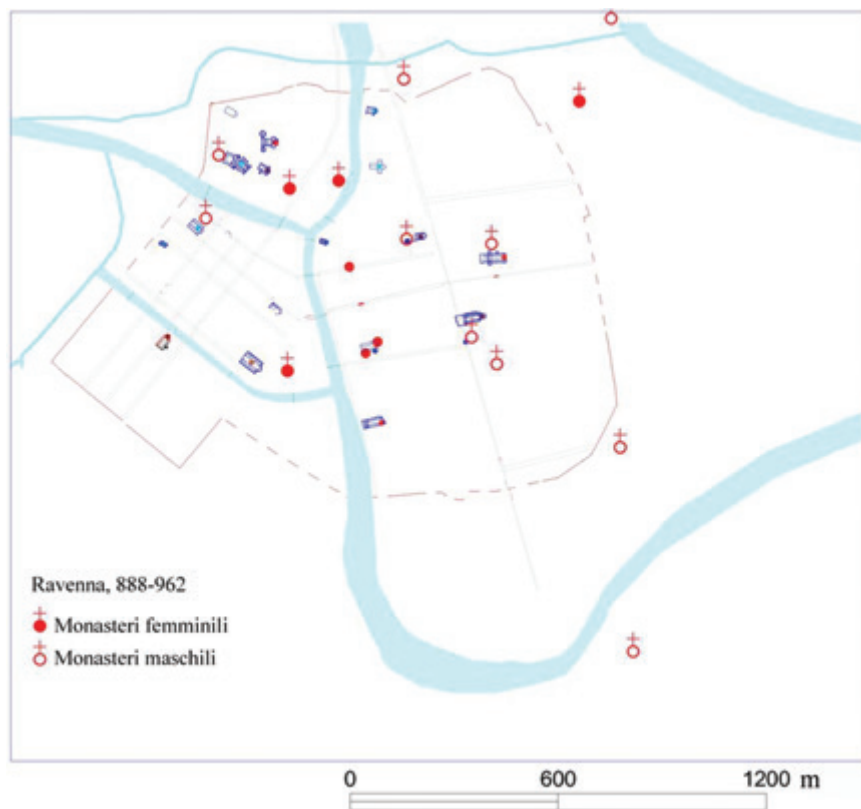


Figure 13.17. Distribution map of ninth–tenth century monasteries in Ravenna (E. Cirelli).

of a monastery with the characteristics now identified, including a large cloister equipped with pillars and columns and buildings arranged around it, on a scale of 2,500 square metres, demonstrates that far from decline or setback in the seventh to tenth centuries there was progress. However, from at least the eighth century, it took other forms and directions. From the construction of great cathedrals with richly decorated space that dot the entire conurbation of Ravenna, archaeologists are focusing instead on the foundations of great monasteries. When did all this start? If we consider only the written sources hitherto dominating researchers' interpretations, the story of monasticism in the Ravenna area can be read as follows: one explicit testimony of a monastery in the course of the eighth century, S. Apollinare in Classe, where the first evidence dates to 731; the mention of two monasteries existing in the late ninth century, S. Maria *in Farum* and

S. Maria *in Coelos*, in 896; and others first mentioned in the tenth – San Vitale between 903 and 1001, San Lorenzo *in Caesarea* in 955, St. John the Evangelist in 955, S. Eusebio in 957, St. Martin in 987.²⁰ The only charter of an actual foundation available for a monastery in the tenth century is that of S. Apollinare Nuovo, in 973. In the light of the new archaeological evidence, however, some or even all the other foundations whose existence is first documented in the tenth century could in fact be older. Since the origins of San Severo are at least fifty to seventy years earlier than hitherto believed, it may be possible to rewrite the history of monastic foundations in the Ravenna region and to plot it more evenly across time, from its beginnings in the course of the eighth century and with further foundations occurring steadily through the ninth and tenth centuries. The implication is that the building industry, already supplied with the necessary resources from the outset, was able to produce not just buildings characterized by merely superficial changes of shape and size, but imposing monuments on a new scale. This is what the excavations at San Severo are now telling us.

Second, the precise locations of monasticism in Ravenna need to be considered. It has been said, rightly, that a striking peculiarity is evident here in the fact that the monasteries are built alongside the great basilicas of late antiquity. This is true of San Vitale, St. John the Evangelist, St. Lawrence in Caesarea, S. Apollinare in Classe, and also of San Severo. It has also been noted that this is, up to a point, ‘a monasticism of restocking’, in the sense that the monks deliberately reoccupied abandoned spaces. This certainly seems to be true in San Severo’s case, built within the city of Classe when it had already been given up for dead by Andreas Agnellus in the ninth century. But is the founding of the monastery of San Severo no more than an attempt at re-stocking? Or was it also a last effort to keep the idea of an enlarged monastic city alive through the tri-focal conurbation Ravenna-Caesarea-Classe? Is that what had been imagined, and then built with great impulse, between the fifth century and the sixth? Is that what was reimaged between the eighth and tenth centuries? The list of monasteries mentioned, organized in their own territory to cover the entire area of the conurbation, points in this direction. The monastic settlements constitute poles of activity in a complex network, which includes the still-inhabited, walled Ravenna, the suburb of Caesarea and the dying city of Classe.

The success of the monastery of San Severo is self-evident in its story of building activity. Major episodes were the construction of the bell-tower in

²⁰ E. Morini, ‘Le strutture monastiche a Ravenna’, in *Storia di Ravenna*, ii, pt. 2, *Dall’età bizantina all’età ottoniana. Ecclesiologia, cultura e arte*, ed. A. Carile (Venice, 1992), pp. 305–21; P. Novara, *Ad religionis claustrum construendum. Monasteri nel medioevo ravennate: storia e archeologia* (Ravenna, 2003).

the twelfth century, the subdivision of the open spaces within the complex with the establishment of the smaller cloister next to the courtyard, which included the two late antique mausolea, and finally the addition in the thirteenth century of the South Building. We shall return elsewhere to the monastery's evolution and the characteristics of its internal structure. Meanwhile, the purpose of this chapter is to show that for the first time, thanks to our recent and ongoing excavations, we can glean more than a glimpse of the origins and life of a medieval monastic community in the area of Ravenna, of its material culture, and of the buildings that constituted the spaces in which the monks of San Severo lived their everyday lives.

14. Life and learning in earlier eleventh-century Ravenna: the evidence of Peter Damian's letters*

Michael Gledhill

The life and learning of Peter Damian (c.1007–72) have received much scholarly attention in recent years, not least in the Anglophone world following the artful translations of his letters by Owen Blum and Irven Resnick.¹ That Damian was paradoxically a social hermit the letters make abundantly clear. They are also immensely rich sources for social life in northern Italy in the eleventh century. Ravenna is well represented in the letters: they not only contain reminiscences about Damian's childhood and youth spent there, but also record his visits to the city and his correspondence with its citizens from the early 1040s onwards. These contacts were particularly frequent during the early to mid 1040s, when a variety of reforming ideas and agendas were being pursued in Ravenna's cathedral community, in other city churches, and in monasteries like Pomposa, by such proponents as Archbishop Gebhard, an alleged simoniac, Bishop John of Cesena, and Damian himself.²

* I am grateful to Jinty Nelson and Alison Creber who read the draft of this chapter and provided many useful comments.

¹ Peter Damian, *Fathers of the Church Medieval Continuation: the Letters of Peter Damian*, ed. and trans. O. Blum and I. Resnick (6 vols., Washington, DC, 1989–2005), hereafter cited as Blum. Kurt Reindel's *Monumenta* editions have been equally instrumental (Peter Damian, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, 4 MGH BdK 4, 1–4, ed. K. Reindel (4 vols., Munich, 1983–93), hereafter cited as Reindel). Where I have quoted from Reindel the translations are my own, but I am indebted to Blum and Resnick's work, which proved immensely helpful to my research.

² On this reform and Damian's role in it, see H. P. Laqua, *Traditionen und Leitbilder bei dem Ravennater Reformator Petrus Damiani 1042–1052* (Munich, 1976). Alba Maria Orselli has found evidence of Damian and Gebhard's shared interests, particularly in relation to the care of liturgical instruments and the collection of books (A. M. Orselli, 'Ravenna, città e chiesa nell'opera Damiana', in *Pier Damiani, l'Eremita, il Teologo, il Riformatore (1007–2007)*, ed. M. Tagliaferri (Faenza, 2009), pp. 139–53, esp. pp. 149–51. For Gebhard's archiepiscopal activities, including his support for the monastery at Pomposa, see the entry for 'Gebeardo' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, lii (Rome, 1999), 792–5. For the importance of Pomposa to the region's reform, see Blum, i. 95, n. 2, and the references therein. Damian himself resided at Pomposa for some time, and formed close ties with the monks, as can be seen in Letter 6 (Reindel, i. 113–14). He also appears to have had a hand in the administration of S. Apollinare in Classe at

One of the many aspects of Ravennate society illuminated by Damian's letters is the city's intellectual culture. Damian himself was not alien to the world of secular learning. He acquired advanced skills in rhetoric,³ although he occasionally inveighed against the overzealous study of the *artes liberales*, especially in letters to other hermits.⁴ His education was a source of status and influence, and perhaps for this very reason a point of tension in his writings. His letters thus provide vivid, if rather colourful, portrayals of education across early eleventh-century northern Italy. The picture they give of learning in Ravenna during this time has received some attention,⁵ but deserves a closer look.

The education process began, of course, in childhood: nobody, not even an exceptional student like Damian,⁶ could reach the heights of rhetorical artistry before he had learnt the basics. His primary education was conducted in Ravenna, and while references to this period of his life are few, it seems that although not yet destined for a religious or even clerical life, he received this training from a Ravennate priest named Mainfred.⁷

the behest of the archbishop, although its monks are not portrayed in a particularly good light in Damian's *Vita Beati Romualdi* (cf. Letter 7, Reindel, i. 115–17 and C. Phipps, *Saint Peter Damian's Vita Beati Romualdi: introduction, translation and analysis* (unpublished University of London PhD thesis, 1988), p. 55).

³ For an in-depth study of Damian's understanding and use of rhetoric, see J. Bequette, *Rhetoric in the Monastic Tradition: a Textual Study* (New York, 2012), pp. 81–105. Although rhetoric could be learned in a monastic school, Damian's education definitely took place outside the cloister.

⁴ See, for example, Letter 28, written between 1048 and 1053, in which he contrasted worldly knowledge with holy wisdom. The letter itself is a highly sophisticated work of rhetoric, as demonstrated by Bequette, *Rhetoric*, pp. 81–105. See also Letter 117, written after 1064, to dissuade his scribe Aripandus from regretting his lack of liberal study.

⁵ See R. Witt, *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 121–4, 166–8 (albeit with the curious suggestion that Damian was archbishop of Ravenna in the mid 1060s). See also C. Radding and A. Ciaralli, *The Corpus Iuris Civilis in the Middle Ages: Manuscripts and Transmission from the Sixth Century to the Juristic Revival* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 68–80, and P. Landau, 'The development of law', *NCMH*, iv (2004), 118–19.

⁶ '[Damian's brother] handed him over, now a little older, to be imbued with the heights of literature and immediately after with liberal studies; in which, you may be sure, he was recognized to be so easy to teach and so industrious that he was held by his own doctors to be a miracle'; 'Quem porro jam licet grandiusculum litterarum apicibus tradidit imbuendum, nec non et studiis subinde liberalibus; in quibus scilicet tam docilis tamque industrius est agnitus, ut ipsis suis doctoribus mirabilis haberetur' (John of Lodi, 'Vita S. Petri Damiani', in *PL* 144, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1853), col. 117B).

⁷ This appears in Letter 8, written in 1045 to Ravenna's 'arcae Sethim cymiarcha', a post then held by an unidentified priest 'G.' At the end of the letter, Damian bade the priest to pass along his greetings to 'patrem et magistrum meum Mainfredum presbyterum' (Reindel, i. 124).

This childhood development possessed something of a structured pedagogy, as Damian noted later in life:

In literacy school indeed, where boys undertake the first elements of articulate speech, truly some are called 'alphabetarians', others 'syllabarians', certain others 'nominarians', and a few even 'calculators', and when we hear these names, we know immediately from these the progress which is in the boys.⁸

After his basic training, we learn in scattered epistolary references that Damian left Ravenna in his youth and sought to expand his intellectual horizons by studying first in Faenza and then in Parma.⁹ The *artes liberales* that he learned focused on the *trivium*: grammar, rhetoric and dialectics. In this era prior to the diversification and specialization of the arts, it was a 'literary-poetic' curriculum, with a concern for the student's character and manners as well as their technical knowledge.¹⁰ In travelling through northern Italy to complete his education in the liberal arts, Damian was following a pattern common among his contemporaries. In his reminiscences of his Parma school days he recalled the life of his teacher's associate, Walter, 'who for nigh-on thirty years pursued wisdom through the western lands'.¹¹

⁸ 'In litterario quippe ludo, ubi pueri prima articulatae vocis elementa suscipiunt, alii quidem abecedarii, alii sillabarii, quidam vero nominarii, nonnulli iam etiam calculatores appellantur, et haec nomina cum audimus, ex ipsis continuo quis sit in pueris profectus agnoscimus' (Reindel, iii. 321). Cowdrey took *ludus* here to mean a game, but a school seems much more likely in this context, following its classical meaning (see H. E. J. Cowdrey 'Anselm of Besate and some north-Italian scholars of the eleventh century', *JEcCH*, xxiii (1972), 115–24, at p. 118). For *ludus literarius* as a school teaching the early stages of literacy, I am following Witt, *Two Latin Cultures*, p. 122, who translates the term as 'elementary school', and Blum, v. 323, where it is translated as 'grammar school', presumably to be understood in the American sense, as synonymous with elementary school. *Ludus literarius* was used in this way by Quintilian in his *Institutiones Oratoriae*, and Seneca in his letters to Lucilius (Quintilian, *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, ed. H. E. Butler (1920), i. 76–77; L. Annaeus Seneca, *Opera*, ed. J. F. Gronovius (Amsterdam, 1672), ii. 440).

⁹ In Letter 44, written in 1055 to the Florentine hermit Teuzo, Damian told the story of a monk who, with great charity, offered to become the servant of the man who had blinded him. He added that 'It happens that as a young man, located in the city of Faenza for the study of letters, I heard that which I describe'; 'Adolescentem me in Faventina urbe propter litterarum studia constitutum audire contigit, quod enarro' (Reindel, ii. 30). Blum also translates this as 'When I was a young man attending grammar school' (Blum, ii. 240). But aside from this remark, Damian makes no further mention of his studies in Faenza. We know more about Parma from Letter 117.

¹⁰ C. S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1994), pp. 128–64; D. Luscombe, 'Thought and learning', in *NCMH*, iv (2004), 461–98, esp. pp. 463, 476–7.

¹¹ 'qui per triginta ferme annos ita per occiduos fines sapienciam persecutus est' (Reindel, iii. 322).

John Cowdrey drew similar parallels between Walter, Anselm of Besate and Lanfranc of Pavia.¹² The schools that such men attended to become imbued with the liberal arts, in cities like Parma, Reggio and Milan, had close links with their cathedrals: in Reggio, the teacher Sichelm was also archdeacon, and in Parma the cathedral chapter appears to have been the central institution in the city's educational system, so that by the early eleventh century men with titles like *presbyter et magister scholarum* begin appearing in charters.¹³ Many who studied in such institutions aspired to high-level ecclesiastical careers, and gravitated towards the imperial chancery and chapel.¹⁴ This was the world of prelates; not least Ravenna's archbishops, most of whom in this era were appointments from the imperial court. Damian, however, took an alternative path, available to those who excelled in the liberal arts, and settled down as a teacher:

And when, an expert thanks to every kind of liberal knowledge, he made an end of learning, he soon began to educate others most enthusiastically, with a crowd of students (*turba clientium*) drawn together from everywhere to the fame of his teaching.¹⁵

Cross-references in his letters strongly suggest that he spent this period in Ravenna.¹⁶ There were various literate groups in Ravenna and its environs, who required different levels of training. Damian addressed letters to several lay noblemen in the area,¹⁷ and there were of course clerics, lawmen and

¹² Cowdrey, 'Anselm', 118–19. On Anselm see also E. Peters, *The Magician, the Witch and the Law* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1978), pp. 21–33, and C. Violante, 'Anselmo da Besate' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, iii (Rome, 1961), 407–8.

¹³ I. Affò, *Storia della città di Parma*, I (Parma, 1792), 378, cited in R. Greci, 'Tormentati origini' in *Annali di Storia delle Università italiane*, ix (Bologna, 2005), 33–46. Drogo, the teacher of both Anselm and Sichelm, appears to have been a clergyman (P. Scarcia Piacentini, 'Drogo da Parma' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, xli (1992), 708–9). Damian also encountered in Parma a knowledge-hungry cleric called Hugh (*Parmensis aeclesiae clericus*) (see Letter 117, Reindel, iii. 323–4).

¹⁴ This was the desired path of Anselm of Besate (see Cowdrey, 'Anselm', p. 116–17), and of the aforementioned cleric Hugh. Even Damian, albeit via a different route, eventually became cardinal-bishop of Ostia. Stephen Jaeger draws attention to an evocative account of such urbane clerics that Damian gave in Letter 117 (Reindel, iii. 324–5); Jaeger, *Envy*, p. 140.

¹⁵ 'Cumque discendi finem ex omni liberali scientia peritus fecisset, mox alios erudire, clientium turba ad doctrinae ipsius famam undique confluente, studiosissime coepit.' John of Lodi, 'Vita', col. 117B-C.

¹⁶ See A. Wilmart, 'Une lettre de S. Pierre Damien à l'impératrice Agnès', in *Revue Bénédictine*, xlv (1932), 131 n. 2.

¹⁷ Damian wrote a treatise against the Jews (Letter 1) to a certain Lord Honestus, whose later entry into the monastery at Pomposa would suggest that he lived in the region, and whose apparently frequent contact with Jews would suggest that he lived in a city. Damian

tabelliones, the latter being the local term for notaries, surviving from the city's Byzantine days.¹⁸ It is not clear whom or what Damian taught, but his learning and expertise would suggest rhetoric. Indeed, little else can be said about Damian's own teaching career at all, save that the image of the *turba clientium* drawn to his reputation echoes the personality-driven intellectual scene that Damian described in Parma, where the aforementioned scholar Walter was fatally assailed by the close associates and supporters (*necessarii vel fautores*) of another teacher.¹⁹

What more can be said about schools and scholars in Ravenna itself? Rodulfus Glaber, writing in Burgundy in the 1030s, provides some circumstantial evidence for the reputation of Ravenna's intellectual culture. He recalled that in the latter part of the previous century 'a certain Vilgard' had such a love for the art of grammar and the classical poets – Vergil, Horace and Juvenal – that it ultimately got the better of him, 'just as the custom always was with Italians to neglect other arts, to pursue that one'.²⁰ Vilgard was said to have strayed into the realms of heresy and was condemned by his bishop. This well-known and probably third-hand reportage, which reveals more about stereotypes of Italian education held north of the Alps than about specific events in Ravenna, has been taken to confirm both the reputation of Italian schools and the fear of lay literacy among some of the conservative clergy.²¹

also wrote Letter 17 to an unidentified nobleman 'T', whom he had met in the archbishop's palace, to give him advice on the recital of the canonical hours by laymen such as himself.

¹⁸ There appears to have been some disparity in these *tabelliones'* use of Latin: cf. the writing of one Constantinus (*Monumenti Ravennati de' Secoli di Mezzo: Per la Maggior Parte Inediti*, ed. M. Fantuzzi (Venice, 1802) (hereafter cited as Fantuzzi), i. 253–4 and 265–6) with Rodulfus (Fantuzzi, ii. 72–4). On *tabelliones* generally, see M. Steinhoff, *Origins and Development of the Notariate in Ravenna (sixth through thirteenth centuries)* (unpublished New York University PhD thesis, 1976). They composed the overwhelming majority of Ravenna's charters, and the term was also used in nearby cities like Imola. See 'Ursonus tabellio de civitate Corneliensis' (Fantuzzi, ii. 68). *Tabellio* does not appear in Damian's letters, however, and he plumped for the more common *notarius*, which he occasionally used to mean 'scribe' (Letters 95 and 159), but sometimes to mean a specialist in legal matters, specifically marriages (Letter 112) and inheritances (Letter 89). Some *tabelliones* could be men of some social standing; Steinhoff notes that some also carried the apparently hereditary title of *consul* (see Steinhoff, *Origins*, pp. 110–20).

¹⁹ See Letter 117 (Reindel, iii. 322–3).

²⁰ Rodulfus Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories and the Life of St. William*, ed. N. Bulst, trans. J. France and P. Reynolds (Oxford, 1989); 'Ipso quoque tempore non impar apud Rauennam exortum est malum. Quidam igitur Vilgardus dictus, studio artis gramatice magis assiduus quam frequens, sicut Italicis mos semper fuit artes negligere ceteras, illam sectari', pp. 92–3.

²¹ A. Siegel, 'Italian society and the origins of eleventh-century western heresy', in *Heresy and the Persecuting Society in the Middle Ages: Essays on the Work of R. I. Moore*,

Lively anecdotes like Glaber's have tended to feed the view that lay and religious interests faced each other across a growing chasm of mistrust and fear of pollution. This view, however, depends on a teleological reading of the Gregorian Reform which is currently being revised. The reality in the city was naturally more complex and more subtly negotiated by those involved. We can get a glimpse of the social roles and prestige enjoyed by the educated in Ravenna through the life of one of Damian's *concives*.²² Peter the Scholar (*Petrus Scolasticus*), also known as a 'wise man' (*vir sapiens*), or simply as the son of Rainer (*de Rainero*), appears in a number of charters between 1021 and 1037.²³ For these sixteen years Peter can be found attending a number of court cases and transactions in the region around Ravenna.²⁴ The term *scolasticus* was rare in Ravenna's eleventh-century charters, and his only like-titled regional contemporary was one *Aradus Scolasticus*, who attended a court near Imola in 1036.²⁵ The temporal overlap with the career of Peter the Scholar suggests that *scolasticus* was not a singular title related to a particular appointment, but a generalized title for their profession.

With no surviving works to his name, nor indeed any reference to his teaching beyond what we ought to infer from his title (his profession evidently distinguished him from *iudices*, *advocati* and *causidici*), it is Peter's interest in the affairs of law which comes to the fore in the records. He attended the court of Henry II's *missus* Heimo at Faenza in 1021,²⁶ and those of Conrad II's *missus* Alexander at Ravenna and Bologna in 1030.²⁷ His final appearance was

ed. M. Frassetto (Leiden, 2006), pp. 55–6. Similarly, Henry III's chaplain Wipo expressed amazement at the ubiquity of secular schooling in Italy (Witt, *Two Latin Cultures*, p. 167).

²² Damian refers to him as 'my namesake and a fellow-citizen in Ravenna' in Letter 70, written after 1060 to Landulf of Milan; 'aequivocus michi atque concivis in Ravennati [...] urbe' (Reindel, ii. 314).

²³ Fantuzzi, i. 253–4 and 265; ii. 60 and 70; iv. 198–200. Also *Annali Bolognesi*, ed. L. V. Savioli-Fontana (3 vols., Bassano, 1784), i. 81–2. Ronald Witt suggests that Peter the Scholar taught Damian in Faenza, but the evidence points to his residence in Ravenna, and Damian makes no mention of this relationship, which surely would have appeared in Letter 70 (see nn. 23 and 36). See Witt, *Two Latin Cultures*, p. 122. See also J. Ficker, *Forschungen zur Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte Italiens* (4 vols., Innsbruck, 1874), iii. 104–5.

²⁴ As a signatory Peter appeared below *iudices* and *dativi* (a regional and archaic term for judges), and above *tabelliones* and those carrying no title. Aradus, see below, signed his name beneath that of 'Radulfus Ravennas Tabellio'. The social status of *tabelliones* could vary, however, and some combined the profession with the (apparently hereditary) title of *consul*: 'Petrus consul & tabelio Ravennas', Fantuzzi, ii. 60, and 'Martinus ex genere Consulibus & Tabellione de Civitate Ravenne' Fantuzzi, i. 253; see n. 19, above, and see Schoolman's chapter 10 in the present volume.

²⁵ For Aradus Scolasticus see Fantuzzi, ii. 69.

²⁶ Fantuzzi, i. 253–4.

²⁷ In Ravenna Peter was named as among the 'Roman nobles' ('maxima pars nobilium Romanorum omnium'), which presumably has more to do with imperial ideology than geography (Fantuzzi, i. 265).

at the court of Adalard, the *nuntius* of the emperor, in 1037.²⁸ Peter did not hold an ecclesiastical rank, and was identified by reference to his profession and his family. Damian remembered him, writing some thirty years later, as ‘undoubtedly esteemed, both vigorous in legal expertise and properly instructed in the rules of the grammarians’.²⁹ From the term’s general usage in Damian’s letters, it is clear that he understood the study of ‘grammar’ to mean more than mere literacy, and used it as a synecdoche for higher literary learning generally, and possibly for the whole *trivium*.³⁰ While Peter was a legal specialist, unsurprisingly he still required some expertise in the liberal arts to be able to succeed in his profession. Beyond the technical relevance of rhetoric, the broader cultural capital of such studies was of inevitable import to men seeking to make an impact on society, no less for laymen than for the ecclesiastics discussed above, as Damian acknowledged in a letter written to a *prudentissimus vir* in the mid 1040s:

because you occupy not the lowest position in the secular world ... you certainly can’t escape bringing together words of secular expression when conversing, or sometimes coming into contact with studies of some literary discipline.³¹

Peter’s own standing in Ravenna appears to have grown with time as, although he was referred to as a scholar from his first appearance in the records, it was only in 1037 that he was accorded the title *vir sapiens*; perhaps a mark of the esteem that remained luminescent in Damian’s memory of the man.

No documents survive in Peter’s hand – the composition of Ravennate charters tended to be performed by *tabelliones* and the occasional ecclesiastical notary – but he was trusted to represent the widowed daughter of one of the

²⁸ Fantuzzi, ii. 72–4. Peter attested the record of proceedings in 1023 (Fantuzzi, ii. 57–60) and in Bologna in 1030. In the other court cases he is simply mentioned as being in attendance.

²⁹ ‘Alius etiam aequivocus michi atque concivis in Ravennati scilicet urbe pollebat, et legis pericia strenuus, et grammaticorum regulis competenter instructus.’ (Reindel, ii. 314).

³⁰ In Letter 117 he warns his plainly educated scribe Aripandus not to immerse himself too deeply in the art of grammar: ‘Look here, brother, you want to learn grammar? Learn to decline *Deus* in the plural!’; ‘Ecce, frater, vis grammaticam discere? Disce Deum pluraliter declinare.’ (Reindel, iii. 317), and in Letter 21 he equated the interests of the grammarians with both rhetoric and dialectics (see Reindel, i. 203, and Blum, i. 198, n. 7). Damian does, however, distinguish between *grammatici* and *philosophi* in Letter 117 (Reindel, iii. 325).

³¹ ‘quia tu in saeculo non imum optines locum, nec potes prorsus effugere, ut aut saecularis eloquii cum colloquentibus verba non conferas, aut aliquando de litteratoriae disciplinae studiis aliquid non attingas’ (Reindel, i. 221). For Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital, relevant here in understanding education, even in pre-capitalist Ravenna, see P. Bourdieu, ‘Forms of capital’, in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson (New York, 1986), pp. 241–58.

Traversari, Ingelrada, when she donated a piece of land to the monastery at Pomposa.³² His knowledge of legal matters was most explicitly evident in 1032 when he appeared at the court presided over by Marquis Boniface of Tuscany at Ferrara. Peter, here *scolasticissimus*, acted as advocate for the financial officer of the archbishop of Ravenna,³³ successfully challenging a certain Wido about land which he and a man named Warnius held without paying the requisite *pensio* to the monastery of St. Apollinaris in Classe. Peter questioned the accused, whose responses the tribunal found wanting, and he then gave his professional advice to the marquis as to the properties to be redistributed. ‘Without complaint’ the marquis enacted the transfer.³⁴ Though the case was quickly resolved, Peter’s legal expertise was plainly not confined to an ivory tower. His presence at tribunals also brought him into contact with lawmen from across the region, including judges from Faenza, Forlì, and the highly respected ‘judges of the sacred palace’.

Despite his prestige and legal successes, Peter eventually turned his back on his worldly commitments and entered the religious life. Damian, years later, recalled in a letter that he and Peter had agreed to leave Ravenna’s scholarly scene together: ‘[Peter] made a pledge with me that if I were to relinquish the world, then he would do so at the same time himself’.³⁵ Damian had entered the hermitage at Fonte Avellana, but Peter had then reneged on his promise to undergo his *conversio* simultaneously. In the end it was a physical infirmity, eroding his social stature somewhat, which occasioned the fulfilment of his promise. Not long after he had disappointed Damian, Peter had injured his hand in an altercation with his brother-in-law, and finding himself a burden on those around him,³⁶ he entered a monastery. Thus his active life as a lawyer in Ravenna came to an end, and after 1037 we hear of him no more.

³² Ingelrada achieved this in 1023 ‘through my present messenger Peter, son of Rainer, whom I send from my hands into yours’; ‘per istum meum missum presentem Petrum filius [sic] Rainerii quem de meis manibus in tuam mitto’ (Fantuzzi, ii. 59). Both Peter and his brother Guido appear on the signature list.

³³ ‘Petrus scolasticissimus quasi Advocatus pro Petro procuratore Archipresulis’, in Savoli-Fontana, *Annali Bolognesi*, i. 81.

³⁴ Savoli-Fontana, *Annali Bolognesi*, i. 81–2.

³⁵ ‘Hic mecum fidedictor instituit, ut si ego simul et ipse relinqueret saeculum.’ (Reindel, ii. 314). On whether Peter the Scholar and the Peter in the letter are identical: Damian is thought to have entered the religious life around 1035, and Peter left the world shortly after. *Petrus Scolasticus* appears in Ravennate charters up to April 1037, thereafter disappearing. Peter was clearly somewhat older than Damian, as he was already a scholar when Damian was an adolescent, and the Peter of Letter 70, Damian tells us, was dead at the time of its writing, sometime after 1060.

³⁶ ‘He was more like a burden than a help’; ‘magis esset oneri quam virtuti’ (Reindel, ii. 314).

Around eight years after he and Peter had abandoned the scholarly life, Damian had a significant tête-à-tête with the educated elite of Ravenna. It occurred during one of a number of visits to the city which Damian made in the mid 1040s: visits generally marred by his poor relations with Archbishop Widger (1044–6).³⁷ Damian witnessed, and thrust himself into, a debate with the *sapientes civitatis* regarding the calculation of the degrees of relationship between two potential marriage partners.³⁸ As was his wont, Damian later recorded the verbal dispute in the form of a letter³⁹ so that he might preserve and refine his arguments. This letter has received considerable attention in the historiography of marriage and the family.⁴⁰ Although the authors of these studies have unpicked the potential social implications of Damian's perhaps overly cautious calculation of degrees of relationship, they are not so interested in the urban, and particularly the Ravennate context of the text.⁴¹

Damian did not instigate the debate, nor indeed did Ravenna's *sapientes*. The question originated, rather, in Florence, among unnamed persons who evidently considered Ravenna's legal minds to be of sufficient wisdom and unanimity to be worth consulting on the matter. By the time Damian joined the debate 'the matter had already gone so far that the wise men of the

³⁷ See Letters 7 and 8 (Reindel, i. 115–24).

³⁸ It is not clear where in the city the debate took place. Damian met some laymen in the archbishop's palace (see Letter 17). While expounding his argument, Damian exhorted his adversaries thus: 'Listen, therefore, *iudices*, diligently attend to the words of both doctors [Justinian and Gregory the Great], and forbid that murmur of the crowd, to which in the forum or in tribunals you have become accustomed, to happen here in church.' It is not clear, however, if he was using this term only figuratively to emphasize the authority of canon law in the matter of consanguinity; 'Audite igitur, iudices, utriusque doctoris verba diligenter attendite, atque illud tumultuantium murmur, quo in foro vel tribunalibus assuetistis, hic in ecclesia fieri prohibete.' (Reindel, i. 190).

³⁹ Letter 19, written in 1046 to Bishop John of Cesena, who was a suffragan of Ravenna and himself a local ally of Gebhard's initiatives, and Archdeacon Amerlic of Ravenna (Reindel, i. 179–99). On John, see the entry for 'Gebeardo' in *Dizionario Biografico* and Fantuzzi, ii. 306.

⁴⁰ See, for example D. d'Avray, 'Peter Damian, consanguinity and church property', in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, ed. L. Smith and B. Ward (1992), pp. 71–80; C. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 135–6. On the possible impact of ideas of consanguinity more generally, see C. Bouchard 'Consanguinity and noble marriages in the tenth and eleventh centuries', *Speculum*, lvi (1981), 268–87.

⁴¹ The letter also holds some importance for the history of law, as it suggests that Justinian law may have been known in Ravenna at this time. Recent historiography has questioned the importance of Justinian in Ravenna for the first half of the 11th century, as references to his works are scarce. See Radding and Ciaralli, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, pp. 68–80.

city, coming together as one, replied collectively to the querying couriers of the Florentines'.⁴² At least one Florentine, 'a quick man, hare-brained and sarcastic, clearly sharp by nature, biting in his eloquence and vehement in his argument' accompanied these couriers.⁴³ This is important insofar as it confirms that those with whom Damian debated were themselves a diverse group.

The character of Ravenna's 'wise men', among whose ranks Peter the Scholar had apparently been numbered late in his secular career, can be characterized more sharply. Although the letter in question was addressed to men of the church, Damian employed his preferred rhetorical style of confronting his disputants, as it were, directly. Among those *sapientes* who convened to discuss the matter at hand, the term *iudex* predominates: men 'who pass judgement in tribunals, who cut through the affairs of law suits, who apply themselves to scrutinizing legal decrees'.⁴⁴ The region's *iudices* were infused with liberal knowledge, just as Peter the Scholar was. 'I am not unaware', Damian wrote reprovingly to a 'very learned judge' (*prudētissimus iudex*) in nearby Cesena (around twenty miles south of Ravenna)

that when my letter is delivered into the hands of the lay grammarians, they soon scrutinize it for whether the charm of ingenious style is present, they look for the colour of rhetorical beauty, and their inquiring mind probes the sophisticated circles of syllogisms and enthymemes.⁴⁵

Again the emphasis falls on grammar, but the *trivium* as a whole is represented. Damian also named lawyers among his interlocutors, 'experts of law, who scrutinize laws, who plead cases'.⁴⁶ As historians of law have noted, Damian was able to quote from Justinian's *Institutiones* in his account of the debate, as was his contemporary Anselm of Besate in his major work,

⁴² 'iam res eo usque processerat, ut sapientes civitatis in unum convenientes sciscitantibus Florentinorum veredariis in commune rescripserint' (Reindel, i. 180).

⁴³ This is, of course, Damian's own uncharitable summation of the man: '...quidam promptulus, cerebrosus, ac dicax, scilicet acer ingenio, mordax eloquio, vehemens argumento, Florentinus puto verbis me beati Gregorii insolenter urgebat' (Reindel, i. 190). This was not the last man from Florence that Damian took a disliking to, but here a list, as a *tabellio* would have it, *longum est ad scribendum*. See Letters 44, 45, 63 and 146.

⁴⁴ 'Vos denuo, iudices, alloquor' (Reindel, i. 186); 'qui in tribunalibus iudicant, qui causarum negotia dirimunt, qui scrutandis legum decretis insistent' (Reindel, i. 181). Just as *tabellio* does not appear in Damian's vocabulary, nor does *dativus*.

⁴⁵ 'Non ignoro, quia cum mea epistola grammaticorum saecularium manibus traditur, mox utrum adsit artificiosi stili lepor attenditur, rhetoricae venustatis color inquiritur et captiosos sillogismorum atque enthymematum circulos mens curiosa rimatur.' (Reindel, i. 203).

⁴⁶ 'vos inquam legis periti, qui iura scrutamini, qui causas peroratis' (Reindel, i. 186). It is notable that Damian considered both the lawyers and the *iudices* to be 'scrutinisers of law'.

the *Rhetorimachia*, which suggests that extracts from Roman law were being taught to those studying the liberal arts, particularly in Parma, both Damian and Anselm's *alma mater*.⁴⁷ But Damian's characterization of these *causidici* suggests that legal learning was undertaken as something distinct from training in grammar, rhetoric and dialectics. Damian certainly made the distinction between legal and liberal education when writing in the 1060s:

for this reason, a man enters the schools of the grammarians, that he may leave when he has been perfected in the art. Finally, someone studies to learn the decrees of law so that he may do brilliantly well pleading the lawsuits of public cases in the tribunals of judges.⁴⁸

There, too, at the convention of 'wise men', were the apparent successors of Peter the Scholar, men 'who hold the cane amidst a crowd of students in the *gymnasium*'.⁴⁹ Probably there was a certain amount of crossover between these teachers and those who practised law in the courts, as we saw with Peter himself. The 'crowd of students' (*turba clientium*) attracted by these legal specialists looks very similar to the pupils of liberal arts teachers like Sichelm, Walter and Damian. Indeed, the vocabulary is identical to that used by John of Lodi to describe those that flocked to Damian's teaching – that is to say, legal students in Ravenna, as paying clients, appear to have entered private relationships with their tutors as was common in the competitive context of the liberal arts, which operated on the basis of fame and reputation.

The record of Damian's acquaintances in Ravenna, particularly Peter the Scholar and those with whom he debated the issue of consanguinity, strongly suggests that there was legal study in the city on a serious scale in

⁴⁷ See Radding and Ciaralli, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, pp. 76–7, 84; Cowdrey, 'Anselm', p. 120. On the significance of this during the period that Radding has termed the 'juristic revival', see C. Radding, *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence: Pavia and Bologna 850–1150* (New Haven, Conn., 1988), pp. 91–2, n. 10. A word of caution regarding the suggestion that Damian was schooled in Justinianic law: the nature of his contact with the *Institutiones* is far from clear, and although there appears to have been growing interest in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* in early 11th-century northern Italy, Damian may have known of Justinian's laws through other texts: see Corcoran, above, in this volume. Letter 19, moreover, is the only letter in which Damian quotes from the *Institutiones* directly. He may have had access to the relevant text during his stay in Ravenna (his disputants also appear to have had access to it). As such, Letter 19 would not be evidence for the use of the *Institutiones*, in whatever form, in Parma's schools.

⁴⁸ 'ad hoc grammaticorum scholas ingreditur, ut cum fuerit in arte perfectus abscedat. Ad hoc denique scita legum quispiam studet addiscere, ut causarum forensium lites luculente valeat in tribunalibus iudicum perorare.' (Reindel, iv. 8; see also Reindel, iv. 8 n. 13).

⁴⁹ 'qui inter clientium turbas tenetis in gimnasio ferulam' (Reindel, i. 193).

the 1020s to the 1040s, taught by men who debated specific cases in court, and matters of legal principle among themselves. The expansive interests of Ravenna's church and of monasteries like those at Classe and Pomposa brought these men into contact with a broader legal culture in the region. Yet Ravenna's own legal reputation reached across the Apennines as well. Damian's dispute with Ravenna's *sapientes* has been seen as foreshadowing the divide between the lay and the religious that would come to dominate the notion of Gregorian Reform.⁵⁰ The divided economic and political interests of elite groups, however, and new ways of thinking about rights in proprietary churches, made legal specialists a necessity rather than a threat to ecclesiastical and monastic interests.⁵¹ And while 'great' figures like Damian, steeped in secular, ecclesiastical liberal arts learning, but ultimately finding that world unfulfilling, went on to drive Reform with a capital 'R', people like Peter the Scholar – a man who fought cases for and facilitated donations to the region's reforming monasteries, and latterly added his own life and soul to those very communities – were instrumental in executing the local, piecemeal, grass-roots elements of religious renewal.

⁵⁰ Brooke, *Medieval Idea*, p. 135; P. Daudet, *Études sur l'histoire de la juridiction matrimoniale de l'église: l'établissement de la compétence de l'Église en matière de divorce et de consanguinité (France, X^e-XII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1941), pp. 98–9, cited in J. Goody, *The Development of Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 136. On marriage regulation as a point of conflict between lay and ecclesiastical interests in this period, see J. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, Ill., 1987), pp. 183–94. This view is questioned in d'Avray, 'Peter Damian', p. 78, and M. McLaughlin, *Sex, Gender and Episcopal Authority in an Age of Reform, 1000–1122* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 18–19, and the references therein.

⁵¹ T. Reuter, 'Gifts and simony', in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power and Gifts in Context*, ed. E. Cohen and M. B. de Jong (Leiden, 2000), pp. 157–68; S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), esp. pp. 729–89, 824–50; J. L. Nelson, 'Church properties and the propertied church: donors, the clergy and the church in medieval Western Europe from the fourth century to the twelfth', *EHR*, cxxiv (2009), 355–73. For a review of the recent Anglophone historiography of the 11th century, which stresses 'plurality, diversity and locality', and a move away from the analytical binaries of church/state and religious/lay, see S. Airlie, 'A view from afar: English perspectives on religion and politics in the investiture conflict', in *Religion and Politics in the Middle Ages: Germany and England by Comparison*, ed. L. Körntgen and D. Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2013), pp. 71–88.

15. Culture and society in Ottonian Ravenna: imperial renewal or new beginnings?*

Tom Brown

Until quite recently the city of Ravenna has received a thumbs down from historians – terms such as ‘decline’, ‘backwater’ and ‘marginal’ were commonly applied to post-Byzantine Ravenna. Edward Hutton, still the only writer in English of a detailed history of medieval Ravenna, wrote in 1913 that ‘after the misfortune of 751 ... Ravenna found itself ... little more than a decaying provincial city. [Her] memories ... smoulder in her ruined heart as the fire may do in the ashes when all that was living and glorious has been consumed. Almost nothing ... she became when Charlemagne left her, a mere body still wrapt in gorgeous raiment stiff with gold, but without a soul’.¹ The art historian Corrado Ricci, the first director of antiquities in Ravenna, wrote of the city losing its title of Ravenna Felix amid decadence, ruin, disasters and floods.² Is this view of Ravenna justified?

One of the remarkable things about Ravenna is the relatively abundant evidence. Up to the mid ninth century we are well informed thanks to the rich history of Agnellus.³ Thereafter we have source problems. It is not that sources are few but there are no detailed contemporary local texts

* This chapter is dedicated to David A. Warner of Rhode Island School of Art, who died on 8 May 2013. One of the foremost scholars on Ottonian Germany in the English-speaking world, he was best known for his translation of the *Chronicon* of Thietmar of Merseburg (*Ottonian Germany: the Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester, 2001)) and for his excellent paper ‘The representation of empire: Otto I at Ravenna’, originally given at a St. Andrews conference where I had the pleasure of meeting him (published in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 800–1500*, ed. S. MacLean and B. Weiler (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 121–40). I also wish to record my thanks to Judith Herrin and Jinty Nelson for organizing both the original workshop and this volume: it is gratifying to see such a quantum leap in the English-language literature on Ravenna.

¹ E. Hutton, *Ravenna: a Study* (1913), pp. 210–11. The recent book by D. M. Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2010) takes a more positive view but says little on the period beyond 700.

² C. Ricci, *Guida di Ravenna* (Ravenna, 1878), e.g., p. 199. On his career and writings, see *Corrado Ricci: Nuovi Studi e Documenti*, ed. N. Lombardini and others (Ravenna, 1999).

³ *Agnelli Ravennatis Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (CCCM, cxcix, Turnhout, 2006); *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, trans. and ed. D. M. Deliyannis (Washington, DC, 2004).

to provide a narrative. But we do have a *lot* of documents. The famous early papyri were replaced from *c.*700 by parchments, mainly preserved in the Archivio Arcivescovile.⁴ There are also remarkable survivals such as a register of 163 transactions commonly known as the *Codex Bavarus*. This was compiled *in papyrus* in the late tenth century but includes donations, leases and grants involving the church stretching back to *c.*700.⁵ Altogether Ravenna preserves the second greatest number of documents from early medieval Italy after Lucca – with around 450 surviving from 440 A.D. to 1002.⁶

There is also a wealth of judicial texts, such as *placita* and royal diplomas, and a wealth of some conciliar acts survive – Ravenna was a regular site for holding councils from the mid ninth century, both local provincial synods for Emilia-Romagna and wider ones summoned by the pope.⁷ There are also fairly common references in outside sources such as Italian and German chronicles. Most importantly, there is an increasing amount of archaeological evidence.⁸ And we know that Ravenna had a great heritage of monuments from its imperial past, which made a considerable impression on visitors, including rulers such as Charlemagne.⁹

The area of the old *Exarchatus*, roughly the present provinces of Emilia-Romagna and the northern Marche, now controlled by the archbishops, and known as Romania, was quite distinctive from the remaining areas of northern Italy which were known as *Langobardia* or the *regnum Italiae*. Key elements of the Byzantine administrative system persisted. We find continued use of titles from the Byzantine era such as *magister militum*, *tribunus* and consul. These appear to have been largely or exclusively honorary, but there is clearly a system by which powerful figures obtained titles and certain offices recur in families, reminiscent of areas under nominal Byzantine authority such as Venice, and the southern cities of Amalfi,

⁴ J-O. Tjäder, *Die Nichtliterarischen lateinschen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700* (3 vols., Lund, 1954–82); R. Benericetti, *Le carte ravennati del secolo ottavo e nono* (Bologna, 2006); R. Benericetti, *Le carte ravennati del secolo decimo* (3 vols., Bologna, 2002–10).

⁵ *Breviarium Ecclesiae Ravennatis (Codice Bavaro)*, ed. G. Rabotti (Rome, 1985).

⁶ B. Cavarra *et al.*, 'Gli Archivi come fonti della storia di Ravenna: regesto dei documenti', in *Storia di Ravenna*, ed. A. Carile (2 vols., Venice, 1991), ii, 401–547.

⁷ *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 916–1001*, I, ed. E. D. Hehl (Hanover, 1987); *I placiti del 'Regnum Italiae'*, ed. C. Manaresi (3 vols., Rome, 1955–60); see also S. MacLean, 'Legislation and politics in late Carolingian Italy: the Ravenna constitutions', *EME*, xviii (2010), 394–416.

⁸ E. Cirelli, *Ravenna; Archeologia di una città* (Bologna, 2008).

⁹ T. S. Brown, 'Louis the Pious and the papacy: a Ravenna perspective', *Charlemagne's Heir*, ed. P. Godman and R. Collins (Oxford, 1990), pp. 297–307; J. L. Nelson, 'Charlemagne and Ravenna', ch. 11, this volume.

Gaeta and Naples.¹⁰ The system reflects the existence of an entrenched regional aristocracy with a strong sense of identity and of distinct Romano-Byzantine military and administrative traditions. In the case of personal names in Longobardia Germanic names prevail among the elite, but in Romania traditional 'Byzantine' names, such as Theodore, Theophylact, and Mauricius, remain the norm alongside purely 'Christian' names such as Iohannes and Petrus.¹¹ There are similar differences in agrarian organization and terminology.¹² Large 'manorial' complexes are uncommon and the terms for estates and farms are quite distinct from Longobardia. Instead of terms such as *curtis*, traditional Roman terms such as *massa* or *fundus* are used for agricultural units.¹³ Also traditional Roman terms for institutions are preserved; for example the normal word for notary is not *notarius* but *tabellio*.¹⁴

There are, however, problems in tracing the history of Ravenna at periods when the evidence is scanty, such as those of the 'local kings' (888–962).¹⁵ It can be argued that the see benefited from the collapse of Carolingian power following the death of Louis II in 875. As with other Italian towns, the growing disorder had some positive effects through making the cities a refuge against competing forces, including Magyar and Arab raiders, and strengthening the political and ideological position of the bishop as leader of the urban community. But other factors also worked to the benefit of Ravenna. Its rivals, the popes, went through a period of upheaval following the murder of John VIII in 882, culminating in the 'pornocracy' colourfully described by Liutprand of Cremona.¹⁶ Ravenna came to play a more central

¹⁰ G. Vespignani, *La Romania italiana dall'esarcato al patrimonio: il Codex parisinus (BNP, NAL 2573) testimone della formazione di società locali nei secoli IX e X* (Spoleto, 2001).

¹¹ See Wolfgang Haubrichs's chapter, ch. 12, this volume.

¹² T. S. Brown, 'The interplay between Roman and Byzantine traditions in the exarchate of Ravenna', *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo 3–9 aprile 1986, Settimana di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, xxxiv (Spoleto, 1988), 127–67, and also Brown, 'The background of Byzantine relations with Italy in the ninth century: legacies, attachments and antagonisms', in *Byzantium and the West, c.850–c.1200. Proceedings of the XVIIIth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (Amsterdam, 1988)* (= *Byzantinische Forschungen*, xiii), pp. 27–45.

¹³ G. Pasquali, *Agricoltura e società rurale in Romagna nel medioevo* (Bologna, 1984); also Pasquali, 'Una signoria rurale assente o silente? Il caso anomalo della Romagna', in *La signoria rurale nel medioevo italiano*, Atti del Seminario di Pisa (1985), ed. A. Spiccianni and C. Violante, I (Pisa, 1997), pp. 63–80; N. Mancassola, *L'azienda curtense tra Langobardia e Romani: rapporti di lavoro e patti colonici dall'età carolingia al Mille* (Bologna, 2008).

¹⁴ P. De Lorenzi, *Storia del Notariato ravennate* (2 vols., Ravenna, 1962).

¹⁵ G. Fasoli, *I re d'Italia 888–962* (Florence, 1949); V. Fumagalli, *Il Regno Italico* (Storia d'Italia UTET, 1978).

¹⁶ Liutprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, ed J. Becker, in *MGH SRG* 41 (Hanover, 1915), pp. 59–60.

role in the kingdom of Italy, and was used increasingly as a residence by kings such as Lambert of Spoleto (perhaps because it was on the route between his power base and the heart of the *regnum Italiae*). It may also have benefited from the sack of the ‘capital’ of the kingdom, Pavia, in 924, and from the desire of the insecure kings to strengthen their claims to the imperial title by associating themselves with a quintessentially ‘imperial’ city: Guy and his son Lambert were crowned emperors there in 892. In addition, the city became the venue for frequent assemblies from the 880s on, including lay diets, ecclesiastical synods and large-scale judicial hearings (*placita*).¹⁷ The enhanced political influence of the archbishops is reflected in the increasing number of their land grants preserved, which also suggests a generally resilient economy. Growing economic ties between the fertile cereal-producing area of Romagna and Rome are a possible reason for the appointment of the Ravenna archbishop John IX as Pope John X – although Liutprand claims that the infamous Marozia wanted him as her lover!¹⁸

Moving on to the Ottonians: relations with Ravenna have received considerable attention from scholars, especially in Germany and Italy. Ravenna, with its imperial associations and surviving monuments, has been seen as contributing to the exalted Ottonian ideology (what Schramm categorized as the *Herrschaftsprogramme*)¹⁹ and particularly the Byzantinizing aspirations of Otto III.²⁰ The Ottonians bestowed favours on the archbishops, after Otto I’s defeat of the local Italian ruler Berengar

¹⁷ MacLean, ‘Legislation’.

¹⁸ C. Wickham, ‘“The Romans according to their malign custom”: Rome in Italy in the late ninth and tenth centuries’, in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. J. M. H. Smith (Leiden, 2000), pp. 151–67; and C. Wickham, *Roma medievale. Crisi e stabilità di una città 950–1150* (Rome, 2013), translated as *Medieval Rome: Stability and Crisis of a City, 900–1150* (Oxford, 2015); R. Savigni, ‘Sacerdozio e Regno in eta Post-Carolingia; L’episcopato di Giovanni X, arcivescovo di Ravenna (905–914) e papa (914–928)’, *Rivista della Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, xlv (1992), 1–29; R. Savigni, ‘Giovanni IX da Tossignano (papa Giovanni X) e i suoi rapporti con la corte ducale spoletana’, in *Ravenna e Spoleto, I rapporti tra due metropoli*, ed. M. Tagliaferri (Bologna, 2007), pp. 215–46; C. Gnocchi, ‘Giovanni X’, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, lv (Rome, 2001), cols. 568–71.

¹⁹ P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit* (Leipzig, 1929), p. 79.

²⁰ G. Althoff, *Otto III*, trans. P. G. Jestic (Philadelphia, Pa., 2010), esp. pp. 59–61, 126–7; Warner, ‘Ideals and action in the reign of Otto III’, *Journal of Medieval History*, xxv (1999), 1–18. On the visit of St. Nilus of Ravenna to that city and his friendship with Otto III, see J.-M. Sansterre, ‘Otto III et les saints ascètes de son temps’, *Rivista della Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, xliii (1989), 377–412; and *San Nilo. Il monastero italo-bizantino di Grottaferrata. 1004–2004 Mille anni di storia, spiritualità e cultura*, ed. E. Fabbriatore (Rome, 2005).

II in 962. Although Otto emulated the Carolingian policy of donating the exarchate to the papacy by his *Ottonianum* privilege, in practice, he developed close ties with the archbishop, treated the *Exarchatus* as imperial territory, and made extensive use of the city as a residence. Frequent assemblies and synods were held there, and two palaces were established, one at Caesarea and the other at San Severo in Classe. The city is frequently mentioned in Ottonian sources, privileges were confirmed, and towards the end of the century the archbishops received comital power over a number of areas of the exarchate. The city was a favoured residence of Theophano, who made a grant to the nunnery of S. Maria in Cosmedin. It played a particularly active role in the reign of her son Otto III who encouraged visits by his holy men protégés, such as Nilus of Rossano and Adalbert of Prague, and appointed the scholarly Gerbert of Rheims as its archbishop before promoting him to the papacy. Otto resided there for considerable periods of time and held numerous assemblies and councils in the city.²¹

Not surprisingly, therefore, considerable attention has been paid by both Italian and German scholars to this 'special relationship', the complex relationship with the papacy, and exploitation of Ravenna's imperial past.²² But was this a golden age – when the Ravennati rested on the glorious laurels of their past and basked in the admiration and appreciation of external rulers, flattered by association with a quintessentially imperial city? In reality, the attention paid by the Ottonians was sporadic. Otto II never visited the city until the last years of his reign as sole ruler. There was also resistance to this policy – as David Warner showed in his study of the violent revolt of the deacon Rainerius and his lay allies against Archbishop Peter in 966.²³ This represented opposition to the archbishop's support for Otto, and in particular to the threatened loss of the aristocracy's access to

²¹ Many Ottonian *diplomata* were issued at Ravenna. Significantly, these included one creating the archbishopric of Magdeburg in 968.

²² K. Görich, *Otto III. Romanus Saxonicus et Italicus* (Sigmaringen, 1993) is a fairly recent study. The vast scholarship on Ottonian relations with Italy is usefully summarized by I. Giovanni in 'La dinastia ottoniana, i regni e l'impero', *Reti Medievali* (2008) (<http://www.rm.unina.it/reptorio/rm_giovanni_isabella_ottoni.html>). Specifically on relations with Ravenna, see P. E. Schramm, *Gli imperatori della casa di Sassonia alla luce della simbolistica dello Stato, Renovatio Imperii, Atti della giornata internazionale di Studio per il Millenario* (Ravenna, 4–5 novembre 1961) (Faenza, 1963), pp. 15–40; *Ottone III e Romualdo di Ravenna: impero, monasteri e santi asceti, Atti del 24. convegno del Centro studi avellaniti (Fonte Avellana 2002)* (Verona, 2003).

²³ D. Warner, 'The representation of empire'. The episode has been extensively studied because it represented a major setback to the growing power of the Guidi family, who later became powerful in the mountainous areas of Tuscany adjoining Romagna. See Schoolman in this volume (ch. 10) and also F. Canaccini, *La lunga storia di una stirpe comitale. I conti Guidi tra Romagna e Toscana. Atti del Convegno di studi* (Florence, 2009).

church lands and involvement in the appointment of archbishops. This was suppressed by Otto at a diet in 967 but later, after Otto III's death, a longer revolt occurred against the new German archbishop Frederick. In 1004 the Ravenna nobility elected a local man, Adalbert, who was not deposed by Henry II until 1013. Henry then had to secure control over the city by appointing his brother Arnold as archbishop. Arnold in turn faced an uprising and had to be reinstated by Henry. There was another bloody revolt against Conrad II in 1026.²⁴

Not only were details of imperial policy towards Ravenna complex, but the Ottonian presence contributed to major changes happening in the city itself. First, though, it must be stressed that Ravenna and other Italian cities had an influence on the Reich itself through the movement of chancery staff, and such religious practices as the translations of relics, as discussed by Wolfgang Huschner in his monumental *Transalpine Kommunikation im Mittelalter*. Especially interesting is the case of Magdeburg.²⁵ The foundation document of the archbishopric was issued at Ravenna in 968, and relics from Ravenna were sent to the northern city, along with columns, capitals and other decorations for the cathedral.²⁶ This deliberate emulation of Ravenna fits in with its prominent role in the missions to the Slavs, which cannot be discussed in detail here.²⁷

Returning to Ravenna itself, the documents give an impression of general prosperity. Peasants were required to convey considerable quantities of grain, flax, oil and wine to the local *domus* of the see of Ravenna. We know of extensive clearances taking place, such as those near one of the mouths of the Po, at the great new monastery of Pomposa, south of Ferrara. The plains of the Romagna were traditionally fertile and with a greater measure of security, so it is likely that they already met the food needs of cities up the Po valley, as well as Venice and Rome, as in the later middle ages. Nor is it certain that trading activity declined as much as is traditionally believed as a result of the silting-up of harbours and the rise of the aggressive power of Venice. Merchants (*negotiatores*) are common in the documents, and while the harbour of Classe fell out of use with the receding of the coast, new

²⁴ H. Zimmermann, 'Nella tradizione di città capitale: presenza germanica in società locale dall'età sassone a quella sveva', in *Storia di Ravenna*, ed. A. Vasina (3 vols., Venice, 1993), iii. 115–16.

²⁵ W. Huschner, *Transalpine Kommunikation im Mittelalter: diplomatische, kulturelle und politische Wechselwirkungen zwischen Italien und dem nordalpinen Reich (9.–11. Jahrhundert)* (3 vols., Hanover, 2003).

²⁶ A major theme of Huschner, *Transalpine Kommunikation*, ii, is the close relationship between Ravenna and Archbishop Adalbert of Magdeburg (968–81).

²⁷ *Missio ad gentes. Ravenna e l'evangelizzazione dell'Est europeo*, ed. P. Novara (Ravenna, 2002).

harbours were developed to the east and wharves were built on the banks of the river network within the city.²⁸ Ravenna continued to trade throughout the Adriatic zone and with the east. It was joined to new trading centres such as Comacchio, whose emporium has been the subject of recent excavations and the focus of a conference on emporia held in 2009. The continuance of extensive trade with the Adriatic and eastern worlds is demonstrated by the extensive references in the documents to Byzantine gold coins (*aurei byzantini* or *infigurati*). A remarkable number of *negotiatores* can also be found in documents – no fewer than eighty-four references in the tenth century.²⁹ The common view that Venice dominated long-distance maritime trade from an early date perhaps needs to be questioned. Also important were new settlements often reclaimed from marshy land, or established in the foothills of the Apennines. The number and importance of these can be traced in the documents and also from the building of *pievi*, a network of baptismal churches developed in the countryside partly to serve the pastoral needs of new communities. Monasteries such as Pomposa played a central role in such *bonifica*.³⁰

The wealth and importance of Ravenna is evident in other construction activity: repairs to roads and riverside quays; continued construction of churches (twenty-seven in the tenth century, according to Cirelli); new churches, such as S. Paolo associated with Otto I's queen, Adelheid; the restoration of major churches, for example, the *Basilica Apostolorum* (now S. Francesco); the building of new crypts as at S. Apollinare in Classe and S. Apollinare Nuovo; and of course the remarkable Ravenna *campanili*.³¹ Other monuments were reused, for example the mausoleum of Theoderic was reborn as a monastery. All this confirms the views expressed in the recent book by Mariette Verhoeven which emphasizes the strong cultural memory in Ravenna and the constant renewal of the monuments.³² Nor

²⁸ Vespignani, *La Romania*; Cirelli, *Ravenna*.

²⁹ This is based on a trawl of the documents in Benericetti, *Le carte*, and forms a major theme of my forthcoming (2016) book on early medieval Ravenna.

³⁰ *Pomposa: storia, arte, architettura*, ed. A. Samaritani and C. Di Francesco (Ferrara, 1999); C. Rizzardi, 'Chiesa e Impero nel Medioevo: le Abbazie di Ravenna e dell'area padano-adriatica fra tradizione innovazione', *Hortus artium medievalium*, xiii (2007), 117–36, and, on a more general level, various authors, *La bonifica benedettina* (Rome, 1970).

³¹ For details see Cirelli, *Ravenna*; M. Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna: Transformations and Memory* (Turnhout, 2011), esp. catalogue, pp. 245–93; and the various works of F. W. Deichmann, e.g. *Ravenna: Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes. Bd. I, Ravenna: Geschichte und Monumente* (Wiesbaden, 1969). On *campanili*, see O. Gardella, *I campanili di Ravenna* (Ravenna, 1902); G. Battistini, L. Bissi and L. Rocchi, *I campanili di Ravenna: storia e restauri* (Ravenna, 2008).

³² M. Verhoeven, *Early Christian Monuments*, pp. 13–23.

was this building confined to the city. We also find major projects outside it such as new monasteries including S. Adalbert at Pereo and Pomposa.³³ The *pievi* system seems to have developed from the eighth century onwards, and some imposing examples survive, such as S. Giorgio at Argenta and S. Michele di Arcangelo near Rimini, generally modelled on the Ravenna basilicas.³⁴ Much of this economic expansion was part of a 'virtuous circle' prompted by the wealth and power of local elites in the Ravenna area and further afield, which manifested itself in an increased demand for luxuries and manufactured goods, some of them no doubt produced in Ravenna.

We find evidence of similar dynamism in the church, with the establishment of *pievi* throughout the countryside of Romagna, the foundation of powerful new monasteries such as Pomposa, and the reform of existing ones, such as S. Apollinare in Classe. Another interesting development is the rise of reformed monasticism. In Agnellus's day monasteries seem to have had little corporate life or discipline and were mainly sources of income for aristocratic clergy. The tenth century, however, saw an efflorescence of reformed monasticism, with major churches being reformed on northern lines and the appearance of charismatic leaders such as Adalbert of Prague, Nilus of Rossano and Ravenna and Ravenna's own St. Romuald (to be followed in the eleventh century by Peter Damian and others). This has usually been seen as the result of external influence and imperial support but the movement clearly also benefited from local traditions of reform, perhaps as well as from a reaction against the worldly careerism so well described in Agnellus's earlier text.³⁵

But Ravenna also shows signs by the second half of the tenth century that it was a revived centre in terms of cultural creativity. There had been a tradition of literary texts but this was previously confined to the practical

³³ A. Samaritani, *Analecta Pomposiana. Atti del Primo Convegno Internazionale di Studi Storici Pomposiani* (Codigoro, 1965); Samaritani, *Presenza monastica ed ecclesiale di Pomposa nell'Italia centrosettentrionale. Secoli X–XIV* (Ferrara, 1996).

³⁴ A. Vasina, 'Pievi urbane in Romagna prima e dopo il Mille', *Felix Ravenna*, cxxviii/cxxx (1984–5), 481–506; M. Tabanelli, *Visita alle pievi di Romagna* (Brescia, 1982); M. P. Torricelli, *Centri plebani e strutture insediative nella Romagna medievale* (Bologna, 1989).

³⁵ M. Mazzotti, 'Il monachesimo a Ravenna', *Studi Romagnoli*, xxxi (1980), 75–84; E. Morini, 'Le strutture monastiche a Ravenna', in Carile, *Storia di Ravenna*, ii, pt. 2 (1992), 323–9; G. Rabotti, 'Dai vertici dei poteri medioevali: Ravenna e la sua Chiesa fra diritto e politica dal X al XIII secolo', in Vasina, *Storia di Ravenna*, iii (1993), 129–68. See now the chapter of Augenti and Cirelli in this volume. On Romuald, see *San Romualdo. Storia, agiografia e spiritualità. Atti del 23° Convegno del Centro studi avellaniti (Fonte Avellana, 23–26 agosto 2000)* (San Pietro in Cariano, 2002). On Peter Damian, see G. Fornasari, *Medioevo Riformato del secolo XI. Pier Damiani e Gregorio VII* (Naples, 1996); and Michael Gledhill's chapter 14 in this volume.

needs of the clergy for liturgical and hagiographical works, plus of course Agnellus's history of the see. In the late tenth century comes the story of the local man Wilgardus, condemned as a heretic, but described by Ralph Glaber as 'assiduous in his zeal for grammatical art'.³⁶ Later in the eleventh century comes the jurist Peter Crassus renowned for his learning and for his authorship of a volume in defence of Henry IV in the Investiture Contest.³⁷ There is also the strong but mysterious origin legend of the law school of Bologna: it had its beginnings in a migration of jurists from the nearby school of Ravenna. Major changes were also occurring in the society of Ravenna. There was growing unrest towards the archbishops, whose dominance had hitherto gone largely unchallenged, and the jurisdiction of the archbishops had been confined to a smaller area, with some key counties, including Bologna and Faenza, withdrawn from their authority. In addition, archbishops came to be appointed from outside the local aristocratic elite. This was true of Peter in the mid tenth century but later prelates were appointed who were not even Italian – Gerbert in 998 and the German Frederick. Partly as a resentful reaction to this, a series of anti-imperial revolts occurred in Ravenna. But even before these events the Ravenna area was losing its homogeneity.

Among the many internal changes evident from around 888, naming-patterns changed, as powerful new families emerged, often with Germanic names and with lands and connections stretching into Lombard areas in Tuscany or the march of Ancona.³⁸ Overall, the authority of the archbishop seems to have weakened and less aggressive hostility to Rome is apparent.³⁹ Local aristocrats also married into Frankish and Lombard families from across the Apennines in Tuscany from the early tenth century. Thus Germanic names start occurring in local families such as the Traversari, who later became dominant in Ravenna, and the Guidi, who dominated Cesena and the adjoining foothills of the Apennines as counts. The aristocratic elite, clerical and lay, lost its tenacious cohesion and powerful families emerged with strong local power bases and the potential to oppose the hitherto all-powerful archbishop. The evidence from archaeology and documents suggests a pattern of rival families dominating particular areas in the city and building large houses, sometimes with elements of fortification such as towers.

³⁶ R. I. Moore, *Birth of Popular Heresy* (Toronto, 1975), p. 8; J. B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the early Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Calif., 1965), pp. 110–11.

³⁷ L. Melve, *Inventing The Public Sphere: the Public Debate During the Investiture Contest (c.1030–1122)* (2 vols., Brill, 2007), ch. 5; see also Simon Corcoran's chapter 8 in the present volume.

³⁸ See Wolfgang Haubrichs (ch. 12) and Edward Schoolman (ch. 10) in this volume.

³⁹ This was most evident in the case of archbishop John IX (905–14) becoming Pope John X.

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Oscar Wilde wrote in his poem of 1876, entitled *Ravenna*, 'in ruined loveliness thou liest dead'.⁴⁰ Ravenna was far from ruined or dead in the Ottonian era. Ravenna should not be regarded as a happy historical theme-park for emperors, implying a fairly static, nostalgic, even complacent society. Nor should the tenth century be seen as a period of 'managed retreat', with the archbishops desperately attempting to conserve the authority of themselves and their city by playing their trump card, Ravenna's stock of monuments and association with a glorious imperial past. Certainly the archbishops continued to ally themselves closely with the empire, most notably in the Investiture Contest against the common papal enemy, and Frederick II could still refer to the Ravennati as 'the special people of the empire'. But concentration on the imperial connection overlooks the evidence emerging from the documents and archaeological research that Ravenna was an extremely dynamic society in this period, and the scene of creative social, economic and cultural change. By the tenth century the social consensus maintained in earlier periods was breaking down, and new, strong, local and family groupings were emerging. The archbishops may have continued to peddle the old imperial myths, but perhaps the new elements were less prepared to buy into them, preferring instead to construct new myths of their own.

⁴⁰ Oscar Wilde, *Ravenna* (Oxford, 1878).

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In the long-debated transition from late antiquity to the early middle ages, the city of Ravenna presents a story rich and strange. From the fourth century onwards it suffered decline in economic terms. Yet its geographical position, its status as an imperial capital, and above all its role as a connecting point between East and West, ensured that it remained an intermittent attraction for early medieval kings and emperors throughout the period from the late fifth to the eleventh century. Ravenna's story is all the more interesting because it was complicated and unpredictable: discontinuous and continuous, sometimes obscure, sometimes including bursts of energetic activity. Throughout the early medieval centuries its flame sometimes flared, sometimes flickered, but never went out.

Cover image: Saint Vitalis holding out his covered hands to receive the martyr's crown. From the apse of his church dedicated by Bishop Ecclesius, 522-32. Photograph copyright Carola Jäggi, reproduced with her kind permission.



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