The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe

Edited by
Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick
and Sven Meeder

AB IPSO INTHOANE

ANTHIOCAENUS
FILIUS IOHANNIS
PROUINTIAE
GALILEAE UICO
BETHSAIDA.
FRATER
ANDREAE:
PRIMUS SEDIT
CATHEDRA
EPISCOPATUS
INANTHIOCHIA.
ANNOS
VII.

BEATVS

PETRUS
APOLS

DICPETRUS IN
CRESSUS INURBE

The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe

This volume analyses the importance of history, the textual resources of the past and the integration of Christian and imperial Rome into the cultural memory of early medieval Europe within the wider question of identity formation. The case studies in this book shed new light on the process of codification and modification of cultural heritage in the light of the transmission of texts and the extant manuscript evidence from the early Middle Ages. The authors demonstrate how particular texts and their early medieval manuscript representatives in Italy, Francia, Saxony and Bavaria not only reflect ethnic, social and cultural identities but themselves contributed to the creation of identities, gave meaning to social practice and were often intended to inspire, guide, change or prevent action, directly or indirectly. These texts are shown to be part of a cultural effort to shape the present by restructuring the past.

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Abbreviations

ACO	*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, 17 vols. (Berlin, 1914–1984), ed. E. Schwartz and J. Straub
AfD	*Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*
AHP	*Archivum historiae pontificae*
AL	*Annales Laureshamenses* (Annals of Lorsch), ed. E. Katz (St Paul, 1889)
AM	*Annales Mosellani*, ed. I. M. Lappenberg, *MGH SS* 16 (Hanover, 1859)
AMa	*Annals of Massay*, ed. P. Labbé, *Novae bibliothecae manuscriptorum librorum* (Paris, 1657), vol. II, pp. 733–6
AMP	*Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. B. von Simson, *MGH SRG* 10 (Hanover, 1905)
Annales ESC	*Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations*
AP	*Annales Petaviani*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS* 1 (Hanover 1826)
AQ	*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* (Darmstadt, 1955–)
ARF	*Annales regni Francorum*, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH SRG* 6 (Hanover, 1895)
BAV	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BHL	*Bibliographica hagiographica latina*
Blaise, *Dictionnaire*	A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1954)
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BT	*Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, 1849–
CC	*Codex Carolinus*, ed. W. Gundlach, *MGH Epp.* III (Berlin, 1892), pp. 469–657
CCCM	*Corpus christianorum continuatio medievalis* (Turnhout, 1966)

CCSL	*Corpus christianorum series latina* (Turnhout, 1952)
CLA	Lowe, Elias A., *Codices latini antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century*, 11 vols. plus supplement (Oxford, 1935–71)
Continuations	Fredegar, *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici libri IV cum Continuationibus*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2 (Hanover, 1888)
CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*
DA	*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
EA	*Epitaphium Arsenii*, ed. E. Dümmler, 1900
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
FrSt	*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*
HJb	*Historisches Jahrbuch*
HT	Cassiodorus, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, ed. W. Jacob and H. Hanslik, CSEL 71 (Vienna, 1972)
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LHF	*Liber historiae Francorum*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2 (Hanover, 1888)
LM	Dhuoda, *Liber manualis*, ed. P. Riché (Paris, 1975)
LP	*Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le 'Liber pontificalis': texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886–92; 2nd edn. with vol. III ed. C. Vogel, Paris 1955–7)
MBK	*Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* (Munich, 1918–2009)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
AA	*Auctores antiquissimi*
Capit.	*Leges: Capitularia regum Francorum*
Conc.	*Concilia. Legum Sectio* III, *Concilia* II, ed. A. Werminghoff, Hanover (1906–8); III, ed. W. Hartmann (Hanover, 1984).
DD Kar.	*Diplomatum Karolinorum*
Epp.	*Epistolae* III–VIII (= *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, Hanover, 1892–1939).
Epp. Sel.	*Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum*
Fontes iuris	*Fontes iuris Germanici Antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi*
Poet.	*Poetae latini aevi carolini*

SRG	*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*
SRL	*Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, saec.* VI–IX, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1885–1920)
SRM	*Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*
SS	*Scriptores* in Folio
MIÖG	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*
NA	*Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*
PL	J.-P. Migne (pr.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris 1841–64)
RB	*Revue Bénédictine*
Reviser	*Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi* ('Revised' version of the *Annales regni Francorum*)
RHEF	*Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*
Settimane	*Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, Spoleto (1954–)
SM	*Studi Medievali*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
VB	Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ed. W. Levison, *MGH SRG* 57 (Hanover, 1905)
VK	Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SRG* 25 (Hanover, 1911)
VL	Altfrid, *Vita Liudgeri*, ed. W. Diekamp, *Die Vitae Sancti Liudgeri* (Munster, 1881)
VV	*Vita Vulframni*, ed. W. Levison, *MGH SRG* 57 (Hanover, 1905)
VW	Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, ed. W. Levison, *MGH SRM* 7 (Hanover, 1920)
ZRG Kan. Abt.	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*

Preface

This volume is the distillation of the collaborative work of all those involved in a three-year HERA JRP (Humanities in the European Research Area, part of the European Science Foundation's Joint Research Projects scheme) project on 'Cultural memory and the resources of the past, 400–1000 AD' in the Universities of Cambridge, Leeds, Utrecht and the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna between 2010 and 2013. The project as a whole explored the eclectic uses of the resources of the past in the post-Roman successor states of western Europe in the early Middle Ages. It had two principal aims. Firstly we set out to determine the role played by the resources of the past in forming the identities of the communities of early medieval western Europe. Secondly we hoped to identify elements of the complex process by which the new discourses, ethnic identities and social models of early medieval Europe have come to form an essential part of modern European national and transnational identities.

In this volume we take up common themes that emerged in our work, namely, the importance of Rome, Roman history, the biblical past, and the integration of Christian and imperial Rome into the cultural memory of early medieval Europe within the wider concern of the problem of identity formation. This has included perceptions of difference on the part of specific social, political and religious communities. The case studies in this book combine two elements: firstly, there is the analysis of the transmission of texts and of the manuscript evidence. The extant manuscript material from the early middle ages has constituted a major resource to shed new light on the process of codification and modification of the cultural heritage, and for the study of cultural dynamics in general. Consequently we present a substantial amount of new and original manuscript material in this volume. Secondly, the papers consider how particular texts and their early medieval manuscript representatives in Italy, Francia, Saxony, and Bavaria do more than reflect ethnic, social and cultural identities. Each author suggests how the texts themselves contributed to the creation of identities, gave meaning to social practice, and were often intended, directly or indirectly, to inspire, guide, change,

or prevent action. The chapters in this book demonstrate that the written texts that have been transmitted to us are therefore traces of social practice and of its changes, not only in a merely descriptive way, but also as part of a cultural effort to shape the present by means of restructuring the past.

It is a pleasure here to record our thanks to the European Science Foundation for coordinating the HERA Joint Research Projects, and the national research councils of Europe involved for their essential financial support to fund our 'HERA project' on 'Cultural memory and the resources of the past, 400-1000 AD'. We should also like to thank our individual institutions (the Universities of Cambridge, Leeds, and Utrecht and the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften) for their support. In particular we are grateful to Brigitte Burger in Utrecht, Laura Cousens in Cambridge, and Dagmar Giesriegl, Maximilian Diesenberger and Gerda Heydemann in Vienna, who all in their various ways assisted with many of the technical and administrative aspects of the HERA project. We wish too to acknowledge with gratitude the staff of the archives and libraries in Lucca, Milan, Monte Cassino, Munich, Oxford, Paris, St Gallen, Valenciennes, the Vatican, Venice, Vienna and Wolfenbüttel, as well as of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris, who made it possible for the contributors to study the manuscripts relevant to our work. We benefited greatly from the reactions of our audiences at workshops and conferences in Wassenaar, Cambridge, Vienna, and Leeds throughout the duration of the project, and particularly from the scholars of the various foreign academies and research institutes in Rome assembled at the British School at Rome in February 2013 for our final conference. Our particular thanks are due to Christopher Smith, the Director of the British School at Rome, for so kindly hosting this conference. In the preparation of the volume the editors are indebted to Susan Kelly for her invaluable and meticulous assistance at the preliminary stage of preparation of the text, to our anonymous reviewers for their candid observations and constructive suggestions, to the editorial and production staff at Cambridge University Press for their support and assistance, especially Liz Friend-Smith, Rosalyn Scott, Joanna Breeze and Anna Oxbury, and to André Bouwman, Chief Curator and Curator of Western Manuscripts, Leiden University Libraries, for kindly permitting us to reproduce fol. 9r from the ninth-century copy of the *Liber pontificalis*, now Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. Q 60, for the cover picture of this book.

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Introduction: cultural memory and the resources of the past

Walter Pohl and Ian Wood

Cultural memory has been a successful concept in medieval studies for some time.[1] This introduction cannot set out at length the theoretical toolbox used for the contributions in this volume, but can only offer a few observations to clarify our general approach. 'Cultural memory' can be, and is often used in a rather straightforward manner. Still, to explore its potential it may be helpful to be aware of some of the strategic choices that are involved in employing it. Like other key terms in contemporary historical research (such as discourse, identity or cultural exchange), 'cultural memory' circumscribes a relatively wide field of research, which has been shaped by previous uses of the concept: opened up by successful approaches to the subject, unified by a basic consensus that it constitutes a meaningful topic, criss-crossed by lines of research, landscaped by more or less insurmountable divides created by debates and polemic, and changing in the course of the gradual progress of scholarship. Indeed, this particular field has moved from 'collective' through 'social' to 'cultural' memory, which rather expresses changes of fashion ('collective' has acquired a negative ring through its uses by twentieth-century totalitarian systems) than paradigm shifts. Moving through this field we should be aware which turns we take and why; the more swiftly we seem to be progressing, the more likely it is that we are simply following well-established routes to find what others have discovered before us. And we may end up affirming and reifying relatively simple models of cultural progress, or, on the other hand, of a progressive loss of authenticity in the course of transmission.

This latter position, in fact, marks the starting point of modern theorising about 'collective memory'. In the 1930s, the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs distinguished between collective memory, which is

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[1] See, for instance, J. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*; A. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*; Hartog, *Régimes d'historicité*; Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*; Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*; Hen and Innes (eds.), *The Uses of the Past*; Fried, *Der Schleier der Erinnerung*.

spontaneous, natural and selective, and historical memory, which aims for a more inclusive, broader picture, but in a much more self-reflective and therefore manipulative manner.[2] History, he claimed, strips the past of its magic. In the 1980s, Pierre Nora built on these ideas when he edited the three-volume series *Les Lieux de mémoire* about the French 'places of memory'.[3] For Nora, the original form of collective memory thrives in the *milieux de mémoire*, 'genuine, social and untouched memory'. But these cultures of memory disappear with modernity and with professional historiography: 'Things tumble with increasing rapidity into an irretrievable past . . . What was left of experience, still lived in the warmth of tradition, in the silence of custom, in the repetition of the ancestral, has been swept away by a surge of deeply historical sensibility.'[4] Memory is delegated to specific spaces, museums, archives or memorials, in short, the *lieux de mémoire*. The warmth of tradition is transformed into the cold gaze of the unconcerned observer.

As historians, we may regard Pierre Nora's model as a warning not to take our own professional perception of the past for granted. Invariably, we lose the heat of the moment, the immediacy of the living memory – not that the archive is necessarily as cold as Nora implies.[5] Yet, professional history has not terminated popular social memory, its myths and its uses in national, religious or political strategies of identification – which are often called 'ideology' in this context.[6] The Czech historian František Graus once wrote an article called 'Die Ohnmacht der Wissenschaft gegen Geschichtsmythen' (the powerlessness of scholarship against historical myths).[7] Most of us have experienced this feeling. But what is worse, in the long run, professional history does count, especially where it helps to create, not to undermine historical myths.[8] This is one reason to be sceptical of Halbwachs' and Nora's neat distinction. The other reason is that their model is not very helpful in dealing with medieval uses of the past – and indeed the Middle Ages, and particularly the early Middle Ages, are often overlooked by theoreticians of cultural memory, to the extent that Western Civilization has been presented as Classical, Renaissance and Modern, with the best part of a millennium confined

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[2] Halbwachs, *La Mémoire collective*; Halbwachs, *Les Cadres sociaux*; Namer, 'Le Contretemps démocratique chez Halbwachs', p. 57.

[3] Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux de mémoire* (English translation: *Rethinking France*).

[4] Nora, 'General introduction', p. 1.

[5] J. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, pp. 327–32; Derrida, *Archive Fever*.

[6] See, for instance, Reimitz and Zeller (eds.), *Vergangenheit und Vergegenwärtigung*; Geary and Klaniczay (eds.), *Manufacturing Middle Ages*.

[7] Graus, 'Ohnmacht'.

[8] MacMillan, *The Uses and Abuses of History*, tends misleadingly to portray 'amateur' historians as myth-makers and 'professional' historians as myth-busters.

to near oblivion.[9] As many of the contributions in the present volume demonstrate, early medieval histories were produced in the most lively *milieux de mémoire* of the period, in courts and cloisters. Admittedly, these were not scholarly histories in the modern sense. But they combined an acute sense of searching for the truth about the past – and individual authors certainly had an understanding of the need for research – with an embeddedness in milieux where this past mattered. These memories were not at all immutable. There is overwhelming evidence that these histories and other texts about the past were very much alive: in the process of transmission, they were selected, adapted, abbreviated, augmented, rewritten and epitomised.[10] They fit exactly into the category of 'functional memory' as elaborated by Aleida Assmann.[11] At the same time the libraries and archives of the early Middle Ages, in preserving and ultimately transmitting the works of Antiquity, could act as 'storage memory' – the other pole of one of the conceptual divisions that she employs.

Writing something down does not fix it for ever. On the contrary. literacy introduced a new dynamic in societies, as Jack Goody and others have shown.[12] It allowed knowledge and memory to be preserved as it is in an external storage device. Cultural memory in literate societies is, as Jan Assmann has argued, not limited to tradition and communication any more: 'Without it [i.e. literacy] there can be no infringements, conflicts, innovations, restorations, or revolutions. These are all eruptions from a world beyond the current meaning, through the recalling of the forgotten, the revival of tradition, or the resurfacing of what has been repressed.'[13] Reappropriations from the vast cultural archive of written memory can connect the present with a distant past, make the old texts productive in a changed context, and generate new meanings. The successive medieval revivals of classical cultural contents provide excellent examples. This potential of the written tradition provokes attempts to control it by manipulation, repression, replacement or destruction, as Assmann maintains. Perhaps, however, one should not make too much of the distinction between creative reappropriation and repressive control of written memory. Memory and oblivion were two sides of the same

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[9] Thus A. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, largely reduces the cultural memory of the period to 'divine' (p. 35) and 'feudal memory' (pp. 67–8), which is presented as dynastic, and allocates to it no more than a few passing references.

[10] See Pohl, 'History in fragments'.

[11] A. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, pp. 119–34.

[12] Goody, *Power*; Manguel, *History of Reading*; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*; Stock, *Listening for the Text*.

[13] J. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, p. 8.

coin.[14] As the contributions in this volume demonstrate, no clear line can be drawn between the different strategies of appropriation, between memory and its manipulation. As Patrick Geary has shown in a seminal study about eleventh-century textual forms of remembrance, our knowledge about the past rests on a series of previous decisions about what was worth remembering, and in what form: 'What we think we know about the early Middle Ages is largely determined by what people of the early eleventh century wished themselves and their contemporaries to know about the past.'[15]

Cultural memory was, of course, shaped by a multiplicity of voices, of competing interpretations that characterized (for instance) Carolingian uses of the past. Early medieval society was far from being a conformist collective. To see this we only have to tune in to styles of debate and dissent rather different from the modern world. Rewriting old texts was one way of expressing judgements about the present. Pre-modern identification with a community of the past did not necessarily mean, as Halbwachs assumed, eliminating all differences between yesterday and today (whereas according to him modern historians would see only discontinuities).[16] Re-using the past could mean both acknowledging that things had changed, and changing the past to fit the present.

In the context of broader theories of culture, 'cultural memory' is an interesting case. Since the 1990s, humanities scholars have increasingly (and sometimes forcefully) argued that the concept of 'cultural transfer' is reductive, and we should rather speak of 'cultural exchange'; indeed, that the notion of 'a' culture is an ethnocentric simplification, for all cultures are hybrid.[17] This is surely reasonable as long as it does not imply that in an overwhelming continuum of hybridity distinguishing between cultures becomes altogether impossible. In any case, the diachronic cultural flow between past and present constitutes a specific case. There can be no exchange between the dead and the living. Only transfer is possible. But this transmission almost invariably leads to hybridity. Even the most canonical tradition changes in the course of the generations that adapt to it, and adapt it in the process. These often subtle changes are in the focus of the present volume. What were the resources of the past, and how were they transformed in the course of their transmission? Manuscript cultures provide excellent and little-used material to study this process.

[14] A. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, p. 400.
[15] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p. 177.
[16] Halbwachs, *La Mémoire collective*, p. 75; J. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, pp. 28–31; J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, pp. 42–3.
[17] See, for instance, Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*.

A second, even broader context of cultural theory should also briefly be considered. Andreas Reckwitz has shown that towards the end of the twentieth century, the field of cultural theory was transformed. Two previously distinctive theoretical strands converged: first, the neo-structuralist and semiotic strand, as represented, for instance, by Claude Lévi-Strauss, Michel Foucault or Pierre Bourdieu; and second, the tradition of phenomenology and hermeneutics, which he exemplifies by Alfred Schütz, Irving Goffmann, Clifford Geertz and Charles Taylor.[18] Both schools gradually overcame the traditional binary opposition 'objective versus subjective' and became interested in the links between knowledge and social practice. Both had privileged a rather homogeneous view of cultural communities, assuming that they generally tended to reproduce themselves by repeating the same modes of cultural practice and by handing down established systems of knowledge and discourse. This 'myth of cultural integration', as Margaret Archer has called it,[19] has only rather recently been challenged by a more dynamic understanding.

This is also highly relevant for theories of cultural memory. In most previous research, cultural memory and discourse formations have been attributed to definite communities, which they helped to preserve and perpetuate. Recent theoretical debates have shown the need to overcome this simplified model, and some source-oriented medievalist studies demonstrate that it unnecessarily limits the range of interpretation of the material; but more often than not, sophisticated research is then fed back into rather conventional conclusions, more or less tacitly assuming a rather simple model of cultural memory: a more or less linear process of transmission of knowledge, which serves to affirm the identity of a community, and which is analysed by means of a set of static and binary categories such as lay/clerical, theory/practice, authentic/derivative or archaic/modern. On the other hand, ambitious theory-driven research has not always been grounded in a careful analysis of the sources. Moreover, theory itself is inevitably based on a selection of evidence, which is rarely drawn from the Middle Ages.[20]

The early medieval examples presented in this volume show that the transmission of memory did not simply serve the reproduction of a given community, but was a much more open process; and in fact, the period chosen for this research is paradigmatic in this respect. The Frankish kingdom and later the Roman empire of the Carolingians, *c.* 750–900, which provides us with the core of our documentation (though we look

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[18] Reckwitz, *Die Transformation der Kulturtheorien*, pp. 542–80.
[19] Archer, *Culture and Agency*; Reckwitz, *Die Transformation der Kulturtheorien*, pp. 617–23.
[20] Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, provides a significant exception.

earlier and later, and beyond Francia), adopted a variety of strands of identification, from the Biblical Israel of the Old Testament and the early Christian communities to the classical myths of Troy, the pagan and the Christian Roman empire and the post-Roman kingdoms. For a long time, the early Middle Ages have mostly been regarded as a dark age in which the bare survival of classical knowledge and erudition depended on the more or less mindless activity of badly educated monks who randomly copied texts that they did not understand.[21] Recent early medieval studies have demonstrated, on the contrary, how deliberate and sophisticated the reception of past knowledge and cultural contents was in the Carolingian age – and in this respect the preservation of knowledge in the supposed Dark Ages scarcely constitutes 'storage memory'.

In fact, this period is particularly well suited to further our understanding of the dynamics of cultural memory and of identity formation in general, and for several reasons. Most importantly, the early Middle Ages are the first period of European history from which many thousands of original manuscripts that can be studied have been transmitted to us (*c.* 7,000 manuscripts from the Carolingian period alone).[22] Most of the earlier history of literate societies and their cultural production in Europe and the Mediterranean have only come down to us because of the intense early medieval efforts to copy texts, previously preserved on papyrus and other more perishable materials, into parchment codices. Nor was it simply 'those documents that served to legitimate groups and institutions', as implied by Aleida Assmann.[23] Almost the whole of ancient literature and scholarship, but also of the Bible and of patristic writing have been transmitted to us through the filter of the early Middle Ages, and they were put to a variety of uses.

This huge body of material so far has been used mainly to reconstruct and edit texts as witnesses of the period in which they had been composed. It has also been subjected to increasingly severe scrutiny by ever more sophisticated methods of source criticism, not least, in the course of the 'literary turn' of the 1980s and 1990s.[24] A recent fundamental book by Johannes Fried, *Der Schleier der Erinnerung* (the veil of memory), goes one step further: it relies on advanced models from neuroscience, psychology and ethnology to construct a historical approach that it terms 'Memorik', arguing that individual memory is much more precarious and manipulative than we may assume.[25] The main use of this approach

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[21] Le Goff, *Les Intellectuels*, pp. 13–14.   [22] McKitterick, *History and Memory*.
[23] A. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, p. 328.
[24] See, for instance, Goffart, *Narrators of Barbarian History*.
[25] Fried, *Der Schleier der Erinnerung*.

then is to show that many of our sources may in fact be less reliable
than they were thought to be. Thus, Fried argues for 'eine gehörige Por-
tion Mißtrauen gegen das kulturelle Gedächtnis', a good dose of distrust
in cultural memory.[26] His aim is 'Umwertung der erhaltenen Quellen',
re-evaluation of the extant sources, in the context of a 'neuro-kulturelle
Geschichtswissenschaft'.[27]

It is open to debate whether the rather general 'neuro-cultural' model
employed by Fried can actually be useful for a more precise critique of
specific sources and constitute a reliable basis for arguing, for instance,
that St Benedict never existed, what really happened at Canossa or who
forged the Donation of Constantine, as Fried claims; reviewers have
doubted that Fried's well-presented arguments had much to do with
his concept of 'Memorik'.[28] In any case, the scope of the present vol-
ume is rather different. It is not intended to discuss whether past events
described in the texts that Carolingian scribes copied and often trans-
formed actually happened in that way or another. It deals with the process
of transmission of these texts, of their appropriation and transformation
in the course of their 'ré-écriture', and thus addresses a key issue of the
transfer of knowledge from past to present.[29] This process (that Fried is
only marginally interested in) can shed new light on the dialectic of codifi-
cation and modification of the cultural heritage, and on the contemporary
debates that went with it; thus, it is of great interest as an exemplary case
for the study of cultural dynamics in general. And it allows us to address
the problem of how the resources of the past were employed in the con-
struction of contemporary identities, precisely because several options
were available at the time.

How is cultural memory related to social identity? This depends on
the type and range of community and its identity that we look at. One
possible line of research was explored by *Memorialforschung*, memorial
research, perhaps the most important medievalist school in Germany
after 1945.[30] Its main object of study was medieval *Libri memoriales*,

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[26] Fried, *Der Schleier der Erinnerung*, p. 367.
[27] Fried, *Der Schleier der Erinnerung*, pp. 385 and 393.
[28] Fried, *Der Schleier der Erinnerung*, pp. 344–57; Fried, *Donation of Constantine* (see
      also the review by Jürgen Miethke, http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/
      2007−3−159, accessed 04/01/2014); Fried, *Canossa*. See also the review by by H.-W.
      Goetz, www.sehepunkte.de/2013/01/21982.html, accessed 04/01/2014: 'Mit "Memo-
      rik" und Erinnerungskritik – und Frieds Verdienste auf diesem Gebiet sollen und dürfen
      keineswegs bestritten werden – hat Frieds Vorgehen letztlich nichts zu tun'; and Patzold,
      'Frieds Canossa'.
[29] Pohl, *Werkstätte*; Corradini, Diesenberger and Niederkorn-Bruck (eds.), *Zwischen Nieder-
      schrift und Wiederschrift*.
[30] Schmid and Wollasch (eds.), *Memoria*; Geuenich and Oexle (eds.), *Memoria*.

books of memory. These impressive documents consist mainly of long lists of names of the living and the dead that a monastic or ecclesiastical community chose to remember: deceased members of the community, but also lay donors and protectors. For Aleida Assmann, 'the anthropological heart of cultural memory is *remembrance* of the dead'.[31] At least notionally, all these individuals were included in the prayers and the liturgy performed at the institution which created the *Liber memorialis*. In this way, the monastic community could integrate its own past, and act as a 'powerhouse of prayer' for lay donors and supporters around it.[32] This was a form of highly structured, literate memory that regularly became the focus of ritual performance, and was basic for the identity of the monastery. It expressed the idea of a carefully bounded community in which each individual was named and expressly included, a face-to-face community in which each of the deceased was individually remembered. Through fraternities of prayer (*Gebetsverbrüderungen*) other monasteries could become part of the memorial community, and it could thus be extended beyond those who were personally known in the *familia* of one particular cloister. However, it always operated on the basis of definite lists of names.

The cultural memory that this volume deals with is related to different types of identity: not the small, clearly bounded community in which most members know each other personally, but much broader social groups. Jan Assmann has distinguished quite appropriately between *Grundstrukturen* (basic structures) of identity and community, and *Steigerungsstufen* (levels of extension) which go beyond the face-to-face community. The latter are necessarily unstable and need cultural integration.[33] Identity is not a given, and recent research has demonstrated that especially in larger social groups it needs constant re-identification to be maintained: identification of individuals with the group, identification of the group as such through representatives or collective rituals, and identification of the group by outsiders.[34] These series of identifications rarely coincide fully, but they need to be sufficiently related in order to establish relatively stable communities. They rely on a complex of shared symbols that Jan Assmann has called 'cultural formation'. Its coherence is mainly based on two types of traditional knowledge: 'normative texts' that indicate what should be done, and

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[31] A. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, p. 23.
[32] Powerhouse of prayer: de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, p. 87; de Jong, 'Monasticism', p. 651; Brown, *Rise*, pp. 219–31.
[33] J. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, pp. 124–6.
[34] Pohl, 'Introduction: strategies of identification'.

'formative texts' that respond to the question 'who are we?'.[35] Many of
the texts analysed in the present volume fall in one of the two categories.
But most of the historiographical works studied here not only address
the question of who is the author's 'we'; they construct much more com-
plex relationships between groups that were more or less 'us', between
particular communities and a larger social whole, between one Christian
people and a world of *gentes*, between the others and 'the Other'.[36] The
biblical, ancient and early medieval past provided a rich repertoire of
communities many of which were in some ways related imaginatively to
the social topography of the Carolingian world, and which had to be fed in
different ways into appropriate 'visions of community' for the present.[37]

The Carolingian period is a good example of such an extension of
the horizons of community and identity, and for the rich cultural pro-
duction that was aimed at integrating that identity. At its heart, there
was in fact a face-to-face group that met regularly at Aachen or at other
places where the royal, and later imperial court was based.[38] This group
was active in a great number of ways to draw together the huge polity
that its military success had created. Johannes Fried has argued force-
fully that contemporaries were incapable of conceptualizing this realm
as an abstract entity.[39] Yet in fact, there was not only one concept but
several: the *gens* and the *regnum Francorum*; the *Imperium Romanum*; the
ecclesia and the *populus Christianus*. All of these were very far-reaching
concepts, inevitably precarious, impossible to delineate precisely, and
problematic because these communities all overlapped, but were not
coterminous. The *regnum Francorum* consisted of more than Franks; the
empire of more than the *regnum*; and the *ecclesia* had an even wider
horizon, although it could at the same time be flexibly mapped as the
sum of certain churches, and of their respective *populi Christiani*.[40] To
maintain these elusive constructions required massive efforts at all levels,
political, military, cultural, cognitive, spiritual, ritual and much else. The
past was central to most of them. It could be used, for instance, to
create legitimacy, explain inclusion and exclusion, establish precedent,
provide orientation, exemplify moral exhortation, inspire a sense of what
was possible and what was not, to negotiate status, to argue about the

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[35] J. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, p. 123.
[36] See Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Rise of Western Ethnicity, 550–850*.
[37] Pohl, Gantner and Payne (eds.), *Visions of Community*.
[38] McKitterick, *Charlemagne*; de Jong, *Penitential State*; Nelson, *Courts*.
[39] Fried, 'Gens und regnum'; for a critique: Goetz, 'Staatlichkeit'; see also Airlie, Pohl
and Reimitz (eds.), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*; and Pohl and Wieser (eds.), *Der
frühmittelalterliche Staat*.
[40] De Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity'; de Jong, 'Charlemagne's church'.

right norms or to imagine the future. Corresponding to this multiplicity of uses of the past and to the variety of possible modes of identification for which it could be used, the Carolingian period disposed of several strands of cultural memory. It was mainly based on the inclusive constructions of Christian history that Eusebius/Jerome and others had assembled in Late Antiquity, which essentially blended biblical history with the classical tradition.[41] This eclectic construction was augmented by the memories of the post-Roman centuries, including 'barbarian' and vernacular elements. In this wide-reaching temporal and spatial matrix, boundaries could now be redrawn.

Related to questions of the horizons of community and identity is the question of exclusion: what was included was in part defined by what was excluded. Following on from Halbwachs' emphasis on the role of cultural memory in the creation of group cohesion, Aleida Assmann stresses its function in the establishment of 'distinction'.[42] Group identity could be strengthened by emphasis of what did not belong. It is, therefore, no surprise that the resources of the past were employed to distinguish one's community from the 'Other'. The drawing of boundaries thus constitutes another major theme of our volume. Here, inevitably, we have been influenced by a wide range of scholarship relating to 'Otherness', for instance the pioneering work of Edward Said on Orientalism,[43] and of Henri Tajfel on intergroup relations:[44] the East–West and masculine–feminine polarities that underlie much of the work on the topic have certainly provided a background to many of the questions we have asked. Although in scholarship these discussions have tended to run parallel to those on cultural memory, they have a great deal in common: certainly they are sides of the same coin, for the construction of group cohesion almost inevitably involves the designation of those outside the group as 'Other'. These lines of exclusion were usually presented as very time-resistant. Thus 'the resources of the past' have a role to play, and we have therefore been concerned with how early medieval writers used the written resources available to them to describe and categorise those they regarded as 'Other': how they used the Bible, and how they used classical authors. In so far as geographical distinction was an issue, early medieval writers turned to the classical geographers, who provided them with most of their information about the known world: but above all, it was the children of Israel who provided an ideal model for the self-identification

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[41] McKitterick, *History and Memory*; Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Rise of Western Ethnicity, 550–850.*
[42] A. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, p. 129
[43] Said, *Orientalism*.   [44] E.g. Tajfel (ed.), *Differentiation*.

of a Christian community. The Bible and the classics were the chief written resources out of which early medieval groups constructed their identity.

Perhaps surprisingly, however (and especially so, given the centrality of the notions of salvation and damnation to the Christian world view), the largely bipolar distinction of Us and Them that has been favoured by much work on the 'Other' proves to be an inadequate description of the extremely fluid representations of neighbours, enemies, rebels, pagans and heretics made by early medieval authors. The 'Other' was never one single category: in the early Middle Ages in particular 'others' were constituted out of a range of comparisons, which allowed for considerable flexibility. And both the Bible and classical authors provided more than enough information for the construction of a wide range of patterns of self-identification. The question of boundaries, which might at first sight seem tangential to our main theme, thus brings us back once again to the heart of 'cultural memory and of the resources of the past'.

Equally important, the rich results to be had from the application of the concept, or concepts, of 'cultural memory' to the early medieval period are a reminder of how much the centuries between the Fall of Rome and the Renaissance have to contribute to an understanding of the functioning and development of Western civilization. They also call into question the starkness of the assessment of the post-Roman period offered by Krysztof Pomian:

> The history of the formation of the cultural heritage is conditioned by a series of breaks: changes in collective beliefs, ways of thinking, technological revolutions, advocacy of new lifestyles to replace the old. Every break deactivates the function of particular classes of artifacts and causes their relegation to the ranks of waste products, to what is abandoned and forgotten. This is what happened after the Christianization of the Roman Empire, the invasion of the barbarians, and every industrial and practically every political revolution.[45]

Pomian's presentation of the post-Roman period (which is in many ways a cliché) completely ignores the fact that without the transcription of texts made between the sixth and tenth centuries much of the classical and patristic past would not exist for modern scholarship: without the interpretation of the Bible and the classics undertaken in the period, the collective memory and group cohesion of Western Europe, as it developed over centuries, would have been very different.

While the different universities involved in the project each began with a particular topic, in the course of our research and of our discussions we

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[45] Pomian, 'Museum und kulturelles Erbe', p. 62, as translated in A. Assmann *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, p. 44.

found that the individual pieces of research could be grouped in different ways, crossing our original categorisations. Thus, this volume represents the results of inspiring discussions and cooperations made possible by the HERA project. It gave us the opportunity to look again at the ways in which individual societies, Merovingian, Carolingian, Papal, even Salian, used the past to define their position in the present.

Part I

Learning Empire

1   Creating cultural resources for Carolingian rule: historians of the Christian empire

Walter Pohl

The Carolingians inherited two of the most powerful 'visions of community'[1] that had hitherto been created, which helped to integrate particular communities in the matrix of a larger social whole: the Roman empire, and Christianity. Both became amalgamated in the Christian empire of Late Antiquity with remarkable success, but not without deep and sometimes fateful fissures and contradictions. The post-imperial West developed its own ways in which governance could follow Roman precedent and was tinged with Christian legitimacy. Around AD 700, the 'hegemonial kingdom' of the Merovingians lost its grip and the Visigothic monarchy was ousted; political culture seemed to become distinctively regional.[2] But soon, Carolingian expansion created a new need for a culture of wide-reaching political integration. At first, Frankish identity was trumpeted along the Carolingian way to success.[3] After all, what had to be held together most urgently in the sensible phase of shedding the Merovingian skin were the Frankish elites. But a generation later, more inclusive visions came on the agenda. It was certainly not a coincidence, as Einhard wanted to make his readers believe, that Charlemagne was eventually crowned emperor in Rome.[4] As Janet Nelson wrote, 'the hegemonial idea of empire, of the emperor ruling many peoples and realms, arose directly from the political experience of the eighth-century west'.[5] The memories of Christian empire explored in this article, including Byzantium, framed this process.

The complicated imperial title that Charles first carried – *Carolus serenissimus Augustus a Deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam Dei rex Francorum et*

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[1] Pohl, Gantner and Payne (eds.), *Visions of Community*.
[2] Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*; Brown, *Rise*.
[3] Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Rise of Western Ethnicity, 550–850*.
[4] *VK*, c. 28, p. 32; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 13, 116; Nelson, 'Why are there so many different accounts?'.
[5] Nelson, 'Kingship and empire', p. 52.

Langobardorum[6] – demonstrates that the process of imperialization of the *regnum Francorum* was in many respects experimental. There was certainly more than a 'Reichsidee', in the sense of traditional German medieval studies, which had to be appropriated and developed: imperial titles and rituals, political roles and forms of representation, juridical and canonical norms, biblical models and classical narratives, and much else. There was a variety of precedent that could be used, deliberately or without realising that a choice had been made: the Old Testament kingdom of Israel, the legendary exploits of Alexander the Great, pagan Rome, the Christian empire of Late Antiquity and its direct heir in Constantinople, and, of course, the Merovingian kingdom in its glory days.[7]

The potential of these models was harnessed to the needs of Carolingian rule in a variety of ways, which were part of the process usually described as renaissance, reform or *renovatio*. On a political level, there was a multifaceted process of transformation, with interlocking forms of institutional continuity, innovation and reappropriation, and an increased urgency to do things the right way. This was based on flows of knowledge, which have left traces in the copying and rewriting of ancient texts, in the adaptation of transmitted sets of norms, and which were accompanied by the emergence of new modes of identification and by the appropriation of well-established strategies of 'othering'. The contributions by Ian Wood, Richard Broome and Timothy Barnwell in this volume explore this last element. As Mayke de Jong has demonstrated, the Carolingian realm did not only operate on the political level, it was grounded in the *populus Christianus* and its *ecclesia*.[8] In this broader context of ambitious attempts to create a political community that would be pleasing to God and therefore successful on earth, is it at all possible to mark off an 'imperial mode' in the political culture of the 'Frankish kingdom turned Roman empire' in the Carolingian period?

This contribution raises the question of how empire could be understood, and on what knowledge this understanding rested. This is a wide field, including the impact of buildings, objects and texts, and much of it has been covered by recent studies.[9] As far as texts are concerned, it certainly was not only historiography that conveyed some knowledge of the Roman empire of the past. To give just a few examples: Roman law-books and specifically their prefaces; Jerome-Gennadius' *De viris illustribus*; the *Actus S. Silvestri*; letter collections such as the sixth-century *Epistolae*

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[6] Classen, *Karl der Große*, p. 66; Garipzanov, *Symbolic Language*, pp. 136–7.
[7] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 10, 28, 56, 206.
[8] De Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity'; de Jong, 'Charlemagne's church'.
[9] Mortensen, 'Diffusion'; Sot, *La Mémoire*; La Rocca, *Pacifico*; Bolgia, McKitterick and Osborne (eds.), *Rome across Time and Space*; Bauer, 'Die Stadt Rom'.

Austrasicae which contained diplomatic correspondence to and about the Eastern empire; exegetical works such as the sixth-century work of Junillus (see the contribution by Marianne Pollheimer); or prophecies and eschatological literature, from the Book of Daniel (with the image of the successive world empires) to Pseudo-Methodius, a Syrian world chronicle with a strong apocalyptic focus written in *c.* 700 and soon translated into Latin.[10] In what follows, I will limit myself to the perceptions of the Christian-Roman empire of the past found in ancient and more recent works of historiography. Arguably, this was the most likely model for a renewed Christian empire of the West.

Historians of the Christian empire, fourth to sixth centuries

Late antique historiography followed a number of patterns, some of them highly innovative.[11] Rosamond McKitterick reminds us to look at 'these texts both as presenting a particular view of the Roman past to their readers, and as particular models for history writing'.[12] Christian world chronicles built on the *Chronicle* of Eusebius as preserved in its Latin adaptation by Jerome, who took it up to 378. Eusebius had recreated history in a number of ways.[13] First, unlike the classical perspective, his firm chronological grid incorporated ancient and biblical history and Greek myth in a vision of the world extending well beyond the classical world. Second, unlike earlier Christian views, it made the Roman empire part of God's providential plan. And third, his *fila regnorum* structure, parallel columns which gave essential information on several empires/kingdoms on one page within the chronological matrix, provided a very flexible instrument for a world history which could expand beyond or contract within the boundaries of empire. It was this decentralisation of world history which allowed the medieval West to place itself within a dynamic temporal–spatial structure in which the past (and potentially, the future) lay beyond its actual boundaries. Although the complicated layout was not continued, it allowed understanding the post-Roman West as a series of parallel histories, which could also converge again. The most important of many continuations, and a stepping-stone for several further ones, was Prosper's *Chronicle*, taken in several redactions until 451, which is both

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[10] Aerts and Kortekaas (eds.), *Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, vol. I, pp. 1–35; Gantner, 'Hoffnung in der Apokalypse?'.
[11] Whitby, 'Imperial Christian historiography'; Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*.
[12] McKitterick, 'Roman texts and Roman history', p. 32.
[13] See, most recently, Kelly, 'Shape of the past'.

transmitted as an appendix to Jerome's *Chronicle*, and together with Prosper's epitome of Jerome.[14] Later, Marcellinus Comes continued Jerome until 534.[15] Isidore's *Chronicle* relied heavily on Jerome, but also used other sources. Thus, for instance, he arrived at a differentiated image of Constantine as the first Christian emperor (based on Orosius and Rufinus), but deplored his Arian bias (based on Jerome).[16] The seventh-century Fredegar *Chronicle* relied on Jerome's *Chronicle* for what constitutes its second book, adding, among others, a web of rather legendary stories about Justinian, Belisarius and Theoderic, and thus fed it more closely into the web of Frankish history.[17] Of course, these chronicles were relatively succinct; they provided a general overview of the historical significance rather than detailed information on the workings of empire. Already Cassiodorus, in his *Institutions*, commented that they were 'only sketches of history or very brief summaries of the past', but recommended reading them.[18]

An alternative strand, also based on the work of Eusebius, was constituted by Church histories. In 401, Rufinus of Aquileia translated and reworked Eusebius' *Church History* in Latin and took it up to the death of Theodosius I in 395.[19] This work was transmitted in more than a hundred manuscripts, some of them very early, and gives some coverage to the 'Constantinian turn' and its consequences for the Church.[20] As Rosamond McKitterick has shown, it basically presents 'the history of Christianity as the history of written authority', linking the identity of the Church to the works of the fathers.[21] Rufinus' additions fleshed out a few key events in the history of the fourth-century empire that became basic for the medieval imagination, such as the finding of the True Cross by Constantine's mother Helena and the penance of Theodosius.[22] Another passage that was used in Carolingian debates about the relationship between lay and ecclesiastical authority was Constantine's reputed renunciation of his right to judge bishops at Nicaea: 'For you have been given us by God as gods, and it is not fitting that a man should judge

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[14] Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers*, pp. 48–135.

[15] Croke, *Count Marcellinus*, pp. 17–18; Wood, 'Chains of chronicles', p. 72.

[16] Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, 2, 329–34, ed. Martín, pp. 154–7.

[17] Reimitz, 'Cultural brokers of a common past'.

[18] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 1, 17, 2, trans. Halporn and Vessey, p. 150.

[19] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 226–33.

[20] There are, for instance, three manuscripts from Bavarian monasteries, written before 840, in Munich, digitized at www.digital-collections.de/index.html?c=autoren_index&l=en&ab=Rufinus<Aquileiensis>. For the Lorsch manuscript, see Reimitz, in this volume.

[21] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 232.

[22] Eusebius-Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 10, 7–8; 11,18, trans. Amidon, pp. 16 f., 77; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 59–61.

gods.' The example appears, for instance, in a letter by Gregory the Great to the Emperor Maurice in 595 and in Jonas of Orléans' *Admonitio*.[23]

A further important translation was the Latin selection from three Greek Church histories, the *Historia tripartita*, commissioned by Cassiodorus, see Désirée Scholten's and Giorgia Vocino's contributions in this volume. It prominently featured Constantine, so that Sedulius Scottus in his *De rectoribus Christianis* amply quoted from it: for instance that the *imperator eminentissimus* prided himself more to be God's servant than of his earthly empire, and was rewarded for his modesty by triumphal victories.[24] It also highlighted the struggle against Arianism, for instance the burning of Arian books by Constantine.[25] These imperial church histories were not continued in the early medieval West. But some of the most important historical works of the early Middle Ages similarly conceived of the past of a realm as a history of its Church. Gregory of Tours' first book passes directly from an account of biblical history to the martyrs and missionaries of Roman Gaul, and to the establishment of its sacred topography.[26] The Roman empire is just a side-show to this Christian history of Gaul. Constantine is passed over coldly; his main act is poisoning his son Crispus and killing his wife Fausta in a boiling bath.[27] Bede treats the empire only as a backdrop to British affairs, for instance the persecution of Diocletian as a context for the martyrdom of St Alban; Constantine is only mentioned in passing as son of Constantius by Helena the concubine, under whom the Arian heresy arose.[28]

Perhaps the most popular Roman history of the Middle Ages was Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*, written *c*. 417. Of the 249 surviving manuscripts of Orosius, no fewer than thirty-one were written before AD 900.[29] This work made it possible to regard the glories of the pagan empire with reserve. Most of the work is dedicated to the *histoire noire* of the pagan period; only about half of the last book

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[23] Rufinus, *Historia*, 10, 2, trans. Amidon, p. 10; Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistolarum* 5, 36, 55, ed. Ewald and Hartmann, pp. 317–20; Jonas of Orléans, *Admonitio*, 2, ed. Anton, p. 60.

[24] Cassiodorus-Epiphanius, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, 1, 9, 2, ed. Jacob and Hanslik, p. 24 (or 3, 7, 10, ed. Jacob and Hanslik, p. 145); Sedulius Scottus, *De rectoribus Christianis*, 1, ed. Anton, p. 106.

[25] Cassiodorus-Epiphanius, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, 2, 10, ed. Jacob and Hanslik, pp. 98–9; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 234.

[26] Reimitz, 'The providential past'.

[27] Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, 1, 36, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 26–7.

[28] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 1, 6–8.

[29] Mortensen, 'Diffusion', 101 and 104; Guenée, *Histoire*, pp. 248–55. For reasons of space, I am not dealing with Florus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Aurelius Victor, the *Epitome de Caesaribus* or the *Historia augusta* here, all of which are attested in Carolingian manuscripts.

(7, 28–43) deals with the time between Constantine and 416. Even there, it highlights the punishment of pagans (such as Constantine's adversaries or Julian) and heretics (such as Valens) more than the positive role models.[30] Theodosius, however, receives a very favourable treatment, with the clear message: it was God's power, not human allegiance that always gave victory to the emperor.[31] The narrative culminates in the victorious battle against the usurper Eugenius, almost an apotheosis of the emperor, shortly before his death.[32] It seems that Orosius only became apologetic of the Christian empire against his (Augustinian) intentions, which creates a subtle tension in the text. As Peter van Nuffelen has argued, 'one way in which Orosius destabilizes the traditional view of Roman history is by reducing, not to say effacing, the distinction between Romans and barbarians . . . The destructive barbarians of today could be the great kings of a new empire tomorrow.'[33] A lesson that could be drawn from Orosius was that the glory of empire was worthless unless pursued in the right creed and humility; punishment would follow secular success, and lasting victory could only be achieved through God's grace.

We should not forget the Christian perspective on the empire offered by the *Liber pontificalis*.[34] The view is often negative. Many of the brief lives of the early popes underlined that they were 'crowned by martyrdom'. But even Constantine gets little credit for a turn to the better in the extensive biography of pope Silvester. The text briefly states that the pope had to flee from Constantine's persecution to Mount Soracte, but then returned to Rome 'in glory' to baptise him. This story then provided a context for the eighth-century forgery of the 'Donation of Constantine' and is contained in the 'Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals'.[35] The bulk of Silvester's Life comprises almost endless lists of churches (many of them built by Constantine), of their endowments and of the precious objects in them.[36] In the following lives, the trouble with the Arian sympathies of the sons of

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[30] Orosius, *Historiae*, 7, 30, 6, ed. Zangemeister, p. 276 and 7, 33, 19, ed. Zangemeister, p. 281. See Goetz, *Orosius*, p. 125.

[31] Orosius, *Historiae*, 7, 35, 12, ed. Zangemeister, p. 284: *potentia Dei non fiducia hominum victorem semper extitisse Theodosium.*

[32] Orosius, *Historiae*, 7, 35, 11–23, ed. Zangemeister, pp. 284–6; Eusebius-Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 11, 33, ed. Mommsen, 1039; see McKitterick, 'Roman texts and Roman history'.

[33] Van Nuffelen, *Orosius*, p. 178.

[34] See also McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 32–3, placing the redactions to the 530s, the 550s, the early seventh century and then at smaller intervals.

[35] Fuhrmann, 'Einleitung', pp. 7–11. For a different date (830 in Francia): Fried, *Donation of Constantine*, p. 112. *Constitutum Constantini*, ed. Fuhrmann, p. 70; Zechiel-Eckes, *Fälschung*.

[36] *Liber pontificalis*, Life no. 34, trans. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, pp. 14–26; see McKitterick, in this volume.

Constantine is highlighted.[37] Dogmatic conflicts with emperors remain a central topic. Justinian receives a rather uneven treatment and is twice dubbed as Diocletian.[38] Only a few emperors appear unambiguously positive, among them, Justin I 'in the burning depths of his love for the Christian faith' and Constantine IV.[39] The *Life of Pope Agatho* contains an extensive account of the council of Constantinople and the honourable reception of the papal delegates. Pope Constantine's reception sounds even more grandiose: first by Justinian II's son Tiberius, who came out from Constantinople to the seventh milestone with the entire senate, the patriarch and the clergy to salute the pontiff, and then by the emperor himself. 'The Christian Augustus, diadem on his head [*cum regno in capite*], prostrated himself and kissed the feet of the pontiff.'[40] Much more lukewarm is the description of the visit of the emperor Constans II in Rome.[41] The pope and his clergy welcomed the emperor at the sixth milestone; in Rome, Constans repeatedly attended mass, left presents on the altar and dined with the pope. The memory of the event was impaired by the fact that he 'dismantled all the city's bronze decorations'. Some passages of the *Liber pontificalis* thus offered instances of the kind of relationship that could exist between popes and emperors.

A Roman history that enjoyed some circulation in the Carolingian world was Jordanes' *Romana*, written in the reign of Justinian and linked with the same author's *Getica*.[42] Carolingian manuscripts of the *Romana* are attested, among others, at St Amand, Lorsch, Verona, and Reichenau (lost).[43] It starts with a brief review of biblical history, heavily leaning on Jerome, and concentrating on the succession of empires: Assyria, Media/Persia, Alexander and his Ptolemean successors up to Cleopatra, from whom the empire passes on to Augustus, under whom Christ is born. Then the narrative switches back to Romulus, covering the whole history up to Justinian in a rather succinct fashion.[44] Curiously, the section about Constantine is missing in the extant manuscripts – the lacuna stretches from the persecution under Diocletian to the death of Constantius II.[45] Julian returns to the cult of the idols, nevertheless is called

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[37] Julius, Liberius and Felix: *Liber pontificalis*, Lives nos. 36–8, trans. Davis, pp. 27–9.
[38] *Liber pontificalis*, Life no. 59, trans. Davis, p. 53; Life no. 61, trans. Davis, p. 58.
[39] *Liber pontificalis*, Life no. 55, trans. Davis, p. 49; Lives nos. 81–3, trans. Davis, pp. 74–80.
[40] *Liber pontificalis*, Life no. 90, trans. Davis, p. 391.
[41] *Liber pontificalis*, Life no. 76, trans. Davis, p. 71.
[42] For a synthesis see Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, pp. 47–58.
[43] See Mommsen, 'Prooemium', pp. xlvi–lxix; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 201 and 212: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 95; BAV, Pal. lat. 920, and the *Epitome Phillippsiana*, see note 97 below.
[44] Jordanes, *Romana*, 85–7, ed. Mommsen, pp. 9–10.
[45] Jordanes, *Romana*, 303, ed. Mommsen, p. 39. As the whole section is derived from Eusebius/Jerome, the missing contents can be guessed at.

vir egregius et rei publicae necessarius.[46] Theodosius I receives a positive, though not enthusiastic treatment: *religiosus ecclesiae enituit propagator rei publiceque defensor eximius*;[47] the rest is about military exploits. The following sections, mostly taken from Marcellinus Comes, offer a rather bleak panorama of disputes and defeat; only Marcian recovers *divina provisione . . . quod delicati decessores predecessoresque eius per annos fere sexaginta vicissim imperantes minuerant*. For the West, Jordanes provides a famous formula for the fall of the empire in 476: *Sic quoque Hesperium regnum Romanique populi principatum, quod septingentesimo nono urbis conditae anno primus Augustorum Octavianus Augustus tenere coepit, cum hoc Augustulo periit.*[48] Interestingly, Jordanes accentuates the end of the Western empire by claiming that Odoacer had invaded Italy with his troops.[49] The *Romana* closes with an extensive account of military affairs under Justinian up to the battle between the Lombards and the Gepids in 552, just before Narses' final victory in the Gothic war which quite remarkably is no longer included.[50] Jordanes sums up on a rather subdued note: one could find in the annals how the *res publica* had conquered all the lands, and how these were lost again by incompetent leaders.[51] The *Getica*, written some years later, casts Justinian in a more favourable light.[52] In short, Jordanes takes a very different stance from Orosius: he indulges in the glory of empire even where it is pagan, and regards most of the Christian emperors of the recent past as the ones who have squandered the ancient glory.[53]

Rewriting Roman history: Eutropius and Paul the Deacon

In the seventh and early eighth centuries, some concise world chronicles followed, based mostly on the material presented above; most prominently, the *Chronicles* of Isidore (with quite a negative view of the empire

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[46] Jordanes, *Romana*, 304, ed. Mommsen, p. 39.

[47] Jordanes, *Romana*, 315, ed. Mommsen, p. 40. In *Getica* 146, ed. Mommsen, p. 96, he is praised as *amator pacis gentisque Gothorum*.

[48] Jordanes, *Romana*, 345, ed. Mommsen, p. 44; the same phrase in Jordanes, *Getica*, 243, ed. Mommsen, 120.

[49] A similar view of the end of empire: Marcellinus Comes; see Croke, *Count Marcellinus*, and Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, p. 58.

[50] For the chronology, Pohl, 'Langobarden in Pannonien'. Although the Lombard–Gepid war lasted for a few years, the only real battle occured in 552.

[51] Jordanes, *Romana*, 388, ed. Mommsen, p. 52: *Scietque unde orta [scil. res publica], quomodo aucta, qualiterve sibi cunctas terras subdidit et quomodo iterum eas ab ignaros rectores amiserit.*

[52] Jordanes, *Getica*, 316, ed. Mommsen, p. 138.

[53] See also Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, pp. 51–2.

of his day) and Bede.[54] The writers of the Carolingian period diligently collected and copied ancient works of history and compiled them in 'history books', miscellany manuscripts.[55] In this process, many works were variously abbreviated, epitomised or combined, or subtly rewritten to fit the needs of the present. The study of the transmission of these texts, and of their use by other authors, is therefore a way to assess some of the impact that these texts had. Rosamond McKitterick has greatly enhanced our knowledge about the transfer of knowledge to and within the Carolingian world, and about the different uses to which these texts were put.[56] One of the results is that most of the above-mentioned texts were available in several monasteries with close affiliations to the court. Thus, Eusebius/Jerome, Eusebius/Rufinus, Orosius, Jordanes' *Romana*, the *Liber pontificalis* and Isidore's *Chronicle* are attested at Lorsch, extant copies of Eusebius/Rufinus, Orosius, Jordanes, the *Liber pontificalis* and Bede's *Chronica maiora* can be attributed to St Amand, while Fulda owned some rarer texts such as Ammianus Marcellinus, the *Historia augusta* and also Tacitus' *Germania*.[57]

The evidence that these texts were sought for, collected, copied, exchanged and used is substantial. Some Carolingian authors also attempted a more ambitious synthesis, for instance Frechulf; as the contribution by Graeme Ward in this volume shows, he had a wide variety of sources at his disposal. Here we will look at another author who dealt with the Roman past in the period: Paul the Deacon, a historian and scholar from Lombard Italy who later enjoyed good contacts with the Carolingian court.[58] He wrote both a Roman and a Lombard history, which will be discussed here in turn as they contain interesting perspectives on contemporary attitudes towards the Christian Roman empire. Quite paradoxically, the Roman history was written for a Lombard princess, and it is not reliably attested north of the Alps in the Carolingian period,[59]

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[54] Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, ed. Martín; Bede, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. Mommsen; Wood, *The Politics of Identity*.

[55] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 1, 28–59; Reimitz, 'The art of truth'.

[56] McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*; McKitterick, *Books, Scribes and Learning*; McKitterick, *History and Memory*.

[57] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 197–201, 212, 190. For Lorsch, see Reimitz, in this volume.

[58] Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, pp. 329–431; Pohl, 'Paulus Diaconus'; McKitterick, 'Paul the Deacon and the Franks' and *History and Memory*, pp. 66–83; Chiesa (ed.), *Paolo Diacono*, especially Pohl, 'Paolo Diacono e la costruzione'; and the articles in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale (saec. VI–X). Atti del XIV Congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 2001).

[59] The earliest manuscripts Mortensen, 'Diffusion', nos. 8 (Bamberg), 96 (Lucca), 107 (Munich), 127 (Paris) and 217 (private, from Nonantola) all seem to be from Italy; only

while the Lombard history appealed to a much wider audience, and was soon distributed throughout the Carolingian world.[60]

To create a Christian history of the late antique empire, Paul the Deacon revised and supplemented the *Breviarium* by Eutropius at the request of Adelperga, duchess of Benevento, in the 760s or early 770s.[61] Eutropius, a pagan who wrote at the commission of Valens, had taken his history up to Jovian's death in 364.[62] Paul continued the history up to the victory of Narses against Totila in 552, mainly based on Orosius,[63] Prosper and Bede's *Chronicle*. Mortensen lists 153 surviving manuscripts of Paul's work, and 218 in total of the chain of texts based on Eutropius; however, only 6 of them are pre-900.[64] Paul's text was successively reworked; one of the most interesting revisions, perhaps copied from a tenth-century exemplar from Southern Italy, appears in a historical miscellany written at Halberstadt around AD 1000.[65] Obviously, the revival of empire under the Ottonians led to a renewed interest in Roman histories. Around that time Landolf Sagax also used Paul's *Roman History* for his own compilation, in which he included extensive material from Anastasius' translation of the ninth-century Byzantine *Chronicle* of Theophanes.

Paul did three things to Eutropius' text: First, he added six books at the end, taking the narrative to Justinian. Second, he attached a new beginning, based on Orosius and Jerome, which covered the period before the foundation of Rome. In Eutropius the Roman empire began with Romulus. In Paul, Janus is the first king in Italy, followed by gods and heroes, Aeneas and a line of kings until he reaches the foundation of the city.[66] Eutropius explains that 'when the city was founded, it received its name Rome from his name [Romulus]'. Quite characteristically, Paul adds: 'and from that the name for the Romans is derived'.[67] Eutropius

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one Eutropius MS was written in Fulda in the early ninth century (no. 51, Gotha). See also Cornford, 'Paul the Deacon's understanding'.

[60] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 77–93; Chiesa, 'Caratteristiche'.

[61] Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. Droysen, p. 1.

[62] Bird, *Eutropius*, pp. xi, lvi.

[63] See van Doren, 'Paulus Orosius and Paulus Diaconus' http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/student-theses/2012–0816–200633/ (29/12/2012).

[64] Mortensen, 'Diffusion' 104–5.   [65] Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History*, p. 54.

[66] Eutropius, *Brevarium*, 1, 1, ed. Santini, p. 3: *Romanum imperium . . . a Romulo exordium habet.* Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, 1, 1, ed. Droysen, p. 3–5: *Primus in Italia, ut quibusdam placet, regnavit Ianus*; Maskarinec, 'Who were the Romans?'.

[67] Eutropius, *Brevarium*, 1, 2. 1, ed. Santini, p. 3; trans. Bird, p. 3: *Condita civitate, quam ex nomine suo Romam vocavit.* Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, 1, 2, ed. Droysen, p. 11: *. . . a qua et Romanis nomen inditum est.* Maskarinec, 'Who were the Romans?'.

described the civic foundations of empire, Paul the mythical origins of Italian kingship and of the Roman people.

Paul's third change to Eutropius is his reworking of the transmitted text of Eutropius' history; the aim, as he states in his dedication to Adelperga, was *eam sacratissimae historiae consonam reddere*.[68] But it is surprising how hesitant Paul was about the Christianisation of the text. One example is his treatment of Constantine. Eutropius had presented Constantine as an able military leader, both against the barbarians and against inner competitors.[69] His Constantine was gifted and ambitious, 'dedicated to civil arts and liberal studies', and introduced some good but also many superfluous and severe laws. 'At the beginning of his reign [he] was comparable to the best of rulers', but was 'made somewhat arrogant by his success', so that in later years he lost his mild temperament, and began to persecute his family and friends. Eutropius does not mention his change of policy towards the Christians. Paul faithfully follows this portrayal, without adding anything about the Christianisation of the empire. The sentence from the *Epitome de Caesaribus* that he does insert right after Eutropius' account of the battle at the Milvian Bridge deals with rumours about Constantine's defeated opponent.[70] Only later the copy of Paul's *History* written around 1000 at Halberstadt fills in the obvious lacunae. That was easy: Orosius (on whom Paul leaned heavily elsewhere) provided the necessary material.[71] The compiler also omitted the reference to Constantine's deification, untouched by Paul.[72]

Paul, following Orosius, makes Theodosius I a more conspicuous model of a Christian emperor: 'Theodosius, believing that a state afflicted by God's wrath must be set aright by God's mercy, placed all his trust in Christ's aid', and attacked the Goths.[73] His account of the civil wars relates how Theodosius used the cross as a sign for battle against Eugenius, but leaves out much of Orosius' providential embellishments –

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[68] Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. Droysen, p. 2. See also Cornford, 'The idea of the Roman past'.

[69] Eutropius, *Brevarium*, 10, 2–8, ed. Santini, pp. 65–7; trans. Bird, pp. 64–6.

[70] *Maxentium suppositum ferunt arte muliebri, tenere mariti animum laborantis auspicio gratissimi partus coepti a puero*: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, 10, 4, ed. Droysen, p. 84; (Pseudo-Aurelius Victor,) *Epitome de Caesaribus*, 40, 13, ed. Pichlmayr, p. 165.

[71] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Hist. 3 (olim E.3.14); ed. Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History*, pp. 68–166 at p. 135; after Orosius, *Historiae*, 7, 28, 1–2, ed. Zangemeister, p. 271.

[72] Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History*, p. 249, relating to Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, 10, 8, ed. Droysen, pp. 85–6.

[73] *Itaque Theodosius afflictam rem publicam ira Dei reparandam credidit misericordia Dei; omnem fiduciam sui ad opem Christi conferens*: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, 11, 15, ed. Droysen, p. 94, after Orosius, *Historiae*, 7, 34, 5, ed. Zangemeister, pp. 281–2. In general, see McLynn, *Theodosius*; Duval, 'L'Éloge de Théodose'; Leppin, *Theodosius*.

for instance how Theodosius, before the battle, alone on the mountain fasts and prays to God 'who alone can bring about all things'.[74] Paul's appraisal of Theodosius is derived from the *Epitome de Caesaribus* instead of Orosius, and includes a comparison with Trajan, which is also found in Orosius.[75] Paul adds a brief account of the penance of Theodosius, which was to become paradigmatic for the relationship of kings and bishops in the Middle Ages.[76]

Another remarkable feature of Paul's *Roman History* is its extremely varied terminology of empire, which exceeds the variation in his model, Eutropius, by far. The rule of the emperor can be called *rei publicae imperium* (13, 3), *regia potestas* (15, 3), *imperii regimen* (15, 7), *Augustalis dignitas* (15, 7), *imperialis maiestas* (15, 10), the title can be *totius Italiae imperator* (13, 9), *occidui rector imperii* (14, 1), *Romanorum princeps* (16, 11), *Romanorum rex* (15, 1), the act of accession is described as *Orientali aulae praeficitur imperator* (14, 1), *regiam adeptus est potestatem* (15, 3), *purpuram induit* (16, 2), *Augustali solio potitus est* (16, 6), *Augustalem adeptus est principatum* (16, 11), *imperialia iura suscepit* (16, 11). Even where Paul otherwise directly follows his source, the gifted grammarian plays with the designations of empire. The terms had ancient precedents, and fifth- or sixth-century writers had no problems in referring to the empire as *regnum*, but their terminological variation was usually more limited. Like Charlemagne's initially rather experimental use of his imperial title, Paul's endless stylistic variations suggest that the eighth century had no coherent political language of empire, but a wide range of high-sounding vocabulary was available.

The Eastern empire in Paul's *Lombard History*

One of the most important historiographical works from the early Carolingian period was Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*, which Paul wrote towards the end of his life, between his return from Francia in *c.* 786 and 796 (the end date results from Paul's observation that the Gepids still suffer under the Avar yoke).[77] These were important years

[74] *Signo crucis signum proelio dedit*: Orosius, *Historiae*, 7, 35, 14–15, ed. Zangemeister, p. 285; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana* 12, 4, ed. Droysen, p. 97, mentions the prayers but without the rhetoric.

[75] Orosius, *Historiae*, 7, 34, 2, ed. Zangemeister, p. 281, although Orosius, *Historiae*, 7, 12, 3, ed. Zangemeister, pp. 252–3 presents Trajan in a less favourable light as the second persecutor after Nero.

[76] Mommsen: from the *HT*, 9, 30, ed. Jacob and Hanslik, pp. 540–6; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. Crivellucci, p. 167: from Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Ambrosii*, 24, ed. Bastiaensen, p. 84, which shows little resemblance.

[77] Pohl, 'Paolo Diacono'; Pohl, 'Paul the Deacon – between Sacci and Marsuppia'.

for the reconceptualisation of Carolingian rule.[78] Paul had come a long way since his *Roman History*. He had seen the Lombard kingdom fall to Charlemagne, and Lombard resistance crumble – his brother had been involved in a failed anti-Frankish plot. It took a while until Paul realised the new opportunities that Carolingian ambitions created for an intellectual with many skills. But when he wrote his *Lombard History*, he had already been entrusted with procuring an authoritative copy of the rule of St Benedict; a model homiliary; a collection of letters by Pope Gregory the Great and a life of the great pope; revised editions of Latin grammars; a history of the see of Metz, where a saintly Carolingian progenitor had once been bishop; and had taken part in exchanges of poems and letters with the circle of scholars around Charlemagne.[79] In short, Paul was one of the key figures of a systematic transfer of knowledge from Italy to the Frankish realm and helped to establish standards in many social and intellectual spaces that mattered to the Carolingian regime. His *Lombard History* cannot have been irrelevant in this context, and indeed, many ninth-century manuscripts attest its growing popularity north of the Alps.[80]

What Paul wrote about empire is dispersed throughout the six books, and adds up to a relatively coherent thread of narrative on the fate of the Eastern empire, from Justinian to Leo III. He is very brief about Heraclius (unlike Fredegar, who is much more elaborate on Heraclius and styles him as *novus David*),[81] but that corresponds to the chronological unevenness of the work. Some emperors receive extra coverage for their involvement in Italian matters, for instance Maurice (who keeps encouraging the Franks to attack the Lombards) and Constans II for his move to Italy and his attack on Benevento. Extensive passages on Tiberius II are taken from the Histories of Gregory of Tours; information on seventh-century emperors comes from the *Liber pontificalis*; some is of unknown origin.

An almost panegyric passage is devoted to Justinian (I, 25), using material from Jordanes, Isidore, Bede and the preface of Justinian's *Digest*. It underlines Justinian's success both in military and in civil affairs.[82] After enumerating some of Belisarius' victories, the text passes to elaborate

[78] Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Rise of Western Ethnicity, 550–850*.
[79] Cf. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, pp. 329–431; Pohl, 'Paulus Diaconus'.
[80] McKitterick, 'Paul the Deacon and the Franks' and *History and Memory*, p. 49; Chiesa (ed.), *Paolo Diacono*.
[81] Fredegar, *Chronicle*, IV, 64, ed. Krusch, p. 152; Esders, 'Herakleios'.
[82] Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 1, 25, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, p. 62: *Hac tempestate Iustinianus Augustus Romanum imperium felici sorte regebat. Qui et bella prospere gessit et in causis civilibus mirificus extitit.*

praise of Justinian's inner accomplishments. First, Justinian 'corrected the laws of the Romans' and their 'useless dissonance'. Second, he built churches, for instance the Hagia Sophia in its unique splendour. This demonstrated the emperor's faith: *Erat enim hic princeps fide catholicus, in operibus rectus, in iudiciis iustus; ideoque ei omnia concurrebant in bonum.* Third, learning flourished in Justinian's day: Cassiodorus (credited especially with his *Commentaries on the Psalms*), Dionysius Exiguus and the reckoning of time, Priscian and the art of grammar, and finally, Arator for the poem on the Acts of the Apostles. Paul does not mention that these authors mostly wrote in Italy and had little to do with Justinian. It is a programme for a Christian ruler that corresponded well with Charlemagne's efforts to revise the law, build the palatine chapel in Aachen (which was started in the early 790s) and assemble a circle of intellectuals around his court.

Justinian's two successors are portrayed in extended and almost verbatim quotes from Gregory of Tours, which revolve around the themes of avarice and generosity. Justin and, even more so, his wife Sophia represent avarice:[83] *vir in omni avaritia deditus, contemptor pauperum, senatorum spoliator.* When Tiberius becomes Caesar, he begins to use public money for the poor, dramatised by Gregory in an argument between Tiberius and the empress culminating in Matthew 6:20: 'but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven . . .'[84] Tiberius is directly rewarded by miraculous discoveries of treasures (among them, the immense riches stored up by the late general Narses), and can give even more alms to the poor. God, that is Gregory's moral, will more than make up for generous gifts to the Church by earthly treasures given to the monarch; his treatment of Guntram is another case in point – a sixth-century issue still relevant for the eighth.[85]

Given the almost verbatim reproduction of Gregory's text, it is remarkable where Paul introduces deliberate changes. Most strikingly, Paul turns the Caesar Tiberius into a mayor of the palace, and that in two instances. Where Gregory writes that Justin adjoined himself Tiberius as Caesar *ad defensandas provintias suas*, Paul rephrases *qui eius palatium vel*

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[83] *Cui tanta fuit cupiditatis rabies, ut arcas iuberet ferreas fieri, in quibus ea quae rapiebat auri talenta congereret.* Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3, 11, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, p. 97; Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 4, 40, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 171–3.

[84] Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3, 11, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, p. 98; Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 5,19, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 226–7.

[85] Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3, 34, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, pp. 112–13; Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10, 3, ed. Krusch/Levison, pp. 483–6. About the idea of gifts to the poor/the Church: Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*.

singulas provincias gubernaret.[86] Later, when Tiberius becomes emperor, Paul repeats that under Justin he had administered the palace as Caesar.[87] More subtly, but still pertinent to the realities of the Carolingian kingdom, Paul also omits Gregory's information that Sophia had ruled alone after Justin's death, and that the people elected Tiberius emperor, *populi . . . Tiberium caesarem elegerunt.*[88] Paul has *sumpsit imperium* here, without mentioning an election. It may also be telling that his use of *imperium* is less consistent than Gregory's; where the contemporary author relates that Tiberius *cum inmensis laudibus imperium confirmavit*, in Paul he is confirmed in *regni gloria* – from mayor of the palace to king.[89]

Both histories go into some detail of imperial accession ceremonies here: the procession to the sacred places, the arrival of the patriarch, whom Gregory calls *urbis papa* and Paul according to changed usage *pontifex urbis*, the entry into the palace together with the highest lay officials, the investiture in the imperial purple garments, the crowning with the diadem, and at last, the *laudes.*[90] A similar account, again from Gregory, is given for the accession of Maurice: *Quo defuncto, Mauricius indutus purpura, redimitus diademate, ad circum processit, adclamatisque sibi laudibus, largita populo munera.*[91] There is one difference: Paul calls the new emperor *primus ex Grecorum genere*, the first Greek on the imperial throne. Being the last properly Roman emperor lends extra significance to the extensive portrayal of Tiberius, who in fact ruled as *augustus* for just four years. Some of the elements listed in these passages, specifically the *laudes* and the coronation with a diadem, were to appear later in accounts of Carolingian imperial coronations, although these are usually

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86 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 4, 40, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 172; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3,11.

87 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3, 11, ed. Bethmann/Waitz, p. 97; Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 5, 19, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 225.

88 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 5, 19, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 225: *et per solam Sophiam augustam eius imperium regiretur, populi, ut in superiori libro iam diximus, Tiberium caesarem elegerunt.*

89 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3,12, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, p. 99: *cum immensis laudibus in regni est gloria confirmatus,* cf. Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 5, 30, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 235–6.

90 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3, 12, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, p. 99, after Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 5, 30, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 235: *Hic* [i.e. Tiberius] *cum augustalem coronam accepturus esset, eumque iuxta consuetudinem ad spectaculum circi populus expectaret . . . per loca sancta prius procedens, dehinc vocatum ad se pontificem urbis, cum consulibus ac praefectis palatium ingressus, indutus purpura, diademate coronatus, throno imperiali inpositus, cum immensis laudibus in regni est gloria confirmatus.*

91 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3, 15, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, p. 100, abbreviated from Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 6, 30, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 298–9; Maskarinec, 'Who were the Romans?'.

relatively brief about accession ceremonies and pay more attention to the process of establishing consensus.[92] Maurice, although consistently instigating the Franks against the Lombards, gets a basically positive, if lukewarm appraisal in the *Historia Langobardorum*: *Fuit autem utilis rei publicae; nam saepe contra hostes dimicans victoriam obtinuit.*

The later Byzantine emperors (apart from Constans II) receive a succinct treatment; Paul's only identifiable source was the *Liber pontificalis*. Two themes stand out: the permanent internal struggles and usurpations which create a rather bleak picture throughout, and heresy. It is remarkable that here as elsewhere, Paul is rather opaque and often badly informed about heretical positions and the reason why they are heretical; he is inconsistent about Arianism, and completely confuses the sides in the Three Chapters' controversy.[93] He mentions monotheletism as a reason for the council of Constantinople under Constantine IV,[94] but gives no reason for the dissent between the pope and Philippicus Bardanes which leads to rebellion in Rome: *Statuit populus Romanus, ne heretici imperatoris nomen aut chartas aut figuram solidi susciperent.*[95] It is remarkable that here, the 'Roman people' is the population of the city of Rome that refuses to accept the acts and symbols of the heretical emperor. The last passage dealing with the Eastern empire recounts the beginning of iconoclast repression under Leo III, burning icons and killing or maiming those who venerated them. Apart from occasional returns to orthodoxy, there is hardly anything positive that Paul relates about seventh- and eighth-century emperors.

Although the *Lombard History* was designed as an ethnic history, starting with the origin myth of the Lombards, its range was considerably broader. Extracts of it could therefore be put together to serve rather different purposes. One such reworking is preserved in a miscellany manuscript written in Verona in the ninth century, the so-called *Epitome Phillippsiana*, in which the narrative of Lombard events was mostly omitted.[96] Even more reduced to a history of the Byzantine empire was an epitome transmitted as a seventeenth book of Paul's *Historia Romana*, which contains an almost complete selection of matters regarding the eastern emperors with a few related Italian affairs (for instance, of the

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[92] *Laudes: ARF* s.a. 801, ed. Kurze, pp. 112–13; coronation with diadem: *VK*, p. 34.
[93] Pohl, 'Heresy in Secundus and Paul the Deacon'.
[94] Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 6, 4, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, p. 213.
[95] Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 6, 34, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, pp. 226–7.
[96] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1885 and 1896, and St Petersburg, Rossiĭskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, lat. Q.v.IX and lat. Q.v.IV.5. McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 52–7.

patriarchate of Aquileia).[97] It begins with Paul's eulogy of Justinian, and ends with the iconoclast repression under Leo III.

As a direct model for a Christian *res publica*, the 'Greek' empire offered little attraction. On the contrary, Paul directs attention back to the 'Latin' emperors of the sixth century who embodied some of the key virtues of rulership. Some scholars believed that for Paul, the empire was a thing of the past.[98] As Jordanes before him, Paul found clear words for the deposition of the last Western emperor in 476: *Ita Romanorum apud Romam imperium toto terrarum orbe venerabile et Augustalis illa sublimitas, quae ab Augusto quondam Octaviano coepta est, cum hoc Augustulo periit*; Odoacer took over *totius . . . Italiae regnum*, and that remained at the centre of Paul's attention.[99] But the phrase only refers to the Roman empire in Rome. The alternative still existed; it is no coincidence that the *Historia Romana* ended with Narses' victory in 552 that 'returned the entire *res publica* to the rule of the *res publica*' (*universam rem publicam ad rei publicae iura reduxit*).[100] The paradox phrase is characteristic of the remaining tension between two concepts of empire that finally fell apart at the juncture of Paul's and Jordanes' Roman and ethnic histories, the Roman empire of the Greeks and the *res publica* that incorporated the 'kingdoms of the empire' in the West.[101] In Paul's eyes the empire clearly still existed, if only in the East.[102] The reconstitution of a Western empire was not his concern. But his work could provide material for those who would try to achieve that, not least by proposing moral standards of rulership. There had been good and bad rulers in all countries; it was not historical legitimacy that counted, but the quality of rulership.

Conclusion: Carolingian interests in histories of Christian empire

What could contemporaries of Charlemagne know about the Christian empire of the past? It was certainly possible to obtain a relatively reliable overview of the outlines of Roman history up to the eighth century. The legendary material about Theoderic, Justinian and Belisarius offered in

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[97] Published in *MGH AA* 2, pp. 396–405; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. Crivellucci, pp. 239–68. See also Maskarinec, 'Who were the Romans?'.
[98] Löwe, 'Von Theoderich dem Großen'; Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, p. 352.
[99] Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, 15, 10, ed. Droysen p. 122.
[100] Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, 16, 23, ed. Droysen p. 135.
[101] Wolfram, *Reich und die Germanen*, p. 271; Pohl (ed.), *Kingdoms*; Pohl, 'Introduction: Christian and barbarian identities'.
[102] Mortensen, '*Impero Romano*', p. 362.

the second book of Fredegar did not become mainstream; it was out-weighed by a series of more factual histories. Most of them were widely copied throughout the Middle Ages, although not all of them are equally well attested in the Carolingian realm. They contain some passages which could be used as a model for Christian rulership, for instance Orosius' depiction of Theodosius I or Paul's portraits of Justinian and Tiberius II. Other obvious role models left surprisingly contradictory traces in the texts. This is the case of Constantine I, whose memory was initially tainted by his association with Arianism.[103] His achievements for the victory of Christianity were downplayed by the *Liber pontificalis*, ignored by Gregory, Bede and Paul the Deacon, while the passage is missing in Jordanes. Consequently, the only mention of Constantine in the *Annales regni Francorum* (the revised version) makes him a persecutor: Pippin's brother Carloman founds a monastery on Mount Soracte in honour of Pope Silvester, who hid there during Constantine's persecution.[104] But Eusebius/Rufinus, the *Historia tripartita* or Orosius all offered more favourable alternatives, elaborated in part by hagiography.[105] Otherwise Charlemagne could not have been praised as a 'new Constantine'.[106] In the East, where the memory of Constantine had also been rather slow to catch on, already Justinian was hailed as 'new Constantine'.[107] But this comparison could also develop an edge. In the adoptianist contro-versy, Elipand of Toledo warned Alcuin that he would become another Arius and Charlemagne another Constantine, and quoted from Isidore's *Chronicle*: *Heu pro dolor! Principio bono, fine malo*.[108]

Christian Roman histories related several instances in which problems of rulership were condensed, for instance, the relationship between sacred and lay authority. Who was to judge whom? Theodosius' penance became a test case for posterity. Many of the Christian Roman histories offer pieces of advice on how to treat churchmen; generosity, respect and conformity in dogmatic matters are frequent topics. Ultimately, it was God who would give victory, or punish a bad ruler. More pragmatically, some of the texts contain important material on ceremonial, for instance the *adventus* or the accession to imperial rule. Knowledge of Roman history could be a guideline for Frankish rulers, as becomes clear from Lupus of Ferrières' letter to Charles the Bald: 'I have had a very brief summary of the deeds of the emperors presented to your majesty so

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[103] Cf. Wolfram, 'Constantin der Große', 231 f.
[104] *ARF* s.a. 746, ed. Kurze, p. 6.   [105] Ménager, 'Écrire l'histoire'.
[106] By Pope Hadrian I: *Codex Carolinus*, 60, ed. Gundlach, p. 587.
[107] Berger, 'Legitimation und Legenden', p. 10.
[108] Alcuin, *Epistolae*, 182, ed. Dümmler, pp. 303 and 307. Ewig, 'Das Bild Constantins', 35.

that you may readily observe from their actions what you should imitate or what you should avoid'.[109] Lupus particularly suggested Trajan and Theodosius for imitation.

More generally, the Christian histories put empire/s into a historical perspective, more or less imbued with the history of salvation. The world was ancient, and empires had been around for a long time, bringing about as much bad as good. Good and evil were not confined to certain peoples or realms. In spite of Orosius' polemic, the overwhelming impression was that even pagan emperors could be good rulers, and certainly Christian emperors could be very bad ones. In many respects, the Christian historians of Late Antiquity took surprisingly varied views of Christian Roman history (the contradictory representations of Constantine are just one example). The Carolingian world accepted the challenge and showed no reluctance to face these contradictions. Empire, and its relationship to spiritual authority, would remain a contentious issue up to the nineteenth century. The idea that empire was the natural form in which a Christian commonwealth should be organised had lost its appeal to Western churchmen already in the fifth or sixth centuries, and the histories could easily be read that way. What the *Liber pontificalis* or Paul the Deacon write about seventh- and eighth-century Byzantium is little more than a succession of heresies and usurpations. They do not go as far as claiming that Byzantium had squandered its legitimacy, but certainly leave the impression that things had been going wrong for a while. Yet many of the texts discussed here make the lure of empire felt behind the many shortcomings of its representatives, and indicate the potential that a large-scale imperial polity offered. Christian empire, they suggest, was a form of government that had not yet been successfully put into practice for any considerable period of time, due to human weakness and the workings of the devil. Things could be done better. Empire was a resource of the past that could have a future.

[109] Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistolae*, 37, ed. Levillain, 1, p. 164; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 208.

2 Cassiodorus' *Historia tripartita* before the earliest extant manuscripts

Désirée Scholten

Introduction

After a political career which had led him to the highest regions of Gothic rule in Italy as *magister officiorum* of Theoderic the Great and Amalasuntha, regent to Athalaric, the Italian statesman Marcus Flavius Cassiodorus Senator (484/90–576/82) withdrew to his monastery Vivarium. This monastery was named Vivarium after the fish-ponds nearby and located on his family estates in Squillace, southern Italy.[1] There, sometime after 540, Cassiodorus compiled the *Historia (ecclesiastica) tripartita*, a church history based on the works of three fifth-century Greek historians: Sozomen, Socrates, and Theodoret.[2] It was then translated from Greek into Latin by Epiphanius, a member of the Vivarium community.[3] Troncarelli suggests that the sixth-century codex BAV, Vat. lat. 5704,[4] where marks in the margin are believed to be in Cassiodorus' hand, shows the process of translation. Cassiodorus' method was to edit style and orthography from a text already compiled and translated.[5] Cassiodorus indicates in both the preface to the *Historia tripartita* and in the description in his *Institutiones* that he himself compiled the text, and there is no reason to disbelieve him. Possibly with the help of Epiphanius, Cassiodorus did so from the Greek texts. The *Historia tripartita* combines

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[1] See for full biography of Cassiodorus: O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*.

[2] Cassiodorus-Epiphanius, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, ed. Jacob and Hanslik; Socrates of Constantinople, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. Maraval and Périchon; Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. *Sozomène, Histoire ecclésiastique*, ed. Festugière, Grillet and Sabbah; Theodoret of Cyrus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. Bouffartigue *et al.*

[3] Described by Cassiodorus in his *Institutiones* I.XVII: 'Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret wrote of the events in the Greek world in the period following the history of Eusebius; with God's aid I have had these works translated by the learned Epiphanius in a collection of twelve books so that eloquent Greece cannot boast that it possesses an indispensable work that has not been available to us.'

[4] Commentary on the Psalms, according to Courcelle from Vivarium: Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 385.

[5] Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 37–8 n. 71. Troncarelli also refers to Mazza's article 'La Historia tripartita di Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro senatore: metodi e scopo' where he describes the process Troncarelli recognized in BAV, Vat. lat. 5704.

an historical narrative of synods and imperial interference with church affairs, short hagiographical anecdotes, and documentation in the form of letters and council acts. The period encompassed in the *Historia tripartita* runs from Constantine I to Theodosius II, for no other apparent reason than that this is the time also covered by the three Greek church histories.

These Greek histories had aroused some controversy. One of the Greek historians, Theodoret, had been condemned in 449 at the Council of Ephesus. He, and the two other authors who were condemned at that same council, Theodoret of Mopsuestia and Ibas of Edessa, retained their credibility as theologians, for this decision was revoked by the council of Chalcedon in 451, led by Pope Leo. The condemnation of the 'Three Chapters' in Justinian's Edict of 543–4, that is, the person and works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the writings of Theodoret against Cyril of Alexandria, and the letter of Ibas of Edessa to Maris, all considered in Byzantium to be sympathetic to Nestorius, was subsequently re-affirmed in 553 at the council of Constantinople, presided over by the Byzantine emperor Justinian. This last council was a major point of discussion in both Constantinople and Italy: was it legitimate for an emperor to interfere in dogmatic issues, and especially a dogmatic issue which had been determined by a pope? The fact that Justinian had been attempting to wrest Italy from Ostrogothic control complicated matters further. These theological discussions and the political conflicts of sixth-century Italy are the context in which the *Historia tripartita* was translated and compiled, and which, as this chapter will argue, played a pivotal role in its transmission. A crucial element in the consideration of the reception of any text is its availability as a possible resource. This chapter therefore will chart the extensive network of intellectual and monastic links into which the transmission of the *Historia tripartita* fits between the sixth and the ninth centuries.

The earliest dated manuscripts of the *Historia tripartita* are from the early ninth century, and were copied in Corbie, Orleans, Regensburg, and Central Italy.[6] According to the stemma given by Jacob[7] these

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[6] St Petersburg, Rossiĭskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, lat. F.v.I.11 (814–21, Corbie); Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, 10 (800–30, Orléans); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6376 (825–50, Regensburg); Monte Cassino, Biblioteca della Badia, 302 (825–80, Central Italy). See Jacob, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, pp. 59–81, for a description of the stemma, pp. 1–20 for a description of the manuscripts contained in the individual stemmas. I should like to point out that the oldest manuscript is considered to be the St Petersburg manuscript, a conclusion based on a marginal annotation, the authenticity of which is under discussion. The other ninth-century manuscripts listed in Jacob are not dated as precisely as the four mentioned above, and allowance must be made for the possibility that they may be as old, if not older.

[7] Jacob, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, pp. 59–81.

manuscripts belong to two groups among the six groups he identified, but within these two groups they are part of different branches, neither of which has a clear geographical, or even chronological, focus. The immediate transmission of the *Historia tripartita* after it was written remains a mystery. In the absence of extant manuscripts from before the ninth century, therefore, we must turn to the uses of the *Historia* in contemporary sources as well as to the indirect leads.[8] This means that in order to come to an understanding of the early transmission of the *Historia tripartita*, we must map manuscripts of texts associated with Vivarium or with the *Historia tripartita*'s contemporary use, as well as people and places linked to Cassiodorus and Vivarium. These traces combined may indicate a connection in the form of a framework of communication and association within which the *Historia tripartita* arguably had a place. The exact shape of this framework will necessarily remain speculative, but even a rough sketch of such a network may inspire further discussion and discoveries of late antique literary networks.

Medieval catalogues show no evidence of pre-ninth-century manuscripts; rather, they add six more ninth-century copies to the existing collection.[9] No information about the listed copies of *Historia tripartita* is given in the catalogues, so we cannot tell where these copies of the text came from, nor how they relate to the extant manuscripts. These catalogues do tell us that in the ninth century the *Historia tripartita* was in the monasteries at St Riquier, Fontanelle, St Salvator, Würzburg, St. Wandrille, Lorsch, and St Gall. This adds a distinct focus on Germany to the map.

The indirect evidence remains to be considered.[10] A survey of the ninth century adds mentions of the *Historia tripartita* in other texts mainly from Francia, which, combined with the evidence mentioned above, shows as a path through Europe on the map, reaching westwards from Regensburg to Corbie, not going much further south than north-east Italy and the region around Rome. The environment in which the *Historia tripartita* was used when its transmission really took off seems to overlap with the networks around Charlemagne and Louis the Pious' court, and it is in

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[8] Lists of both catalogues and contemporary uses are given in my MA thesis: Scholten, 'The history of a *Historia*'. See also Jones, 'The influence of Cassiodorus'; Jones, 'Further notes'; and Laistner, 'The value and influence of Cassiodorus' which give a full survey of the transmission of the *HT*.

[9] St Riquier from the 830s, Fontanelle 823–33, and St Salvator in Würzburg from the ninth century, catalogues from the abbeys of Lorsch, and St Gall from the second half of the ninth century. See Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*; Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Authoren*; and Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung*.

[10] For a full survey and bibliography, see Scholten, 'The history of a *Historia*'.

the large monastic and episcopal centres that this text is mostly used in the cases where the first extant manuscripts are located.[11]

Before the ninth century there are several other references to the *Historia tripartita*: in the seventh, eighth and early ninth centuries there is a concentration of sources in Francia,[12] but the sixth century sees a shift of the uses of the *Historia tripartita* towards the south: Gregory the Great,[13] Isidore of Seville,[14] and Liberatus of Carthage[15] all use or mention the *Historia tripartita*. The question is, how did this shift from a limited distribution in the south of Europe to a steady increase of sources in Francia and regions east of the Rhine occur?

In order to answer this question I shall attempt to reconstruct the transmission of the *Historia tripartita* by mapping Cassiodorus' contacts, and searching for an overlap with the three authors mentioned above. The general picture of contemporary debates and contacts in Cassiodorus' environment will be narrowed down to a single constellation of monasteries, in place since Rufinus. In this search for a funnel in which to trap Cassiodorus, I hope to demonstrate how his position in Italian political circles, in combination with the specific themes addressed in the *Historia tripartita*, determined its transmission, and, arguably, its survival.

The Three Chapters debate

The story of the *Historia Tripartita* begins with Cassiodorus' time in Constantinople. Constantinople at that time was buzzing with discussion,[16] it being the capital of the empire and residence of Justinian. Even though the *Historia tripartita* was written in the 560s before the *Institutiones*, in which it is mentioned as part of the cursus recommended by Cassiodorus,[17] we have no post-quem dating. The seamless fit of the themes addressed in the *Historia* however, with the programme of the *Variae* as a means to rework relations between Ostrogothic Italy and Constantinople,[18] as well as issues raised by the Three Chapters controversy, leads to a cautious hypothesis that Constantinople, as a centre of political and religious activity in this controversy, was, if not the place of compilation, at least the place where the concept of the *Historia*

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[11] McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 165–78.
[12] Boniface, Paulinus of Aquileia, Amalarius of Metz, Hugeburg of Heidenheim, Jonas of Orléans, and Hrabanus Maurus.
[13] Gregory the Great, *Epistolae*, Letter VII.31.   [14] Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*.
[15] Liberatus of Carthage, *Breviarium causae Nestoriorum et Eutychianorum*.
[16] Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, especially pp. 82–5, and Rapp, 'Literary culture', especially p. 390.
[17] See note 2 above.   [18] Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*.

tripartita was rooted.[19] After the fall of Ravenna in 540 Cassiodorus moved to the Byzantine capital, together with many Italian refugees. Here, so it seems, he met influential persons who would remain in contact with him after their return to Italy in 554 following Justinian's 'Pragmatic Sanction' at the conclusion of the 'Gothic wars' which made various arrangements for the government of Italy and status of legal decisions. In his book *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople*, Shane Bjornlie argues that a rift had grown between the old senatorial elite in Rome, and a new landed elite which was promoted by and dependent on the new Amal regime when Theoderic took control over Italy in the early sixth century. A sense of mutual respect and distrust crept in between the two social circles as they collaborated in day-to-day politics and balanced the three opposing forces at work in Italian politics: Ravenna, where Theoderic based his administrative centre; Rome, where the old elite was based; and Constantinople, where the emperor was. Cassiodorus came from a Southern-Italian family, and he and his father owed their position entirely to the Goths. Cassiodorus stayed loyal to this regime until the fall of Witigis.[20] Possibly as a member of a 'government in exile', Cassiodorus went with Witigis to Constantinople where many members of the Gothic and Italian elite families who had fled the war in Italy resided.[21] To make his position in Constantinople more complicated, he was the successor of Boethius, a member of the influential families of the Anicii and Symmachi, whose death without a trial shook the senatorial class for many years to come.[22] Bjornlie argues convincingly that Cassiodorus was not entirely welcomed with open arms, and his writings, most notably his collection of state papers called the *Variae*[23] and his genealogy the *Ordo Generis*[24] reflect this in their attempt to rehabilitate him and his time in office.

The *Variae* however are not the only remnant of Cassiodorus' time in Constantinople. In his *Historia tripartita* Cassiodorus addresses contemporary debates concerning imperial authority inspired by the council of Constantinople.[25] He does so by proposing an ideal arrangement

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[19] I explore this further in my PhD thesis.

[20] Cassiodorus' allegiance is suggested by the *laudes* pronounced in honour of the marriage of Witigis and Mathasuntha.

[21] O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, pp. 104–7. Cassiodorus is mentioned by Vigilius in a letter in 550, ed. *PL* 96 col. 49A 'Epistola (*olim* XIV) Vigilii Papae ad Rusticum et Sebastianum'.

[22] Bjornlie, 'The Variae of Cassiodorus Senator', pp. 26–33.

[23] Cassiodorus, *Variae*, ed. Fridh.

[24] O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, appendix 1 has an edition of the *Ordo*. The work is also known as the *Anecdoton Holderi*.

[25] Sotinel, 'Emperors and popes in the sixth century', gives a complete survey of issues raised by the Three Chapters Controversy and the council of Constantinople.

between emperor and bishops using the example of the past. The most telling example of this is the opening of the *Historia tripartita*. After Cassiodorus' own introduction, the dedicatory preface from Sozomen's *Church History* is included under the title *Oratoria allocatori Sozomeni in Theodosium Imperatorem*.[26] Since the *Historia* proper begins with Constantine, this chapter, which gives no historical narrative whatsoever, must serve a different purpose from that of narration of the past. Is this section then a guide for the things we need to look for in a king? Concerning the king, Sozomen writes:

Girt with the purple robe and crown, a symbol of thy dignity to onlookers, thou wearest within always that true ornament of sovereignty, piety, and philanthropy . . . For to whom can I do this [dedicating the history] more appropriately, since I am about to relate the virtue of many devoted men, and the events of the Catholic Church, and since their conflicts with so many enemies lead me to thy threshold and that of thy fathers?[27]

After this description of the ideal emperor follows praise to Greeks and martyrs in the second chapter of the *Historia tripartita*, taken from Book I.1 in Sozomen's text. Lastly, before the story of Constantine is told, Cassiodorus makes a break in Sozomen's text to begin his caput 3. This section, rather than giving more ideological or philosophical content, turns towards methodology. It explains the need to include heretical texts and dogma in order to comprehend the truth better. With this established, the ideal of rulership, sacrifice for the faith, and critical inspection of texts, the history begins. The *Variae*, as Bjornlie concludes, is Cassiodorus' way of rehabilitating the Amal regime, and by describing their politics, contributes to a debate about how to organise post-war Italy.[28] The *Historia tripartita* is Cassiodorus' answer to the problem of how the church and emperor should work together on the larger stage of empire.

Setting up the networks: Liberius and Cethegus

Claudia Rapp characterises the groups of emigrants in Constantinople as a subculture of 'clusters of *literati*'.[29] Cassiodorus, despite having a

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[26] Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Festugière.
[27] All translations are from the editions mentioned in the bibliography, unless otherwise stated. *HT*, I.1 lines l21–4 and 115–18: *Purpura siquidem et corona, qua videris propter inspicientes, quia est maiestatis signum, circumdati, pietatem tibi et clementiam instrinsecus semper enutriunt . . . Qui namque potius hoc ascribam multorum ac venerabilium virtutes utique narrates et ea, quae circa catholicam ecclesiam provenerunt, vel per quantas ipsa transiens tempestates ad tuos patremque tuorum portus accesserit?*
[28] Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, pp. 330–3.   [29] Rapp, 'Literary Culture', p. 390.

reputation as a man with a controversial political life, especially in Constantinople where, as noted above, so many emigrés from the Ostrogoth regime lived, was part of these clusters. Two men, Liberius and Cethegus, are visible proof of his contacts with the Anicii family around whom these clusters possibly revolved.

Liberius was praetorian prefect between 493 and 500 in Italy, and from 511 to 534 in Gaul where he lived in Arles, and as such came into contact with Caesarius of Arles,[30] in whose *Vita*[31] he appears in two miracles. In the first he himself is brought back to life after nearly drowning in a river; the second involved the healing of his wife.[32] After his return to Italy Liberius founded the monastery San Sebastiano in Alatri, with a man called Severus as abbot.[33] This founding of monasteries by lay people was not uncommon. Cassiodorus himself founded Vivarium, but there are other examples. Belisarius, the general who led Justinian`s troops into Italy, for instance, founded a monastery at Orte.[34] These laymen did not lead their monasteries themselves, but placed an abbot at the head of their foundations.[35] The founding of San Sebastiano was not the end of Liberius' political career as the founding of Vivarium had been for Cassiodorus; in 535 Liberius was sent by King Theodahad to Justinian on a diplomatic mission to assure Justinian that Amalasuntha was merely imprisoned, but otherwise in no danger. Liberius, however, did not fulfil this assignment, and told the unsavoury truth to Justinian, much against the wishes of Theodahad. Fearing Theodahad's wrath, Liberius stayed in Constantinople.[36]

In the late 530s, after his switch to Justinian's side, Liberius was appointed prefect in Alexandria, tasked with the extermination of monophysites and the maintenance of relations between Alexandria and the West. A certain archdeacon Pelagius went with Liberius to Alexandria. This same Pelagius became pope after Vigilius.[37] It was with Justinian's intervention that he became bishop of Rome, instead of by election of the people of Rome, as was normal. The *Liber pontificalis* describes the events:

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[30] O'Donnell, 'Liberius the Patrician', 37–9.
[31] Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 48–53.   [32] Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*.
[33] O'Donnell 'Liberius the Patrician', 52–3; see also Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, for a full survey of early medieval monasticism.
[34] Van de Vyver, 'Cassiodorus et son oeuvre', pp. 260–1.
[35] Fentress 'The sixth-century abbey', p. 34
[36] O'Donnell, 'Liberius the Patrician', 63, and Procopius, *Secret History*, trans. Williamson, p. 178.
[37] O'Donnell, 'Liberius the Patrician', 64.

[Justinian] said: 'Do you want to have your former pope Vigilius back? You have my gratitude. But if not you have here your archdeacon Pelagius, and my hand will go with you.' They all replied: 'May God rebuke your Piety; give us back Vigilius now, and when God wishes him to pass from this world, then on your order we can be given our archdeacon Pelagius'. Then he sent them all away with Vigilius . . . Afflicted with pain from gallstones, he died.

[Life 62 (*Pelagius*)] . . . since there were no bishops who would ordain him, two bishops were found, John of Perusia and Bonus of Ferentinum, and Andrew a priest from Ostia; these ordained him pontiff. Then there were no clergy who could be given preferment: monasteries and a large number of the devout, the prudent and the nobility withdrew from communion with him saying he had implicated himself in the death of Pope Vigilius and so had brought great punishments on himself.[38]

Through Pelagius, Justinian hoped to control other episcopal elections in Italy, and to have papal support for his own policies.[39] That Justinian sent this man with Liberius to Alexandria suggests that he had ideas of controlling the region, a foreshadowing of what Justinian would do later by placing Pelagius as a pawn in Rome. A further consequence of Justinian's attempts at strategic management of politics and religion beyond Constantinople appears to have been the geographical limitation of the Three Chapters controversy to Milan and northern Italy where resistance to this particular intervention on Justinian's part remained, as will be discussed below.[40]

Liberius' and Cassiodorus' paths crossed when Liberius was sent with Cethegus and Belisarius by Justinian to Pope Vigilius to negotiate the pope's position concerning the Three Chapters controversy in 553.[41] Cassiodorus and Liberius were both working on the same project, namely the uniting of the empire, but the ways in which each tried to accomplish this unity stand in stark contrast to each other. It is not

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[38] *Liber pontificalis*, trans. Davis, pp. 58–9; ed. Duchesne, p. 299: A*nte se imperator dicens 'Vultus recipere Vigilium ut fuit papa vester? Gratias ago. Minus ne, hic habetis archidiaconum vestrum Pelagium et manus mea erit vobiscum.' Responderunt omnes: 'Imperet Deus pietati tuae. Restitue nobis modo Vigiium et quando eum voluerit Deus transpire de hoc saeculo, tunc cum praeceptione donator nobis Peagius archidiaconus noster.' Tunc dimisit omnes cum Vigilio . . . Adflictus, calculi dolorem havens, mortuus est*; ed. Duchesne, p. 303: 62. Pelagius. *Et dum non essent episcope qui eum orcinarent, inventi sunt duo episcope, Iohannis de Perusia et Bonus e Ferentino et Andreas presbiter de Hosyis et ordinaverunt eum pontificum. Tunc non erat in clero qui poterant promoveri: monasteria et multitude religiosorum, sapientium et nobelium subduxerunt se a communion eius, dicentes quia in morte Vigilii papae se inmiscuit ut tantis poenis adfligeretur.*

[39] Sotinel, 'Emperors and popes', pp. 284–7.

[40] Bruns, 'Zwischen Rom und Byzanz', 156.

[41] O'Donnell 'Liberius the Patrician', 68, and *ACO* IV.1, ed. Schwartz, pp. 27–8.

impossible however, considering their high positions at the Ostrogoth court and their prominent membership of the same elite, that they knew each other and that Liberius would have had the *Historia tripartita* of Cassiodorus in his monastic library. James O'Donnell suggests that, through the friendship between Liberius and Cesarius, Cassiodorus came into contact with, and was influenced by, Gaulish monasticism and conjectures that Cassiodorus possibly named the church in his own Vivarium after the Gallo-Roman saint Martin.[42] Elisabeth Fentress goes even further; she argues that both monasteries worked from the pandect that was possibly the exemplar of the Northumbrian *Codex Amiatinus* produced at Wearmouth-Jarrow at the end of the seventh century.[43] A marginal note apparently taken over from the exemplar in the first book of Leviticus: 'the Lord Servandus prepared this codex', appears to indicate that Cassiodorus describes how Servandus prepared this codex. Could this be the same Servandus as the abbot of Liberius' monastery, San Sebastiano?[44]

Servandus is responsible for another hypothesis concerning relationships between San Sebastiano and Vivarium.[45] The *Regula Magistri*, a monastic rule akin to that of St Benedict, although the precise relation between both is under discussion,[46] was present at Vivarium. Some scholars have even proposed that Cassiodorus composed the *Regula magistri*. This is unlikely, for Cassiodorus shows in his *Historia tripartita* that he considered monastic life a philosophical way of life, characterised by learning, not necessarily something defined by seclusion and prayer. Book IX.48 in the *Historia tripartita* describes the lives of the brothers Aeas and Zeno. Cassiodorus just calls them *philosophantes* and adds that Aeas became a monk after he raised his three sons. Sozomen's history, however, from which this statement was taken, adds the clarificatory note that 'they had such a love for knowledge . . . that they became monks'. By omitting the reference to monks but retaining the emphasis on knowledge, Cassiodorus makes a separation between life as a monk and life as a philosopher. This distinction is made again by Cassiodorus in Book V.33 when he calls Arsacius someone who *exercebat divinam philiosopham* rather than a 'monastic philosopher'.

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[42] O'Donnell 'Liberius the Patrician', 52–3. See also Fentress, 'The sixth-century abbey', pp. 32–72.

[43] Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, pp. 376–82, and van de Vyver, 'Cassiodorus et son œuvre', 266.

[44] Fentress, 'The sixth-century abbey', p. 35.

[45] Fentress, 'The sixth-century abbey', p. 39.

[46] Mohrmann, 'Regula Magistri'; Cappuyns 'L'Auteur de la Regula Magistri'; and Masai, 'Cassiodore peut-il être l'auteur'.

For Cassiodorus, philosophers in an organised community are not as bound to rules and obedience to the abbot as is prescribed in the *Regula Magistri*. An example can be found in *Historia tripartita* VIII.1, which describes the community of Pior. Cassiodorus sharpens the rules Pior posed to his followers by changing 'disobedience was regarded as unlawful' into *quiniam contemnere nefas est*. This is both an added severity – disobedience is less harsh than godlessness – but at the same time it adds a sense of democracy, so to speak, because Cassiodorus adds that the other monks shared this view. It is not Pior to whom the monks must answer, it is God. This is a community of men who devote their life to God, but it is not organised as a strict unit under a leader. This alteration to the severity of regulations is also apparent in VIII.1.379 where the *Historia tripartita* describes how Ammonius 'attained the summit of philosophy and consequently overcame the love of ease and pleasure. He was very studious and had read the works of Origenes and Didymus and the ecclesiastical writers.' The Latin version of the original Greek emphasises their learning, saying only *ferunt nimis eruditim Origenis Didymusque discipulum*, and omitting the phrase in the Greek text about the abandoning of life's pleasure.

Cethegus has already been mentioned as a member of the diplomatic embassy sent by Justinian to negotiate with Pope Vigilius. His links with Cassiodorus are even closer than those between Cassiodorus and Liberius. He was in Rome in 545 when the city lay under siege by Totila:

Then the Goths made Badua, called Totila, their king. He came down on Rome and besieged it. Such a famine occurred in Rome that they even wanted to eat their own children . . . Then some of the senators – the patricians and exconsuls Cethegus, Albinus and Basilius – escaped, reached Constantinople and were presented to the emperor Justinian in their affliction and desolation. The emperor consoled them and enriched them as befitted Roman consuls.[47]

This is the story from the Roman perspective, represented by the *Liber pontificalis*. Procopius has a different version, where rumours of Cethegus betraying the city drove him to flee. 'At that time there arose a suspicion of treason among the commanders of the emperor's army in Rome against Cethegus, a patrician and leader of the Roman senate. For this reason he departed hastily for Centumcellae.'[48] Be that as it may, in 547 we

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[47] *Liber pontificalis*, Life 61, trans. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, p. 58; ed. Duchesne, p. 298: *Tunc Gothi fecerunt sibi regem Badua, qui Totila nuncupabatur. Descendens Romae et obsedit eum; et facta est famis in civitate romana ut etiam natos suos vellent cemedere . . . Tunc quidam de senatoribus fugientes, Citheus, Albinus et Basilius, patricii et consules, ingressi sunt Constantinopolim et praesentati ante imperatorem adflicti et desolate. Tunc consolatus est eos imperator et ditavit eos sicut digni errant consules Romani.*

[48] Procopius, *Bella*, VII.xiii.12.

find Cethegus in Constantinople where he was in the company of both Vigilius and Cassiodorus. He changed camp, however, for in 549 he was sent on an embassy by Justinian to Vigilius with Belisarius and Liberius to negotiate on behalf of Justinian.[49]

Cethegus was with the imperial army in the city of Rome, Totila in front of the walls. What exactly happened is not clear, but the citizens of Rome departed the city, and Cethegus escaped, only to reappear in Constantinople. Back in Italy, after the Pragmatic Sanction in 554, he remained in contact with the successor of Vigilius, Pelagius, and was involved in episcopal elections,[50] as Liberius once was for his region.[51] But his involvement in religious and intellectual life did not end there: Cethegus became patron to Cassiodorus when the latter dedicated his genealogy to him, that is, the text known as the *Ordo generis*. Tron-carelli argues in his *Vivarium, i libri, il destino* that this dedication reflects Cassiodorus' and Cethegus' membership of the same intellectual Italian elite who had a strong consciousness of their past.[52]

Bjornlie also argues that the *Ordo generis* was written by Cas-siodorus to defend himself against the hostility of Anicii in post-war Constantinople.[53] I suggest, however, that Cassiodorus was still a fully integrated member of this group of politicians, and that he maintained contacts with them even after the Pragmatic Sanction. Seeing the evi-dence of these existing contacts it may be that these men did indeed have feelings of animosity towards each other, but, much like modern politicians, were capable of maintaining communications with each other despite the differences in their political views.[54]

Into the debate: Liberatus of Carthage

With these networks in place, the *Historia tripartita* was ready for its literary take-off. The contemporary debate on the Three Chapters made this history relevant, and Liberatus of Carthage was a key figure in the transmission of the *Historia tripartita* in the context of the Three Chapters controversy.

Somewhere between the issuing of the Pragmatic Sanction in 554 and 567 the deacon of Carthage wrote the *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum* (*Breviarium* for short).[55] The *Breviarium* describes the

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[49] *Prosographie*, p. 428. See *ACO* IV.1 p. 191, IV.11, p. 192, and IV.18, p. 193.
[50] *Prosographie*, p. 429.   [51] O'Donnell, 'Liberius the Patrician', 41.
[52] Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, p. 10.
[53] Bjornlie, 'The *Variae* of Cassiodorus Senator', pp. 43–4.
[54] Although Yasmina Reza's *Le Dieu du Carnage* suggests otherwise.
[55] Liberatus of Carthage, *Breviarium*, ed. Schwartz, *Collectio Sangermanensis*. Drecoll, 'Kommentierte Analyse', 17 placed the writing of the *Breviarium* between 555 and 566.

rise and treatments of the Eutychian and Nestorian heresies by collecting council acts, letters, and canon law. The structure of the book is historical in its ordering of the documents: Liberatus describes how and where these heresies originated from the ordination of Nestorius in 428, and proceeds to explain the events involving bishops and councils brought about by these heresies, ending with the Council of Constantinople in 553.[56] The fact that Liberatus associated the names of the Greek historians with the excerpts he took from the *Historia tripartita* demonstrates his awareness that the *Historia tripartita* is a compilation. Cassiodorus himself treats it as such: all manuscripts have the names of the Greek historians above their respective excerpts, and the introduction to the *Historia tripartita* refers to the process of selection: 'We were led to reduce their words to one style ... and to make the three authors into a single voice.'[57] Another remarkable similarity in method is demonstrated by Drecoll's summary of the uses of the *Historia tripartita* in the *Breviarium*.[58] This shows that Liberatus uses the *Historia tripartita* in the same way as Cassiodorus uses his sources – namely, direct copying of a fragment, changes in sentences to add other information, and paraphrasing. We have already seen above how Cassiodorus either cuts fragments, or changes words to put his message across. But Liberatus does the same. *Breviarium* III.3 for example begins a section on Appolinarius with the words *Theodoritus episcopus in ecclesiastica historia Appolinarem et eius heresem sic notat* ... and after a section of about twenty lines inserts two more sentences with the words *et post pauca*. He also used for this *Breviarium* the *Codex encyclius*, an exchange of letters between Emperor Leo and all metropolitans and a select group of hermits about the council of Chalcedon, in a version translated by Epiphanius, who of course also translated the *Historia tripartita*.

Pierre Courcelle[59] and Fabio Troncarelli[60] connect this same *Codex encyclius* to Pelagius, who asked for this text in a letter to the Istria delegation in order to be prepared for a discussion on the Three Chapters in Rome. With Pelagius we meet Liberius and Cethegus again, and the network of texts and actors tightens.

The context of the *Breviarium* is not very different from that of the *Historia tripartita*. Uta Heil argues that the *Breviarium* should not be seen as a text written in support of the schismatics as such, even though it did circulate among the supporters of the Three Chapters. The *Breviarium* was rather written as an exploration of a current problem, the heresy of Nestorius, the division in the church due to this heresy, and a

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[56] See the articles in *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 14.
[57] My translation. *HT*, preface: *Duximus eorum dicta deflorata in unius stili ... et de tribus auctoribus unam facere dictionem.*
[58] Drecoll, 'Kommentierte Analyse', 20–1.   [59] Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*.
[60] Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, p. 35.

search for the solution.[61] Martin Wallraff adds that the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon are not described in terms of dogmatic issues, but in connection with the effects of these councils for individual bishops.[62] The *Historia tripartita*, too, describes the past, and in giving this description, offers judgement and indirect advice for the present. Cassiodorus does pay attention to dogmatic issues, through quoted letters of bishops and council acts, but the main point that the *Historia tripartita* tries to make does not seem to be a solely dogmatic one. Instead, the text encompasses everything that involves the question of the relationship of power between an emperor and his bishops. The difference between Cassiodorus' method and that of Liberatus is that Liberatus limited himself not just to the description of a single topic, but to one that was closer to his own time.

Monasteries and Rufinus

Earlier in this chapter I mentioned the *Regula Magistri*, as an example of a connection between Cassiodorus and Liberius. Even though I do not think that Cassiodorus wrote the *Regula magistri*, Vivarium and San Sebastiano are linked to each other in BnF, lat. 12205, a manuscript containing the *Regula magistri*, which originates from the eighth century, possibly from Corbie.[63] What connects this manuscript to Cassiodorus is the N-Annotator, whose work can also be seen in the margins of the *Historia tripartita* manuscript from Corbie (St Petersburg, Rossiĭskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, lat. F.v.I.11).[64] These codices date from little less than 200 years after the composition of the texts, but considering the possible connections between the monasteries, the fact that they were transmitted together, but in separate codices, which suggests they were part of the same collection of books, is another hint concerning membership of the same textual network. Another indication about the participation of Vivarium and Liberius in this network is a text which is now separated in two codices, BnF lat. 12634[65] and St. Petersburg, Q.v.I.15,[66] written in the sixth century in southern Italy but with a Corbie

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[61] Heil, 'Liberatus von Karthago und die "Drei Kapitel"', 33.

[62] Wallraff, 'Das Konzil von Chalkedon', 67.

[63] Paris, BnF, lat. 12205 s. viii, possibly from Corbie. Written in semi-uncial, annotated by the N-annotator as identified by David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 72–3. The manuscript contains the *Regula magistri* and several letters to and from Augustine, sermons, and a *catalogus episcoporum romane ecclesiae usque ad johannem vi*.

[64] See Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 73.

[65] Paris, BnF, lat. 12634 s. vii/viii, possibly from Corbie. Written in uncial, it contains a compilation of various monastic rules.

[66] St Petersburg, Rossiĭskaya natsional'naya biblioteka, lat. Q.v.I.15 (s. viii, Corbie).

provenance.[67] The text contains the *Regula Magistri* in excerpted form in the compilation the *Rule of Eugippius*, as well as the *passio* of saints Peter and Paul, two Constantinopolitan palace eunuchs. Armando Petrucci connected this manuscript to BN lat. 12205, and Caroline Hammond Bammel placed it in the context of a manuscript network in Milan and Aquileia.[68] This network was initated by Rufinus and his followers, and is characterised by the use of a specific type of abbreviations of *nomina sacra*, a script referred to by Hammond Bammel, based on Lowe, as 'quarter-uncial', and an old-fashioned Greek style of punctuation. Contacts made by Rufinus and his followers remained in existence long after their time, but Hammond Bammel demonstrated that the particularities of their scripts remained in the manuscripts they copied.[69] These findings are confirmed by Troncarelli.[70] I should like to suggest that Vivarium was also part of this network, not only because of the texts copied and the focus on translating Greek sources,[71] but also because Jerome and Rufinus were closely allied to the Anicii.[72] Thus Cassiodorus mentions frequently in the *Institutiones* that he had had a book translated from Greek, such as Didymus on Solomon, translated by Epiphanius, who also translated Epiphanius of Cyprus on the Song of Songs, Bellator's translation of Origen on Esdras and Maccabees, and Mutianus' translation of John of Constantinople's sermons on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Further, Cassiodorus, though not born into the Anicii family, made an attempt to write himself into their lineage in his own genealogy, the *Ordo generis* as follows:[73] 'Excerpted from a booklet by Cassiodorus Senator monk in the service of the lord, ex patricius, ex consul, appointed quaestor and magister officiorum, which he wrote to Rufinus Petronius Nicomachus, ex consul, appointed patricius and magister officiorum.'[74]

Pope Agapetus, son of the priest Gordian of the church of Saints John and Paul in Rome, had himself been a cleric in the same church before his elevation, and in consequence Agapetus promoted the cult of these saints. Agapetus was also the pope with whom Cassiodorus tried to found

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[67] Leyser, 'Church in the house of the saints'.

[68] Hammond Bammel, 'Products of fifth-century scriptoria: nomina sacra', 450–1.

[69] Hammond Bammel, 'Products of fifth-century scriptoria'; Hammond Bammel 'Products of fifth-century scriptoria: nomina sacra'; Hammond Bammel, 'Products of fifth-century scriptoria: script'.

[70] Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, p. 24. [71] *Institutiones* I.V.2; I.V.4; I.VI.6; VIII.3.

[72] Leyser, 'Church in the house of the saints', pp. 154–5.

[73] O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, appendix 1.

[74] *Excerpta ex libello Cassiodori Senatoris monachi servi dei ex patricio, ex consule ordinario quaestore et magistro officiorum, quem scripsit ad Rufinum Petronium Nicomachum ex consule ordinario patricium et magistrum officiorum* (my translation).

a school of Christian learning, a plan interrupted by the Justianian wars.[75] Agapetus in his turn, was portrayed in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great as a heroic pope who opposed Justinian and who had even made Justinian repent of his avarice. Leyser suggests this representation has something of the quality of the encounter of saints John and Paul with the Emperor Julian.[76]

Even though the links between San Sebastiano, Liberius, Vivarium, Cassiodorus, the *Breviarium*, Gaul, the *Regula Magistri*, Wearmouth-Jarrow, Rome, the *Codex encyclius*, Liberatus, Isidore, Cethegus and Pelagius are tentative, there is a suggestion that they are at least connected. How exactly these connections worked cannot be proven due to a lack of direct evidence, but an outline of a network begins to emerge. And it is in the transmission of these works, the *Codex encyclius* and the *Breviarium* and their relation to Vivarium, that we can penetrate further into the network and encounter two other sources[77] which make use of the *Historia tripartita*:[78] Isidore's *Chronicle*[79] and the *Decretals* of 'pseudo-Isidore'.[80]

Deeper into the network: Isidore of Seville

Isidore used the *Historia triparita* in his chronicle for the latter part of his *Chronica maiora*. What he copied from Cassiodorus are sporadic notes on the activities of bishops, supplemented with information from Rufinus, Jerome, and Prosper.[81] In the context of the transmission of the *Historia tripartita* it is interesting that one of the *Chronicle*'s manuscripts is connected to the Three Chapters manuscript circle. The codex Vat. lat. 1348[82] contains the *Chronicle*, the *Collectio V librorum*, and several short theological treatises, including *De fide* by John Chrysostom. The text called *chronica pontificum* contains the excommunication of Vigilius

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[75] Cassiodorus describes his intentions in Book I, preface: 'Together with blessed Pope Agapetus of Rome, I made efforts to collect money so that it should rather be the Christian schools in the city of Rome that could employ learned teachers – the money having been collected – from whom the faithful might gain eternal salvation for their souls and the adornment of sober and pure eloquence for their speech.'

[76] Leyser, 'Church in the house of the saints', p. 160.

[77] As described in Cuppo, 'The other "Book of Pontiffs"'.

[78] See the online translation by Jamie Wood and Sam Koon at http://e-spania.revues.org/15552?&id=15552, or Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, ed. Martin.

[79] See the online edition by Karl-Georg Schon at www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/, or Paul Hinschius, ed. *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae* (Leipzig, 1863).

[80] Cuppo, 'The other "Book of Pontiffs"'.

[81] Isidore uses Cassiodorus for the years 337, 344, 345, 347, 349, 350, 351, 357, 360, 366, 367, and 379.

[82] BAV, Vat. lat. 1348.

by Silverius, a text also known as the *Damnatio Vigilii*.[83] And this text in turn is transmitted in the codices Vat. lat. 1340[84] and Marciana 169[85] which also contain Liberatus' *Breviarum*, and a collection of letters.[86] These letters, as Cuppo argues, were used in the context of the Three Chapters controversy.[87] Even though the manuscript of Isidore's chronicle is eleventh century, the collection of texts it contains ties in with two other manuscripts related to the Three Chapters through the use of the word *tempora* instead of *chronica* when talking about temporal sequence. This use of *tempora* is also found in a gloss in Lucca Feliniana 490,[88] which contains the chronicle of Isidore, in BAV Vat. lat. 6010,[89] and in Victor of Tunnuna,[90] who was an avid defender of the Three Chapters. Furthermore, the dating of the *Damnatio* using the conciliar years of *princeps* Basilius rather than Justinian's imperial years is a sign of bypassing imperial authority. Cuppo points out that BAV Reg. lat. 2077[91] from Vivarium, an Easter Calendar, does the same.[92] The *Breviarium*, *Codex encyclius*, and *Chronicle* all seem to have been used in opposition to the emperor.

Conclusion

I would not claim that any of the links in the networks described in this chapter are set in stone. There are many more ways in which these texts could have ended up where they did, and the evidence, though it constantly suggests the same, is tentative. What it does show though, is that the networks in which the *Historia tripartita* circulated are interconnected, that the social milieu in which Cassiodorus lived was at the heart of a vivid discussion and fervent exchange of texts, and that Constantinople played a major part in this. Further, the pattern of transmission of the *Historia tripartita* into the ninth century has suggested possible extra links in this network.

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83 Cuppo, 'The Other "Book of Pontiffs"', pp. 55–6 and 60.
84 BAV, Vat. lat. 1340 (s. xiii/xiv, France).
85 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. 169 (s. xv, Venice).
86 Isidore of Pelusium, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom.
87 Cuppo, 'The Other "Book of Pontiffs"'.
88 Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, 490 (s. viii, Lucca) and see also McKitterick in this volume.
89 Vatican, Vat. lat. 6010 (s. xv, Italy).
90 Victor of Tununna/Vittore da Tununna, *Chronica: Chiesa e impero nell'età di Giustiniano*, ed. and trans. Antonio Placanica (Florence, 1997).
91 BAV, Reg. lat. 2077 (s. vi, Vivarium?).
92 Cuppo, 'The Other "Book of Pontiffs"', p. 61.

When we try to match the networks as charted above to the stemma as given in Jacob, it would appear that his third group of manuscripts would fit best into the image reconstructed in this chapter. This third group is located during the ninth and tenth centuries mainly in Italy, before extending north into Germany. I would suggest that the texts which circulated in northern Italy during the Three Chapters controversy also contained a few copies of the *Historia tripartita*, and that the members of Jacob's third group of manuscripts in his stemma were copied from these exemplars.

Bjornlie applies to the *Variae* Anthony Kaldellis' observation concerning Procopius that anecdotes shroud the real message of a given text.[93] In the *Variae* Cassiodorus collected letters from the period of his official functions in a chronologically structured book. In his book Bjornlie demonstrates how Cassiodorus responded to current political issues by selecting specific letters and placing them in a seemingly random chronological order.[94] In the *Historia tripartita*, Cassiodorus does the same. He hides behind the three Greek historians, but his selection of the material suggests a very conscious editing process, as seen by the examples I have given about themes and selection above.

With the passage of time the political undertones of the text ceased to have the same resonance, and we see the *Historia tripartita* increasingly being used mainly as a source of information about the past. Not only that, but the text created by Cassiodorus and Epiphanius changed from being a text associated with the Three Chapters, schism, and the Ostrogothic Amal regime opposing Justinian, into a text which had acquired authority as an authoritative statement about the past. In the Carolingian period in particular, the ninth-century distribution of the text suggests that Cassiodorus' text could be used in very different court circles as a source of advice for another king in an entirely different context, but this remains to be demonstrated.

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[93] Bjornlie, 'The *Variae* of Cassiodorus', p. 43.
[94] Bjornlie, 'The *Variae* of Cassiodorus', especially pp. 306–11.

3 Politics and penance: transformations in the Carolingian perception of the conversion of Carloman (747)

Erik Goosmann

In 908, Regino, a former abbot of Prüm, finished his momentous world-chronicle, organised in two books that divided Frankish history into a Carolingian and a pre-Carolingian era. For Regino, the early trappings of Carolingian history already belonged to an ancient past, for which he chiefly relied on the testimony of an old, late eighth-century set of annals that the modern historian would recognise as the B-recension of the *Annales regni Francorum* (*ARF*).[1] Only on rare occasions did Regino stray from his exemplar to add new anecdotes to this account. One such anecdote concerns the abdication and monastic conversion of Carloman in 747.

Carloman (*c.* 708–55) was the oldest son and heir of Charles Martel and the brother of Pippin the Short (*c.* 714–68), who became king of the Franks in 751. After Charles Martel died in 741, Carloman and Pippin divided their father's realm between them, depriving their half-brother Grifo (*c.* 726–53) of his inheritance. The resulting civil war took Carloman and Pippin years to resolve.[2] Six years into their reign, however, Carloman opted out and became the first Carolingian ruler to choose a life of spiritual contemplation. The *ARF*'s description of this extraordinary event is concise and to the point: 'Carloman proceeded to Rome, and there he tonsured himself and built a monastery in honour of Saint Silvester on Monte Soracte. Remaining there for some time, he then proceeded to [the monastery of] Saint Benedict in Monte Cassino, and there he was made a monk.'[3]

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[1] Kurze, 'Reichsannalen I', 302–3; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 101–19.

[2] Wolf, 'Grifos Erbe'; Becher, 'Verschleierte Krise'; Airlie, 'Towards a Carolingian aristocracy'.

[3] *ARF*, s.a. 746, p. 6: *Carlomannus Romam perrexit ibique se totondit et in Serapte monte monasterium aedificavit in honore sancti Silvestri. Ibique aliquod tempus moram faciens et inde ad sanctum Benedictum in Casinum usque pervenit et ibi monachus effectus est.*

Having faithfully copied the entry into his chronicle, Regino took the liberty to expand it with a lengthy 'memorable example' (*exemplum memorabile*).[4] He stated that Carloman was admired for his piety and virtue to the point that the former ruler began to fear the corrupting effects of all this 'human praise' (*laudis humanae*), which inspired him to abandon Monte Soracte and flee to Monte Cassino with a friend. At Monte Cassino, Carloman kept his illustrious identity a secret. He declared to the abbot and his monks that he was 'a murderer and guilty of all sorts of crimes and he begged for mercy and asked for a place of penance'.[5] Regino also had Carloman declare to the monks that 'he was a Frank and that he had left Francia for such crimes that he was ready to bear exile voluntarily, provided he might not be deprived of the heavenly homeland'.[6] Unfortunately, due to a slip of his friend's tongue, Carloman 'was recognized by all and [again] treated with great reverence'.[7]

As former abbot of an important royal monastery, Regino had the necessary experience with royal conversions, which form an important theme in his work.[8] He presented Carloman as a hero from the dawn of Carolingian history, despite his failure as a leader of the Franks. In underscoring Carloman's many virtues, in particular his willingness to repent for his crimes, and by exploiting the tension that existed between his high birth and his humble monastic identity, Regino transformed Carloman into a paragon of Benedictine virtue and a model for those Carolingian princes who suffered similar fates, yet accepted their new status with difficulty.[9] Perhaps Regino wrote with men like Hugh in mind: this Carolingian prince had unsuccessfully plotted to reclaim the territories once held by his father, King Lothar II (d. 869), for which Emperor Charles the Fat (d. 888) had had him blinded. In 895, Hugh was sent to Prüm to live there as a monk.[10] Unlike his pious ancestor, Hugh did not particularly burn for the spiritual life and it was left to Regino to teach this wolf to become a lamb. The *exemplum memorabile* of Carloman's conversion would have made a likely teaching aid.

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[4] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 746.

[5] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 746: *timens vir Deo plenus favorem laudis humanae* and *mox in terram corruit, se homicidam esse, se reum omnium criminum protestans misericordiam exposcit, poenitentiae locum exquirit.*

[6] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 746: *at ille confessus est, se Francum esse et ex Francia pro talia scelera migrasse, exilium libenter ferre paratum, tantum ut patriam caelestem non amitteret.*

[7] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 746: *cognitus ab omnibus cum magna reverentia est observatus.*

[8] Meens, 'Opkomst en ondergang', 9.

[9] MacLean, *History and Politics*, pp. 33 and 124 n. 111.

[10] MacLean, *History and Politics*, pp. 32–3; Heidecker, *Kerk, huwelijk en politieke macht*, pp. 211–13.

Regino's account of Carloman's *conversio* concludes a long historiographical development concerning an event that had, at the time, constituted a major political crisis in the already tempestuous decade between the death of Charles Martel and the royal inauguration of Pippin the Short. Yet in the more contemporary historical records Carloman is not presented as 'a murderer and guilty of all sorts of crimes'. Instead, they present Carloman's exit from the political stage as a spontaneous and self-imposed act, motivated by spiritual longing.[11] Some commentators chose to keep silent about Carloman's motives, emphasising only that it had been his own wish to abandon his rule and don the clerical habit.

Carloman's alleged voluntary conversion was so extraordinary that it inspired a debate among modern historians about whether Carloman had indeed set a Frankish precedent, as our sources claim, or whether we are being duped by the skilful penmanship of Carolingian ideologues, whose aim it was to provide us with a highly stylised version of what in reality had been a very sensitive and controversial matter. This article is written in support of the latter view and will argue that Carloman's abdication and conversion was part of a major political crisis of which the details necessarily remain obscure due to a lack of evidence. In fact, Carloman's abdication and conversion in 747 may not have been fundamentally different from that of the Merovingian king Childeric III, five years later. What was fundamentally different, though, is the way in which later historiographers presented this historical event in their writings.

This contribution focuses not on the event of Carloman's conversion itself, but on its reflection in Carolingian historiography in the later eighth and ninth centuries, and how it steadily transformed from a problematic memory into a resource of the past. The chapter's central thesis is that Carloman's monastic conversion was an act of public penance that had much in common with the fates of those Merovingian kings who were driven from the political stage through forced tonsure and monastic exile. Such acts were at the same time politically and religiously inspired – there is no need to dismiss either aspect – but they were also quite *in*voluntary. That Carloman's abdication and conversion is presented differently in the Carolingian sources owes to the interest of his relatives in preserving his reputation, for he was an important member of the Carolingian dynasty. In light thereof, the earliest Carolingian commentators attempted to conceal the compulsory and penitential character of Carloman's conversion, preferring the memory of a saint over that of a sinner. However, as

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[11] *LP*, Life 93 (Zacharias), c. 21; *Continuations*, c. 30. Also see *VK*, c. 2.

Regino's early tenth-century *Chronicle* reveals, this perception came to change significantly: saints could be sinners, but only if they were willing to repent.

Abdication

Carloman was not the first Frankish ruler to abdicate. A number of Merovingian kings had preceded him, albeit with one significant difference: they had had no say in the matter.[12] According to Jonas of Bobbio's near-contemporary *Life of Columbanus*, when the Irish missionary advised the Merovingian king Theuderic II (d. 613) to retire to a monastery, the king and his courtiers indignantly replied that they had never heard of a Frankish ruler who became a cleric of his own free will.[13] Apparently, the monasteries of pre-Carolingian Francia only called to widowed queens and princesses. Kings who resigned and received the clerical tonsure only did so under duress, at the cost of great personal dishonour and shame.[14] At least on parchment, Carloman was spared such humiliation because he is said to have opted out, a decision allegedly motivated by pious longing rather than political adversity.

This is made evident in the earliest sources. The *Continuations to the Chronicle of Fredegar*, written under the aegis of Childebrand, Carloman's uncle, was composed at some point between 751 and 786.[15] The text states that 'Carloman, burning with an inextinguishable fire for the pious cause, committed his rule together with his son Drogo to his brother Pippin's care and went to the threshold of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul in Rome, in order to persevere in the monastic order.'[16] The author's use of active mode in combination with Carloman's alleged pious yearnings are meant to signal that it had been Carloman's own wish to resign. The same message is brought to us in the *ARF*, composed *c*. 793, which state that 'Carloman announced to his brother Pippin that he wished to relinquish the world. And in that year they undertook no campaign, but both made preparations, Carloman for his journey and

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[12] Goosmann, 'Long-haired kings'.

[13] Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 28, pp. 217–18: *Quod et regi et omnibus circumadstantibus ridiculum excitat, aientes, se numquam audisse, Mervengum, in regno sublimatum, voluntarium clericum fuisse.*

[14] For example, Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, l. 2 (c. 41) and l. 3 (c. 18). For additional literature, see Goosmann, 'Long-haired kings', 240–7.

[15] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 36–9; Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*.

[16] *Continuations*, c. 30: *Carlomannus devotionis causa inextinctu successus, regnum una cum filio suo Drogone manibus germani sui Pippini committens, ad limina beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli Romam ob monachyrio ordine perseveraturus advenit.*

Pippin so that he might honourably direct his brother with gifts.'[17] Having arrived in Rome, as noted above, Carloman 'tonsured himself and built a monastery in honour of Saint Silvester on Monte Soracte'.[18]

The tone of the *ARF* is significantly different when relating the abdication and conversion of the Merovingian king Childeric III (reigned 743–51), five years after Carloman had retreated from the world, stating that: 'Childeric, who was falsely called king, was tonsured and sent into a monastery.'[19] The author's use of the passive mode to describe Childeric's removal from power (*tonsuratus est et in monasterium missus*) serves to stress the involuntary, and therefore dishonourable, character of his abdication. This, as we have seen, sharply contrasts with Carloman, who is described as having actively proceeded to Rome (*perrexit Romam*) and, if interpreted literally, having even removed his own hair (*se totondit*).

The different appreciation of Carloman's conversion in our sources has caused a division among historians. On the one hand, there are those who accept these testimonies and point out that while voluntary conversions of rulers may have been unprecedented on the Continent, this was not the case in contemporary Irish and Anglo-Saxon societies, where kings occasionally opted out to embark on pilgrimages or enter monasteries, apparently at no cost to their personal standing. Some have therefore pointed to Boniface and Bede, arguing that Carloman had been inspired by Anglo-Saxon example.[20] However, on the basis of his letters, we do not get the impression that Boniface was particularly well connected or loved among the native Frankish elite, among whom he counted a fair share of enemies and rivals.[21] Around the time of Carloman's departure, Boniface wrote to a friend in Northumbria: 'My labour seems like that of a barking dog that sees thieves and robbers break in and plunder his master's house, but, because he has none to help in his defence, can only whine and complain.'[22] It was probably on account of Boniface's close ties to the papacy, and perhaps because he was not firmly tied

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[17] *ARF*, s.a. 745: *Tunc Carlomannus confessus est Pippino germano suo, quod voluisset seculum relinquere; et in eodem anno nullum fecerunt exercitum, sed praeparaverunt se uterque, Carlomannus ad iter suum et Pippinus, quomodo germanum suum honorifice direxisset cum muneribus.*

[18] *ARF*, s.a. 746: *ibique se totondit et in Serapte monte monasterium aedificavit in honore sancti Silvestri.*

[19] *ARF* s.a. 750: *Hildericus vero, qui false rex vocabatur, tonsuratus est et in monasterium missus.*

[20] Krüger, 'Königskonversionen', 189–93; Stancliffe, 'Kings who opted out', pp. 158–9.

[21] Ewig, 'Milo'; de Jong, 'Bonifatius', 22–3.

[22] Boniface, *Epistolae*, no. 78: *officium laboris mei rerum conlatione simillimum esse videtur cani latranti et videnti fures et latrones frangere et subfodere et vastare domum domini sui; et quia defensionis auxiliatores non habeat, submurmurans ingemescat et lugeat.* Trans. Emerton, pp. 138–9.

into the local network of the Frankish ecclesiastical elite, that Carloman chose Boniface to reorganise the Frankish Church.[23] The archbishop's outspoken contempt for the corrupting luxuries of court life and the absence of any correspondence between the archbishop and Carloman do not suggest a very personal bond.[24]

On the other hand, there are those who are sceptical of these Carolingian testimonies. They point not to Boniface or Bede, but to Pippin, whom they suspect of political scheming and historiographical subterfuge.[25] They argue that the testimony of the *Continuations* is perhaps a little too expedient for Pippin's cause when it states that 'Carloman had committed his realm together with his son Drogo to the hands of his brother Pippin' and concludes somewhat superfluously that 'on account of this succession Pippin was strengthened in the realm'.[26] The *Continuations* may indeed have cut a few corners, as there is evidence that Carloman had planned for Drogo to succeed him. Drogo's name appears below a charter that Carloman issued on the eve of his departure.[27] This charter has been interpreted as Carloman's formal presentation of Drogo as his heir before the assembled magnates.[28] Moreover, a short and undated letter in Boniface's letter collection claims that Drogo had called together a council in his realm.[29] Nothing else is heard of Carloman's sons until 754, when, according to an entry in a somewhat obscure set of annals, Pippin had ordered Carloman's sons to be tonsured and exiled to local monasteries.[30] Clearly more was going on than these contemporary historiographers were willing to share. Still, with no evidence of a conflict between Pippin and Carloman or his sons prior to 754 and because the author of the *Continuations* is renowned for his (not always elegant) efforts at establishing an idealised narrative of the Carolingian past, it is possible that this chronicle's less-than-frank account of Carloman's abdication may merely have been an attempt to conceal Pippin's questionable actions in 754.[31] Other Frankish authors certainly opted for a simpler solution by keeping Drogo's name out of the dynasty's history altogether.

In the attempt to reveal the circumstances behind Carloman's abdication and conversion – was it pious zeal or political pressure? – we

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[23] Germanic Council (742), prologue.   [24] Boniface, *Epistolae*, no. 63.

[25] Riesenberger, 'Geschichte', 282; Jarnut, 'Alemannien zur Zeit der Doppelherrschaft', p. 65.

[26] *Continuations*, c. 30: *Carlomannus . . . regnum una cum filio suo Dragone manibus germani sui Pippini committens . . . Qua successione Pippinus roboratur in regno*; cf. *ARF*, s.a. 745. Becher, 'Drogo', 133–4.

[27] *Die Urkunden der Arnulfinger*, ed. Heidrich, no. 15, pp. 92–5.

[28] Becher, 'Drogo', 135–8; Heidrich, 'Synode', 431–3.

[29] Boniface, *Epistolae*, no. 79.   [30] *Annales Petaviani*, s.a. 753, p. 11.

[31] Cf. Jarnut, 'Alemannien zur Zeit der Doppelherrschaft'.

run the risk of wanting to distinguish too sharply between the religious and the political. However, in doing so one fails to recognise that early medieval society is organised along religious principles according to which all authority is derived from a divine source that is active in the world and that places checks on its misappropriation by the belief that those invested with authority are accountable for it to God. 'Religious fervour and political expediency were not necessarily at odds', as Mayke de Jong has remarked.[32] All that might be said is that Carolingian authors, and possibly Carloman himself, felt more comfortable presenting his abdication and conversion in religious terms, instead of political ones.[33] The popular adage that 'politics is perception' was just as true then as it is today.

Motive

It is certainly possible that acute moral necessity made Carloman long for the spiritual life.[34] In the *Continuations*, Carloman's abdication is preceded by a rather dramatic event: 'while the Alemanni went back on their oaths to Carloman, he entered their native land with the army in great rage, and slaughtered by sword many of those who rebelled against him'.[35] In 743, the Alemanni had joined the rebellion of the Bavarian duke Odilo, but unlike the other unruly *gentes* in the periphery, the Alemanni had already pledged fidelity to Carloman in 742. This could explain why their betrayal resulted in such brutal punishment.

It was 'in the course of the following year' that Carloman resigned. If these events are connected, the author of the *Continuations* did not wish to make it too explicit, but causality may have been implied.[36] In the annalistic genre, narrative is created by the implication of a loose causality between the events of adjacent year entries, for which there often is no syntactical basis.[37] That this may also have been the case in the *Continuations* is suggested by the unusually dramatic language used to describe Carloman's entry into Alemannia, which he is claimed to have carried out 'with great fury' (*cum magno furore*) in order 'to slaughter many rebels' (*trucidare plurimos rebelles*). Are we witness to a sudden fit of

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[32] De Jong, 'Monastic prisoners', p. 323.   [33] De Jong, 'Monastic prisoners', p. 313.
[34] Hahn, *Jahrbücher*, p. 87; Rodenberg, *Pippin*, p. 15.
[35] *Continuations*, c. 29: *dum Alamanni contra Carlomanno eorum fide fefellissent, ipse cum magno furore cum exercitu in eorum patria peraccessit et plurimos eorum qui contra ipso rebelles existebant gladio trucidauit.*
[36] Cf. Wolf, 'Mögliche Gründe' and Wolf, 'Die Peripetie'.
[37] This is what Dutton has called a 'compromised parataxis': Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache*, p. 110.

literary glibness, or is the author perhaps trying to relate a very important matter?

The *ARF* do not mention Carloman's run-in with the Alemanni, but devote two year entries to Carloman's abdication instead. In 745, Carloman is said to have publically announced his wish to retire, for which the two brothers took the remainder of the year to prepare. In the entry for 746, Carloman departs for Rome and enters the clergy. It not only presents Carloman as the initiator, abdicating on his own terms, at his own pace and with the support of his younger brother, but it also conveniently allowed the author to omit Carloman's campaign into Alemannia.

The *Earlier Annals of Metz* (*AMP*), composed in 806, reintroduce Carloman's violent entry into Alemannia, albeit in a significantly different tone:

In this year, Carloman, after he saw the infidelity of the Alemanni, penetrated their territory with an army and held a tribunal in the place called Cannstatt. Here he gathered the armies of the Franks and the Alemanni. It was a great miracle that one army seized another and rendered it immobile without any crisis of war. However, the leaders who, together with Theudebald, were in league with Odilo against the unconquerable Princes Pippin and Carloman, he seized and punished mercifully according to what each deserved.[38]

Compared to the *Continuations*, the *AMP* are much less violent. Alemannia is no longer the stage of a great massacre born from rage, but one of justice, as the Alemanni are brought before a tribunal (*placitum*) over which Carloman presided as a merciful judge. In fact, the entire ordeal was so devoid of violence that the author went so far as to call it 'a great miracle'. Yet like the *Continuations*, the *AMP* also make no explicit connection between the events in Cannstatt and Carloman's abdication. In fact, because the event is transformed into a showpiece of good governance, this 'miracle' and Carloman's subsequent conversion now appear entirely unrelated.

All the more surprising, therefore, is the account of a unique recension of a set of minor annals known as the *Annales Petaviani* (*AP*), which explicitly links the 'Massacre at Cannstatt' to Carloman's conversion. The text is extant in a single manuscript, dated to the second quarter of the ninth century, that used to belong to the monastery of St Martin

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[38] *AMP*, s.a. 746: *Hoc anno Carolomannus, cum vidisset Alamannorum infidelitatem, cum exercitu fines eorum irrupit et placitum instituit in loco qui dicitur Condistat. Ibique coniunctus est exercitus Francorum et Alamannorum. Fuitque ibi magnum miraculum, quod unus exercitus alium conprehendit atque ligavit absque ullo discrimine belli. Ipsos vero, qui principes fuerunt cum Theutbaldo in solacio Otilonis contra invictos principes Pippinum et Carolomannum, conprehendit et misericorditer secundum singulorum merita disciplinavit.*

of Massay.[39] In the remainder of this chapter, I shall refer to it as the *Annals of Massay* (*AMa*). Due to a set of unique and detailed references to the deaths of three abbots of nearby St Martin of Tours – namely those of Wicbert (d. 756), Andegarius (d. 790) and Alcuin (d. 804) – it is possible that the *AMa* or its exemplar originated in Tours, during the abbacy of Alcuin's pupil and successor, Abbot Fridugisus (d. 834). Unlike the other recensions of *AP*, which, as is customary for this type of annals, only provide a summary reference to Carloman's entry into Alemannia in 746 (*Karolomannus intravit Alemannia*) and his departure for Italy the following year (*Karolomannus migravit Romam*), the *AMa* present a much more elaborate account. To the original entry 'Carloman entered Alemannia,' the author of *AMa* added: 'Where it is said that he slew many thousands of men. Feeling remorseful because of it, he abandoned the realm and went to the monastery located in the fortress of Cassino.'[40] The entry then continues with a miracle story that relates how Carloman was able to regain God's grace through the act of penance.

Unlike the *Continuations* or the *AMP*, these annals establish an explicit link between the Alemannian massacre and Carloman's 'remorseful' (*compunctus*) abdication and entry into the monastery of Monte Cassino. Not only is the *AMa* of a later date than the *ARF* or the *AMP*, it was probably also written with a different audience and purpose in mind. In particular, the *AMa* emphasise the importance of penance for lay rulers and they may well be understood as a mirror of princes.[41] However, before Carloman could be presented as a model penitent, he first needed to become a sinner. As will become clear, this 'penitential discourse' became a common theme in Carolingian historiography composed from the reign of Louis the Pious (781–840) onwards.

Sin and penance

The author of the *Continuations* was content to state that Carloman converted because he was 'burning for the contemplative life', without actually specifying the underlying cause. However, as both the anonymous *AMa* and Regino's *Chronicle* reveal, this discourse changed in the course of the ninth century, when Carloman's abdication and conversion came to be presented as an act of penance. Although it is certainly possible that this penitential context was a later invention, I shall argue instead

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[39] Geneva, MS BPU lat. 50; *Annals of Massay*, ed. Labbé, pp. 733–6. See also: Werner, 'Geburtsdatum', nn. 108 and 112.

[40] *AMa*, s.a. 746: *ubi fertur quod multa hominum millia ceciderit; unde compunctus regnum reliquit, et Monasterium in castro Cassino situm adiit.*

[41] See also *AMa*, s.a. 726.

that Carloman's conversion had been an act of penance from the start, something his eighth-century commentators, in their attempts to protect Carloman's *memoria*, felt uncomfortable to relate in their semi-public histories. It was therefore not the nature of monastic conversion that had changed in the early ninth century, but the discourse used to describe these conversions and the implications that public penance had for the reputations of those who submitted to it.

Public penance appeared on the Carolingian reform agenda in 813, at the Council of Tours, when bishops complained that contemporary penitential practice had strayed from the canonical precepts and demanded restoration.[42] Public penance became necessary when crimes affected the entire community. In the later Roman period, as de Jong has argued, public penance was a one-time affair during which the penitent entered the *ordo paenitentium* for a fixed period of time, after which he was banned from public office indefinitely and barred from entering the clergy. But while the need for public penance remained, its character and execution changed over time. North of the Alps, the stage for public penance moved from the city to the monastery and the distinctions between the various spiritual *ordines* became increasingly blurred. As a consequence, public penance appears to have been transformed from a temporary penitential conversion into a full monastic conversion, with an increasingly coercive character.[43]

This becomes particularly clear in the case of the King Childeric III, whose actions as king affected the public domain by default. Judged to be a false king, he was forced to abdicate, provided with a clerical tonsure and directed to the monastery of St Bertin. All that is missing in our accounts, however, is the notional confirmation that Childeric was indeed sent there to repent for his sins.[44] Thus far, historians have mainly approached these royal abdications from a political point of view, with the monastery acting as a medieval prison house.[45] Yet the act of cutting these kings' characteristic long hair – the ancient symbol of their royal *virtus* – is only half the story, for it was replaced with a clerical tonsure. The religious aspect to monastic exile should not be ignored. As Isidore of Seville explained, '[the tonsure] was a certain sign that is symbolised on the body but is performed in the soul, so that by this sign in religious life vices might be curtailed and we might cast off the

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[42] Council of Tours (813), c. 22; de Jong, 'What was public about public justice?', pp. 864, 885–6.

[43] De Jong, 'What was public about public justice?', pp. 867–6; Costambeys, 'Transmission', pp. 94–6.

[44] Cf. de Jong, 'What was public about public justice?', p. 878.

[45] De Jong, 'Monastic prisoners', pp. 292–3; Geltner, '*Detrusio*'.

crimes of our flesh just like our hair'.[46] Those found guilty of having abused their public authority were therefore not merely banned from society; they were expected to atone for their crimes in earnest. Thus, while there is an obvious political dimension to royal conversions, it can at the same time be argued that Merovingian royal conversions probably had been just as 'religiously inspired' as later Carolingian ones. The crucial distinction between the two may reside in nothing more than the language with which these events were written down and perhaps the public ceremonies with which they were performed. The question is whether this continuity worked in both directions: were Carolingian conversions, beginning with that of Carloman, also as 'political'?

Early medieval notions of authority placed a heavy responsibility on the shoulders of those whom God had entrusted with it. A Carolingian diploma dated to 761 defined this ideology as follows: 'because kings rule on account of God and because He entrusted us to govern the peoples and kingdoms on behalf of His mercy, it must be ensured that, in order that we will also be exalted *rectores*, we must not neglect to govern and educate the needy and the poor for the love of Christ'.[47] But what if a ruler failed at being an 'exalted *rector*'? Bad rulers not only put their own salvation at risk, but that of the community which God had entrusted to them as well.[48]

Around the time Carloman abdicated, Boniface had sent a letter of admonition to King Ethelbert of Mercia, instructing him in the moral obligations of leadership.[49] Despite the king's many good virtues, with which the archbishop prudently began his letter, it had come to his attention that Ethelbert was guilty of fornication. With a nun, no less. 'You will remember', Boniface reproached the king, 'that you were made king and ruler over many not by your own merits, but by the abounding grace of God.'[50] In an accompanying letter, Boniface reminded his envoy that 'we ask that the king may correct himself and his people with him,

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[46] Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, l. 2, c. 4, p. 55: *est... signum quoddam, quod in corpore figuratur, sed in animo scilicet, ut hoc signo in religione vitia resecentur, et criminibus carnis nostrae, quasi crinibus, exuamur.* In a culture in which hair length was a powerful social marker, to have it removed would have been a degrading and humiliating experience. On hair: Leyser, 'Long-haired kings'; Bartlett, 'Symbolic meanings of hair'; Diesenberger, 'Hair, sacrality'; Goosmann, 'Long-haired kings'.

[47] *Diplomata Pippini*, no. 16, p. 22: *Et quia reges ex deo regnant nobisque gentes et regna pro sua misericordia ad gubernandum commisit, providendum, ut et sublimes rectores simus, inopibus et pauperibus pro amore Christi gubernare atque educare non neglegamus.*

[48] Blattmann, 'Unglück'; Meens, 'Politics'.

[49] Boniface, *Epistolae*, no. 73, pp. 339–45. On the background of this letter: Fouracre, *Charles Martel*, pp. 134–6.

[50] Boniface, *Epistolae*, no. 73: *Et memor eris... quem non propria merita, sed larga pietas Dei regem ac principem multorum constituit.*

lest the entire people should perish along with its ruler here and in the life to come, but that, through the emendation and correction of his own life, he once again directs his people by his example on the road to salvation'.[51] As Boniface had instructed Ethelbert, it was through penitence and purification (*penitendo et purificando*) that the king was expected to correct his behaviour.[52] In the course of the eighth century, these notions came to be adopted on the Continent as well.

As far as we know, such letters had never been sent to Carloman, and neither the *Continuations* nor the *ARF* explicitly state that Carloman's conversion had been an act of penance. Was this because the subject was taboo to these Carolingian-friendly authors, or was it perhaps because the link between monastic conversion and penance was so obvious that it required no explanation?[53] Having already compared the *ARF*'s account of Carloman's abdication to that of Childeric III, which revealed that the former is said to have converted willingly and the latter had been forced to convert, these same annals offer a third case that reveals that 'voluntary conversion' may not have been as self-imposed or willing as Carloman's case would have us believe.

In the entry for 788, the *ARF* state that Charlemagne presented his cousin Tassilo before an assembly at Ingelheim, where the Bavarian duke stood accused of various acts of treachery and perjury. Initially, the assembly demanded capital punishment, but Charlemagne, 'because of his love of God, and because [Tassilo] was a relative of his, prevailed upon these men who were loyal to him and to God, that he should not die'.[54] Upon asking Tassilo what sentence he preferred instead, the duke requested 'whether he may have license to have himself tonsured and enter into a monastery and do penance for his great sins, so that he might save his soul'.[55] Tassilo's case shows that monastic conversion had become a convenient way for rulers to discard their political opponents without having to resort to bloodshed. However, it also reveals the superficiality of Tassilo's 'willingness' to convert and repent for 'the great many sins' he allegedly committed. If interpreted literally, Tassilo had indeed asked

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51 Boniface, *Epistolae*, no. 74, p. 346: *rogemus omnes communiter supra dictum, regem, ut semet ipsum cum populo corrigat; ne tota gens cum principe hic et in futuro pereat, sed ut, vitam propriam emendando et corrigendo, exemplis suis iterum gentem propriam ad viam salutis dirigat.*
52 Boniface, *Epistolae*, no. 73, p. 341: *Et vitam tuam penitendo corrigas et purificando emendes.*
53 De Jong, 'Monastic prisoners', pp. 322–3.
54 *ARF*, s.a. 788: *[iamdictus domnus Carolus püssimus rex motus misericordia] ab amorem Dei, et quia consanguineus eius erat, contenuit ab ipsis Dei ac suis fidelibus, ut non moriretur.*
55 *ARF*, s.a. 788: *ut licentiam haberet sibi tonsorandi et in monasterio introeundi et pro tantis peccatis paenitentiam agendi et ut suam salvaret animam.*

for permission to 'have himself tonsured' and enter the monastery, but, as the circumstances make clear, the alternative was capital punishment.

The example of Tassilo's 'willing conversion' allows us to see Carloman's conversion from a different angle. The main distinction between these two cases, at least in the eyes of the author, was that Carloman was to be given an honourable exit from the corridors of power, while Tassilo was sent off the stage in shame. The difference between honour and dishonour lay therefore not in these men's willingness to convert – which, technically speaking, both men did – but in the acknowledgment or omission of the derogatory circumstances that led to their abdication. What these late eighth-century annals therefore reveal is a change in the perception of penance and conversion: forced conversion was becoming a contradiction in terms and one's (nominal) willingness to submit to penance a *conditio sine qua non* for penance to have meaning. Not Carloman, therefore, but Childeric is the exception to the *ARF*'s rule. But then again, Childeric represented the old dynasty, whose false kings were not just *sine potestas*, but whose inability to repent willingly for their misconduct should perhaps be understood as a signal meant to show the Frankish elite just how decrepit this royal *gens* had become.

Other texts also reveal that ideas about penance were gradually changing in the second half of the eighth century. The *Passio Leudegarii* relates the fates of Bishop Leudegar of Autun (d. *c*. 677) and his opponent, the Neustrian mayor Ebroin (d. *c*. 680).[56] The original version of the *Passio* was composed in Autun in the later seventh century. It records how Ebroin 'was sent into exile to the monastery of Luxeuil, that there by repenting he might escape the sins he had committed. But because he possessed eyes of his heart blinded by the dust of earthly greed, in his malevolent soul spiritual wisdom was of no benefit'.[57] In the meantime, Leudegar also had fallen out of royal favour and 'was ordered [by the king] to remain in Luxeuil in perpetual exile'.[58] When Ebroin left the monastery, it was said he had 'lived the life of a monk in pretence only'.[59] In the second half of the eighth century, the monk Ursinus from Poitiers revised the text and presented Ebroin's entry into the monastery

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[56] On the cases of Ebroin and Tassilo, see de Jong, 'What was public about public justice?', pp. 878–80.

[57] *Passio Leudegarii* I, c. 6, p. 288: *Luxovio monasterio dirigitur in exilium, ut facinora, quae perpetraverat, evadisset penitendo. Sed quia terrenae cupiditatis pulvere, oculos cordis habuit cecos, et ideo in animam malivolam spiritalis non profuit sapientia.* Trans. Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, p. 233.

[58] *Passio Leudegarii* I, c. 12, p. 294: *sub perpetuum exilium eum in Luxovio permanere iuberet.* Trans. Fouracre and Gerberding, p. 229.

[59] *Passio Leudegarii* I, c. 16, p. 298: *His enim diebus egressus est de Luxovio etiam Ebroinus Iuliano similis, qui vita fincta monachorum tenuit.* Trans. Fouracre and Geberding, p. 233.

differently.[60] Ebroin was no longer sent into monastic exile, but had instead 'asked the king whether he . . . may be spared his life and be permitted to go off to a monastery' – a situation strikingly similar to that of Tassilo in the *ARF*. Like Charlemagne, King Childeric II (d. 675) consented and Ebroin was sent to Luxeuil 'in order to become a monk'.[61] Also, Ebroin is no longer presented as an imposter: when the abbot of Luxeuil demanded that he and Leudegar perform penance, 'they lived amongst the monks strictly as if they strove to become perpetual monks'.[62]

As these examples show, the outward display of sincerity was crucial in the later eighth-century perception of penance and conversion, and the continued emphasis on Carloman's willingness to convert to a life in the cloister was meant to signal just that. However, the challenge with Carloman was to preserve his reputation, which required his eighth-century commentators to keep silent about the penitential context of his conversion, the circumstances that had led to it, and perhaps the grim alternative that awaited Carloman if he proved to be unwilling. In the course of the ninth century, the taboo on public penance was gradually lifted, as the *AMa* and, ultimately, Regino's *Chronicle* demonstrate. Carolingians were no longer required to be saints, as long as they were willing to repent for their sins.

The earliest sign of the changing perception of penance can be found in the revision of the *ARF*, composed between 802 and 829, though probably during the reign of Louis the Pious. In 822, the emperor agreed to a public atonement before an assembly in Attigny and in 833 he was publicly made to abdicate and do penance for his purported misdeeds, though he was restored to his former dignity soon afterwards.[63] Apart from stylistic revisions, the reviser of the *ARF* made several meaningful adjustments to the text. Significant in this context is the addition made to the entry for 746, where the 'original' *ARF* had noted that 'Carloman built in Monte Soracte a monastery in honour of Saint Silvester',[64] to which

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[60] For an introduction on the text, see: Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, pp. 193–215. N.B. the arguments for the date of the revised *Passio* are (1) the corrected Latin, indicative of Carolingian cultural reform; and (2) borrowings from the *Continuations*. However, these arguments would sooner point to a composition in the third quarter, rather than the middle, of the eighth century.

[61] *Passio Leudegarii* II, c. 4, p. 327: *Rege petiit, ut, relictis omnibus, vitam sibi concederet et in monasterio habire permitteret. Cui depraecante et domno Leudegario intercedente rex consensit et in monasterio Luxovio ilico distinavit, ut monachus effici deberet.*

[62] *Passio Leudegarii* II, c. 7, p. 331: *inter contubernia monachorum strinue habitare quasi perpetuae monachi conati sunt.*

[63] *ARF*, s.a. 822; de Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 35–52.

[64] *ARF*, s.a. 746: *In Serapte monte monasterium aedificavit in honore sancti Silvestri.*

the reviser added: 'where once in the time of the persecutions, which were done under Emperor Constantine, Saint Silvester is said to have hidden'.[65] Significantly, the author is not presenting his audience with the more flattering image of the revered Christian emperor, but of Constantine *before* his conversion, when he was still persecuting Christians, echoing the *Life of Silvester* as recorded in the *Liber pontificalis*.[66] More than a casual factoid on Monte Soracte's history, the author purposefully creates an analogy between Carloman and Constantine, reminding his audience that even Constantine was not immune to sin. And as his audience will in turn have recalled, Constantine later converted on the intercession of Pope Silvester, who cured him of the disease God had inflicted upon him for having persecuted his people. This time around it was Carloman who had sinned – a persecutor of the Alemanni, perhaps? – and who by dedicating his monastery to Saint Silvester sought the intercession of that same saint who had made Constantine great. Within this analogy lay enclosed the promise of Carloman's redemption.

Conclusion

Carloman was the first Frankish ruler of whom it is said that he willingly abdicated and converted. At first sight, this appears a radical break with the old Frankish custom of forcefully disposing of political opponents through the acts of tonsure and monastic exile, a transition associated with great personal shame and dishonour.[67] However, the earliest commentators were laconic about the exact circumstances that drove Carloman to this dramatic act: while some argued that he was motivated by a spiritual longing, others preferred to avoid the subject. Only in the early ninth century would Carloman's conversion come to be associated with the act of penance. Having compared three cases of lay abdication followed by clerical conversion, as encountered in the *ARF*, it would appear that Carloman's purported willingness to convert merits considerable nuance.

The circumstances under which Carloman opted out and converted may not have been fundamentally different from those of other famous converts of the time, notably the Merovingian king Childeric and the

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[65] Revised *ARF*, s.a. 746: *ubi quondam tempore persecutionis, quae sub Constantino imperatore facta est, sanctus Silvester latuisse fertur.*

[66] *LP* Life no. 34 (Silvester), cc. 1–2. On the Carolingian reception of Constantine, also see the contributions by Walter Pohl, pp. 20–1 and Graeme Ward, pp. 74–82.

[67] See: Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, l. 2, c. 41, pp. 91 and l. 3, c. 18, pp. 118–19.

'rebel' Tassilo. The chief difference was that Carloman was an important member of the fledgling Carolingian dynasty, while the others were presented as its antagonists.[68] This meant that Childeric and Tassilo could be discarded dishonourably, while Carloman's honour needed to be preserved, lest his abdication reflect badly on the dynasty as a whole. To accomplish this Carloman had to be presented as having converted willingly and on his own initiative. Another essential ingredient was Rome.

Long before the Carolingians began considering the revival of the Roman empire, they looked to Rome's imperial and Christian past as an important source of inspiration and legitimacy for Carolingian concepts of rulership. While many aspects of Carloman's abdication and conversion to the monastic life will remain speculative – no certainty can be had about the underlying motives and political circumstances, whether the decision was his or someone else's, or whether his conversion was an act of penance or not – it is clear that Carloman's exit from the political stage broke with older Frankish customs. Papal Rome was instrumental in facilitating this new approach; it is the one, essential aspect that practically all accounts of Carloman's abdication and conversion have in common: *Carlomannus ad Romam perrexit*. In some cases, such as the revised *ARF*, even Rome's Christian-imperial past is added to the mix, creating a subtle analogy between Carloman and Emperor Constantine the Great.

What this study of the reception of Carloman's abdication and conversion in Carolingian historiography also reveals is that the preservation of Carloman's *memoria* was a dynamic process: Carolingian historiographers continually reworked Carloman's history to meet the demands of new audiences, which led to significant transformations in Carloman's literary reflection over time. These changes above all owed to a shift in the attitude towards public penance that occurred in the early ninth century. Stimulated by the public humiliations that Louis the Pious had to endure, public penance became an integral part of ninth-century political culture. In this context, Carloman's hitherto inconvenient history could not only be addressed more candidly, now that contemporary events demanded that the erstwhile negative connotations with regard to penance were lifted, but it even turned Carloman into a useful resource of the past, as an exemplary penitent for contemporary Carolingian sinners to emulate. Ninth-century historiographers no longer presented their Carolingian rulers as saints: to sin is all too human, especially for those burdened

[68] See the contribution of Richard Broome to this volume.

with the responsibilities of command. But what sets a good ruler apart from a bad one is the former's ability to acknowledge and atone for mistakes. That, at least, seems to have been the message that the author of the *AMa* meant to convey, and why Regino could still recall Carloman as one of the great heroes from the dawn of the Carolingian age.

4   Lessons in leadership: Constantine and Theodosius in Frechulf of Lisieux's *Histories*

Graeme Ward

Introduction

In around 827 the exiled poet Ermoldus Nigellus composed his *In honour of Louis, the most Christian Caesar Augustus* for the reigning Carolingian emperor Louis the Pious.[1] In one of the poem's most remarkable passages, Ermoldus offers a verse description of the frescoes that adorned Louis' imperial residence at Ingelheim which in effect present a visual representation of Christian 'universal' history. Ermoldus first recounts the Old and New Testament scenes that adorned the left and right walls of the chapel (*templa Dei/aula Dei*), before moving to the palace (*regia domus*), where contrasting scenes from secular history were depicted. Drawing on Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*, one wall tells the largely wretched stories of pre-Christian rulers such as Cyrus, Alexander the Great, and Romulus and Remus. The adjacent wall, in contrast:

> gloried in ancestral deeds and in the pious faith of more recent times. The amazing deeds of the Franks are joined to those of the caesars of the great seat of Rome: How Constantine departed, dismissed Rome from his affections, and built Constantinople for himself. Happy Theodosius is depicted there with his own deeds added to their distinguished accomplishments. Here the first Charles is painted, master of the Frisians in war, and the grand deeds of his warriors along with him. Here, Pippin, you shine, giving laws to Aquitaine and joining them to your kingdom with the aid of Mars. And the face of wise Charles appears clearly, his head bearing the crown of his ancestral line. Here the Saxons stand opposite, contemplating battle, but he brings it on, dominates, and subjects them to his law.[2]

Although debate once centred around the historical reality of the frescoes, recent work has focused more upon the ideology that exudes from

[1] Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem*, ed. Faral, *Ermold le Noir*. For an English translation, see Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious*. The title is derived from the tenth-century manuscript Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 614.

[2] Ermoldus, *In honorem*, ll. 2148–63, p. 164; Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious*, p. 176.

Ermoldus' verses.[3] His poetic presentation of the frescoes offers a vivid evocation of the importance the Carolingian dynasty ascribed to the past. More specifically, the frescoes show how Louis the Pious and his Carolingian predecessors were perceived within the grand sweep of human history, particularly as successors to the great Christian rulers of the Roman empire, Constantine and Theodosius I.[4]

Not long after Ermoldus finished his poem, Frechulf, bishop of the northern Frankish see of Lisieux, presented his own sweeping vision of human history to the court of Louis the Pious.[5] His *Histories*, completed around 830, were written in two separate but conceptually linked volumes. Part I, which contained seven books and was dedicated to Helisachar, Louis' erstwhile chancellor and – until 830 – trusted member of the imperial entourage, covered the period between Adam and the birth of Christ.[6] Here human history begins at the very beginning, and then from Abraham onwards the story of ancient Israel unfolds both alongside and in relation to pagan kingdoms and empires, moving gradually but inevitably towards the Nativity, the supremely significant moment upon which the whole work hinges. Part II was prefaced by a dedicatory epistle to Judith, wife of Louis the Pious and mother of the young Charles the Bald, and was split into five books. Here the narrative radiates out from Christ's birth and God's new covenant with mankind and traces the growth and eventual triumph of the (western) Church during the first six centuries of Christianity. The work as a whole drew to a close when the Franks and Lombards displaced the Romans and Goths as rulers of Gaul and Italy.[7]

Frechulf's work, although arguably the grandest expression of Carolingian history-writing, remains one of the least studied.[8] Two key characteristics of the work help to explain this relative neglect. Firstly, Frechulf has been viewed as a mere compiler, not composer, of history: the vast majority of his mighty tome consists of verbatim excerpts and paraphrases from much earlier works of historiography.[9] Secondly, as a result of the *Histories*' seventh-century conclusion, there is very little in the way

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[3] On the frescoes, see most recently Dubreucq, 'Les Peintures', with a survey of the literature.
[4] In addition to Dubreucq 'Les Peintures', see also his 'Poésie d'éloge' as well as de Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 89–95; Bobrycki, '*Nigellus, Ausulus*'; and Kershaw, *Peaceful Kings*, pp. 183–9. See also Depreux, 'La *Pietas*'.
[5] Frechulf of Lisieux, *Histories*, ed. M. I. Allen, *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, vol. II.
[6] On Helisachar, see Depreux, *Prosopographie*, pp. 235–40.
[7] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. prol. [24/28], p. 436; II. 5. 27 [22/24], p. 724; II. explicit, p. 724.
[8] Savigni, 'Storia universale'; Staubach, '*Christiana tempora*'; Allen, 'Fréculf de Lisieux'.
[9] For the negative assessment, see Schelle, 'Frechulf von Lisieux', pp. 139–44.

of useful material with which historians of the Merovingians and espe-
cially the Carolingians can reconstruct traditional narratives or analyse
political actions. There is no coverage whatsoever of Louis' Carolingian
predecessors, and even the Frankish kings who do fall within Frechulf's
chronological scope, such as Clovis, are given little attention.[10] With both
these aspects of the *Histories* in mind, François Louis Ganshof concluded
that the text 'reveals the richness of the libraries used by the author. It
constitutes, however, only a very meagre source for the history of the
Frankish kingdom under the Merovingians and has no information at all
for the Carolingian period.'[11]

Recent work, on the other hand, has stressed that a lack of contempo-
rary, or Frankish focus in no way means that the *Histories* fail to address or
speak to the age in which Frechulf was writing.[12] Frechulf did not narrate
contemporary events, but he did participate in them. The glimpses we
can catch show that, upon leaving the monastery of Fulda and becoming
bishop of Lisieux in around 824/825, and up until his death in 850/852,
he was an active man.[13] It was not mere rhetoric when he claimed in the
prologue to Part I of his *Histories* that he was 'burdened by both secular
and ecclesiastical affairs'.[14] He acted as an envoy for Louis the Pious in
825 in response to the letter sent by the Byzantine co-emperors Michael
II and Theophilios concerning iconodule practices at Rome,[15] and his
name can be found in the list of attendees at the great synod held at Paris
in 829.[16] The richly detailed report from the council, attributed to Jonas
of Orléans, scrutinised the state of the *ecclesia* – which at this time could
be synonymous with empire – and offered solutions to the right ordering
of the world.[17]

Frechulf, moreover, wrote at a time when stresses on Frankishness
had receded from prominence in written narratives, with emphasis being
placed instead on a single Christian *populus*, over whom stood no longer
a *rex Francorum*, but an *imperator*, an *augustus*. Following Charlemagne's

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[10] See for example Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 5. 18 [68/71], p. 710. On Carolingian perceptions
of the Merovingian past, see Nelson, 'The Merovingian church'.

[11] Ganshof, 'L'Historiographie', p. 663. Echoes of this opinion can be found in more
recent studies: Knaepen, 'L'Histoire gréco-romain', 342, n. 7.

[12] Allen, 'Fréculf de Lisieux'; Depreux, 'L'Actualité de Fréculf de Lisieux'.

[13] On Frechulf's background and career, see Allen, *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera
omnia*, vol. I, pp. 11*–19*.

[14] Frechulf, *Histories*, I. prol. [45.46], p. 19: *Quamvis enim, ecclesiasticis alligatus ac saecu-
laribus negotiis.*

[15] Council of Paris (825), *MGH Conc.* II/2, pp. 480–551; Frechulf at p. 482. On Paris 825,
see Noble, *Images*, pp. 244–86.

[16] Council of Paris (829), *MGH Conc.* II/2, pp. 605–80; Frechulf at p. 606.

[17] On Paris 829, see de Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 176–84; Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 149–68;
Anton, 'Zum politischen Konzept'. On the equation of *ecclesia* with empire, see de Jong,
'Empire as *ecclesia*' and Staubach, '*Christiana tempora*', 200–1.

assumption of the imperial title, the language, imagery and ideology of imperial rule became increasingly prevalent throughout a range of the surviving sources, with the process crystallising during Louis' reign.[18] In the first decades of the ninth century, as Ildar Garipzanov notes, 'Carolingian authors turned to late Roman political vocabulary both to characterize the changing Frankish polity and demonstrate continuity with the mythologized Christian empire of the Roman emperors as it was reconstructed from the texts of earlier Christian authors.'[19]

We can observe some of the implications of this process through the prism of Frechulf's *Histories*. In the prologue to Part II, Frechulf addressed a consciously Christian and imperial audience. Frechulf called Judith the 'most fortunate of empresses (*Augustarum felicissima*)', and encouraged her to 'expand [her] study of wisdom, so that [she] might be found more outstanding than the empresses of previous ages (*ut excellentior retro saeculis imperatricibus*)'. Of Louis himself, it was asked 'which of the emperors was nobler or wiser in divine and secular knowledge than *Hludovicus Caesar invictus*?'[20] Frechulf's comparative language is striking: it links the Frankish imperial family with their Roman predecessors, and suggests that he is situating the Christian empire of his own day in a much longer imperial frame.

This point comes into sharper focus when Frechulf explains how he hoped his *Histories* would be received at court. Frechulf encouraged Judith 'to educate [her] only and venerable son' and to be 'mindful of Bathsheba who educated Solomon of old, the wisest king of the ages'.[21] In her contribution to this volume, Mayke de Jong considers the importance of the Old Testament to certain Carolingian authors. It is, however, the world of the New Testament, Christian times, that will concern me here. Judith was to implore the young Charles to commit Part II to memory, for he would discover within its pages, 'as in a mirror' (*velut in speculo*), a plethora of both good and bad exempla. Addressing Judith, Frechulf wrote:

Enlightened by the deeds of the emperors, the triumphs of the saints, and the teaching of magnificent doctors, [Charles] will discover what to do cautiously and what to avoid shrewdly.[22]

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[18] See Garipzanov, *Symbolic Language*. On identity in this period, see Reimitz, '*Nomen Francorum obscuratum*'. On the imperial character of Royal Frankish Annals, see McKitterick, 'Carolingian historiography', pp. 109–12.

[19] Garipzanov, *Symbolic Language*, p. 287.

[20] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. prol., p. 435; trans. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, p. 255.

[21] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. prol. [34.35], p. 437; trans. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, p. 256.

[22] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. prol. [43/46], p. 437; trans. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, pp. 255–6.

Frechulf sold his *Histories* as a so-called *Fürstenspiegel*, a 'mirror for princes'.[23] He envisaged that his work would have practical, pedagogic value: lessons in leadership were to be derived from the study of the past, and imperial deeds were singled out as specific sources of moral edification.

Imperial deeds make up a significant chunk of Part II, much more so than in any other Carolingian 'universal chronicles'.[24] Frechulf framed his narrative in Part II around the Roman empire, beginning with the reign of Augustus, during which Christ was born, and concluding when the rulers of Rome, along with the kings of the Goths, had been displaced from Gaul and Italy by the Franks and the Lombards.[25] Within this vast expanse of time, he organised his material around the reigns of individual emperors. II. 1. 16, for example, began by noting Nero's accession to power.[26] His death, however, is not recorded until the end of chapter 20.[27] The intermediate chapters deal with the life and death of the apostle Paul, the execution of James the Just, James's brother Judas, and then Simon Peter. All these events took place during Nero's reign, and temporal clauses such as *imperante Nerone* and *sub etiam Neronis imperio* make this clear. The history of the Church, we can see, was understood in relation to the Empire. They were perceived as two parts of the same whole.

Rosamond McKitterick has already noted how in Carolingian 'world chronicles' the history of Christianity was deeply rooted in and inextricably intertwined with that of Rome. She has shown, furthermore, that this 'Christian past was emphatically one built on texts which created a cumulative network of understanding and knowledge'.[28] Frechulf's *Histories* vividly illustrate this point. His work was derivative, but self-consciously so. The bishop of Lisieux notes on several occasions that his work was based upon earlier texts, indeed explicitly stating that he was 'following the accounts of venerable' and 'prudent authors'.[29] In Part II, the key texts were Orosius' *Historiae adversum paganos*, Rufinus' translation and continuation of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*, Cassiodorus' so-called *Historia tripartita*, and Jerome's *De viris illustribus*.[30] In the sixth

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23 Fundamental is Anton, *Fürstenspiegel*.
24 On which, see McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, pp. 22–33.
25 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. prol., p. 436 and II. explicit, p. 724.
26 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 1. 16 [1.2], p. 468.
27 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 1. 20 [98/109], p. 479.
28 McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, pp. 59 and 61.
29 Frechulf, *Histories*, I. 2. prol., p. 85: *elucidare secundum traditiones venerabilium curavi auctorum*, and I. 2. prol, p. 85: *ex opusculis auctorum prudentium*.
30 On Frechulf's sources, see Allen, *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, vol. I, pp. 199*–219*. On Cassiodorus, see Scholten in this volume.

century, Cassiodorus had recommended all these 'Christian historians' to his monks at Vivarium, who 'since they tell of history of the Church and describe changes happening through different periods . . . inevitably instruct the minds of readers in heavenly matters'.[31] Read in the eighth and ninth centuries, bibliographical guides such as the *Institutiones* helped create a body of authoritative texts upon which Carolingian writers and thinkers rested, and Rosamond McKitterick has discussed the formation of 'a canon of knowledge'.[32] Effectively these texts were accorded patristic status, and were widely copied and disseminated throughout the realm as well as used by other intellectuals in a wide range of works. In short, these texts formed the backbone of Carolingian authors' historical perception of their Church's past, as well as a common pool of patristic, canonical knowledge from which examples could be drawn.[33] The compilatory nature of Frechulf's work thus reveals much more than just 'the richness of the libraries' he used, as Ganshof believed. It highlights the perceived importance of written, patristic authority that underpins so much intellectual activity in the period.[34]

To this authoritative corpus, Frechulf added some less well-established texts. One striking example was the late-fourth/early-fifth-century series of imperial biographies that stretched from Augustus to Theodosius I, the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, the use of which underscored the importance of empire, or at least of emperors, in the *Histories*.[35] The rulers of Rome were not simply structuring devices, but sources of real interest and inspiration. Frechulf often used the biographical material in this text to enhance and enrich his narrative, as well as to invest it with moral and didactic lessons for current and future rulers. The chapter on Augustus, for example, includes details about his physique (he had, for example, brilliantly bright eyes) as well as a description of his virtues and vices (he was amicable and studious, but also lustful and eager to hold power over others).[36] The chapter titles, which are a feature of the earliest manuscript, give a sense of how the text was perceived in the ninth

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31 Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I. 17 ed. Mynors, p. 55; trans. Halporn and Vessey, *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, p. 149.
32 McKitterick, *History and Memory* pp. 45–6, 193–4 and 238. See also McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 200–5.
33 McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 193–4 and 235–44.
34 On the Church Fathers, see Contreni, 'The patristic legacy to *c.* 1000'. See also Chazelle and van Name Edwards (eds.), *The Study of the Bible*; McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture*.
35 Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus*, ed. Festy.
36 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 1. 4 [38/51], p. 446. Compare with the well-known letter of Lupus of Ferrières, ed. Levillain, *Loup de Ferrières*, no. 37, I, p. 164; trans., Regenos, *Letters*, p. 55 (see Walter Pohl, above).

century.[37] There are chapters, for example, on 'the most wicked acts of Nero', 'the good deeds of Vespasian', and the 'virtue and deeds of Severus, and how offices were not sold in his reign'.[38] It was clearly not only Christian emperors from whom Frechulf thought that lessons could be learned, though it was about the Christian emperors that Frechulf (and his authoritative resources) had most to say.

Constantine and Theodosius

In Frechulf's *Histories*, as on the walls of Ingelheim, representations of Constantine and Theodosius were very prominently displayed. Of all the many emperors covered between Augustus and Phocas in the seventh century, these 'Christian emperors par excellence' received by far the most thorough treatments.[39] The reigns of Constantine and Theodosius mark the climaxes and conclusions to Books 3 and 4 of Part II respectively and in total are spread across fifteen chapters, amounting to thirty-four pages in the modern edition.[40] Many parallels and comparisons can be drawn between the two, but here I can only touch upon some. Constantine and Theodosius especially were praised for their legislation.[41] Both were linked closely with holy women: Constantine with his mother Helena, who discovered the True Cross in the Holy Land, and Theodosius with his saintly, learned wife Flaccilla.[42] Both, moreover, were clearly aided in battle through divine favour as a result of their Christian convictions. Frechulf used Orosius and the *Historia tripartita* to narrate the first decade of Constantine's reign. The former provided the basic narrative, but Frechulf substantially augmented it with the latter, adding to Orosius the well-known account of the vision in which God revealed to Constantine an image of the cross, and then that Christ himself appeared in a dream and commanded Constantine to construct a cross, which would bring him aid in battle.[43] Frechulf thus gave Orosius' account of Constantine's triumph over Maxentius and then Licinius much more obviously positive and providential emphasis: immediately before we are told

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[37] St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 622, on which see Allen, *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, vol. I, pp. 58*–78*.

[38] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 1. 16, cap., p. 439; II. 2. 2, cap., p. 491; II. 2. 24, cap., p. 492: *De Severi virtute et gestis, et quod honores illo imperante non sunt venditi*.

[39] Werner, 'Hludovicus Augustus', p. 56.

[40] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 15–21, pp. 594–612 (Constantine), and II. 4. 23–30, pp. 653–69 (Theodosius).

[41] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 21 [81.82], p. 612 and II. 4. 27 [32/34], p. 660. For wider legal context, see Nelson, 'Translating images of authority'.

[42] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 17, pp. 601–3 and II. 4. 28 [60/77], pp. 663–4.

[43] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 15 [40/53], pp. 595–6.

about these victories, Frechulf states (in his own words) that Constantine 'had divine aid in imminent battles'.[44] With Theodosius, Frechulf did not need to alter or enhance the account he found in Orosius. Reaching new heights of piety and devotion, Theodosius was able to vanquish the usurpers Eugenius and Arbogastes through prayer alone.[45]

The progression in piety from Constantine to Theodosius is also reflected in the overall vision of the past which Frechulf sought to articulate. In Part II's account of the rise and triumph of orthodox Christianity in the west, the two rulers played pivotal parts that are spelled out in each Book's conclusion.[46] At the end of Book 3, Frechulf, excerpting from Orosius, noted that Constantine was the first emperor to issue an edict ordering pagan temples be shut without bloodshed. In his own words, Frechulf then added that:

with the edict of one pious prince, the pagan sanctuaries and temples of all the kings and of all the most powerful emperors from former ages, having been constructed with the diligence of mighty and wise men, wondrously were closed, and, with almost no resistance from the worshippers throughout the whole world, were reduced to nothing.[47]

In Theodosius' reign this process was brought to a more definitive conclusion. 'In the previous book', Frechulf writes, 'we set the conclusion when, under the pious prince Constantine, the temples of the pagans were closed. In this book, let the end be in the destruction of false gods and in the overturning of temples.'[48] Within this scheme, the conversion of the Pantheon to the Church of St Mary and the all the martyrs in 609 completed this process. Excerpting from Bede, Frechulf notes that 'where once the worship, not of all the gods but rather of all the demons had taken place, there should thenceforth be a memorial to all the saints'.[49]

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[44] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 15 [68/70], p. 596: *Constantinus quem haberet adiutorem Deum in praeliis imminentibus mente sollicita pertractabat.*

[45] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 4. 28 [16/45], pp. 661–2.

[46] On these conclusions, see Staubach, '*Christiana tempora*', pp. 176–82 and Allen, 'Universal history', p. 40.

[47] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 21 [92/96], p. 612: *unius religiosi principis edicto, omnium regum et imperatorum potentissimorum et retro saeculis fortium ac sapientium industria fana ac mirabiliter idolorum fabricata templa clausa, nullo resistente cultore poene per omnem orbem, et ad nihilum sunt redacta.*

[48] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 4. 30 [23/26], p. 669: *Igitur praecedenti libro ubi sub pio principe Constantino paganorum clausa sunt templa finem inposuimus. Huic autem terminus sit in destructione deorum falsorum et in subuersione templorum.*

[49] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 5. 27 [6/8], p. 722: *ubi quondam omnium non deorum, sed daemoniorum, cultus agebatur, ibi deinceps omnium fieret memoria sanctorum.* Translation taken from Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, p. 227. Rankin, '*Terribilis est locus iste*'.

Yet, as Frechulf made clear, he envisaged that his work would not just chart the progress of the past, but distil morals and wisdom. The importance of Constantine and Theodosius as ideal and exemplary emperors in Carolingian 'mirrors for princes' has long been known.[50] Particular attention has been given to the latter, not least because both he and Louis were renowned (and later notorious) for doing public penance: Theodosius in 390, Louis in 822 and then again in 833.[51] In an important study, Hans Hubert Anton claimed that in the ninth century, Theodosius, more so than Constantine, 'characterized the *Herrschertypologie* of the period'. This was because, it was argued, ecclesiastical writers saw in Theodosius' penance 'an example for the sovereignty of the Church and the submission of the emperor under the statutes of ecclesiastical law'. He was an ideal ruler because he 'knew the obligations of his *ministerium* and respected the independence of the sacred sphere'.[52] Such arguments, however, rest on anachronistic assumptions about the inherent enmity between Church and State that fit uneasily onto much of the early medieval evidence. The values of bishops were not instinctively at odds with those of emperors.[53] If, as has recently been suggested, Carolingian bishops in Louis' reign 'constructed their own myth of a Roman Christian empire, in which humble Christian emperors bowed their heads before the spiritual authority of bishops', it was a myth based upon values which Louis himself shared.[54]

Frechulf devoted most of a chapter to the penance.[55] The story began in Thessalonika in the summer of 390: following an outbreak of civil strife, an apoplectic Theodosius ordered the execution of some 7,000 of the city's inhabitants, many of whom were held to be innocent. Later, when the emperor was in Milan, Ambrose refused to let him enter the city's basilica, and he was not permitted to enter again until he had accepted the bishop's rebukes, promising to issue an edict suspending the execution for thirty days, after which it was hoped that reason would have triumphed over rage.[56]

The source for this event was Cassiodorus' *Historia tripartita*, IX. 30.[57] Rufinus of Aquileia also provided a version in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, but

[50] Ewig, 'Das Bild Constantins', 37–46; Anton, *Fürstenspiegel*, pp. 436–46; Werner, '*Hludovicus Augustus*', pp. 56–61.
[51] De Jong, *Penitential State*.
[52] Anton, *Fürstenspiegel*, pp. 442–6, at pp. 442, 443 and 446.
[53] See de Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity' and 'State of the church'; Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 22–4; Patzold '"Einheit" versus "Fraktionierung"'.
[54] Garipzanov, *Symbolic Language*, p. 303. On the shared values, see above all de Jong, *Penitential State*.
[55] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 27 [1/31], pp. 659–60.
[56] For context, see McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, pp. 315–30.
[57] *HT*, IX. 30, pp. 541–6. See Scholten and Vocino in this volume.

without reference to Ambrose. Here Theodosius was 'reproved . . . by the priests of Italy'.[58] It is therefore important to stress that knowledge of Theodosius' encounter with the bishop of Milan was mediated through a specific text. When ninth-century authors evoked Theodosius' penance, they had Cassiodorus in mind, whose account seemingly struck a chord, not least because Louis the Pious himself performed public penance at Attigny in 822 to atone for his sinful treatment of his nephew Bernard four years earlier. Contemporary documents record the event, though it was not until the 840s that explicit comparisons between these two Christian emperors were drawn.[59] The Astronomer, in his *Life of Louis*, wrote: 'imitating the example of Theodosius, Louis accepted a penance on his volition . . . for the things that he had done to his own nephew Bernard'.[60] Irene van Renswoude, nevertheless, has suggested that 'the sudden surge in references to the penance of Theodosius and his confrontation with Ambrose, in the version of the *Historia tripartita*, appears to be a reaction to Louis' penance at the assembly of Attigny'. Van Renswoude goes even further to link the two via Adalhard of Corbie, who had a copy of the *Historia* made for him, and may have helped influence the emperor's actions in 822.[61]

Frechulf wrote around seven years after Louis' penance at Attigny, so fits this argument well. He worked closely from the *Historia tripartita*, but he reshaped it to better suit his own needs. His source was considerably streamlined and there are some notable omissions. The events that took place at Thessalonika and Theodosius' reaction to them are told in brief. There is no mention of Rufinus, the *magister officiorum*, who unsuccessfully attempted to intercede with Ambrose on Theodosius' behalf, and much (though not all) of the fiery, rhetorically charged speech attributed to Ambrose was left out. The Davidic comparison, in which Theodosius dropped to the ground and exclaimed 'My soul hath cleaved to the pavement: quicken thou me according to thy word' (Psalm 118:25), was also left out.[62]

Frechulf's version of events removed much of the drama and stylistic verve of the original, boiling the episode down to its bare bones. By doing so, Frechulf more concisely highlighted the core story for his ninth-century audience: Ambrose's rebuke and Theodosius' response to it. The emperor knew not to challenge the bishop of Milan, for 'having been nurtured on divine learning', he understood the respective limits of

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[58] Eusebius-Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, XI. 18, p. 1023; trans. Amidon, *Church History*, p. 77.
[59] *ARF*, ed. Kurze, s.a. 822, pp. 158–9.
[60] Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. Tremp, c. 35, p. 406; trans. Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious*, p. 262.
[61] Van Renswoude, 'Licence to speak', pp. 277–8.   [62] *HT*, IX. 30. 25, p. 545

episcopal and imperial authority. After eight months, Theodosius went back to Ambrose and earned communion. Then, having written and enacted the law that would suspend execution for thirty days, Ambrose released Theodosius' bond. Using his own words, Frechulf then inserted a summary that encapsulates the episode:

By this and other things the most sacred emperor, having been enlightened by the rebukes of the venerable bishop, confessed to have recognized the bishop before all others in matters of truth.[63]

The point is certainly that Theodosius was a 'most sacred emperor' because he knew and respected the limits of his own authority: he took Ambrose's rebukes seriously, and put his admonitions into practice.[64] Frechulf did not want to present the young Charles with an image of a mighty Roman emperor forced to bend his knee to the Church, but one of a powerful ruler exemplifying his power and piety through obeying Ambrose: himself a bishop, he hoped that the young Charles would heed his own episcopal advice and take Theodosius' example to heart. Yet the *Histories*, it should be remembered, reflect not only the desires for the future, but also the concerns of the present. Frechulf, De Jong notes, 'wrote with the kingship of his own day and age in mind – that is, with Louis'.[65]

Other ecclesiastical writers in the ninth century also drew didactic lessons from the *Historia tripartita*'s account of Theodosius' encounter with Ambrose. Jonas of Orléans, in his *De institutione laicali*, which was first written between 818 and 827 but then modified and reissued after 828, stated:

in adoring and obeying priests and with most abundant honour, [lay men] should imitate the orthodox emperor Theodosius who, having been elevated to power, humbly and reverently obeyed the memorable admonitions, rebukes, and excommunications of the blessed Ambrose. Certainly, Theodosius understood that the power of the emperor, with which he was distinguished, depended upon the power of God, whose servant and minister Ambrose was.[66]

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[63] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 4. 27 [29/31], p. 660: *His et aliis imperator sacratissimus a uenerabili episcopo correptionibus inlustratus eum prae omnibus fatebatur in ueritate se agnouisse episcopum.*

[64] De Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 130–1.   [65] De Jong, *Penitential State*, p. 131.

[66] Jonas of Orléans, *De institutione laicali*, col. 211 B–C: *Imitentur ergo in venerandis et obtemperandis sacerdotibus potentia, et copiosissimis honoribus sublimatum Theodosium orthodoxum imperatorem, quam humiliter reverenterque beati Ambrosii memorabilis viri monitis, et increpationibus, atque excommunicationibus paruerit. Sciebat nempe potestatem imperialem, qua insignitus erat, ab illius pendere potestate, cujus famulus et minister Ambrosius erat. Hoc qui plenius nosse voluerit, librum historiae tripartitae nonum, sub titulo tricesimo legat.* On 'lay mirrors', see Stone, *Morality and Masculinity*, pp. 36–42.

Rulers, as well as those they rule, should appreciate a bishop's special place in society. Jonas, moreover, makes clear his source, citing it by book and chapter: *librum historiae tripartitae nonum, sub titulo tricesimo*. Sedulius Scottus, in his *De rectoribus christianis*, writing some two decades after Frechulf, also excerpted from Cassiodorus, though quoted much more of the relevant chapter. Following the account of the affair, he asserts that 'it is proper for good and godly princes to listen humbly and gladly to the wholesome corrections of bishops'.[67] A Christian emperor cannot rule without the men of God: their admonitions must be obeyed. Major decisions concerning the *ecclesia*/empire, moreover, must not be made without episcopal consent.

A model for such decision-making existed in the First Council of Nicaea, convened in 325 by the emperor Constantine.[68] For Frechulf, Theodosius was *sacratissimus imperator*, yet Constantine was also accorded a superlative: *optimus imperator*.[69] Admittedly, Constantine's image in the early Middle Ages was not quite so universally positive as Theodosius', and even in Frechulf's *Histories* his less than glorious past was underlined: it remained unclear to the bishop of Lisieux – as it did to his source, Orosius – why 'so great a man' (*tantus vir*) had his son Crispus and his nephew Licinius killed.[70] Nevertheless, he was still remembered by Frechulf in largely glowing terms, and his leading role at Nicaea was undoubtedly one of the foundations upon which the first Christian emperor's reputation was built.

Frechulf paid close attention to the Council of Nicaea, or more accurately, to the sources which preserved accounts of it. Frechulf had several texts at his disposal with which he was able to fashion an essentially new narrative from well-known material. He begins with an excerpt from Orosius, which provides a concise outline of the context: 318 bishops convened to combat the heretical doctrine of Arius, which had emerged around him at Alexandria.[71] Frechulf then turns to Cassiodorus to set the scene. First, he used this source to describe the universality of the council, and to highlight that it was the 'crown' that Constantine had 'dedicated to his saviour Christ'.[72] When it came to the decisive day

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[67] Sedulius Scottus, *De rectoribus Christianis*, c. 12, ed. Dyson, pp. 124 (Latin) and 125 (English). On Sedulius, see recently Kershaw, *Peaceful Kings*, pp. 223–34.
[68] Edwards, 'The first council of Nicaea'.
[69] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 20 [34], p. 606.
[70] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 20 [55/57], p. 607, excerpting from Orosius, *Historiae*, VII. 28. 26, ed. and trans. Arnaud-Lindet, vol. III, p. 78. *Tantus vir* was Frechulf's own addition. See Walter Pohl's contribution, above, on Paul the Deacon and Constantine.
[71] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 16 [1/9], p. 597.
[72] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 16 [17/19], p. 598. Compare with Sedulius Scottus, *De rectoribus Christianis*, c. 11, ed. Dyson, pp. 112 (Latin) and 113 (English), who also utilised the *Historia tripartita* when describing Nicaea.

itself, the *Historia tripartita* supplied Frechulf with an image of a great yet humble man. Constantine prepared the room for the bishops with chairs and benches as befitting their dignity. He then entered the room after them with a small following, placing a little stool in the middle of the bishops and taking his seat only when they had instructed him to do so. Then that most sacred group of bishops (*sacratissimus ille chorus*) sat down with him.[73]

Rather than continue excerpting from Cassiodorus, Frechulf turned to the tenth book of Rufinus' *Historia ecclesiastica*. The shift from one source to another, however, is remarkably smooth, and Rufinus' account complements and continues what had come before it. Once everyone had taken their seats, bickering between the various bishops broke out, and Constantine was harassed incessantly by requests to resolve personal and local disputes, which came at the expense of dealing with the crucial issue which they had all convened to discuss. Constantine's solution was to set aside a 'certain day on which any bishop who thought he had a complaint to make might submit it'. When all the complaints had been gathered, Constantine addressed the quarrelsome bunch, declaring that as a mere man, it was right for him to be judged by priests, but that he could not pass judgement upon them, who themselves were 'gods'. Rather, they must await 'divine scrutiny'. They were thus commanded 'put aside these matters and without contention examine those things which belong to the faith of God'. To end this discord, the emperor ordered that all the gathered petitions were to be burned, 'lest the dissension between priests become known to anyone'.[74] To this, Frechulf then added in his words: 'but rather it would be known that all, acting in agreement, had come to that place, diligently attending to ecclesiastical business'.[75] The bishops had come together and, under the prudent guidance of the emperor, ultimately acted in unison to defeat a common enemy whose heresy had disrupted the peace and stability of the realm.

The image of consensus and harmony coupled with the proper relationship between emperor and bishops are the key features of this scene, to the extent that the religious controversies that sparked Nicaea appear only to play a supporting role. There is no mention of the Melitian schism or disagreements over the correct date for celebrating Easter, both of which, along with Arius' teachings, had disrupted the *ecclesia*.[76] The lengthy description of the council, moreover, contains only a few

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[73] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 16 [20/27], p. 598.

[74] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 16 [28/45], pp. 598–9; trans. Amidon, pp. 9–10.

[75] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 16 [46/47], p. 599: *sed ecclesiasticum omnes unianimes ad quod uenerant negotium agere solerter inuigilarent.*

[76] See *HT*, I. 18, pp. 73–6 and I. 20, p. 80.

lines on its outcome: 'the great men of God enacted ecclesiastical laws, which we call canons, and condemned the perverse dogma of Arius along with its originator himself'.[77] When compared to the other Latin ecclesiastical histories, Frechulf's account appears even more remarkable. Whereas Cassiodorus made the Arian dispute the focus of his narrative, Frechulf says very little: he made no use of the many letters concerning the debate which were to be found in the *Historia tripartita*, and there is not a single statement about what Arius' beliefs actually were (or at least what his beliefs were alleged to have been). When excerpting from Rufinus, Frechulf likewise left out all references to Arianism.[78] At the beginning of Book 4, Frechulf worked around Orosius' description of Constantius' heresy, carefully excising the sentence which stated that he 'was then persuaded that there were different parts of the Godhead'.[79]

Frechulf's omissions are significant. They were also deliberate. At the end of the chapter, the bishop of Lisieux tells his readers that should they want to learn more about this council, they should:

lay aside the works of others and read Eusebius, translated into our language by Rufinus, and the work of three illustrious historians, Sozomen, Socrates and Theodoret. However, those who wish to know more about the life and deeds of this ruler Constantine should read the little work of the aforementioned Eusebius.[80]

The seeming reference to Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* has understandably 'troubled' Frechulf's modern editor, seeing as there is no Latin tradition of the text in the Middle Ages.[81] This was certainly not the case for the sources for Nicaea itself, sources to which Frechulf expected his readers could gain access. After offering a brief note about Athanasius' miraculous escape from his enemies' hands at the Council of Tyre in

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[77] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 16 [48/52], p. 599: *Igitur uenerabili huic concilio ex paucorum memoria conici potest quam magni interfuerunt Deo amabiles uiri, qui leges ecclesiasticas, quos canones uocamus, sanxerunt, et peruersum dogma Arrii cum ipso auctore anathematizantes dampnauerunt.* On the outcomes of Nicaea, see (Eusebius-)Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, X. 6, pp. 695–6; trans. Amidon, pp. 13–16.

[78] See for example Eusebius-Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, X. 1 and 5, pp. 960 and 964.

[79] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 4. 2 [1/8], p. 617 and Orosius, *Historiae*, VII. 29. 3, ed. p. 80; trans. Fear, *Orosius* p. 373.

[80] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 16 [98/105], p. 601: *Ergo qui per singula scire uoluerit quae in hoc gesta sunt concilio, omissis aliorum opusculis Ecclesiasticam Eusebii Caesariensis historiam perlegat, quae a Rufino in nostrum interpretata est eloquium, nec non trium uirorum inlustrium Historias, Sozomeni, Socratis, et Theodoriti. Actus uero et uitam huius principis Constantini qui scire plenius desiderat, Eusebii praedicti opuscula de hoc tantum negotio perlegat.*

[81] Allen, *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, vol. I, p. 218*. The reference, it would appear, was indirect.

335, Frechulf again notifies keen readers of his primary sources: the *Historia tripartita* and Rufinus' *Historia ecclesiastica*.[82]

Frechulf's work, unlike those to which he referred his readers, was not 'intended to be an ecclesiastical history in the Eusebian mould',[83] no doubt in part because such histories were well known and already accessible. Rather, as the example of Nicaea shows, doctrine provided the crucial historical context, but it was not Frechulf's primary concern. By the ninth century, time had tempered the threat that Arianism posed to the Christian church, but the actions of a humble emperor and 'godly' bishops working together to combat an opponent of orthodoxy still presented a potent image, and one that Frechulf, through a process of selection and omission, emphasised for his audience.[84]

Conclusion

Nicaea offered Frechulf – among others – a powerful and influential image of 'imperial-episcopal cooperation'.[85] It was a particularly pertinent model around the time Frechulf was writing, as a series of grand councils took place in 829 at Lyon, Toulouse, Mainz and Paris. Only the report from Paris has survived, in which the assembled participants discussed and decided upon the proper relationship between the two bodies of the *ecclesia* – the sacerdotal and the royal. Louis – as well as his co-emperor Lothar – may not have led proceedings as Constantine did, but they were closely involved.[86]

Thinking of the messages conveyed through Theodosius' penance and the Council of Nicaea, it is easy to see how these historical examples could feed directly into contemporary thought: each offered concrete lessons, establishing norms and delineating proper imperial and episcopal deportment. Indeed, Rufinus' account of Constantine's speech to the bishops concerning their special status was included in the Paris *acta*, and Jonas of Orléans, the text's supposed author, inserted the same speech in his *De institutione laicali* as well as in his *De institutione regia*.[87] Frechulf, who was among the attendees at Paris in 829, should thus be considered within this same political and cultural milieu: aspects of his work reflect the virtues and values of the elite of his own day. Nikolaus Staubach has

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[82] Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 4. 2 [49/52], p. 619.   [83] Markus, *Bede*, p. 5.

[84] See also Savigni, 'Storia universale', 182.

[85] De Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity', p. 124

[86] Council of Paris (829), pp. 608–9, and *Relatio episcoporum* (829), *MGH Capit.* II, no. 196, pp. 27–51, at 27–8, which was addressed to Louis alone.

[87] Jonas of Orléans, *De institutione laicali*, col. 210C; *De institutione regia*, II, ed. Dubreucq, pp. 180–2.

already noted that the *Histories* as a whole were linked to 'contemporary Frankish discussions about reform' and Patzold used Frechulf to trace echoes of the 'Paris model' in contemporary sources.[88] More generally, Patzold has shown how important the 820s were in the development of definitions and assertions of the respective limits of episcopal and imperial authority, culminating in the Paris *acta*. A significant aspect of this development was the availability of authoritative texts, which functioned as foundations upon which such definitions and assertions could be built.[89] In this period, as de Jong notes, 'bishops and other learned men read and pondered the patristic heritage that was becoming available, and took these authoritative models of imperial Christianity to heart'.[90]

Frechulf of Lisieux was one of these men. His vast historiographical endeavour clearly had envisaged practical and moral applications: key episodes, such as Theododius' penance and the Council of Nicaea, were conceived, at least in part, as relevant and invaluable lessons in leadership. Yet, the sources from which these lessons were drawn reveal a further layer of significance. Built upon authoritative texts, Frechulf's work, like so many other ninth-century writings, helped forge a powerful bond between Carolingian present and patristic past. As with Ermoldus' poetic illustration of the frescoes adorning Ingelheim, Frechulf's *Histories* helped anchor the empire of Louis the Pious into the universal framework of Christian history, a history in which the renowned deeds of Constantine and Theodosius served as particularly eminent and exemplary models.

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[88] Staubach, '*Christiana tempora*', 200–3, at 202; Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 173–5.
[89] Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 159.   [90] De Jong, *Penitential State*, p. 180.

Part II

The Biblical Past

5 Carolingian political discourse and the biblical past: Hraban, Dhuoda, Radbert

Mayke de Jong

Repertoires of identification

With over 1,000 pages in print, the recently published second volume of *The New Cambridge History of the Bible* is a formidable witness to the liveliness of scholarship on the Bible in the Middle Ages.[1] It covers the reception of Scripture in various languages, its study and textual transmission in different intellectual milieux, and also the use of the Bible in specific contexts, such as preaching, liturgy, law and art. Yet this magnificent collection contains very little about the impact of biblical models on medieval societies, or on political thought and practice; items such as 'kingship' or 'coronation' do not figure in the index, and neither do David or Solomon, the two most important models for rulership in the early Middle Ages. Only from John Contreni's magisterial article on the Carolingian reception of patristic exegesis does one get an inkling of the centrality of Scripture for this particular political culture:

the Carolingians recovered, almost entirely, the patristic legacy and made it the touchstone for their own understanding of the sacred scriptures. They constituted the first great audience for the church fathers. Concomitantly, the Bible became one of the most prominent features of the Carolingian landscape, informing contemporary thought, literature, art, law, political and social policy, as well as Carolingian notions of religion, spirituality and reform. None of this was inevitable. The ubiquity of the Bible and the elaboration of a patristically mediated culture in the generations between 750 and 1000 were owed to the success of a biblical model of kingship and the currency of the notion that the Carolingians were the new Israel.[2]

This encapsulates some crucial aspects of the biblically oriented elite culture that emerged in the Frankish realm from the late eighth century

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[1] Marsden and Matter (eds.), *New Cambridge History of the Bible*. See also Contreni, 'Carolingian biblical culture'; Berarducci, 'L'esegesi della rinascita carolingia'; Gorman, *Biblical Commentaries*; Chazelle and Edwards (eds.), *Study of the Bible*; Lobrichon, *La Bible au Moyen Âge*.

[2] Contreni, 'Patristic legacy', pp. 525–6, citing Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?'.

onwards. The religious leadership of kings and emperors was not a novel phenomenon, for this also was a legacy of Late Antiquity,[3] but once the Carolingian dynasty took over around 750, the religious authority of the ruler became a more prominent feature of the prevailing political discourse. To exercise legitimate authority meant having the guardianship of divine worship, and ensuring that this *cultus divinus* would be 'correct', that is, in good Latin and based on sacred texts that had been cleansed of contaminations. In addition to the Latin Bible itself, Carolingian scholars looked to patristic writings, conciliar decrees, and exegetical works to copy, combine or quarry for new compositions. Behind all this was the attempt to provide frames of reference for the envisaged Christian society. In the programmatic *Admonitio generalis* issued by Charlemagne in 789, almost every decree was justified by biblical reference, while the king himself was associated with Josiah, the ruler from the Books of Kings (4:22) who had restored his people's obedience to God's law.[4] But historians of Carolingian kingship usually do not mention that Josiah then proceeded systematically to destroy the cult sites of those who had angered God by turning to other gods (Kings 4:23). The principle of royal accountability to God could also have a violent side, of which some Saxons gained a first-hand experience.

Although Carolingian rulers and their leading court clerics no doubt played an important part in the creation and propagation of this biblically oriented culture, this was not merely a top-down operation. Aachen came to be the central palace during the last phase of Charlemagne's reign, and especially under his son Louis, yet these rulers and their successors had a network of palaces and *monasteria* at their disposal;[5] furthermore, the composition and size of the court varied according to the season, and over time.[6] But above all, the court was a frame of mind.[7] To have access to the place where the king resided was a privilege, not only for the men in regular attendance who called themselves *homines palatini*, but also for a wider elite, dispersed through this vast realm. Its membership owed much of its wealth and privilege to the offices and lands (*honores*) it received from the ruler: bishops and their clerical communities, abbots and abbesses and their monks and nuns, lay magnates with followers and

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[3] Brown, 'Carolingian Renaissance'.

[4] *Admonitio generalis* (789), *MGH Capit.* I, no. 22, p. 54; see now the new edition by Hubert Mordek, Klaus Zechiel-Eckes and Michael Glatthaar (2013); Rosé, 'Le roi Josias'; de Jong, 'Charlemagne's church', pp. 114–16.

[5] Nelson, 'Aachen as a place of power'; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 171–8; on the mental impact of this network, see Airlie, 'The palace of memory'.

[6] Innes, 'A place of discipline'; Nelson, 'Was Charlemagne's court a courtly society?'.

[7] The expression comes from Nelson, 'History-writing', p. 439; de Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 60–3.

households.[8] This wider court-oriented constituency was essential in the emergence of the revival of Carolingian biblical learning, for it imitated and emulated royal patronage, produced the required scholarship, and developed codes of conduct – clerical, lay, monastic – that, although different, were still based on and legitimated by Scripture.[9] This was a leadership that prized Latin literacy, to the extent that men of humble or middling birth could gain important positions in the royal entourage precisely because of their learning. To put it differently, this was not an elite in which military men proudly left the business of letters to women and priests.

In what follows, I will concentrate on three members of this highest echelon, for it is their testimony, rather than that of the rulers themselves, that gives us a glimpse of the ways in which narratives and precepts from a biblical arsenal provided a constant yardstick against which earthly experiences were measured, interpreted and justified. To speak of biblical models that were 'followed' evokes a kind of strict and literal obedience to the sacred text that was uncharacteristic of this period and its self-confident scholarship. Scripture offered repertoires of identification that were to be used in an eclectic fashion and adapted creatively. I gratefully borrow the expression 'repertoires of identification' from Walter Pohl's recent discussion of ethnicity, for it adequately captures a process of recognising and articulating similarities between biblical narrative and one's own situation.[10] Over time, such elective affinities could become interiorised and evolve into deeply rooted attitudes. These were rarely made explicit, except in reaction to crisis and insecurity, as is shown by the political discourse that emerged in the aftermath of two rebellions against Louis the Pious in 830 and 833, and even more so during and after the violent struggle for succession that followed this emperor's death in 840. These crises made members of the elite reflect deeply on the duties of public office and leadership, from which they derived so much of their reputation and self-esteem, but which now seemed to be under threat. This reflection did not just concern the *ministerium* of kings, on which much was written during this period, but also the ministries of bishops, abbots and secular magnates.[11]

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[8] Airlie, '*Semper fideles*?'; Airlie, 'The aristocracy'.
[9] See McKitterick's trail-blazing *Carolingians and the Written Word*; Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian government'; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 292–380 (ch. 5, '*Correctio*, knowledge and power'); Noble, 'Secular sanctity', and more in general the articles collected in Wormald and Nelson (eds.), *Lay Intellectuals*; on the laity, see recently Stone, *Morality and Masculinity*.
[10] Pohl, 'Introduction: strategies of identification', pp. 32–8.
[11] De Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 113–22, 170–84; Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 135–68.

My three main protagonists all belonged, directly or indirectly, to the court-connected and highly competitive Carolingian leadership. These men and women were acutely aware of the honour and esteem that royal favour could bring, but also deeply proud of their loyalty to the ruler. At a time of political turbulence and insecurity, they wrote about the public ethos that had governed their lives. Having grown up with Scripture as the main source of truth and knowledge, they turned to this all-important resource in order to interpret the disturbing realities of the present, and to articulate the basic values they believed in. Hraban Maur composed his treatise *De honore parentum* for Louis the Pious in the autumn of 834, as an urgent plea for a complete reconciliation with the emperor's rebellious eldest son Lothar. During the three-year struggle for succession after Louis the Pious' death in June 840, Dhuoda, the wife of Louis' godchild Bernard of Septimania, created her celebrated *Liber manualis* for her son William in 841–3.[12] And finally, in the mid-850s Paschasius Radbertus, ex-abbot of Corbie, added a polemical sequel to the first book of his *Epitaphium Arsenii*, his funeral oration for Wala, completing a diptych that commemorated and defended the conduct of this major political player of the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious.

The three works in question were written *ad hoc*, in reaction to specific circumstances: Louis' initially precarious restoration, William's commendation to Charles the Bald as a bid to save his father's reputation, and Radbert's loss of his abbatial office. None of these texts qualifies as biblical commentary, yet its basic principles influenced all the three authors in question. Given that Hraban and Radbert were highly respected and prolific exegetes, this is not surprising, but in Dhuoda one catches a glimpse of the biblical orientation of some Carolingian magnates. In contemporary sources this select group was referred to as *proceres*, *optimates*, *consiliarii*, *seniores or senatores*. In Hincmar's *De ordine palatii* one encounters these senators or seniors gathered outside the palace to enjoy the balmy summer air with the ruler, usually in separate groups of churchmen and lay magnates, strictly secluded from anyone with an inferior rank.[13]

To the high and mighty who belonged to this caste, the Old Testament with its narratives of past political communities offered practical precepts and useful repertoires of identification, yet these were never detached from their New Testament and patristic context. The history of the 'earlier people' (*prior populus*) was not just a thing of the past,

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[12] Written between 30 November 841 and 2 February 843 – see Riché in Dhuoda, *Liber manualis*, p. 11.

[13] Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, p. 603 (*seniores, primi senatores regni*); Hincmar clearly saw himself as belonging to this exclusive group.

but also of the present and future, because the historical or literal inter-
pretation of the Old Testament was never complete without its layers of
spiritual significance.[14] The 'New Israel' to which Contreni refers is a
modern historian's shorthand for saying that the Franks identified with
the biblical Israel. So they did, but this identification was much more ten-
tative and allusive than it has been made out to be.[15] In exegetical terms,
moreover, it was not the Frankish people that had succeeded the *prior
populus*, but the *ecclesia.* This could very well connect with political real-
ities: St Paul's notion of the *ecclesia gentium*, the church of the converted
non-Jews who had followed Christ more readily than the Synagogue, was
wonderfully suited to the expanding Carolingian polity.[16] After all, to be
an emperor, rather than a king, meant by definition that one ruled over
many peoples. Yet in spite of fundamental similarities between Christian
imperium and the *ecclesia*, the overlap could never be complete, for unlike
any terrestrial realm, the *ecclesia* was on its way to future salvation. This
tension between the ideal of God's people and its earthly and imperfect
manifestations made biblical repertoires of identification all the more
powerful.

Lex divina: *Hraban Maur and legal authority*

Hraban Maur was abbot of Fulda since 822 and archbishop of Mainz
from 847 until his death in 856. He was one of the most prolific and
influential biblical commentators of his age.[17] Although perfectly capa-
ble of providing exegesis of his own, he preferred to walk in the footsteps
of the *patres*, making their authoritative interpretations available to his
contemporaries. The massive inclusion of patristic texts in his own bib-
lical commentary earned him the reputation of a man who never had
a thought of his own. Not just modern historians have thought so, but
also some of Hraban's younger contemporaries, 'know-alls' (*scioli*), as
he called them, who maligned him at the court.[18] This was to Hraban's

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[14] De Jong, 'Empire as *ecclesia*', p. 216.
[15] As argued by Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?'; see also de Jong, 'Charlemagne's
church', pp. 112–13. On Hraban's rejection of things 'new': de Jong, 'Old law'.
[16] De Jong, 'Empire as *ecclesia*'; de Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity'.
[17] The literature on Hraban Maur is massive; here I merely refer to the two recent volumes
of articles dedicated to his work: Aris and Bullido del Barrio (eds.), *Hrabanus Maurus*
(with a bibliography up to 2009); Depreux *et al.*, *Hraban Maur*. On Hraban as abbot of
Fulda, see now Raaijmakers, *Making*, pp. 175–221.
[18] Hraban Maur, *Epistolae* no. 39, *MGH Epp.* V, p. 476: 'Some know-alls have disparaged
me for the following: in the course of excerpting the writings of the Fathers, I allegedly
put their names first, and I would have relied more on the commentary of others than
to come up with my own interpretation.' The letter was sent between 842 and 846 to
Lothar, when Hraban had trouble with the *sciolus* Gottschalk.

eternal mortification, for he had a reputation to lose, especially since 832, when he offered his vast commentary on the Books of Kings to Louis the Pious, having first tested the waters by sending it to Archchaplain Hilduin in 829. This commentary on Kings would be the first of a long series of Old Testament books that Hraban explicated for various rulers, either at their request or on his own initiative.[19] His knowledge of Scripture was what earned him the trust and respect of the powerful of his day and age; in the long run, it enabled him to survive all political setbacks. Throughout the rebellions of the early 830s he remained staunchly loyal to Louis; with a similar conviction he publicly recognised Lothar as his father's legitimate successor. This meant that in 842 he had to step down as abbot of Fulda, but five years later he was made archbishop of Mainz, wielding greater authority than ever.

The usual title of Hraban's treatise, *On Honouring One's Parents*, is misleading.[20] Modern historians have therefore presented this text as a treatise on filial obedience.[21] Hraban's pupil Rudolf of Fulda called it a consolation letter, written after Louis had been struck by disaster, and so it was, for Louis must have found some comfort in Hraban's systematic and effective attack on the legitimacy of the public penance he had submitted to in 833. That the abbot of Fulda came to the rescue must have meant real support. The treatise culminated in a passionate plea for forgiveness, however, urging the emperor that he would completely reconcile himself with his rebellious eldest son. Lothar had already submitted himself to his father in Blois in August 834, but relations remained tense, to say the least.

This was the background to Hraban's intervention, which he called 'a treatise in twelve chapters'. Each chapter has an extensive heading, intended as a quick guide to its contents. The treatise starts with a full list of the chapter headings, followed by a prefatory poem for Louis. In each chapter, the author followed the order of the biblical books, starting with Genesis and ending with the letters of the Apostles, although for some topics he only drew on either the Old or the New Testament. Occasionally, authoritative texts from Late Antiquity were included, such as Orosius, Augustine, Ambrosiaster and a decree of Pope Innocent I, but the majority of Hraban's material consisted of 'the teachings of divine

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[19] De Jong, 'Empire as *ecclesia*'; de Jong, 'Exegesis for an empress'.

[20] *De honore parentum et subiectione filiorum*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* V, nr. 15, pp. 403–15. The only manuscript is Paris, BnF, lat. 2443 fols. 13–29 (s. IX).

[21] Kasten, *Königssöhne*, p. 210; Boshof, *Ludwig*, p. 204; Booker, *Past Convictions*, pp. 236–7; for a balanced impression of what the work is all about, see Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 192–3; more extensively, de Jong, 'Hraban as mediator'.

law', as he called this in a prefatory poem addressed to the emperor.[22] The treatise was composed as a legal opinion against the verdict of bishops and magnates who in 833 had legitimated Lothar's succession.[23] First, Hraban (c. 6) mustered Deuteronomy on the duties of judges and magistrates (Deuteronomy 16:18–20), followed by a long series of other Old Testament texts on the horror of those who dispensed justice in a fraudulent manner. Clearly his intent was to discredit anyone, bishops or secular magnates, who had deemed Louis guilty. Most of his ammunition against this miscarriage of justice came from the prophets: Zachary, Jeremiah, Isaiah ('Woe to them that make wicked laws: and when they write, write injustice', Isaiah 10:1), and Ezekiel. A New Testament sequel to this dossier (c. 7) argued the same point, but with an even narrower focus on what had actually happened: the verdict against Louis had been reckless (*temerarius*), and this was not how justice should be done. Hraban then decisively countered the charge that Louis had committed homicide (c. 8). Neither in the works of the holy fathers nor in Scripture itself was there any mention of emperors, kings, or others charged with maintaining secular order, who, upon having suppressed a rebellion or passed a death sentence, had been condemned by a synodal decree or by the verdict of bishops. In other words, what happened in 833 was an unwarranted and dangerous break from a tradition.

Yet the crux of Hraban's argument was that Louis' public confession in Soissons in 833 should have merited forgiveness, rather than punishment, and the message was driven home by Old Testament repertoires of identification familiar to everyone, for they were the great and good of sacred history: Moses, David, Job, Jeremiah and Daniel:

See how the law-giver [Moses], offering humble prayers for the people and calling upon the just merciful judge, merited forgiveness for his sins. Likewise also the King and Psalmist [David] . . . acknowledged his sins. And yet he did not lose his kingdom because of it, and immediately and truthfully gained redemption, and established himself and his sons on the throne forever. Prophets as well declared to have sinned and committed iniquities together with their people and merited to be heard sooner by God, and obtained an angelical pronouncement.[24]

For this special occasion, Hraban gathered a legal dossier comprising biblical texts, as other ninth-century clerics did as well.[25] The structure was that of the *sacra pagina*: Old and New Testament texts were separately

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[22] *De honore parentum*, p. 405.
[23] Chapters 6–9 all deal with the judicial measures taken against Louis.
[24] *De honore parentum*, c. 9, p. 413.
[25] For example Jonas of Orléans' treatise on ecclesiastical property 838, *Epistola concilii Aquisgranensis ad Pippinum regem directum, MGH Conc.* II/2, ed. A. Werminghoff (Hanover, 1908), pp. 724–46.

presented, supplemented by canonical texts from the *patres*. Hraban may even have been successful in his mission to reconcile father and son, for it seems that towards the end of his life, Louis attempted to bring about a reconciliation.[26] In any case, he must have had his own Old Testament repertoires of identification, even though we know nothing about these. His son Lothar is a different matter: he wrote to Hraban that Joshua, like himself, had fought many battles, and requested a commentary on this biblical book.[27] Hraban dealt with a royal audience that was knowledgeable and critical, and tried to live up to this. Through the prism of such expectations, the biblical literacy of Carolingian kings and their entourage can be glimpsed.

The fathers who preceded us: Dhuoda

Dhuoda was married to the (in)famous Bernard of Septimania, the emperor's godson and chamberlain, who in 830 was accused of adultery and incest with the Empress Judith. In 841–3 she wrote her celebrated *Liber manualis*, a handbook of moral advice, for her eldest son William.[28] The latter had commended himself to Charles the Bald at the behest of his father, in the aftermath of the battle of Fontenoy (25 June 841). Given Bernard's disloyalty to Louis and Charles in Aquitaine in 838/9, and his withdrawal from Fontenoy, this was a strangely daring bid for royal favour. Nithard's extraordinarily hostile portrait of Bernard revolves around the man's utter infidelity. In Nithard's view, the king was nothing short of credulous by giving him another chance.[29] This was what Dhuoda was up against, when she addressed her son. At the time she was in the south, far away from both her husband and sons, minding the family's estates in Uzès.

Much has been made of Dhuoda's motherhood, and of the private and even intimate nature of her advice to her son. Recently, however, it has been argued that the *Liber manualis* was not just meant for William, but also for a wider audience at Charles' court, and possibly with the king himself in mind. Janet Nelson has suggested that Dhuoda wrote for the wider group of *aulici*, the young men at the palace, 'to stimulate their

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[26] Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici*, c. 55, p. 506.

[27] Hrabanus Maurus, *Epistolae*, no. 38, p. 475; cf. de Jong, 'Empire as *ecclesia*', pp. 211–12; de Jong, 'Old law', p. 166.

[28] The literature on Dhuoda's *Liber manualis* is vast. On the work in its cultural context, see McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 223–7; on Dhuoda as an author and a political agent, Nelson, 'Dhuoda'; Nelson, 'Dhuoda on dreams'; le Jan, 'Dhuoda ou l'opportunité du discours féminin'.

[29] Nithard, *Historiae*, III, c. 2, pp. 82–4.

service to the *res publica*, and their devotion to the Carolingian dynasty'.[30] In Régine le Jan's view, Dhuoda wrote in defence of her husband, and probably at his command, conveying the message that kings should only be obeyed if they were just. This message was personal as well as public, for she associated herself with the public power of her husband.[31] These two possibilities need not exclude each other. By proxy, Dhuoda herself had a public position, as the spouse of a public office-holder and the mother of a son meant to become one. For all her protestations that she was only a woman, this was a sophisticated and ambitious work, in which she adopted the high-minded mode of admonition that had prevailed at the court of Louis the Pious.[32] By doing so, she inserted herself into an authoritative public discourse, even though she did so emphatically from a vantage point that lay outside the public arena. Yet as her son's admonisher (*ortatrix*)[33] she addressed problems that troubled those who were in the middle of it: how to conduct oneself as a public figure with an office that demanded potentially conflicting loyalties, forcing one to choose between God, one's father and one's king? How could one avoid, amidst persistent political turbulence, what Dhuoda called the 'madness of infidelity' (*infedilitatis vesania*)?[34] These were not merely theoretical issues, for Bernard would be executed on Charles' orders in 844 for repeated disloyalty, and in 850 William was killed in Barcelona for the same reason.[35] But when Dhuoda wrote her *Liber manualis* all this was still in the future.

Dhuoda knew her way around Scripture, and often referred explicitly to individual books. This was not unusual in contemporary biblical commentary, but Dhuoda did it so often and systematically, that one suspects it was part of her didactic purpose. She also explicitly distinguished between the Old and the New Testament, and exhorted her son to peruse all the books contained in both, so he might find wisdom.[36] In monastic as well as lay devotion the Psalter held pride of place, but apart from this, there is no reason to believe that she preferred the Old Testament over the New,[37] or that she saw the religious experiences of the Old Testament as a 'shared family experience', rejecting allegory.[38]

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[30] Nelson, 'Dhuoda', p. 120.   [31] Le Jan, 'Dhuoda', pp. 126–8.

[32] De Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 112–47. *Admonitio* is the main mode of address in the first four books of the *Liber manualis*.

[33] *LM*, I, c. 7, p. 114.   [34] *LM*, III, c. 4, p. 15.

[35] Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 139–40, 161; *Annales Bertiniani* s.a. 844, p. 57; s.a. 850, p. 69.

[36] *LM*, IV, c. 4, p. 214: *et volumina librorum in Veteris et Novis Testamenti scripturarum perscrutaberis seriem, et lecta opere compleveris digno, requieset super te spiritus sapientiae.*

[37] As claimed by Thiebaux, *Dhuoda*, p. 10.

[38] See Mayeski, *Dhuoda*, who takes Origen as a none too obvious model for comparison.

She had an Augustinian perspective, mainly based on the *Enchiridion* and the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* with its in-depth treatment of faith, hope and love, and agreed with both St Paul and Augustine that *caritas* was the greatest of them all. She often drew upon Paul, whom she called the *apostolus*; her main source for Gospel truth was Matthew, and to a lesser extent John. All this is not surprising, and neither is the omnipresence of the Psalms, for around these the prayer regime of religious communities revolved at the time, as well as the devotions of the Carolingian lay elite and the rulers themselves.[39]

Dhuoda's prose was written for an audience that already had far more than a basic knowledge of Scripture, and this included her son William. Her approach to the biblical text is reminiscent of contemporary exegesis, which tended to elucidate the meaning of a given passage by citing others, often from an entirely different context. Thus she effortlessly lifted a half-sentence from a diatribe against fornicating priests in Osea 4:18 (*peccata populi comedentes*, 'they eat the sins of the people') and joined it to the Gospel verse on the power of the keys bestowed on the Apostles (Matthew 18:18), turning all this into a defence of the authority of bishops.[40] Some scholars have seen this as Dhuoda mixing up her biblical references, but in fact she made associative and allegorising connections between Old and New Testament texts, while presenting herself as an author who made specific choices in order to drive a point home. Although we are small and exiled, Dhuoda wrote, and not to be counted among the number of the magnates or compared to them, according to the admonition of the Old Testament we have to follow the example of the twelve Patriarchs, carrying our scrolls in front of us, and to be like the six-winged creatures with eyes in the front or the back. Just in case her readers would not get the point, she later returned to it, explaining that these patriarchs and creatures signified the virtues within us, who were striving upwards, to return to their origins and be with God.[41] This is a creative use of Scripture that is also remarkably self-referential. From whom and what did she feel exiled? Perhaps this was not only from her family, but also from the royal court, where she had once been at home; she and Bernard had been married there in 824.

Clearly, her son needed to hold his own in a court culture in which an above average knowledge of Scripture was a prerequisite. It was part

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[39] *LM*, 'Introduction', pp. 33–7; Nelson, 'Dhuoda on dreams', with an in-depth treatment of Dhuoda's use of Psalm 75 (pp. 47–8).

[40] *LM*, III, c. 11, pp. 190, 192.

[41] *LM*, IV, 1, pp. 202–4; the texts cited are Exodus 28:29, 39:14; Apocalypse 1:1; Exodus 13:9; Deuteronomy 6:8, 11:18. Riché comments that Dhuoda must have derived this from some patristic treatise, but why would she?

of the life of those who aspired to be part of the real elite, namely the counsellors with direct access to the ruler. Dhuoda clearly expected her son to become one of the *consiliarii*, and one who would not, 'as many do', judge and despise clerics who did not live up to their dignity.[42] He should refrain from blaming others, being mindful of King David's penance. In this particular context, Old Testament narratives took precedence, for these helped to exemplify and explain the relations of a counsellor-to-be with the powerful men and women in the royal household. Joseph, above all, embodied two qualities Dhuoda wished to see in her son, namely obedience to his father and fidelity to his lord. He had allowed himself to be incarcerated and tormented, all for his father Jacob, but then he became the 'highest counsellor and the interpreter of the language of dreams' and first in rank in the *aula regalis*, ruler and saviour of the Egyptians.[43] Before his downfall in 830, this had briefly been Bernard's position in Louis' court; whether Dhuoda was at his side at the time is unknown, but it is not impossible. In the subsequent section on the *fides* William owed to his lord (*senior*), Charles, the art of giving royal counsel predictably becomes even more prominent, and so does the relevant Old Testament testimony, referred to by Dhuoda as the 'sayings and lives of the holy fathers who precede us': here William could read what it required to be truly loyal to one's lord, for there was plenty he could find in 'the Books of Kings and of the other fathers'.[44] This is then elaborated in three further chapters on counsel and counsellors, in which an entire host of positive and negative Old Testament examples was invoked, with Joseph and Daniel serving as the epitomes of the good adviser to rulers, and Haman as that of the evil counsellor.[45]

When he urged Louis the German to scrutinise Scripture for examples of good governance, Hraban also referred to 'the fathers who preceded us'.[46] Like Dhuoda, he meant the patriarchs, kings, counsellors and other authoritative figures of the Old Testament. This expression conveys a strong sense of identification with a biblical history that was arguably in the past, but with strong connections with the present. *Patres praecedentes* had different inflections; on the one hand, these were the ancient Hebrews, but on the other, they were ancestors or forebears, albeit in the faith rather than by blood. The distance implied by the exegetical model of Israel as the 'earlier people' that had forfeited its status as the Elect,

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[42] *LM*, III, c. 11, p. 192.   [43] *LM*, III, c. 3, pp. 144–6.
[44] *LM*, III, 4, p. 150: *Lege dictas vel vitas sanctorum praecedentium patrum, et invenies qualiter vel quomodo tuo seniori debeas servire atque fidelis adesse in omnibus*; *LM*, III, c. 8, p. 168.
[45] *LM*, III, cc. 5–7, pp. 152–6.
[46] De Jong, 'Empire as *ecclesia*', p. 207; Hrabanus, *Epistolae*, 18, p. 422.

was bridged when Hraban and Dhuoda looked for authoritative images of leadership.

Radbert: prophetic voices

Dhuoda likened the 'anointed and prophets' of the Old Testament to the bishops (*sacerdotes*) of her own day and age.[47] For Radbert, the prophets played a different role: they were the ones who had spoken God's truth to the powerful, despite suffering opposition, exile and imprisonment. The second book of the *Epitaphium Arsenii*, a dialogue between three monks of Corbie that included Radbert himself as the narrator Pascasius, was written in the mid 850s.[48] By then the author had been deposed as abbot of Corbie, and was ready to be more outspoken about the unjust exile of his mentor Wala in the early 830s. Yet he wrote with much explicit hindsight, and with constant reference to his experiences at the time of writing (*hodie*), two decades after the events he discussed. His central message was that by refusing to heed Wala's warnings, the Carolingian leadership incurred a punishment by God that was ever increasing. Wala, nicknamed Arsenius by his monks, was an illegitimate member of the Carolingian dynasty; having enjoyed a prominent position at the court during the last years of Charlemagne's reign, he was forced to leave public life in 814 when Louis succeeded. He was tonsured and retreated to Corbie, a powerful monastery in northern France of which he eventually became abbot in 826, but remained politically active and got entangled in the rebellions against Louis; having followed Lothar to Italy in 834, he died two years later.[49] Not long after 836 his pupil and second-in-command Radbert wrote the first and more reticent book of his *Epitaphium Arsenii*.[50] The more explicit second book in which he dealt at length with the era of rebellion and Wala's role in it, he only added once he had retired from the abbacy of Corbie, under internal and external pressure.[51]

Like Hraban, Radbert was an expert biblical commentator. Both had entered religious life as children: Hraban was raised in Fulda, while

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[47] Psalm 104:5: *nolite tangere christos meos et prophetas meos nolite adfligere*; see also I Paralipomenon 16:22; Dhuoda, *LM*, III, c. 11, p. 194, ll. 127–30.

[48] On the date of the second book, with references to older literature, see Ganz, 'Opposition', and de Jong, 'Familiarity lost', with a reconstruction of Radbert's biography. I am in the process of finishing a monograph based on this text, to appear as *Epitaph for an Era: Paschasius Radbertus and his Lament for Wala*, as well as a translation that will be published separately.

[49] Weinreich, *Wala*; this biography is almost entirely based on the *Epitaphium Arsenii*.

[50] On the first book, see Verri, 'Il libro primo', and de Jong, *Epitaph for an Era*, forthcoming.

[51] De Jong, 'Familiarity lost'.

Radbert spent his childhood in the nunnery of Wala's half-sister Theo-
drada in Soissons. Their outlook was a thoroughly monastic one.[52] Hav-
ing had Corbie's magnificent library at his disposal, Radbert was a highly
inventive and learned exegete with a remarkable training in classical
rhetoric. But he also resembled his contemporary Dhuoda, and the histo-
rian and military man Nithard, in his emphasis on the loss of true fidelity
in his own day and age. He presented Wala as a man who had embodied
the kind of loyalty (*fides*), to God and his earthly ruler, that had become
increasingly rare already when Wala was still alive, and even more after
his death.[53] Wala was the ideal royal counsellor of which both Dhuoda
and Nithard had outlined the characteristics. With the *Epitaphium*'s sec-
ond book, we move outside the monastic precincts, and into the world of
the court and its top echelon of counsellors with privileged access to the
ruler: the *consiliarii*, as Dhuoda called them, or the *senatores*, in Radbert's
and Hincmar's vocabulary.[54]

   A retrospective prophecy of divine vengeance is a central theme
throughout the second book: all the disasters that had been inflicted
on the realm originated in Wala's entirely unjustified exile in 831. In
order to drive this central point home, Radbert cast Wala as well as him-
self in the role of Jeremiah, the prophet of doom.[55] The outlines of this
are already in place in the first book, written shortly after Wala's death
in 836, but only in the second half of the work, retrospective prophecy
became the main principle for structuring the narrative. As in the biblical
book Jeremiah, the perspective is that of the prophet in exile who looks
back at the calamities that struck his people and himself. Of all the Old
Testament prophetical books, Jeremiah's gives most information about
the prophet's own dismal fate. At God's command, but without being
heard, he warned successive kings and their courtiers of the impending
doom, the Babylonian Captivity, that would spell the end of the remain-
ing Israelite kingdom of Judah in 587 BC. Jeremiah himself suffered from
this, not only while he was fruitlessly meting out his warnings and prophe-
cies – he was taken captive and thrown into a dungeon – but also when
the people that he directed his prophecies at was taken captive by Neb-
uchadnezzar. The prophet himself was exiled to Egypt, where he allegedly

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[52] De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 126–7, 180; on Hraban's oblation, *ibid.*, pp. 73–6.
[53] De Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 108–9 (Radbert on *fides*), pp. 97–102 (Nithard on *fides*).
[54] *EA*, II, c. 1, p. 61 (*imperator una cum suis senatoribus et proceribus terrae*); II, c. 1,
   p. 61 (*coram cunctis ecclesiarum praesulibus et senatoribus*); II, c. 5, p. 65 (*quid est quod
   tam inter summos ecclesiarum, praesulum videlicet et senatorum, consules, in senatu coram
   augusto consulte constanterque loquebatur?*); II, c. 9, p. 73 (*nimia dilectio senatorum et prae-
   sulum circa augustum et eius prolem*). See above, note 13.
[55] De Jong, 'Becoming Jeremiah'.

wrote his *Lamentations* and then died. Already in the mid 840s, Radbert had Jeremiah on his mind, for during this period he wrote a brilliant commentary on *Lamentations*.[56] Not only Wala was 'another Jeremiah', but by the time he wrote his second book, so was Radbert himself. Egypt served as a simile for the internal strife that beset the Carolingian polity. When Radbert learned of Wala's exile in 831 in a monastic refectory in Cologne, the lector was just reading from Isaiah 19:2: 'the Egyptians fought the Egyptians, and Egypt was disembowelled'.[57] This citation is different from the Vulgate text, so Radbert may have followed another version of Scripture, but more likely he cited from memory and subtly changed the text, something he did often. As in Dhuoda's case, it was familiarity with the biblical text rather than lack of knowledge that was behind such creative citations.

Jeremiah was the overarching figure that held the two books of the *Epitaphium* together. For obvious reasons, the prophet lent a voice of biblical authority to both Wala and Radbert. This belongs to a more general pattern which connects *admonitio* and preaching; good examples are the bishops who in 833 collectively assumed the guise of the prophet Ezekiel. As 'watchmen of the house of Israel' they had the duty to warn and correct sinners (Ezekiel 3:17–19, 33:7–8).[58] One is also reminded of the ease with which Dhuoda transformed prophets into bishops. Yet Radbert's identification with Jeremiah served a more specific purpose, which was not necessarily a part of mainstream episcopal discourses in the ninth century. By emphatically identifying with Jeremiah, Radbert claimed the licence to speak truth to power, as the prophet had done. Apparently he did so with no holds barred, but in fact his rhetorical strategies were highly sophisticated, and based on the understanding that his audience would recognise this mode of address and would make allowances for his frankness.[59] As Irene van Renswoude has shown, the key element in early medieval versions of classical and late antique frank speech (*parrhesia*) was the voice of the prophet, that is, the divinely inspired outsider who warned kings and peoples of God's displeasure and impending wrath, raising his voice time and again at his own personal risk.[60] In his second book, Radbert went fully into prophetic mode, presenting Wala

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[56] Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in lamentationes*; cf. Matter, 'Lamentations commentaries'.

[57] *EA*, I, c. 8, p. 33: *Concurrent Aegyptii adversus Egyptios, et disrumpetur Aegyptus in visceribus suis*. Cf. Isiah 19:2: *et concurrere faciam Aegyptios adversum Aegyptios et pugnabit vir contra fratrem suum et vir contra amicum suum civitas adversus civitatem regnum adversus regnum*.

[58] De Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 114–18.

[59] Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, pp. 196–208; de Jong, *Epitaph for an Era*.

[60] Van Renswoude, 'Licence to speak', pp. 313–17.

and himself as outsiders who had risked their lives for the well-being of their rulers, and citing an entire array of biblical martyrs who had fearlessly resisted kings: John the Baptist, Elijah, Elisha, Zachary, Isaiah and Jeremiah.[61] Such eloquent outsiders could be dangerously influential, even though they were jailed, exiled and removed from the political arena: 'For John, tied up in jail, was also much feared.'[62] The *Epitaphium*'s second book was not just an apology for Wala and, indirectly, for Radbert himself, but it also contained an implicit threat against those who had driven them out of the corridors of power. Now that Wala had been given a posthumous voice, those who continued to ignore him would do so at their peril.

Conclusion

The three authors I have briefly discussed had all imbued the ethos of the court-connected Carolingian leadership. Fidelity (*fides*) to God and their royal lord and the duty to speak out for the public good were at the heart of the norms by which they lived. They expressed and articulated these basic values by invoking a barrage of biblical texts. Mostly these were from the Old Testament, for this provided human histories that were similar to the political turbulence of their own day and age. Although these were sacred narratives, coloured by their potential spiritual meaning, their *sensus historicus* also remained of vital importance, for the latter offered multiple repertoires of identification that were intensively mined and used. The *patres precedentes* of the Old Testament referred to by Hraban and Dhuoda were the authoritative leaders of a people who had been God's elect; their actions and decisions were observed avidly, without there being any claim that the Franks had fully succeeded these predecessors.

Except for the dedicatory poem for Louis in which he professed his loyalty to the emperor, Hraban remained outside his own text, as he should in a legal dossier meant to demolish the bishops who had imposed a public penance on Louis. In this respect he differed from Dhuoda and Radbert, who were very much present in their own narrative, to an extent that seems to be a relatively new phenomenon.[63] Both wrote after

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[61] *EA*, II, c. 15, p. 82.
[62] *EA*, II, c. 12, p. 79: *Nam et Iohannes in carcere religatus pertimescur.*
[63] The one earlier example is Einhard's *Translatio sancti Petri et Marcellini*. Cf. de Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 159–65, with references to earlier literature. Nithard's *Historiae* is another case in point, left out here because of lack of space; cf. Nelson, 'Public histories', and Airlie, 'The world, the text and the Carolingian'; de Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 96–102.

the disastrous battle of Fontenoy in June 841, and both had become distanced from a political establishment of which they once had been prominent members. Their position was precarious; their assessment of the moral failures of their age was uncompromising. Yet the personal experiences they included in the *Liber manualis* and the *Epitaphium* were also eminently public ones, not just because they revolved around the public domain, that is, the king and court, but also because the authors in question perceived themselves as the guardians of public duty and responsibility. In order to get this across to a like-minded audience, they spoke with a biblical voice, and most of all, with the voice of the Old Testament, which offered so many recognisable stories of leadership, good and bad.

6 Biblical past and canonical present: the case of the *Collectio 400 capitulorum*

Sven Meeder

'The Sacred Scripture consists of the Old Law and the New', wrote Isidore of Seville in *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, referring to the books of the Old and the New Testament.[1] With his use of the word 'law', Isidore forcefully affirmed the inherently normative character of the whole of the Bible and the classification of *lex* for the Bible is found throughout the works of Christian writers of the patristic period. It is a demonstration of the fact that the study of Scripture and the study of religious law were intertwined; both were aimed at the further elucidation of the law of God. Yet, despite its status as the prime legal source for divine law, the Bible was notably absent in works of canon law in the centuries surrounding Isidore's lifetime. Instead, canonical tradition was dominated by the acts of councils and synods and the letters of popes. The main works of canon law throughout the period were exclusively made up of texts from these genres.

It was not until the first decades of the eighth century that the corpus of authoritative sources in canonical texts was supplemented with other Christian texts, including biblical material. The first canon law collection to include this new material in an organised fashion was the Irish *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, but continental compilations followed quickly. The number of biblical citations in the seventh-century Frankish collection known as the *Collectio Vetus Gallica*, for instance, increased more than tenfold with the last redaction at the monastery of Corbie in the second quarter of the eighth century.[2] This new-found prestige of the Bible in legal matters continued in the Carolingian age, culminating in the famed exegete Hraban Maur declaring the Bible, and in particular the *vetus lex*, that is, the Old Testament, to be the prime legal authority.[3]

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[1] Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, I.11; translated by Knoebel, *Isidore of Seville*, pp. 33–4.
[2] Meens, 'Uses of the Old Testament', p. 70.   [3] See de Jong, 'Old law'.

The decision to incorporate novel (biblical or patristic) sources or attributions in legal works has been viewed traditionally in terms of (changing) attitudes towards authoritative weight. The presence or absence of certain sources or genres in this view is thought to reflect the level of authority these sources were awarded by medieval legal scholars; different strategies within different texts or by different scholars must thus reflect conflicting perceptions of canonical authority.[4] Justification of this viewpoint is found in numerous early medieval writings. The conflicts between the Irish monk Columbanus and the Frankish bishops can be seen to reveal a difference of opinion between the two parties as to where authority lay.[5] In a letter to a synod in 602 or 603 Columbanus argued that the supreme *canones* must be the Bible. Centuries later, in his letter to Breton bishops, Pope Leo IV (847–55) rejected the use of a collection of canon law that included patristic sources. In fact, Leo stated that the authority of the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana* negated canons from collections including writings of Church Fathers,[6] firmly placing this discussion in the frame of a hierarchy of authority.

At the same time, however, recent scholarship has come to recognise that the main aim of compilers of canonical collections was not the accumulation of all authoritative texts. The enormous number of different collections of canon law, and the many variations between recensions and copies of the collections now known under one name, not only confirm the intense interest in canon law of early medieval scholars, but also demonstrate that their interest may not have lain in achieving the combination of all the available authoritative texts on a certain topic. The many humble and sometimes downright obscure compilations do not testify to a drive for a definitive canonical textbook. Recent historical research has recognised that canon law collections in the early Middle Ages were not viewed as single authoritative works to be held in every library, but were copied, composed and redacted to fulfil rather more complex and varied functions at a given place and time.[7] The act of writing down, or re-writing, legal works was an essential element of the process of *Normbildung* itself, a term helpfully signifying both the construction as well as the learning of norms and standards. These canonical norms are formed not only by their translation in individual rules or laws, but also by the arrangement, re-writing or exclusion of such rules, or their placement in

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[4] See Meens, 'Uses of the Old Testament', pp. 67–9.   [5] Stancliffe, 'Columbanus'.
[6] Leo IV, *Epistola* 16, *Ad episcopos Britanniae*, pp. 593–6. It is thought that the collection described by the Breton bishops may be the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*: see Flechner, 'Libelli et commentarii aliorum'.
[7] See on this topic Firey, 'Codices and contexts'; and Firey, 'Mutating monsters'.

the vicinity to other rules in the same text.[8] This exercise is particularly evident in the act of compilation of canonical collections.

In this light it is worthwhile to study the choices made in canonical collections without regarding these exclusively in terms of differing views on authority. The use of biblical material in collections of canon law arguably reflects more than the inclusion of passages from what was thought to be the highest legal authority. A more discerning view of the role of the Bible in a legal compilation is suggested by the selective use of biblical decrees. In this chapter, I should like to look more closely at the biblical presence within a little-known, modest collection of canons: the *Collectio 400 capitulorum*.

The *Collectio 400 capitulorum* and its organisation

The *Collectio 400 capitulorum* (hereafter *Collectio 400*) is an inconspicuous, largely unknown, systematically arranged collection of religious and ecclesiastical rules. It survives in only three manuscripts from the first half of the ninth century: two originating from southern Bavaria and one from southern France.[9] The collection is clearly a product of the developments in the eighth century: in addition to papal decretals and synodal acts, its sources include rather more pastoral papal letters, including the Gregorian *Libellus responsionum*, patristic writings, fragments from other canonical collections (especially the *Collectio Sanblasiana*), precepts from penitential handbooks (including the *Iudicia Theodori*), passages of secular Roman law, canons from the Irish tract *Synodus II S. Patricii*, as well as citations from the Old and the New Testament.[10]

The date and origin of this collection's compilation is unclear. The youngest datable source of the collection appears to be an otherwise unknown letter from Pope Sergius (687–701), who is mentioned by name in two chapters. This indicates that the collection was put together sometime in the eighth century or after.[11] The three manuscript witnesses of

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[8] Thier, 'Dynamische Schriftlichkeit'.

[9] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4592; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 522, both from Bavaria; and Paris, BnF, lat. 2316. Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform,* pp. 162–4, 262, 283; see Kéry, *Canonical Collections,* pp. 163–4. A fourth manuscript, containing only the preface to the collection, was destroyed in the Second World War: Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, lat. 236 (perhaps Rhine region, *saec.* viii/ix), see *Speculum* 29 (1954), 337; the last detailed description of the manuscript is by Seckel, 'Benedictus Levita', pp. 410–12. In this essay, citations from the *Collectio 400* are taken from Munich, Clm 4592 unless otherwise indicated.

[10] Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen*, pp. 842–6.

[11] Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen*, p. 846. This *terminus ante quem non* is supported by the use of the various redactions of Archbishop Theodore's *Iudicia*, which are roughly

the *Collectio 400* were written in the first half of the ninth century, which establishes a *terminus post quem non* for the text's composition some time in the first decades of the ninth century. There is, however, a conjectural indication for an earlier date in the absence of influence from other prominent canonical texts. The *Collectio 400* lacks apparent connections with the *Collectio Vetus Gallica*, which became particularly influential following its redaction at Corbie in the second quarter of the eighth century.[12] There are, similarly, no direct signs of influence from the important canon law collections known as the *Dionysio-Hadriana*, or even from the Irish *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, dating from the first quarter of the eighth century, although, in the case of the latter, the *Collectio 400* seems to draw from an earlier, shared source text. The absence of discernible influence of the works of Bede on this collection may also argue for a date closer to the *terminus ante quem non*. Assertions about the collection's origin also remain speculative, but the two Bavarian manuscript witnesses, as well as the clear influence of insular sources, suggest that the collection was conceived in southern Germany in an environment with access to a large number of insular texts in the first half of the eighth century.[13]

The systematically arranged *Collectio 400* differs from chronologically arranged collections, such as the *Dionysiana* and the *Hispana*, which present the canons of councils and synods, usually in their entirety, in their original order and context. Instead, the canons in the *Collectio 400* are arranged within thematic chapters, each under a descriptive heading. Some chapters consist of only one ruling from a particular source, but others include as many as five different canons from as many different sources.

Systematic canonical collections are the impressive products of legal scholars with acute analytical minds and with access to a wide range of authoritative texts. Their advanced method involves the innovative notion that authoritative and normative texts, such as papal decretals and synodal acts, need not be transmitted intact but can be mined for individual rules and passages, which may be presented outside their original context.[14] In addition, the presentation of different canons on similar

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contemporary. Other canons use passages from the so-called '*Vetus Gallica*-version' of the Irish *Synodus II S. Patricii*, which are recently dated sometime in the early years of the eighth century: see Meeder, 'Text and identities'. Hubert Mordek dated the collection to the eighth century at the earliest, or the first half of the ninth century at the latest: see Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform*, p. 162.

[12] On the compilation of the Corbie redaction of the *Vetus Gallica*, see Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform*, pp. 86–96.

[13] See Fournier, 'De l'influence de la collection irlandaise', 40–1; see also Reynolds, 'Unity and diversity', p. 111.

[14] On the important stage in the development of Western legal thought represented by the systematically arranged canonical collection, see Flechner, 'Problem of originality'.

topics in combination with thematic headings and tables of contents constitutes an important improvement aiding the practical, easy-to-find application of canon law.

Although some crude systematic collections existed before the seventh century (notably the fifth-century *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* and the (now lost) precursor to the *Collectio Vetus Gallica*), the genre was championed by seventh- and eighth-century insular canonical scholars. The most important specimens are the collection of canonical and penitential prescriptions inspired by Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (d. 690) compiled by the *Discipulus Umbriensium* and, especially, the elaborate Irish collection known as the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, probably compiled in the first quarter of the eighth century.[15] The *Collectio 400* owes much to these insular innovations: it contains a large number of Theodorian canons, draws on the Irish canonical tract *Synodus II S Patricii*, and uses some of the same sources as the *Hibernensis*. Like the scholars responsible for the latter collection, the compiler(s) of *Collectio 400* included material from a previously untapped source, the Bible.

The arrangement of the *Collectio 400*, however, lacks the sophistication of the *Hibernensis*, resulting in an organisation of chapters within which modern commentators 'with the best will in the world' could find no system.[16] This must partly be due to the fact that the *Collectio 400* is somewhat lopsided: the first chapters contain much more material than the later ones. The earlier chapters often contain multiple canons within one thematic chapter, almost always from different sources. The collection appears to lose some of its sophistication as the text progresses, with chapters containing fewer canons and the order of chapters more often following the sequence of the source text.

The rules from and references to Bible verses are found especially in the first part of the collection, in the chapters with multiple canons. The 404 chapters of the *Collectio 400* contain roughly 120 verses or references to the Bible of which two thirds are taken from the Old Testament and one third from the books of the New Testament. Especially the first 85 chapters of the collection are dominated by the canons taken from the Bible, with many chapters exclusively containing biblical material. The heavy emphasis on the Bible at the beginning of the work is not accidental: it represents the importance of the biblical decrees within the larger legal framework reflected by the collection of canons. To be precise,

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[15] On both of these texts, and the underlying insular tradition, see Flechner, 'An insular tradition'.

[16] Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform*, p. 163 ('der Verfasser der Sammlung in 400 Kapiteln, bei der ein System beim besten Willen nicht zu ergründen ist'); see also Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen*, p. 844 ('Es wird von einer Materie ohne innere Begründung plötzlich zu einer andern übergesprungen').

the place of biblical decrees at the beginning of the work communicates the conviction that to consult religious law one must start with Scripture. The two prefatory paragraphs, as we shall see, both confirm and nuance this observation.

While systematic collections pull their canons out of their original context, it would be mistaken to assume that they are then presented as universal rules in isolation. In fact, one could argue that in early medieval society it is impossible to decontextualise biblical passages completely. No medieval scholar would have thought it possible to present biblical passages divorced from their original setting without the intended audience (be it clerical or lay people) recalling their contextual relationship within the Bible as a whole. In other words: biblical rules carried with them reflections of their biblical context, in particular their origin in biblical past. The duality of the Bible, as both a source of authoritative statements as well as a record of the past, is preserved in the *Collectio 400*. In what follows I shall argue that the memory of the biblical past looms large in the use of the Bible in a canonical collection. For a start, this implies a sense of chronology within a systematic collection, as demonstrated by the prefaces of the *Collectio 400*.

The old and the new

The collection opens with two short introductory prefaces: one under the title *Excerptio synodum* or 'selection from synods',[17] and three introductory canons under the heading *praefatiuncula*, 'short preface'. Assuming that the author of both paragraphs was involved in the compilation of the collection as a whole (and there is no reason to doubt this), the two texts are instrumental in attempting to ascertain his motives and methods. With the collection consisting exclusively of text passages copied from exemplars, the prefatory paragraphs (and the chapter headings) are, in effect, the only narrative elements formulated by the compiler himself. In most canonical collections, the awareness of this fact on the part of the compiler often results in extravagant attempts to compose a grandiloquent piece of prose, whose clarity often suffers accordingly. The present prefaces are no exception. Nevertheless, there is much information to be gleaned from these initial lines.

The *Excerptio synodum* seems to be aimed at explaining the objective of the collection and thereby justifying the method of the collection's compiler. This much is clear from its tone, which suggests some perceived

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[17] In Munich, Clm 4592 the heading reads *incipit excerptio* and in Paris, BnF, lat. 2316 *Haec sunt precepta quod Dominus precepit Moys[e] caput xxxviii*.

hostility towards the compiler; rather than the customary effusions of topoi about humility and inaptitude, the compiler here confronts the apparently anticipated critique head-on opening with the declaration: 'If anyone should criticise the excerptor or criticise the writer and polisher . . . '. The full text reads as follows:

Selection from synods

Lord and holy Father of Fathers: If anyone should criticise the excerptor or criticise the writer and polisher, who is standing in a sacred place, [know this:] He who reads [this], shall understand the Lord's conversation, and the canons of the holy apostles, and the five holy universal synods (and he finds the same things in the sixth holy synod): Nicaea with 318 bishops; and Silvester of the Roman church with 284; at Constantinople with 150; and Chalcedon with 330; and Ephesus with 200; of Ancyra; Caesarea; Gangra; Carthage; Sardica; Antioch; Arles with 600 bishops; Riez; Orange; Valence; Vaison under the supervision of bishops; Arles; and Agde; Orléans; and [the writings] of the holy bishops of the city of Rome: of Innocent, Sergius, Celestine; Leo; Gregory; and Siricius; of Bishop Augustine of Hippo. We have picked all sources on the basis of usefulness and of our need; those [rules] they upheld, we uphold according to the order of the highest priest.

The somewhat aggressive defence of the compiler's method thus is followed by a list of a number of ecumenical councils, local (Gallic) synods, some names of popes and that of the church father Augustine of Hippo.[18]

The description of the compiler as 'excerptor', 'writer', and 'polisher', draws attention to the essential acts of excerpting and redacting. This preface thereby emphasises the distinctive methodology of a systematic canonical collection, indicating that it was this novelty that was expected to encounter harsh criticism. The intention behind the compiler's methodology, he explains, is that the reader and user of the collection would form a better understanding of the authoritative texts, which include (or rather, begin with) *dominica sermocinatio*. This unfamiliar

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[18] *Si quis condempnet excerpentem aut contemnet cribrantem et limantem stantem in loco sancto; qui legit, intellegat dominicam sermocinationem, et canones sanctorum apostolorum, et sanctas uniuersales quinque synodus, et eadem in sancto sexto synodo invenit Niceam cccx et viii episcopis; et Silvestrum romanae ecclesiae cum cclxxxiiii; Constantinopolitano cum cl; et Calcidonensium cum cccxxx; et Effeseum cum cc; Anquiritanensium; Cesariensium; Gangrentium; Cartaginensium; Sardicensium; Antiocensium; Arelatensium cum dc episcopis; Reiensium; Arausicum; Valentineam; et Vasentium apud auspitium episcoporum; Araladentium; et Agatentium; Aurelianentium; et sanctorum episcoporum urbis Romae: Innocentii, Sergii, Caelestini, Leonis, Gregorii, et Syricii; Augustini episcopi Yppoliti. Omnes causas utilitatis et nostrae necessitatis carpsimus; quos susceperunt, suscipimus secundum iussionem summi sacerdotis*: Collectio 400, praefatio I (*Excerptio synodum*).

phrase can mean either 'Sunday's conversation' or 'the Lord's conversa-tion'. The textual context suggests that this constitutes a reference to the Bible: parallel to the other authorities named, it makes most sense as a reference to written text rather than speech and, in addition, the Bible would fit in well in a list of three main authorities: Bible, the canons of the apostles, and ecumenical councils and local synods.

To the authorities of which the compiler hopes to further the reader's understanding he adds patristic works, represented by Augustine, as suit-able works to join the usual suspects among canonical sources. It is in this context that we must read the somewhat odd statement that the excerp-tor is 'standing in a sacred place', that is, that he is a religious man. The compiler thus professes to be a scholar of religious learning and the work he introduces is as much concerned with the understanding of religious scholarship as it is with legal matters.

Following the by no means exhaustive listing of the various sources for the canons of this collection, the *Excerptio* briefly describes the rationale of the compiler's choices: 'We have picked all sources (*causas*) on the basis of usefulness and our need; those things they upheld, we uphold according to the order of the highest priest.'[19] The word *causae* can mean both 'subjects' or 'topics', as well as 'sources',[20] although in this case the latter meaning seems most appropriate, since topics do not uphold things, that is, rules, but textual 'sources' can. The double meaning, however, may have been intentional, touching on the two most important, and controversial, aspects of a systematically arranged collection: it reveals that the selection of sources and the selection of subject matter is at the discretion of the compiler, who introduces the novel criteria of 'necessity' and 'utility' for the selection process.

This does not mean that the compiler is not aware of the long tradition of canonical authorities. The largely chronological list of sources in the *Excerptio synodum* reveals a strong sense of history on the part of the compiler.[21] The collection at times includes short notices that testify to an appreciation of the (chronological) place of certain sources within canonical tradition. A case in point is chapter 59 on the dissolution of episcopal vows, which introduces canons drawn from the penitential of Theodore as *canones nouae*.[22]

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[19] All manuscript witnesses have *causas*. Therefore, this reading is to be preferred over a possible alternative: *causa* + genitive.

[20] For *causa* as 'source', see *OLD*; see Flechner, 'Problem of originality', 31, 39.

[21] On a related issue, the importance of the chronological representation of the develop-ment of canonical authority in Eusebius-Rufinus, see McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 232.

[22] *Collectio 400*, ch. 59 (as in Vienna, lat. 522). Paris, BnF, lat. 2316 has *canonum*, which may represent an incorrect expansion of an abbreviation for *canones novae*. Munich, Clm 4592 simply has *canones*.

A significant instance of this notion of a long tradition of canonical authority is found in chapters 39 and 40, on consanguinity and unlawful unions. It extends this canonical tradition very explicitly to secular texts, in this case extensive passages from two texts of Roman law: the Breviary of the *Sententiae Pauli* and the *Epitome Gai*. This use of Roman law in a work of religious legislation is a unique feature of the *Collectio 400* and the citation from the *Epitome Gai* in chapter 40 has raised special attention, since it is one of only two attestations of this particular late antique text in a medieval scholarly work.[23] The introduction of Roman law is put into context in a peculiar, short note following the heading of chapter 39, 'Concerning the seven degrees of consanguinity', which has a long passage from the *Sententiae Pauli*: 'Moses [described] the disgrace of consanguinity in a more complex way than the laws of Theodosius and the Romans.'[24]

This rubric explicitly connects Roman law with the law of Moses. Apparently, the compiler found the Mosaic rules complicated and he deemed the corresponding sections of a Roman legal tract less demanding and more suitable for inclusion in his collection of canons. He thereby implies that in essence the two authorities on this issue (one biblical, one secular) are interchangeable. He connects biblical law with Roman law, while arguing for the latter's orthodoxy (on this topic at least) and its capability to provide suitable elements to Christian legal tradition. At the same time, he raises the suggestion that the younger, Roman text is an improvement (at least stylistically) of the older, biblical text. In addition to the recognition of history and chronology, this sense of connectivity between older and younger elements of a canonical tradition is another feature of the collection and is explicitly brought up in the introductory paragraphs.

Opposition and unity

The awareness that canonical authorities replace, contextualise or respond to each other, rather than simply adding rules, is alluded to in the last lines of the first introduction. In character with the religious tone of someone 'standing in a sacred place', the *Excerptio* mentions the authority of the highest priest (*summus sacerdos*). This phrase is used by patristic and early medieval authors to refer to a variety of persons, such as the pope, or bishops in general, but here it most probably refers

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[23] The other is Regino of Prüm, *De Synodalibus Causis et Disciplinis Ecclesiasticis*, I. 429, p. 194.

[24] *Moses turpitudinem multiplicius consanguinitatis quam leges Theodosi et Romanorum*: *Collectio 400*, ch. 39 (Vienna, lat. 522 and Paris, BnF, lat. 2316; Munich, Clm 4592 now lacks the leaves that would have had these chapters).

to Christ. As Augustine explains in *De ciuitate Dei*: 'according to the order of Melchisedech, Christ is the highest priest'.[25] The use of the phrase *summus sacerdos* for Christ is significant, alluding to the order of Melchisedech of the New Testament, which superseded the order of Aaron of the Old Testament. This translation of priestly orders, Paul explained to the Hebrews, also meant a translation of the law.[26] This relationship between the law of the Old and the New Testament is the main theme of the following *praefatiuncula*.

This short preface reflects a typical chapter in the collection: it has three canons from various authorities under one heading, with the only anomaly that the third canon is not taken from a recognised authority but appears to be an independent composition of the compiler. The first two canons are from the Old and New Testament respectively, and as a result the *praefatiuncula* places the whole collection in a biblical context. In order to study the internal reasoning, it is worthwhile to cite the full text of the *praefatiuncula* here:[27]

These are the words and judgements, which the Lord commanded Moses and the sons of Israel to meditate *in their heart and their home and on the road, to bind as a sign in their hand and to hang between their eyes in sight of all living people*.[28]

In the Gospel: *that letter killeth, the spirit quickeneth*.[29]

Likewise, he who placed the gospel before Moses: the things that Moses [proclaimed] on death, the Gospels [proclaim] on penance. For, while protecting both, we shall be protected in heaven, because one God teaches unity to the protectors, that is what the canons of the evangelists and of the holy apostles, the bishops and the blessed patriarchs teaches to those coming after, and the Mosaic rule of those fearing God teaches first and foremost: *to love God*.[30]

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[25] *non enim ex genere carnis et sanguinis, sicut erat primum secundum ordinem aaron; sed, sicut oportebat in testamento nouo, ubi secundum ordinem melchisedech summus sacerdos est christus, pro cuiusque merito, quod in eum gratia diuina contulerit, sacerdotes et leuitas eligi nunc uidemus*: Augustine of Hippo, *De ciuitate Dei*, XX.21.

[26] Hebrews 7:12.

[27] *Haec sunt verba atque iuditia quae praecepit Dominus Moysi et filiis Israhel: in corde et in domo meditare et in itinere quasi signum ligare in manu, et inter oculos pendere in liminem cunctis viventibus.*

In evangelio: qua littera occidit, spiritus vivificat.

Idem ipse qui evangelio Moysi anteposuit: quae Moses in mortem, evangelia in poenitentia. Ergo ambis servantibus servemur in caelis, quia unus Deus unitatem servantibus, quod canones evangelistarum et apostolorum sanctorum episcoporum et beatorum patriarcharum subsequentibus, Deum timentium mosaica ratio in primis docet: Deum diligere: *Collectio 400 capitulorum* (*Praefatiuncula*).

[28] Cf. Deuteronomy 6:6–8.   [29] 2 Corinthinans 3:6.

[30] Cf. Deuteronomy 6:5 and Matthew 22:37 (the following chapter 1, 'On the confirmation of the affection for God', opens with Deuteronomy 6:5).

A suitable introduction to a legal collection, the *praefatiuncula* refers to Moses' lawgiving actions and the commandment to the people of Israel to remember and abide by them. It subsequently cites the infamous phrase in Paul's second letter to the Corinthians describing the relationship between the Old and the New Testament: 'that letter killeth, the spirit quickeneth'. There are two main interpretations of this passage. Firstly, this phrase is understood to signify the connection between the Old and the New Testaments, in which the 'letter' is the law of the Old Testament, which promises its readers only death, whereas the new covenant of the New Testament, as the fulfilment of the Old Testament, brings life.

A second interpretation pertains to the duality of literal and spiritual reading of Bible passages, in particular those parts of the Bible which seem out of place, obscure or immoral: the letter, or literal reading, in these instances brings carnal death, whereas the spirit, or reading according to a passage's figurative meaning, brings spiritual well-being and life. The latter interpretation is explained, among others, by Caesarius of Arles,[31] Alcuin[32] and, earlier, Augustine. Citing this Bible passage in *De doctrina Christiana*, Augustine warned against reading passages from the Bible too literally and, instead, encouraged the spiritual reading, that is, according to its figurative meaning: 'There is a miserable servitude of the spirit in this habit of taking signs for things, so that one is not able to raise the eye of the mind above things that are corporal and created, to drink in eternal light.'[33] In a sermon, Augustine links this specifically with the law, commenting that the spirit is necessary for adherence to the law. With the number '10' standing for the Law of the old covenant and the number '7' for the Spirit, Augustine instructs: 'Therefore join seven with ten, if you want to fulfil justice.'[34]

In this same *praefatiuncula*, the compiler brings this reasoning into practice by presenting the instruction from the Old Testament with a passage

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[31] *Frequenter ammonui caritatem vestra, fratres dilectissimi, ut his lectionibus, quae diebus istis in ecclesia recitantur, non hoc tantum adtendere debeamus, quod ex littera sonare cognoscimus, sed remoto velamine litterae vivificantem spiritum fideliter requiramus. Sic enim dicit apostolus: littera occidit, spiritus vivificat. Denique infelices iudaei et plus infelices haeretici, dum solum litterae sonum aspiciunt, ita sine vivificante spiritu mortui remanserunt; nos audiamus apostolum dicentem, quia haec omnia in figura contingebant illis, scripta sunt autem propter nos*: Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, 83.

[32] *Quod itaque in veteri lege sal praecipitur in victimis habendum, significatio tunc fuit futurae rei intellegendae, non observatio in praesenti tempore habendae; sicut omnia Iudaicae legis sacrificia, quae iuxta apostolum in figura contingebant illis, scripta sunt autem propter nos. Littera enim occidit, spiritus autem vivificat*: Alcuin, *Epistola* 137 (798), pp. 211–12.

[33] *Ea demum est miserabilis animi seruitus, signa pro rebus accipere; et supra creaturam corpoream, oculum mentis ad hauriendum aeternum lumen leuare non posse*: Augustine of Hippo, *De doctrina Christiana*, 3.5.

[34] *Iunge ergo septem ad decem, si uis inplere iustitiam*: Augustine of Hippo, *Sermones*, 229M.

from the New Testament. It is not only a witness to the sense of history within the canonical material, it also allows the New Testament fragment to contextualise the Old Testament excerpt: it explains how to interpret the rules of the old covenant. It thereby underlines their relevance to contemporary Christians, supporting the inclusion of approximately eighty canons of Old Testament decrees in the *Collectio 400*. This combination of an Old Testament passage followed by a New Testament rule is, in fact, the arrangement of roughly the first forty chapters.

The third canon (not apparently drawing on a known authoritative text) confirms that to understand Old Testament rules properly, the combination with the New Testament, 'the spirit' according to Augustine, is instrumental. It explains anew the Pauline phrase that the Old Testament provides sanctions causing death, whereas the New Testament sanctions are in the context of penance, with the promise of (eternal) life. It furthermore emphasises the importance of adhering to both Testaments and seems to warn against those who prefer the New Testament and ignore or neglect the Old Testament: there is one God who teaches unity in one Bible.

The third canon in fact goes further and also stresses the unity with non-biblical authorities, referring to the bishops and blessed patriarchs, that is, councils and Church Fathers. This is a crucial addition expressly drawing recent and contemporary legal authorities into a tradition with the biblical past. The author of the third canon makes his point by positing that the unity of the Christian religious legal tradition lies within its central, shared command to love God, thereby introducing the first chapter of the collection.

The first two chapters substantiate the unity of legal tradition under this central command by emphasising the need to love God (chapter 1) and to love one's neighbour (chapter 2), adding, while citing Matthew 22:40, that on these two Mosaic commandments 'dependeth the whole law and the prophets'.[35]

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[35] *1 De confirmatione caritatis Dei*
   Moses: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota fortitudine tua. Hoc est maximum et primum mandatum, Dominus in evangelio confirmavit, secundum aut simile est huic.

   2 De amore confirmata proximi per deum
   Moses: Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum.
   Et in alio loco: nec decipiat unusquisque proximum suum nec loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium, nec concupisces uxorem proximi tui, non domum, non agrum, non seruum, non ancillam, non bovem, non asinum, et universa quae illius sunt.
   Quia in his duobus mandatis, dixit Ihesus, universa lex pendet et prophete: Collectio 400, chs. 1–2.

How this unity of legal tradition works in practice is demonstrated by the collection's employment of the various authoritative canons. As stated above, the *Collectio 400* testifies to greater sophistication in the earlier chapters and loses much of its complexity in the later chapters. This is evident in its somewhat lopsided nature: the first chapters contain much more material, that is, more canons from various sources per chapter, than the later ones. Similarly, in the later section the collection's arrangement of canons appears to follow the sequence of its sources. This is in stark contrast with roughly the first 100 canons, which show a greater diversity of sources and a great number of chapters with more than one canon.

This first section is also dominated most heavily by canons taken from and topics inspired by the Bible. The legal passages from the Old Testament here seem to set the agenda, but the urge to emphasise unity results in most chapters with Old Testament canon(s) also featuring a New Testament passage: the rules and guidelines from the new covenant explain and contextualise the Mosaic rules. These New Testament canons play varying roles in the chapters; they can simply confirm a Mosaic rule, nuance it, expand on it, or offer a new, more spiritual approach on the harsh penalties prescribed by Moses. In some cases, the New Testament is in conflict with the Mosaic passage, as is the case with chapter 12, which cites the instruction in Leviticus 19:18 to hate one's enemy as well as Christ's charge in Matthew 5:44–8 to love one's enemies and 'to do good to them that hate you'.[36]

The juxtaposition of antithetical authoritative passages is not unique to the *Collectio 400*: the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis* in fact dedicates a whole book to contradicting sources (*De contrariis causis*). In a recent article, Roy Flechner drew attention to parallels between the approach in this *Hibernensis* book and the established method of insular exegetes to place conflicting biblical passages side by side. As in such exegetical works, the combination of contradicting, or nuancing, authoritative religious rules in the canonical collections encouraged systematic argumentation by its users, insisting that the individual rules both adhere to a sovereign principle.[37] In the same vein, presenting conflicting or diverging canons from different authoritative texts confirmed the unity of religious law, dependent on one fundamental rule. The prime directive in the *Collectio 400* is explicitly presented in the *praefatiuncula*: to love God.

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[36] Other examples are chapter 13 (eye for an eye versus turning the other cheek); chapter 15 (on the (im)possibility of divorce).
[37] See Flechner, 'Problem of originality', 43–7.

The arrangement in the *Collectio 400* thus testifies to an awareness that authoritative rules taken from different genres form part of one canonical unity, as well as the recognition that these rules must be understood within a historical sequence. In the *praefatiuncula*, the compiler unreservedly extends this unity to non-biblical material, including not only the customary canonical authorities of synodal acts and papal letters, but also patristic and penitential works (and in the collection proper other material, such as Roman secular law, is equally included within this legal tradition). Biblical rules may thus be contextualised by non-biblical, patristic authorities. Chapter 19, 'Concerning blind gifts', provides an early example, featuring three canons: one from the book of Exodus, one from Daniel and one from Jerome's commentary on Matthew, followed by a seemingly casual interjection appealing to a collective memory of a biblical passage rather than a rule (introduced with '*recolite*').[38] Later in the collection, a rubric in chapter 41 acutely remarks that in the following excerpt of the *Libellus responsionum* Gregory was ultimately writing '*de Mose*', 'concerning Moses'.[39]

A handful of chapters feature such helpful rubrics, revealing the relation with other authorities and the unity of canonical tradition. A prefatory note in chapter 72 re-contextualises a passage in the *Libellus responsionum* on eating unclean food rather crudely by stating that 'Moses prohibits, the Lord allows'. Chapter 80 combines four canons from various penitentials, prescribing penances of differing lengths and severity for a variety of sexual offences. The heading added by the compiler stresses their unity, by cutting to the core: 'Concerning that the penance of both will be great.'[40] Where the agreement between different canons is often left implicit, such rubrics seem designed to press the message of unity home.

Biblical past and canonical tradition

It is significant that the first systematically arranged canonical collections added to this methodological innovation the introduction of canons from new, hitherto unused authoritative texts, including the Bible. In fact, the desire to include more authorities within legislative collections is arguably one of the motivations behind the innovation of the systematic collections. The *Collectio 400* subscribes to this phenomenon and accords biblical passages a central place within its legal framework. Yet, the writings and

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[38] *Collectio 400*, ch. 19.
[39] *Collectio 400*, ch. 41 (Vienna, lat. 522 and Paris, BnF, lat. 2316).
[40] *De penitentia amborum habundantur*: *Collectio 400*, ch. 80.

method of the compiler reveal that with the Bible he did not simply want to add another authority to the mix of canonical tradition. In fact, the biblical passages stand in a reciprocal relationship with the other cited canonical authorities: the biblical past serves to place canon law within the religious legal tradition stemming from the old covenant. In the same way, the law of the Old Testament was crowned and contextualised by the new covenant, the legal tradition of the councils and synods, of papal decretals, penitential instructions, and the writings of the Church Fathers. The *Collectio 400* places the canonical present squarely within an alternative canonical, and ultimately biblical, reality, and its users and readers within the imagined community centred on the Bible.

7   Divine law and imperial rule: the Carolingian reception of Junillus Africanus

Marianne Pollheimer

In the middle of the sixth century, Junillus Africanus,[1] a high-ranking judicial officer at the court of Justinian I, composed a handbook for biblical studies with the title *Instituta regularia divinae legis*, the *Handbook of the Basic Principles of Divine Law*.[2] Using his mother tongue Latin, Junillus wrote this work on the demand of the North African bishop Primasius. While the circumstances of its original production, its position within the changeable dogmatic developments of Christian doctrine in the sixth century and the influences from specific exegetical traditions on this work have been the main focus of modern scholars and the focus of debates until today[3], the context of the transmission of this text itself has received rather less attention, apart from the related questions of the reception of Cassiodorus' works and of Antiochene exegesis in the West.[4] There are, however, at least sixteen manuscripts dating from the eighth and ninth centuries, which transmit Junillus' *Instituta* either in their entirety, abbreviated, or as excerpts from specific chapters.[5] These

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[1] In the manuscripts the name is spelled 'Iunillus', 'Iunilus', 'Iunilius' or even 'Lunilius'; see Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, p. 223, n. 1; Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, p. 2, n. 4. I should like to thank Max Diesenberger, Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick and Walter Pohl for their comments on this chapter.

[2] The first critical edition of the text was published by Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, pp. 465–528; Kihn's edition with an English translation is provided by Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, pp. 118–235. John F. Collins published an edition and English translation online: www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/texts/junillus.intro.html. See also Ian Wood's contribution to this volume for Bede's exegetical techniques.

[3] Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsuestia*; Marotta Mannino, 'Gli Instituta di Giunilio'; Bienert, 'Die "Instituta Regularia"'; Bruns, 'Bemerkungen zur biblischen Isagogik'; Lössl, 'Review'; Becker, 'The dynamic reception'; Haelewyck, 'L'Apport des Instituta'.

[4] Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte', 222, 231–2, 238; Laistner, 'Antiochene exegesis'; O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, pp. 247–9; Barnish, 'The work of Cassiodorus', 168–9. For Cassiodorus, see also Désirée Scholten's contribution to this volume. Further studies beyond the scope of this chapter will be necessary, in order to assess the place of Junillus' *Instituta* within the broader tradition of Latin patristic exegesis and of early medieval biblical handbooks, especially those in the format of questions and answers.

[5] Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, pp. 299–311; Laistner, 'Antiochene exegesis'; Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, pp. 32–4.

manuscripts show that Junillus' text was known and used in a number of monasteries during the Carolingian period and throughout the Carolingian realm. Together with the royal courts and the episcopal sees, these monasteries were not only centres of monastic learning and liturgy, of biblical studies and cultural knowledge, but they were also important centres of political and economic power, administration and communication. They were the places where regal and imperial rule were to be implemented and from where the rulers' legislation was disseminated. Throughout the Frankish realm and beyond they formed a network that ensured the exchange of information, ideas and texts; they were a veritable hub where monastic and lay circles could converge, whether on a local level, or from different parts of the realm. They thus played an essential role in the exercise of political and spiritual power.[6] It is therefore interesting to see how a text that was composed at or in the environment of the imperial court of Justinian I was copied and used in the Carolingian period in places where there were similar interests in rulership, law and exegesis.

Junillus originally came from North Africa to Constantinople, where he was appointed to the office of *quaestor sacri palatii* in 542. His predecessor in that office was the famous lawyer Tribonianus, who was one of the decisive figures in Justinian's project to codify Roman law.[7] As a *quaestor sacri palatii*, Junillus acted as Justinian's chief legal minister and adviser, whose duty was to draft imperial legislation and handle petitions to the emperor; most notably he was engaged in the composition of the *Novellae*, the additional codifications of Justinian's law.[8] Junillus therefore knew very well the different parts of the *Corpus iuris civilis* and was strongly influenced by their structure, the clear divisions and the orderly arrangement when he composed his *Handbook*.[9] Junillus probably administered the office of *quaestor sacri palatii* until his death in 548 or 549. Procopius mentioned him in his *Anekdota*, where he characterised him as a poorly educated officer prone to bribery, and he ridiculed Junillus' modest legal skills as well as his imperfect Greek.[10] However, there were probably other motives behind this depiction of the *quaestor*, that had more to do with Justinian's rigorous regulation of the education system[11] or with the way he handled his imperial

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[6] De Jong, 'Carolingian monasticism'; de Jong, 'Charlemagne's church'; McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, esp. pp. 165–95; Riché, 'Les centres de culture'.

[7] Honoré, *Tribonian*; on Junillus esp. pp. 237–40.

[8] Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, p. 2; see also Humfress, 'Law and legal practice'.

[9] Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, p. 74.

[10] Procopius, *Anekdota* 20, 17, ed. Haury, p. 127.

[11] Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, p. 76; Maas, *John Lydus*, pp. 25, 114–15.

office.[12] We may assume that Junillus had at least a basic legal training, if not a thorough education as a lawyer, besides his interest in theological questions.[13] He was in contact with clerics in North Africa, such as Fulgentius of Ruspe and the deacon Ferrandus. The latter became a leader of the African bishops against Justinian's engagement in doctrinal questions in the Three Chapters controversy.[14] We do not have a lot of further information about Junillus, since, despite his high rank at Justinian's court, he did not distinguish himself much and is mostly known for the *Instituta regularia divinae legis*, which Cassiodorus knew and recommended in his *Institutiones* as a primer of biblical exegesis:

After reading this work, our first concern should be to consider introductory manuals to Divine Scripture that I previously found, i.e., Tyconius the Donatist, St. Augustine *On Christian Learning*, Adrian, Eucherius, and Junilius. I have acquired their works with great care, and have united and gathered them into one collection since they have a similar purpose. By arranging the rules of usage to elucidate the text, and by comparisons of various examples, they have clarified what was hitherto obscure.[15]

Cassiodorus' knowledge and his recommendation of the *Instituta* probably ensured the survival of Junillus' text in later times in the Latin West.[16] Indeed we find it in a couple of manuscripts combined with Eucherius of Lyon or part of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*. What made Junillus' book so suited as an introductory manual to the Bible and why was it so useful in Cassiodorus' eyes that he recommended it?

Junillus divided the *Instituta* into two books, starting the first one with the chapter 'De partibus divinae legis', which we can find as the title for the whole work in some of the manuscripts. These 'two parts of divine law' refer to the external form and language of the Bible on the one hand, and on the other to the meanings behind the words and to the things that

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[12] Cameron, *Procopius*, p. 231.   [13] See Honoré, *Tribonian*, p. 240.

[14] Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, p. 29 and pp. 60–4; Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Epistola* 7, c. 2, ed. Fraipont, p. 245.

[15] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I, 10, 1, ed. Mynors, p. 34: *Primum est post huius operis instituta ut ad introductores Scripturae divinae, quos postea repperimus, sollicita mente redeamus, id est Ticonium Donatistam, sanctum Augustinum* de Doctrina Christiana, *Adrianum, Eucherium et Iunilium; quos sedula curiositate collegi, ut quibus erat similis intentio, in uno corpore adunati codices clauderentur; qui modos elocutionum explanationis causa formantes per exemplorum diversas similitudines intellegi faciunt, quae prius clausa manserunt*; trans. Halporn and Vessey, *Cassiodorus*, p. 133. Cassiodorus' lost *Liber introductorius* contained Tyconius' *Liber regularum*, Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, Hadrianus' *Isagoge in sacras scripturas*, Eucherius of Lyon's *Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae* and Junillus' *Instituta* (Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, trans. Halporn and Vessey, p. 133, n. 142).

[16] Barnish, 'The work of Cassiodorus', 159–61; Bruns, 'Bemerkungen zur biblischen Isagogik', pp. 407–8.

are taught. Junillus structured his text mostly in short and concise statements, in the form of question and answer. He thereby applied a didactic style that is often found in pedagogical texts, catechetical treatises and especially texts used to teach the laws.[17] Each topic is systematically split up into subdivisions that are briefly explained and proved by examples from Scripture.

In the first book, the reader learns about the external form of Scripture, systematically divided into the elements of genre, authority, author, manner and order of the biblical books, which Junillus then methodically attributes to the respective subdivisions of these elements.[18] Next he turns to the main issues that Scripture teaches. The first one is about God: a large portion of the first book is dedicated to the nature of God, the Holy Trinity, how the Bible speaks about them and the difference between the three divine persons.[19]

The second book of the *Instituta* deals with Scripture's teachings about the present age and the future. As in the first book, we find the systematic division of each issue into smaller parts, going from more general to specific statements. The largest part of the second book concerns matters of the future. Junillus treats the questions of the acceptance or calling of individuals and peoples by God, the types, allegorical figures and foretellings that are found in the Old and New Testament, and their effects.[20] The final passage of the work returns to the catechetical and pedagogical purpose of the *Instituta*: for the question how rational beings are taught in the present age, Junillus refers to the starting point of the first book, the four different forms of Scripture: history, prophecy, proverbs and simple teaching.[21] He closes the *Instituta* with the affirmation that the Biblical books were written by divine inspiration and that faith is in any case necessary when people are unable to reason things through to the end, which means for those things people cannot embrace with reason.[22]

The most crucial part of the *Instituta* for us, however, deals with the governance of the world through divine law, representing the interface between the divine and secular spheres.[23] Starting with governance in general, Junillus refers to the laws of nature and of the cosmos, while particular governance is exercised by God on behalf of angels and humanity,

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[17] Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, p. 74; Papadoyannakis, 'Instruction by question and answer'.
[18] Junillus, *Instituta*, I, 1–10, ed. Maas, pp. 124–47.
[19] Junillus, *Instituta*, I, 11–20, ed. Maas, pp. 146–63.
[20] Junillus, *Instituta*, II, 14–25, ed. Maas, pp. 194–229.
[21] Junillus, *Instituta*, II, 26–8, ed. Maas, pp. 228–33.
[22] Junillus, *Instituta*, II, 29–30, ed. Maas, pp. 232–5.
[23] Junillus, *Instituta*, II, 1–13, ed. Maas, pp. 168–95.

by the angels on their own and humanity's account, and by humanity on its own account. God's governance of the world and the universe is carried out by lawgiving, at which point Junillus distinguishes between the laws of nature and the laws through works and words. The purpose of lawgiving was, however, to distinguish between good and evil, and it employed punishment and reward as a means of teaching.[24] The governance through human agency is further subdivided by the three types of people bearing responsibility:

Q: In how many modes does governance by humans for their own sake come to be? A: In three ways: for one person is concerned either on behalf of the state, as is the king, or for the household, as is the paterfamilias, or for his own personal sake, as is a monk of any sort or a pauper.[25]

To conclude the part about the present age, Junillus turns to the chances that affect nature and the will.

Q: . . . What is the will? A: It is an inviolable or spontaneous power of the mind through which diverse and contrary effects are produced, both tangible and intangible. Q: Does this power exist in us by nature, or spontaneously? A: We have within us the natural facility to distinguish good from evil, but the impulse to pursue good or evil once it has been distinguished is spontaneous. The law educates this impulse, of course, whereas divine grace prepares it, aids it, empowers it and crowns it.[26]

The language Junillus skilfully employs for his explanations is multi-layered. *Lex*, the law, refers on the one hand to the Bible, more specifically to the Old Testament, to the Ten Commandments promulgated by Moses and to the Pentateuch that was traditionally ascribed to Moses; Junillus refers in this sense to events that happened *ante legem* and *sub lege*, that is, before the law and under the law.[27] *Lex* can also comprise both Old and New Testament, as we may see in Junillus' examples. Furthermore, the divine law is obeyed by following the laws given by the king. *Lex* therefore included lawgiving by human rulers and secular lawgiving was inseparably intertwined with divine law.

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[24] Junillus, *Instituta*, II, 7, ed. Maas, pp. 182–5.
[25] Junillus, *Instituta*, II, 10, ed. Maas, pp. 188–9: *Δ Hominum propter se ipsos gubernatio quot modis fit? M Tribus: aut enim pro republica quis hominum satagit ut rex, aut pro domo ut paterfamilias, aut pro se ipso ut quilibet monachus vel egenus.*
[26] Junillus, *Instituta*, II, 12, ed. Maas, pp. 192–3: *Δ . . . Quid est voluntas? M Vis animi inviolata sive spontanea, secundum quam diversae atque contrariae cogitationes efficiuntur et opera. Δ Naturalis est in nobis ista virtus an spontanea? M Naturalis est in nobis quaedam boni malique discretio, spontaneus autem motus in his quae iam discreta exsequenda sunt. Ipsum lex quidem erudit, gratia autem praeparat, adiuvat, corroborat et coronat.*
[27] See de Jong, 'Old law', for the legal function of the Old Testament in the Carolingian period.

In the *Instituta*, Justinian's later chief legal adviser presented a biblical and exegetical foundation for the emperor's lawgiving. At that time, the controversies about true orthodoxy that had been going on already for more than a century were gathering momentum once more and the emperor forcefully intervened in these controversies. In his endeavour to unite his empire and to reconcile the different factions within it, he codified the law and issued new laws, he convened synods and he supported exegetical studies. His pursuit of unity also comprised the reform of the education system and the establishment of a Christian education.[28] Books like Junillus' *Instituta* were ideally suited to support these efforts. His focus on law and governance through lawgiving is conspicuous not only in the language he used, but also in his clear, systematic order and arrangement of the material; moreover, he addressed this topic explicitly in his second book.

Junillus dedicated the *Instituta* to Primasius, the bishop of Hadrumetum in North Africa.[29] According to his dedicatory letter, Junillus met Primasius when the latter came to Constantinople together with other bishops in order to settle issues in the interest of their province, most probably in 541/2.[30] The dedicatory letter presents the work as a Latin translation from the work of a certain Paul, a Persian educated in the Syrian school of Nisibis, which would place it in the context of the Antiochene exegetical tradition.[31]

Junillus composed his handbook when Emperor Justinian made great efforts to establish unity throughout his empire that comprised regions and communities as diverse as in North Africa (recently reconquered from Vandal rule), Italy, the Balkans, Constantinople and Syria. To this end the emperor was concerned not only with the reform of legal institutions, but also with settling doctrinal debates and with regulating Christian education. He emphasised his authority as legislator and as sole interpreter of the law, at which point divine law, imperial lawgiving and exegesis converged; but while doing so the emperor encountered resistance and opposition, most notably from the bishops in North Africa. This raises questions about Junillus' own position between the emperor and the dedicatee of the work. The text's Antiochene background, North Africa addressees and the recommendation by Cassiodorus seem to place it in a certain tension with the religious policies of Justinian's later years.

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[28] Maas, 'Roman questions', pp. 20–1; Rapp, 'Literary culture'.
[29] Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, p. 16.   [30] Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, pp. 14–15.
[31] Since it is not the aim of this chapter to discuss the influence of the school of Nisibis, Antiochene teachings and the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia on Junillus' work, I refer to the literature given in notes 2–4 above.

Although there is little that would be controversial in the text itself, this may have contributed to its popularity in the Latin West, where it was disseminated in a number of libraries and *scriptoria* during the Middle Ages. The *Instituta* conceivably reached different parts of Europe by more than one route. Cassiodorus probably brought a copy from Constantinople to Vivarium and encouraged its distribution there. It is also likely that the *Instituta* reached their original recipient Primasius in North Africa and that copies were sent by the African bishops to Italy or Spain. Similarly other intellectuals from the East may have introduced this text to Irish and Anglo-Saxon scholars.[32] The earliest manuscript of Junillus' *Instituta* from the late seventh or early eighth century was probably written in southern England. MS Cotton Tiberius A.XV, fol. 175–80, contains excerpts from the first book of the *Instituta* and indicates the presence of the text in Anglo-Saxon centres of learning such as Canterbury, where Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian introduced Antiochene exegesis in the late seventh century. The *Instituta* were at least known to Theodore's pupil Aldhelm of Malmesbury at the beginning of the eighth century.[33] Another witness from the early eighth century is the palimpsest manuscript St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 908, where fragments from both books of Junillus' *Instituta* are preserved. Lowe classified these fragments as written in a 'North Italian pre-Carolingian minuscule saec. vii–viii . . . probably at Bobbio'. Apparently, Junillus' text was copied later and the older codex was palimpsested 'ca. 800 in North Italy or Switzerland'.[34]

These two manuscripts indicate that the *Instituta* were widely used in early medieval libraries, since they show their presence in England, Italy and possibly Alemannia already in the early eighth century. Fourteen manuscripts dating from the late eighth and ninth centuries make it possible to trace the further dissemination of Junillus' text in particular places, such as Freising, Regensburg, Reichenau, St Gall, Bobbio, Corbie, St Amand and Salzburg. Junillus is also attested in the ninth-century library catalogues and book lists of Würzburg, St Riquier, Murbach, Lorsch and Oviedo, but these manuscripts have not survived.[35]

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[32] Junillus' *Instituta* were mostly regarded as a vehicle of Antiochene exegetical traditions in the Latin West, especially in Irish traditions, and therefore discussed in this context. Laistner, 'Antiochene exegesis'; Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte'; Barnish, 'The work of Cassiodorus', 168–70 and n. 84; see further literature given by Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, pp. 3–4, n. 10.

[33] See Laistner, 'Antiochene exegesis', 26–7; Dempsey, 'Aldhelm of Malmesbury', esp. 376–81; Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 248–9.

[34] *CLA* VII, nos. 953 and 965. Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, p. 303, dated the codex to the sixth century. See also O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, p. 247, n. 36.

[35] Laistner, 'Antiochene exegesis', 28; *MBK* IV, 2, p. 979; Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*, no. 283c, p. 291.

Not all the manuscripts transmit the whole text of the *Instituta*; some contain only parts of the treatise, excerpts or abbreviated versions. In a number of codices they were copied with Eucherius of Lyons' works, which might have been inspired by Cassiodorus' recommendation of these books as introductory manuals to biblical studies and exegesis. However, the *Instituta* were supplemented by a variety of other texts that orient the thematic focus of each manuscript in different ways. Junillus' text was therefore positioned in different contexts and discussions, which still need to be studied with regard to the manuscripts in question. Each of them is unique in its composition; yet some of the manuscripts show tendencies towards a similar aim.[36]

For example, a manuscript from the ninth century that belonged to the monastery of St Amand contained Junillus' *Instituta* and both the *Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae* and the *Instructiones* written by Eucherius.[37] Similarly, a codex from the monastery of Corbie, written in the first quarter of the ninth century, combined Junillus' text with Eucherius' *Formulae*, but also included Isidore of Seville's *Liber differentiarum*.[38] Furthermore, a number of grammatical texts complemented the focus on language and the meanings of biblical expressions in this manuscript, such as Bede's *De schematibus et tropis seu de arte metrica*, a commentary on the *Ars donati* ascribed to Sextus Pomponius Festus and two glossaries.[39] This arrangement of texts may indicate that the manuscript was produced for teaching purposes or was kept as a reference book in the library.

The combination of Junillus with Isidore's *De proprietatibus nominum vel rerum* is found in a manuscript from North Italy, which belonged to the monastery of Bobbio and dates from the late eighth or early ninth century.[40] A comparable interest in places and names of the Holy Land is to be observed in St Gallen 130, which is a composite manuscript.[41] The first part was written in the early ninth century in St Gall and contains both books of the *Instituta*, but without the introductory letter to Primasius. Junillus' text is combined with Jerome's *Liber quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesim* and the anonymous *Expositio in proverbiis*

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[36] We cannot say much about the manuscript Clm 14645 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). The *Instituta* seem to have circulated as separate schedulae before they were bound together with Candidus Wizo's *Expositio passionis domini* in this codex.

[37] Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 95. The manuscript also contains Jordanes' *Historia Romana* and *Getica*, but they seem to have been originally a separate volume and not part of the Junillus–Eucherius manuscript.

[38] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, San Marco 38.

[39] See Gneuss, 'A grammarian's Greek-Latin glossary'.

[40] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I 1 sup.; see Natale, 'Influenze merovingiche', pp. 246–51.

[41] St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 130; unit I: pp. 1–190, unit II: pp. 191–354. Bruckner, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica*, II, p. 65.

Salomonis. Since Junillus dedicated a considerable part of the *Instituta*'s second book to the creation of the world[42] and explained the function of proverbs in the Scriptures in his first book,[43] the *Instituta* and the two other works complemented each other very well in the understanding of the biblical texts. The second unit of the codex was written towards the end of the ninth century and contains Jerome's treatise *De situ et nominibus locorum hebraeorum* (*Onomasticon*). Both manuscript parts were bound into one codex already in the ninth century, and are still in their original binding.

We may assume that the manuscript Aug. CXI from Reichenau (now in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek), written in the first third of the ninth century, was used in a similar educational context, with an emphasis on a monastic audience. It contains the first book of Junillus' *Instituta* (including the letter to Primasius) and again Eucherius' *Formulae* and *Instructiones*. These instructional texts are complemented with Isidore's *Allegoriae* and excerpts from his *Etymologiae*. The compiler, furthermore, added Evagrius Ponticus' *Proverbia ad monachos* and a number of short entries on select virtues and vices: *humilitas*, *patientia*, *caritas*, *superbia*, *luxuria*, *cupiditas* and *crapula*. These entries are supplemented by a homily on almsgiving attributed to Augustine and a short text *De septem sigillis*, which placed the emphasis more on the end of time and the Last Judgement. The manuscript therefore included a pastoral and eschatological dimension, teaching the audience about virtues and vices in order to gain the kingdom of heaven.

Bernhard Bischoff pointed out the similarity between the contents of the codices Aug. CXI and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14423. Apart from the *Instituta* and Junillus' dedicatory letter, the Munich manuscript contains Isidore's *Allegoriae*, *De septem sigillis* and Eucherius' *Instructiones*. It was copied in the second half of the ninth century, probably in Reichenau by an Irish monk, who also copied Bede's *Expositio in Apocalypsin*.[44] This manuscript was then preserved in the library of St Emmeram in Regensburg, where it was bound together with another anonymous commentary on the Apocalypse and several letters ascribed to Augustine and Jerome; all these texts were written in Carolingian minuscule, which Bischoff attributed to the scribe Ellenhart from Regensburg.[45] The manuscript is a good example of how texts and

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[42] Junillus, *Instituta*, II, 2, ed. Maas, pp. 168–79.
[43] Junillus, *Instituta*, I, 5, ed. Maas, pp. 134–9.
[44] Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, I, p. 243. For a more detailed analysis of the excerpts taken from Aug. CXI, see *ibid*. n. 1.
[45] Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, I, pp. 202 and 201.

manuscripts could travel from one place to another, where they could be transformed and adapted to the needs of their respective communities.

In the Munich manuscript Clm 14276 we find Junillus' *Instituta* in a reworked version. The manuscript, together with Clm 14277, contains the so-called Irish 'Bibelwerk', or 'Reference Bible'.[46] This systematic compilation from commentaries of the Church Fathers and other authors was copied in the scriptorium of St Emmeram in Regensburg in the first quarter of the ninth century; the original compilation was probably made from older Irish model commentaries on the Bible as early as the middle of the eighth century. Junillus' text was strongly abbreviated, epitomised and paraphrased in order to give an introduction to the whole work. Besides Junillus, the compiler included extensive excerpts from Isidore's work.[47] In the Regensburg manuscript, the first quire is missing, but a scribe of the twelfth or thirteenth century supplied Junillus' letter to Primasius, the *tituli* to the *Instituta*'s first book and the beginning of the first chapter.[48] Similarly, in BAV, Reg. lat. 76, preserved in the Vatican Library, Junillus' text was copied together with excerpts from Isidore's *Etymologiae* and *De ecclesiasticis officiis* as a preface to the 'Reference Bible'; but also in this case, two folia are missing from the preface. The manuscript was written around the year 800 in the North of France, and contains the preface and the part on Genesis of the 'Reference Bible'.[49]

Clm 14469 from St Emmeram in Regensburg may have had a comparable function as a reference book and teaching tool. It is today a composite manuscript consisting of three parts. The first two parts (fols. 1–66 and 67–144) were put together under Bishop Baturich of Regensburg, who explicitly gave the order to write the second part and bind the two together.[50] Junillus' *Instituta*, however, are preserved in the third part, which was integrated in the manuscript maybe as early as the ninth century. Bernhard Bischoff dated this third part to the first third of the ninth century and suggested that it was written in the west of southern Germany.[51] After the text of the *Decretum Gelasianum*, which provides lists of the canonical writings, the canonical councils, of

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[46] Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte', 222, 231–6, for the introduction see esp. 232; Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, I, pp. 194–5. Edition of the preface and Pentateuch section by MacGinty, *The Reference Bible*.

[47] McNamara, 'Plan and source analysis', pp. 88–9.

[48] Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, I, p. 194.

[49] Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini*, I, p. 170; Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte', 231: 'saec. VIII–IX'.

[50] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14469, fo. 143r; see Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, I, p. 207. The first two parts contain exegetical works on the Gospels, the Song of Songs and the Apocalypse.

[51] Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, I, p. 245.

apocryphal and heretic books, follow Junillus' *Instituta* I, 1–10. These chapters contain the more technical questions about the textual form of the Bible according to the Church Fathers; the explanations about the meanings and intentions of Scripture, and about the nature of the divine essence were not included in this manuscript. After Junillus' passages, however, the compiler continued with Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* I, 1–14 (but leaving out I, 10)[52] where he explained about the different books of the Bible, their existing exegetical commentaries and the different systems of the division of Scripture. The last part of the manuscript contains Eucherius of Lyons' *Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae*. Even if it is not clear under which circumstances this manuscript was combined with the other 'double volume' commissioned by Baturich, we may assume that it was located and used in Regensburg already in the ninth century. The combination of Junillus with Cassiodorus and Eucherius may indicate its use as a starter manual for monks or priests who were provided with instructions how to proceed in reading and studying the Bible; it may also have served as a reference book for canonical and non-canonical writings.

In contrast to Clm 14469, the compiler of the Reichenau codex Aug. XVIII chose to include only Junillus' chapters on the divine essence, *de significationibus diuinae essentiae*.[53] He combined the text with a multitude of other works and excerpts of patristic texts that explained the basic principles of Christian faith; we find, for example, a number of explanations of the *Pater noster* and a collection of patristic accounts on the Creed and the Holy Trinity. Gennadius of Marseilles' *Fides vel dogma ecclesiasticum*, excerpts from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* and other texts complemented the compiler's concern with the nature of the Trinity, orthodox belief and its delimitation from heresy. The manuscript also comprises three texts that are explicitly connected with the Carolingian court, that is, Charlemagne's *Epistolae de gratia septiformis spiritus*, Alcuin's treatise *De fide* that he addressed to the emperor Charlemagne, and his *Quaestiones* (*De fide*) written for Fridugisus.[54] The last two quires

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[52] *Institutiones*, I, 10 is about how one should proceed to study the Bible, including the recommendation of introductory manuals. See footnote 15.

[53] Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. XVIII, fols. 65va–66rb; Junillus, *Instituta*, I, 13–20, pp. 146–63. The codex was written in the early ninth century, some quires of the manuscript are missing, while others are bound in the wrong order. Holder, *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek*, pp. 58–69.

[54] Charlemagne, *Epistola* 21, *MGH Epp.* IV, pp. 529–31. The emperor directed this letter in *c.* 794 to the bishops Hildebald of Cologne, Meginhart of Rouen, Egino of Constance, Geroh of Eichstätt and Bishop Hartrich (whose see cannot be reliably determined; *MGH Epp.* IV, p. 529, n. 5). Alcuin's *De fide*, composed in 802, was intended for catechetical instruction of the pagan Saxons. See Alcuin, *De fide Sanctae Trinitatis et de incarnatione Christi. Quaestiones de Sancta Trinitate*, ed. Knibbs and Matter.

of the manuscript, bound in the wrong order, contain part of the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*.[55]

The manuscript reflects very accurately Charlemagne's concern to distribute texts about orthodox Christian faith with a special emphasis on the nature of the Trinity. Such texts also served for pastoral practice, preaching and missionary activities. It is, moreover, an indication of the way knowledge about the writings of the Church Fathers was disseminated in such collections, where their statements concerning specific questions were assembled and transmitted in a compact manner. Junillus' treatise fits very well in such a context; his explanations and the arrangement of his text were systematically and clearly laid out, and contributed thereby to this 'discussion by texts' of certain dogmatic issues that were central to Carolingian reform and correction.

The improvement of education, the use and the production of correct texts, and the correct understanding of these texts were an important part of the reform movement initiated by Charlemagne.[56] His care for correction and improvement was strongly motivated by his perception of his duties as a Christian ruler. He had to provide the Christian people with proper instruction in Christian faith, doctrine and morals, and he had to give guidance to the Christian people. The organisation and the welfare of the church and of his realm were inseparably connected and intertwined.[57] This is evident in the many capitularies and official writings he issued, in which he applied biblical language and references to the Bible as a powerful means of communication, and as a means to establish authority and spiritual legitimation of his rulership.[58] When Charlemagne issued his *Admonitio generalis* in 789, for example, he referred to the Old Testament king Josiah, whose governance and lawgiving were regarded as exemplary, and he positioned himself in this spiritual and honourable tradition of the king as pious renovator of old law.[59]

The bishops were important partners for the Carolingian rulers to carry out their reforms and their politics in the respective parts of the realm.[60] Bishops like Arn of Salzburg or Baturich of Regensburg were especially close to the Carolingian court, and the libraries of Salzburg

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[55] *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, 17,16–42,13, ed. Wasserschleben, pp. 55–165; on the collection see Meeder, 'The spread and reception of Hiberno-Latin scholarship' and his contribution to this volume.

[56] McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 292–373.   [57] De Jong, 'Sacrum palatium'.

[58] McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 233–63; Buck, *Admonitio und Praedicatio*; see also Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform*, esp. pp. 151–62, 184–9.

[59] See McKitterick, *Frankish Church*, pp. 2–3; Glatthaar, 'Einleitung' in: Charlemagne, *Admonitio generalis*, pp. 48–9.

[60] For Bavaria see Freund, *Von den Agilolfingern*.

and Regensburg reflect very well which measures were taken on a literal level to accomplish reform and correction.

The manuscripts mentioned above have shown the extensive use of Junillus' *Instituta* in the context of biblical studies, Christian education, orthodox faith and correct exegesis. Manuscript Aug. XVIII indicates their knowledge and use in circles that were concerned with Charlemagne's endeavours for conversion, correction and reform; it also shows a connection with legal texts. Apparently, Junillus' text was applied in the discussions and reflections about the law, lawgiving and the role of the ruler, that accompanied Charlemagne's politics, but also those of his successor Louis the Pious. The following two manuscripts were compiled during Louis' reign and show an even more specific composition of texts regarding the law.

Clm 19415 comprises two codicological units, of which the older one (pp. 1–220) was probably written in Freising between 820 and 830, and belonged to the monastery of Tegernsee.[61] In this manuscript we find a number of legal texts, of which the *Lex Baiuvariorum* is the most outstanding one, which is already evident from the layout of the *Lex*. Subsequently, the compiler added chapter 29 from Defensor's *Liber scintillarum*, where the author discussed the giving of tithes by using arguments from the Bible and patristic authorities. Moreover, the following texts comprise a number of capitularies issued by Charlemagne in and after 803.[62] The manuscript unit concludes with Junillus' *Instituta*. This combination of texts may indicate the relevance that Junillus' work had for the perception of law and that it may have added to the authority of codified law, which reminds us of the original circumstances of the *Instituta*'s production in Constantinople.

The other manuscript that was probably written in 820 in Salzburg and is now preserved in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 532 Helmstedt,[63] assembled a large number of texts on different matters and could have been intended for the use of a bishop or a priest. This collection of works about theological, ecclesiastical and computistic

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[61] Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, I, p. 103. The second part dates from the eleventh century; an eleventh-century scribe also wrote the end of the *Instituta*'s text on p. 221. Bischoff observed that the three codices Clm 14645, Clm 14854 and Clm 19415 transmit Junillus' *Instituta* in a similar version including a specifically obscure remark at the end of the text, probably deriving from the model manuscript. All three manuscripts were written in the first half of the ninth century in southern Bavaria. Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, I, p. 252.

[62] *Capitula per missos cognita facienda*, *MGH Cap.* I, no. 67, pp. 155–7; *Capitulare Baiuaricum*, *MGH Cap.* I, no. 69, pp. 158–9; *Capitulare legibus additum*, *MGH Cap.* I, no. 39, pp. 111–14; *Capitulare missorum*, *MGH Cap.* I, no. 40, pp. 114–16.

[63] Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, II, pp. 148–9.

issues provided the reader with a broad range of knowledge necessary for understanding and interpreting the Bible, which was essential for the pastoral practice, the teaching of Christian faith and its application in daily life. The first part of the manuscript is therefore entitled *Liber sacrae eruditionis in lxxxi capitula distributus*, which explained Christian morals and values, like *caritas*, patience or humility. Many texts impart knowledge about Scripture, such as Isidore's works on the *Prooemia novi ac veteris testamenti*, the *Liber de ortu et obitu patrum*, his *Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae* or the *Inventiones nominum*. We also find Eucherius of Lyon's *Instructiones* and the *Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae*. Junillus' *Instituta* fit very well into this collection of basic exegetical tools and works suited for studying the Bible, its background and language. The combination of these texts with others on virtues and vices, on numbers, measures and the reckoning of time, indicate the broad range of issues that might have been useful for the episcopal office. This included canon law, an *Ordo synodalis* and *Annales brevissimi*, which give the date of the 'present year 820'.[64] The last part of the codex transmits the *Lex Baiuvariorum* with some of the Carolingian additions together with excerpts from the *Edictus Rothari*.

It is interesting that this manuscript also contains a number of additional texts issued by Carolingian rulers. We find a letter that Charlemagne directed to Alcuin of York in 798 about the duration of Lent, their *Disputatio de rhetoricae virtutibus* and a letter from Louis the Pious to Arn of Salzburg, which he sent together with the acts of the Council of Aachen held in 816.[65] In this letter, the emperor specifically admonished the archbishop to implement these capitularies in his diocese. He should read them aloud to the people and see to it that the other bishops in his domain would get copies and thus gain knowledge of these regulations.

It is remarkable that at least in these two manuscripts from the early ninth century, Clm 19415 and Helmstedt 532, Junillus' *Instituta* were copied together with the *Lex Baiuvariorum* and select Carolingian capitularies, notably the acts of the Council of Aachen in 816. The *Lex Baiuvariorum* had been revised by Charlemagne, with some additions, and sent to the monasteries and bishoprics in Bavaria. The capitularies were an essential tool of the Carolingian rulers to integrate new provinces that had a history of opposition and resistance to Frankish rule. The texts

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[64] Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek*, pp. 20–3. See Diesenberger, *Sermones* (forthcoming) about the synodal sermon.

[65] Alcuin, Epistola 144, *MGH Epp.* IV, pp. 228–30; *Hludowici ad archiepiscopos epistolae*, *MGH Cap.* I, no. 169, pp. 338–42.

that we find copied in the same manuscripts possibly should impart to the recipients how to understand the law, the act of lawgiving and the role of the lawgiver, which included reflections about these issues and their historical dimension, namely, their biblical foundation. Junillus' *Instituta* took part in these reflections on different levels of complexity, whether as a manual of exegesis that prepared the intellectual ground in the monasteries to understand the relation between the interpretations of Scripture, the law and governance in the present time; or in direct connection with canon law, the codification of law and official normative documents of the Carolingian court. Such reflections were effected even if the people responsible for the copying of Junillus' *Instituta* were not necessarily aware of the context of their original composition, which was in some respects similar to the situation of the Carolingian realm.

Junillus' work is not only attested in manuscripts, but also through its use by Carolingian authors. When Wigbod composed the *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, an exegetical treatise that he compiled towards the end of the eighth century for Charlemagne himself, he mentioned Junillus as one of his sources.[66] Moreover, in one case Wigbod's and Junillus' texts were copied in the same manuscript: Clm 14854 is a rather small book in oblong format (108 × 117 mm) and combines the *Instituta* with a treatise on *Quaestiones in Genesim et Evangelia*. Michael Gorman identified the *Quaestiones* as excerpts from Wigbod's exegetical works and concluded: 'It is the personal handbook of a learned man who wanted his Iunilius and a brief selection of Wigbod's many *quaestiones* on Genesis and the Gospels in one handy volume.'[67] Further citations were made in the middle of the ninth century, for example by the Irish scholar and poet Sedulius Scottus, who adopted one passage of the *Instituta* in his *Collectaneum miscellaneum*; the same passage is already quoted in the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis* from the early eighth century.[68] In addition, the *Instituta* were used by the author of the *Liber glossarum*, an encyclopedic work intended to be used as a teaching tool that was composed in a scriptorium with close relations to the Carolingian court, probably Chelles or Corbie.[69] Leslie

[66] Wigbod, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, PL 96, cols. 1105, 1106B–1109B, 1136D–1139A; see Gorman, 'The encyclopedic commentary on Genesis', pp. 176, 179–81, 183, 190.
[67] Gorman, 'Wigbod and biblical studies', 65.
[68] Sedulius Scottus, *Collectaneum miscellaneum*, VIII, 5, 17, ed. Simpson, p. 31; Meeder, 'The spread and reception of Hiberno-Latin scholarship', pp. 20–1. The passage is the beginning of Junillus, *Instituta*, II, 28. I owe this reference to Sven Meeder.
[69] For the quotations see Laistner, 'Antiochene exegesis', 30, n. 25; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 362–3 and 373; Grondeux, 'Le *Liber glossarum*', who is currently preparing a new edition.

Lockett has also suggested a possible influence of Junillus' work on the letter *Num Christus corporeis oculis Deum videre potuerit* dating from the early ninth century, and attributed to either Brun Candidus or Candidus Wizo.[70] These traces indicate the knowledge and distribution of Junillus' text in various circles of Frankish society, some of them very close to the court, and in such places of power as the monasteries that were at the heart of Carolingian rule.

Junillus' *Instituta* travelled a long way from Constantinople to Western Europe, where they were received with other texts conveying Antiochene exegesis in Irish and Anglo-Saxon scholarship from the sixth and seventh century onwards. In the monasteries of Italy and the Frankish realm, Junillus was acknowledged as a useful author, and often copied together with other highly regarded writers, like the Church Fathers Jerome, Augustine and Isidore. Inspired by Cassiodorus' recommendation, we find Junillus' text in a significant number of manuscripts combined with Eucherius of Lyon's works; it was copied with the purpose of training the students in reading, understanding and interpreting the Bible, just as it had been used in the Christian education system under Justinian. The *Instituta* contributed to the early medieval repertoire of texts that were used to inculcate a particular attitude of mind in the students, some of whom might become churchmen in higher ranks or officials at court. The *Instituta* served to create a general disposition for further education and advanced biblical studies. Both the *Instituta* and Eucherius' *Formulae* and *Instructiones* could have been used as complementary introductory works for those who started to study the Bible and its interpretations, but they could also act as reference books for those who were already engaged in discussing interpretations of Scripture and related texts. In consequence, the *Instituta* were used as sources or models for new commentaries, such as the preface of the Irish 'Reference Bible' or Wigbod's commentaries. Junillus' text was part of the intellectual heritage that was re-evaluated and fostered under the Carolingian rulers. The kings paid careful attention to the correction of corrupted texts, which included biblical and liturgical texts, and they fostered the study of the Bible by collecting the interpretations of the Church Fathers and by commissioning new exegetical commentaries and homiliaries in order to propagate orthodox faith. All these texts provided extensive resources for orientation and for the interpretation of the present world; the adaptation of

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[70] Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, p. 304; Candidus, *Epistola* 39, *MGH Epp.* IV, pp. 557–61; Jones, 'The sermons attributed to Candidus Wizo', pp. 262, 272–4.

older traditions offered a variety of possibilities to interpret and to formulate religious, political and social positions, identifications, concepts of rulership and of community. Junillus' *Instituta regularia divinae legis*, originating in the Byzantine world of the sixth century, thus provided an important resource of the past for the Carolingian empire to explore the political implications of theological texts.

8 Framing Ambrose in the resources of the past: the late antique and early medieval sources for a Carolingian portrait of Ambrose

Giorgia Vocino

In 1964 Angelo Paredi, the prefect of the library of St Ambrose in Milan, published for the first time a long and unusual hagiographic account dedicated to the eminent *doctor ecclesiae* Ambrose (373–97).[1] From then on, this text would be known under the name *De vita et meritis sancti Ambrosii* (BHL 377d in the Bollandist catalogue). So far, only one copy of the text has been discovered in a miscellaneous *codex* preserved at St Gallen (Stiftsbibliothek, 569). It contains saints' lives as well as fragments from heterogeneous texts such as the *Apocolocyntosis* by Seneca and the *Apocalypsis* of Pseudo-Methodius.[2] The first codicological unit of the manuscript (pp. 3–97) is a *libellus* dated to the late ninth century: it consists of the entire text of this extraordinary *Life of Ambrose*, written in brown and black ink by a single hand in a plain, round and well-spaced Carolingian minuscule that Bernhard Bischoff defined as 'beste Mailänder Kalligraphie'.[3]

The *De vita et meritis* is a dense concoction of very different sources: biblical quotations can be found next to classical echoes that recall for instance pagan Roman authors like Virgil or Cicero.[4] An analysis of the vocabulary suggests a ninth-century Carolingian background: as a matter of fact, the reference to the kingdom of Italy as the *regnum italicum* only features in charters and narrative sources from the reign of Louis the Pious (814–40) onwards.[5] A late ninth-century date for the Milanese *libellus*, as integrated in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 569, confirms this

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[1] Paredi, *Vita e meriti di S. Ambrogio*.

[2] Digital reproduction of the manuscript available at www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/csg/0569.

[3] Bischoff, 'Italienische Handschriften', p. 178.

[4] The wide range of sources signalled by Courcelle, *Recherches sur saint Ambrose*, pp. 143–8 has been further enriched by Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli', 170–7, 191–5.

[5] Cf. Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli', 156–9.

timeline for the compilation: the *De vita et meritis* is an exceptional product of the second generation of the 'Carolingian Renaissance'.

Although extant in just one manuscript, the Carolingian *Life of Ambrose* was a considerable undertaking: its size and extreme learnedness made it unfit for liturgical reading – which might explain its lack of further dissemination, but the episcopal command (*paterna iussio*), as it is recalled by the anonymous compiler,[6] reveals the interest of the highest ecclesiastical elites for the composition of a new *Vita* dedicated to the life and deeds of the Church Father and patron saint of Milan.

This chapter aims to reassess the compilation of this extraordinary hagiography in a wider Carolingian context. Following a short review of the historical background of Milan and its special bond with the Carolingian dynasty, this study will focus on the choices made by the anonymous hagiographer concerning both the sources he relied on for his narrative and the model of sanctity which he carefully shaped. In particular this contribution will analyse the use of the late antique *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* (henceforth *HT*) in combination with Ambrose's political letters, as well as the integration of borrowings from the Lives of the most illustrious Frankish (Catholic) saints, St Martin of Tours and St Hilary of Poitiers. Along with this, the recurrent highlighting of Ambrose's *parrhesia* and zeal plainly shows the profound erudition of this Milanese compiler and his intention to offer a lively fresco of Ambrose's world. In doing so, he reveals his thorough understanding of the political and ecclesiastical debates in which the most learned Carolingian scholars engaged from the 830s onwards. The *Life of Ambrose* offered its commissioner (and recipient), the archbishop of Milan, the *exemplum* that enabled him to play a pivotal role on that heated arena.

Betting on Ambrose alone: the valorisation of the cult of St Ambrose in Carolingian Milan

In the aftermath of Charlemagne's takeover of the Lombard kingdom, a personal and sacred bond was established between the conqueror and the Milanese episcopate when, in 781, the Lombard archbishop Thomas (d. *c.* 783) baptised Gisela, Charlemagne's daughter, in the basilica of St Ambrose.[7] Shortly hereafter, in 784, the Frankish archbishop Peter (*c.* 783–*c.* 803) founded a new monastery named after Ambrose, which he built in close proximity to the basilica where the saint was buried.[8] A few years later the new foundation was granted a royal confirmation: the monks were now bound to pray for the well-being of the Carolingian

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[6] *De vita et meritis*, p. 51.   [7] *ARF*, s.a. 781, p. 56.
[8] *Preceptum: 789 October 23, Milano*, ed. Natale, no. 30.

family and the stability of the kingdom.[9] After the doomed uprising of Bernard of Italy in 817 – who was backed by the Italian elites, among them the Milanese archbishop Anselmus[10] – the strong bond with the Carolingians was renewed and strengthened with the appointments of the Frankish archbishops Angilbert I (822–3) and Angilbert II (824–59), both well connected to Lothar I (818–55), who had been sent to Italy by his father, Emperor Louis the Pious, in 822.[11]

The long episcopate of Angilbert II is particularly well documented and his investment in the promotion of Ambrose's cult ranged from the liturgical to the artistic field. He was responsible for the elevation (*exhaltatio* as it is called in a contemporary Milanese manuscript)[12] and relocation of the relics of Ambrose into a porphyry sarcophagus, which he had placed inside a new magnificent golden altar that can still be admired under the *ciborium* of the *basilica ambrosiana* to this day.[13] The back of the altar was decorated with twelve vignettes that illustrate the life of Ambrose.[14] Eleven episodes are taken from the late antique *Vita Ambrosii* (BHL 377), written by the Milanese deacon Paulinus in the early fifth century at the request of St Augustine, the bishop of Hippo (d. 430).[15] A new episode had been added to celebrate the joining together of the Italian and Frankish kingdoms: it portrays St Ambrose at St Martin's deathbed, as recorded by Gregory of Tours in his *De virtutibus sancti Martini*.[16] On one end of the altar, the patron saint of the Franks is again represented in symmetrical position to Ambrose's portrait, on the opposite end, in order to stress his equal status with the Milanese *doctor*.

Angilbert's successor, Archbishop Tado (860–8), also played an important role on the political and ecclesiastical Carolingian stage. In particular, he was remembered for his *sapientia* and for bestowing his patronage on learned Irishmen who came from north of the Alps.[17] Moreover,

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[9] *Preceptum: 790, April, Worms*, ed. Natale, no. 31(= *MGH Dip. Kar.* I, n. 164).

[10] *ARF*, a. 817, pp. 147–8.

[11] On the revolt of Bernard and the Italian stay of Lothar I see Noble, 'The Revolt of King Bernard'; Jarnut, 'Kaiser Ludwig der Fromme'.

[12] Milan, Archivio Capitolare della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, M 15, f. 140v.

[13] Blaauw, 'Il culto di Sant'Ambrogio'; Cupperi, '"Regia purpureo marmore crusta tegit"'; for a complete study of the object see Capponi, *L'Altare d'Oro*.

[14] Hahn, 'Narrative on the Golden Altar'.

[15] Paulinus of Milan, *Vita sancti Ambrosii*, pp. 51–125.

[16] Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus*, p. 141.

[17] The anonymous poet of one of the eight Italo-Carolingian poems gathered in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 363 (third quarter of the ninth century) begs wise Tado to assemble the Irish scholars whom God placed in his charge (the poem is published among Sedulius Scottus, *Carmina*, pp. 236–7, vv. 23–4: *Collige Scottigenas, speculator, collige sophos: / Te legat omnipotens; collige Scottigenas*). On the Irish cultural influence in Carolingian Milan see Gavinelli, 'Irlandesi'.

he had been appointed by the Italian emperor Louis II (844–75) to act as mediator between the excommunicated archbishops Gunther of Cologne and Theutgar of Trier, on the one hand, and the intransigent Pope Nicholas I (858–67) on the other, with regard to the intricate *querelle* about the divorce of Lothar II (855–69).[18]

Ambrose was the patron saint of Milan and a Father of the Church. However, of even greater value to the Milanese elites were his deeds and accomplishments vis-à-vis the imperial authority. In imitation of Ambrose,[19] the Milanese archbishops strove to assert their authority as the primates of the Italian kingdom and to establish their church as the official and righteous Carolingian *lieu de mémoire* in Italy: when Emperor Louis II died in 875 and his body was taken to Brescia, the Milanese archbishop Anspertus (868–81) hastened to claim the imperial remains and brought them back to Milan, where he had them buried in the *basilica ambrosiana*.[20]

It is in this historical context that the *De vita et meritis* was composed: indeed, the hagiographer was working in one of the most prominent churches of the empire and a leading centre of learning.

Framing the historical man: a *Historia* for a *Vita*

The first remarkable choice of the anonymous compiler of the *De vita et meritis* concerns the profiling of the saint. Unlike Paulinus, who indulged in recounting the miracles performed by Ambrose as an exorcist and a thaumaturge, the Carolingian hagiographer is less interested in his wonder-working. Also, the valuable chronological frame offered by the late antique *Vita Ambrosii* is, surprisingly enough, just loosely followed: many episodes are abbreviated and some are even omitted entirely. The biography of the Milanese saint was also well documented thanks to the impressive harvest of texts produced by Ambrose himself, which was enriched further with material from one of his most renowned contemporaries, the *doctor ecclesiae* Augustine. Still unsatisfied with the material he found, the anonymous hagiographer of the *De vita et meritis* turned to 'universal histories', stating:

Although I would appear to want to add something to this grand total of sanctity and merits, I would rather take excerpts, especially because not only Paulinus,

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[18] For a thorough analysis of the divorce case see Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II*.

[19] Angilbert II is openly represented acting like Ambrose in front of Emperors Lothar I and Louis the Pious in Andreas of Bergamo, *Historia*, p. 225.

[20] Andreas of Bergamo, *Historia*, p. 229.

a man of remarkable memory, but also a great many other cosmographers suffi-
ciently recounted many admirable deeds through which they demonstrated that,
with doctrines as well as miracles, the provinces of the whole West were truly
enlightened thanks to the holy grace glowing through him, who shines like the
most luminous star among stars.[21]

His choice fell on the Latin translation of the three fifth-century chron-
icles written by the Greek church historians Socrates of Constantino-
ple, Sozomen and Theodoret of Cyrus, the so-called *Historia ecclesi-
astica tripartita* (*HT*) prepared at Vivarium under the supervision of
Cassiodorus.[22] The use of the *HT* is unsurprising for two reasons: first,
the Greek chroniclers had dealt precisely with the period of Ambrose's
lifetime, whom they viewed as a hero of the Western Church. More
importantly, the Carolingian period had developed a strong interest in
history, Christian history in particular, which was characterised by a
boost in the production of manuscripts containing late antique universal
church histories.[23] From the early ninth century onwards, in *scriptoria*
throughout the Carolingian empire, the *HT* was copied and disseminated
while at the same time excerpts from this text started to pop up in the
literary works of the most learned Carolingian scholars – among whom
Jonas of Orléans, Frechulf of Lisieux, the Irishmen Dungal and Sedulius
Scottus, Walahfrid Strabo, Hraban Maur and Hincmar of Rheims.[24] In
Italy, the *HT* was above all promoted in the city of Milan, the former
Lombard capital Pavia and the royal monastery of Bobbio.[25]

In this late antique universal history, Ambrose features as one of the
leading churchmen of the Western empire in books VII, VIII and IX,
from the time of the short-lived empire of Jovian (363–4) up to the death
of Theodosius I (395).[26] The Carolingian compiler of the *De vita et
meritis* exploited every single paragraph dedicated to Ambrose, focusing

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[21] *De vita et meritis*, p. 51: *Quamvis ad tantae sanctitatis et meritorum summam aliquid super-
addere velle, potius decerpere videar, praesertim cum de ipso non solum Paulinus, insignis
memoriae vir, sed et alii cosmograforum quam plurimi admiranda satis acta retulerint quibus
velut praefulgidum sidus inter astra resplendens, totius Occidentis provincias, divina per eum
radiante gratia, doctrinis pariter atque miraculis illustratas esse verissime comprobarunt.*

[22] For a more detailed presentation of the *HT* and its context of writing see Désirée
Scholten's contribution in this volume.

[23] McKitterick, 'Texts, authority'; McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, pp. 7–22.

[24] For an overview of the medieval uses of the *HT* see Scholten, 'History of a *Historia*',
pp. 129–32; especially on Frechulf see Ward in this volume; on the Carolingian borrow-
ings of the 'penance of Theodosius' as recorded in the *HT* see Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i
suoi fratelli', 182–3.

[25] As shown by the manuscript tradition (cf. the monumental *codex* of the *HT* copied in
the late ninth century in the region of Milan and now at Milan, Archivio Capitolare
della Basilica di S. Ambrogio, M 7). Cf. Gavinelli, 'Il gallo di Ramperto', p. 422.

[26] *HT*, pp. 374–579.

on three key moments in particular: his election to the Milanese see after the episcopate of the Arian bishop Auxentius (*HT* VII, 8); the hostility of the imperial court and Empress Iustina's attempt to persecute Ambrose (*HT* IX, 20–1); and finally the rebuke and public penance Ambrose imposed on a misbehaving Theodosius I (*HT* IX, 30).

One can easily understand why the author extracted episodes that directly concerned the saint, but what is more baffling and therefore unexpected is the inclusion into a hagiographic account of what appears to be unrelated information. The compiler slipped in a digression on the brilliant solution of Valentinian I (364–75), *amore captus*, which allowed him to marry the beautiful virgin Iustina without repudiating his first wife, Severa, the mother of the *Augustus* Gratian (367–83). Thanks to the publication of a new law any man was authorised to have two lawful wives.[27] This digression, at first sight pointless since it is unrelated to Ambrose's biography, gains significance if the compilation date is situated at the time of the *querelle* around Lothar II's divorce. It was the Milanese archbishop Tado (860–8) who had been appointed to find a middle ground between Pope Nicholas I and the king: the controversy referred to Lothar II's decision to repudiate his barren wife, Theutberga, and legitimise through wedding ties the union with his concubine Waldrada, who had already given him a son. Following Carolingian literary practices, an *exemplum* from the past is used to provide an authoritative frame of reference for present circumstances: whether a person or an episode from Roman classical literature, from the Bible or from late antique chronicles, its authority and exemplarity derived from being part of a past that had been written down and monumentalised – or canonised – through the long selective processes by which traditions are established.[28] Furthermore, the *perfida* Iustina had already proven to be the perfect *typus* to hint at contemporary controversial situations. Paschasius Radbertus, for example, had chosen the byname Iustina to refer to the (in his eyes) wicked Empress Judith.[29] It should not come as a surprise therefore that, given the similar circumstances, the Milanese hagiographer incorporated in his narrative the successful ruse of Valentinian I – which had also been a troubling one as it had placed Ambrose's greatest opponent in

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[27] *De vita et meritis*, p. 61.

[28] This line of thought, tightly connected to the study of cultural memory, has been fundamental for the development of the HERA project 'Cultural Memory and the Resources of the Past' and underlies all the contributions to this volume.

[29] On Empress Judith see Ward, 'Caesar's wife'; on the use of the alias *Iustina* in Paschasius Radbertus' *Epitaphium Arsenii*, see de Jong, 'Becoming Jeremiah', pp. 186, 190; Ward, 'Agobard of Lyons', pp. 21–4. On the Carolingian tradition of by-naming see Garrison, 'The social world of Alcuin'.

a position of power – either as a deliberate way to allude to Lothar II's divorce case or as an unpremeditated reflex of having been a witness of its extraordinary development.

The historical interest of the anonymous hagiographer is again manifest in his attention to the details of the imperial succession and his penchant for catchy episodes of late Roman history which inspired him to thicken his plot with additional information. Thus, he inserts in his *Life of Ambrose*, among other episodes, an account of the cunning trick used by the *magister militum* Andragathius, an emissary of the usurper Maximus (383–8), to take Gratian by surprise and kill him.[30] The fight against usurpers is particularly stressed by the anonymous compiler: the rise in the Western empire of Eugenius, a *doctor litterarum latinarum* turned tyrant with the backing of the Frankish *magister militum* Arbogast, is recounted using excerpts from the *HT*. When Eugenius marched on Milan, Ambrose fled the city and went to Bologna. The hagiographer also added a personal note to the record: the saint fled Milan not because he was overwhelmed by fear, but because he was inflamed with divine zeal (*divinae legis zelo succensus*)![31] The highlighting of Ambrose's zeal, a *leitmotiv* in this text, will be analysed in more detail later in this chapter.

Indeed, the *HT* was a treasure trove of information that could be plundered to complete Ambrose's portrait, as shaped by other documents. However, the Carolingian hagiographer was not exclusively interested in the details directly related to the saint. He contextualised Ambrose and added content to clarify each character's origins and motives, thereby making the 'world of Ambrose' a more coherent, integrated and detailed place as well as one strikingly similar to his present.[32] Among the flighty fortunes of the empire, the only constant beacon in an otherwise shaken world is the bishop. It is easy to recognize there a reading key, written between the lines, for the Carolingian crisis and the struggles for the imperial legacy that followed the death of Emperor Louis the Pious in 840.

Speaking with the saint's words. Ambrosian literature in the *De vita et meritis*

Having framed the biography of Ambrose into a wider late Roman imperial background, Ambrose's deeds needed to be authoritatively explained

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[30] *De vita et meritis*, p. 75.   [31] *De vita et meritis*, p. 91.
[32] The 'world of Ambrose' was also the stage chosen by Paschasius Radbertus for his *Epitaphium Arsenii*: see de Jong, 'Becoming Jeremiah', p. 186 and de Jong, *Epitaph for an Era*.

to the reader. The compiler is aided in his task by the numerous letters and sermons written by the Milanese *doctor* on different occasions. Among them are the letters collected in the tenth book of his epistolary, which is focused on political issues and enriches the palette of episodes in which Ambrose acted, and reacted, before the imperial authority.[33] A corpus of letters concerning the conflict between the bishop and the Arian imperial court, facing one another in Milan, in particular caught the compiler's eye. The climax of this confrontation occurred in 385/6, when Valentinian II (375–92) ordered Ambrose to surrender a basilica to the Arians, a command the bishop refused to obey. Three letters were written in relation to this event: the first (*Epistola* 75) was addressed to Emperor Valentinian II; secondly, a sermon (*contra Auxentium* = *Epistola* 75a) postulated Ambrose's official statement on the matter, while a third letter to his sister Marcellina (*Epistola* 76) provided a summary of the events. These three texts aptly clarify Ambrose's position before the earthly rulers, that he summarised as follows: 'Tribute is Caesar's: it is not refused. A church is God's; it certainly ought not to be assigned to Caesar, because a temple of God cannot be under the jurisdiction of Caesar.'[34]

This statement could easily be, *mutatis mutandis*, the flag of many ninth-century learned ecclesiastical scholars. Once again, the division between the juridical competences of the royal/imperial court and the Church occupied the limelight. Agobard of Lyon, Frechulf of Lisieux, Hincmar of Rheims and Sedulius Scottus referred back to Ambrose as one of the heroes of the *ecclesia christiana*, a strenuous *defensor ecclesiae* and an example of a righteous and authoritative way for a bishop to address a ruler.[35]

One of the most influential prelates of the Carolingian empire was Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (845–82), a major supporter and advisor of King Charles the Bald and one of the few learned men who actually had many Ambrosian (and Pseudo-Ambrosian) works at his disposal. Hincmar also touched upon this point and used Ambrose's political letters – the ones dedicated to his confrontation with the imperial authority on the Altar of Victory (*Epistola* 72), the synagogue of Callinicum (epist. 74), the

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[33] The tenth book and the *epistulae extra collectionem* are published in the third volume of the edition dedicated to Ambrose's letters and preceded by an exhaustive introduction focusing on the manuscript transmission (*Epistulae et acta*, vol. III).

[34] Ambrose, *Epistulae*, p. 106: *Tributum Caesaris est, non negatur, ecclesia Dei est, Caesari utique non debet addici, quia ius Caesaris esse non potest Dei templum* (translation by Liebeschuetz, *Ambrose of Milan*, p. 159). Cf. *De vita et meritis*, p. 69.

[35] Renswoude, 'Licence to speak', pp. 371–81.

surrender of the *basilica Portiana* (*Epistolae* 75, 75a and 76) and the massacre of Thessalonica (*Epistola* 11 extra collectionem) – in his treatise *De divortio Lotharii*, written in 860 when the quarrel over Lothar II's divorce had reached its climax.[36] He relied on them once more in the occasion of the council of Douzy (871) and, later on, in his *De fide Carolo regi servanda*, written in 875.[37] The extent of his quotations from Ambrose's letters shows that Hincmar had a manuscript collection that comprised not just the tenth book of Ambrose's correspondence, but also the letters *extra collectionem*, which he used in his *De divortio*.[38] It is also particularly worth noting that in his *De fide*, Hincmar had combined almost the same selection of sources used by our Milanese hagiographer: paragraphs drawn from the funeral sermon for Theodosius are combined with letters 75, 75a and 76 on the surrender of the *basilica Portiana*, as well as with extracts from the *HT* (Book IX, 21, 23) and with sections from Paulinus' *Vita Ambrosii* – each document providing a clear example of how Ambrose stood before lay rulers.[39] As Ambrose had done before him, Hincmar is especially concerned with clarifying and defining the different areas of intervention of rulers and bishops. In refusing to hand over the *basilica Portiana*, Ambrose had drawn a thick line demarking ecclesiastical and lay jurisdiction. Hincmar's use of Ambrosian literature thus shows to what extent the Milanese *doctor* had become a model and a reference in those edgy matters that were intensively debated in the second half of the ninth century.[40]

Thus, the choice of the compiler of the *De vita et meritis* to linger on the episode of the *basilica Portiana* cannot, and should not, be assessed by looking exclusively at the Milanese and Italian contexts. The selection of excerpts inserted into the hagiographic account demonstrates that the compiler was fully aware of the wider Carolingian debates that had been raging from the 830s onwards on the role and place of rulers and bishops in a Christian society.[41]

[36] Hincmar, *De divortio*, pp. 148, 201–2, 245, 253–5. On Hincmar's involvement in the divorce case see again Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II*, pp. 73–99.

[37] *Council of Douzy a.871*, pp. 432, 488, 490, 500–2; Hincmar *De fide*, cols. 961–2, 964, 967–9, 981–3.

[38] Among them the very rare epistle addressed to Theodosius I (*Epistola* 11 *extra collectionem*) about the 'Thessalonica massacre' (390), cf. Renswoude, 'Licence to speak', pp. 172–3, particularly n. 136. On the very limited circulation of the 'Thessalonica letter' see also *ibid.*, p. 154, nn. 69 and 70.

[39] Hincmar, *De fide*, cols. 961–2, 964, 967–9, 973–5, 978–9, 981–3.

[40] Morrison, 'Unum ex multis', pp. 680–2.

[41] De Jong, 'The state of the church'; de Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity' .

Humiliter, constanter atque prudenter: on the episcopal *parrhesia* as the right and successful model for dealing with earthly rulers

Ambrose's opposition to secular authority proved to be obstinate and unwavering whenever the *ecclesia Dei*, which had been entrusted to his care, needed to be protected from attacks against its buildings, properties and rights, as well as its doctrinal foundations. The hagiographer is keen to stress this point and therefore interprets and presents the many instances in which Ambrose defined a righteous and appropriate *defensio Ecclesiae* performed by its good shepherd (*bonus pastor*).

The chief instrument at the bishop's disposal to correct and guide a misbehaving secular ruler was his *parrhesia*. Ambrose's way of addressing and rebuking an erring emperor owed to a long and prestigious tradition of 'free speech'. This practice, defined by a strict set of rhetorical rules, stemmed from classical judicial and political oratory and could be applied to both oral and written performances. Ambrose, who had been educated both in law and rhetoric, was a renowned master in this art.[42] The hagiographer is particularly interested in fashioning the Milanese saint as a parrhesiast: his *constantia* is stressed owing to the many examples offered by the *HT* and by the tenth book of Ambrose's letters. The entire vocabulary of *parrhesia* is present: *increpare*, *admonere*, *fiducia*, *confidentia* and *constantia* are the keywords of any discourse focused on the rhetorics of free speech and all of them, with the correlated derivative terms, are promoted and feature in the *De vita et meritis*. But the hagiographer did more than merely slavishly copy words from his sources. In fact, Ambrose's *parrhesia* is one of the major threads holding the narrative together: the *constantia* of the Milanese archbishop is stressed throughout the hagiographic account and the compiler is particularly inclined to indulge in the use of the adverb *constanter* and the superlative *constantissimus* when referring to the saint. Tellingly, together with *constantia*, two other virtues are associated with Ambrose, setting up a model for bishops. The hagiographer, for once speaking with his own words, openly recalls them when he states: 'with the continuous dispatch of writings, he [i.e. Ambrose] *humbly, confidently and cautiously* insisted and begged the emperor for the orders taken to be annulled'.[43]

The balance between *humilitas*, *constantia* and *prudentia* combined with *patientia* and *sapientia* is the recipe for Ambrose's achievements in this regard: the saint knows that humility and patience are the chief and guardian of virtues (*magistra et custos virtutum humilitas atque patientia*)

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[42] Renswoude, 'Licence to speak', on Ambrose, esp. pp. 137–74.
[43] *De vita et meritis*, p. 83: *scriptis continuo missis, imperatorem humiliter constanter atque prudenter convenit ac supplicavit ut ea quae statuta fuerant rescinderentur.*

as he is also aware that his replies to, and against, the lay authority should be dressed with caution (*prudenter occurrere*). Owing to his ability to coordinate these moral qualities, Ambrose's speech could be received as an *acceptissima oratio*.[44]

The engine for the performance of these virtues could not be anything less than divine zeal (*zelum divinae legis*, according to the hagiographer). Deeds which could have appeared to be the result of fear before a tyrant are, on the contrary, the actions of a man inflamed by divine – and thus righteous – zeal.[45] To provide a clear definition of the virtue of *zelum*, the hagiographer proceeds in two ways: first, he makes a clear distinction between zeal and anger (*zelum* and *furor*). Anger is a very pernicious state of mind which often led emperors to wrong actions: this was for example the case with Valentinian II, who, in reaction to Ambrose's refusal to hand over the *basilica Portiana* to the Arians, was inflamed with the greatest fury (*furore maximo succensus*), which made him issue very severe and unfair penalties against traders and commoners.[46] Secondly, Ambrose's zeal allows the compiler to draw parallels between the saint and biblical prophets. Elijah and John the Baptist are compared to the Milanese bishop as they endured the plots of evil women like Jezebel and Herodias, while Ambrose had to deal with not two or three, but countless even crueller tyrants (*non duos aut tres, sed innumeros tyrannos immo longe saeviores*) whom he had justly admonished (*corripuit*), even though they repaid him with unjust persecution.[47]

The virtue of *zelum* and its dangerous counterpart, the vice *furor*, as well as Ambrose's *parrhesia* were particularly stressed in the works of one of the major scholars of the time, Sedulius Scottus. The chapters XII and XIII of his *De rectoribus christianis* were especially dedicated to the admonition and correction of the bishops and the corresponding zeal of the orthodox ruler.[48] Again, the Milanese hagiographer appears fully aware of the contemporary debates on the appropriate relation between those men responsible for the *ecclesia*, and those responsible for the *res publica*. Sedulius was aware of the dangerous consequences of anger for a Christian king and thus presented *zelum* as one of the pillars on which Christian rule needed to be based.[49] The compiler takes a similar attitude and depicts Ambrose as the ideal bishop who advises, admonishes and

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[44] Along with the oracle of a monk from the Thebaide and the omen of the apostles John and Philip, it is Ambrose's most accepted speech which led and supported Theodosius in his final battle against the usurper Eugenius (cf. *De vita et meritis*, p. 93)

[45] *De vita et meritis*, p. 91: *non timore coactus tyrannico, sed divinae legis zelo succensus.*

[46] *De vita et meritis*, p. 71.   [47] *De vita et meritis*, p. 119.

[48] Sedulius Scottus, *De rectoribus christianis*, pp. 118–37.

[49] Sedulius Scottus, *De rectoribus christianis*, pp. 128–37. On Sedulius' insistence on *zelum* and *furor* see Renswoude, 'Licence to speak', pp. 265–9; Staubach, *Rex Christianus*, II, pp. 153–4.

corrects the ruler, thereby successfully turning him into a perfect *rector christianus*, as had been the case for Theodosius.

'Shining as the brightest star among stars': prestigious contemporary witnesses and hagiographic comparisons in the narrative of the *De vita et meritis*

As the hagiographer stated at the beginning of his text, he intends to integrate into his narrative a record of the saint's deeds as they were remembered not only by his secretary, the deacon Paulinus, but also by others.

A contemporary witness and a renowned recipient of Ambrose's teaching was Augustine. The bishop of Hippo had often remembered and praised the Milanese bishop: his eloquence and doctrine (*melliflua doctrina* as it is defined by the Carolingian compiler) had played a fundamental role in Augustine's conversion to Catholicism. Augustine's memories are thus borrowed from the late antique *Vita Augustini*, written by his fellow-bishop and hagiographer Possidius and integrated into the *De vita et meritis*. It is in Milan that Augustine's adhesion to the Catholic faith started, 'gradually and little by little' (*sensim atque paulatim*), before eventually reaching full confirmation.[50]

The hagiographer then combines two other sources of information to complete his account of Augustine's Milanese stay, revealing once more the width of his culture and readings. Sections from Augustine's *Confessiones* are combined with a sentence from his letter CXLVII (*epistola de videndo Deo*) to the *religiosa famula Dei* Paulina.[51] A potent image of the saint is created: Ambrose is presented as devoting himself to the infirmities of a crowd of busy men that prevent Augustine from speaking to him.[52]

A similar method is used to integrate two episodes from two early medieval hagiographies, of which the first reveals the compiler's familiarity with local Italian hagiographic literature and the second pays tribute to the overall Carolingian framework. In order to show Ambrose's prophetic spirit, the compiler added a paragraph from the *Vita Gaudentii* (BHL 3278), a text written in early eighth-century Novara, an episcopal town in the metropolitan diocese of Milan. It relates how the two saints met in Novara where they exchanged prophecies: while the Milanese

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[50] Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, p. 134. Cf. *De vita et meritis*, p. 79.
[51] Augustine of Hippo, *Confessionum*, Book V, XIII.23, p. 70 and Book VI, III.3–4 and IV.6, pp. 75–7; Augustine of Hippo, *Epistula* CXLVII, p. 328.
[52] *De vita et meritis*, pp. 80–1.

doctor foretold the future episcopate of Gaudentius, the latter replied by clarifying that he would indeed become a bishop, but that he would be consecrated by someone else. The prophecy was confirmed when Gaudentius ended up being consecrated by Ambrose's successor, Simplician.[53]

Another prestigious contemporary saint, whose relations with Milan and its *doctor ecclesiae* were well known, was the patron saint of the Franks, St Martin of Tours. Thus, the compiler included an episode from Gregory of Tours' *De virtutibus Martini*, relating the dream of Ambrose, who, having fallen asleep over the altar, had been miraculously *in spiritu deductum* at St Martin's funeral.[54] The insertion of a passage borrowed from the *De virtutibus* is openly signalled: 'although it is a digression, it does not seem to be incongruous to recall here from a compendium what happened at the death of the admirable bishop Martin of Tours'.[55] The episode provided evidence for the equal status of the two saints – something that was also celebrated on the Carolingian golden altar in the basilica of St Ambrose: as 'St Martin's wonders lit up the West, *simili modo*, Ambrose's flowers of eloquence and virtues perfumed all Europe and Africa'.[56]

At a first glance, borrowings from other hagiographic works would seem to be limited to these precise inclusions that are openly signalled by the hagiographer, but his use of hagiographic literature is much more pervasive and recurrent than that. For instance, his preface and closure are heavily influenced by a sermon attributed to Maximus of Turin (and occasionally to Ambrose himself), celebrating the *dies natalis* of St Eusebius, martyr and bishop of Vercelli.[57] Also, the hyperbolic introduction of Ambrose 'shining as the brightest star among stars' and 'enlightening, with the divine grace beaming through him, the provinces of the West' is not our hagiographer's own work.[58] He is drawing from the *Vita Gaudentii*, adapting and merging it into the *De vita et meritis*.[59] In turn, the hagiographer of the holy bishop of Novara had borrowed these images from Venantius Fortunatus' *Vita Hilarii* (BHL 3885).[60] Even the account of the distress of Ambrose's *ecclesia* upon facing the pending death of its bishop – which is compared to a lost flock

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[53] *De vita et meritis*, pp. 100–3.
[54] Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus*, p. 591. Cf. *De vita et meritis*, p. 107.
[55] *De vita et meritis*, p. 107: *Non incongruum autem videtur hoc loco, licet extrinsecus, quod de admirabilis viri Martini Turonensis episcopi obitu gestum refertur, de compendio recordari.*
[56] *De vita et meritis*, p. 107.
[57] *De vita et meritis*, pp. 50–1 and 120–1. Cf. Maximus of Turin, *Sermones*, pp. 24–6.
[58] Maximus of Turin, *Sermones*, p. 51.   [59] *Vita Gaudentii*, p. 71.
[60] Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Hilarii*, p. 2.

without a shepherd to defend it from wolves' bites – is borrowed from the *Vita Gaudentii* and rephrased to create a powerful image of the mourning Milanese church.[61] Behind this scene there also shone an earlier layer: the same image was used in the late fourth century by Sulpicius Severus in his *epistula ad Bassulam*, which can be considered an appendix to his *Vita Martini* along with two other letters.[62] The same goes for the final *topos humilitatis* of the Milanese compiler of the *De vita et meritis*, with which he underlined the insufficiency of a sterile mind and a poor style, unfit to praise the saint's virtues. The metaphor is also borrowed from the *Vita Gaudentii* whose hagiographer drew his inspiration from Paulinus of Périgueux's fifth-century *De vita sancti Martini* (BHL 5617).[63]

The *De vita et meritis* resembles a game of Chinese boxes, in which the Carolingian text draws from a pre-Carolingian document, which in turn uses late antique literature. But the ninth-century compiler was not fooled by the game: his cultural background allowed him to pick from whichever layer was most appropriate – pre-Carolingian or late antique – as he shaped his own work. Thus he used, albeit without naming it, the *Vita Hilarii* by Venantius Fortunatus to borrow the beautiful image of the swimmer fighting against the waves in a sea of eloquence.[64] When forced to choose between the accounts of Venantius and the anonymous hagiographer of the *Vita Gaudentii*, who both recounted how Ambrose's plea to die a martyr was frustrated only by the absence of an executioner, our hagiographer again preferred the former.[65]

The anonymous Milanese compiler was certainly familiar with the literature dedicated to the most prestigious champions of Catholicism, Saints Martin and Hilary, both of whom had well-known connections with Milan. Both men had stood up against Arianism, in particular against the Milanese bishop Auxentius, Ambrose's predecessor, and both had failed, resulting in their exile from Milan. Given the use of a dossier of texts dedicated to St Martin, it might be suggested that one of the so-called '*Martinelli* élargis' was available in the Milanese *scriptorium*. This collection of documents dedicated to the patron saint of the Franks became particularly popular in the Carolingian period as a result of the impulse given by Alcuin, and later on by abbot Fridugisus (804 –

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[61] *De vita et meritis*, p. 109. Cf. *Vita Gaudentii*, p. 82.
[62] Sulpicius Severus, *Epistula ad Bassulam*, p. 338.
[63] Paulinus of Périgueux, *De vita Martini*, p. 58.
[64] Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Hilarii*, p. 3.
[65] *De vita et meritis*, p. 67; Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli', 176.

c. 834), to produce these hagiographic dossiers in the *scriptorium* of Tours.[66]

Despite the open reference to St Martin and the miraculous presence of Ambrose at his funeral, when it came to comparisons and panegyrics, borrowings are generally more discreet: it was not a matter of new episodes or witnesses, but the fashioning of the portrait of Ambrose that was at stake. The Milanese saint bore with the passions of human miseries, he endured the insults of his enemies, the complaints of the evil, the concern for the weak and the worry for those in danger, while his fame went beyond the limits of any conversation as it has exactly been said for St Martin in Sulpicius' letter to Aurelius.[67] Furthermore, Ambrose had refused communion with both the Jews and the heretics as Hilary had done before him, and the Milanese saint's long list of virtues mirrors that of the bishop of Poitiers, as they are celebrated by Venantius.[68] A comparison, somehow hidden between the lines, but easily detectable by the recipient of the text who – whether it was bishop Angilbert II or one of his successors, Tado (860–8) or Anspertus (868–81) – will undoubtedly have been a learned man familiar with Frankish literature and thus perfectly capable of decrypting and appreciating the allusions and comparisons with the most prestigious saints of the Western Catholic Church.

Conclusions

The Carolingian *Life of Ambrose*, the so-called *De vita et meritis*, sheds light on the cultural background of one of the major episcopal churches of the kingdom of Italy. Although the focus in the study of hagiography often tends to be on the local context, this multilayered document cannot be fully understood by just looking at its Milanese and Italian framework: the references to the overall Carolingian culture distinctively situate the *De vita et meritis* in the well-connected network of power and culture that shaped the empire reborn under Charlemagne.

The Milanese archbishops strove to impose their church as the *lieu de mémoire* of the Carolingian kings of Italy on account of the site's special relation to the Frankish sovereigns, following their conquest of the Lombard kingdom in 774. Since then, scholars, scribes and manuscripts

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[66] On the ninth-century *libelli* dedicated to St Martin of Tours, see Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung der Textstruktur' as well as Bourgain and Heinzelmann, 'L'Œuvre de Grégoire', pp. 300–9.

[67] *De vita et meritis*, p. 105. Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Epistola ad Aurelium*, p. 330.

[68] Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli', 175–7.

had begun regularly to traverse the Alps, placing Milan in a key position in the Po valley. For example, paleographical evidence reveals repeated contacts with Corbie, the Bodensee area and the Rhineland.[69] Its geographical position together with the political and cultural connections established with the coming of the Carolingian kings played a fundamental role in re-establishing the importance of the Milanese church in the Italian kingdom.

With Milan's cultural network having greatly expanded, it comes as no surprise that the knowledge of a skilled and learned Milanese *compilator* was shaped by an extremely wide selection of readings ranging from local works, like the *Vita Gaudentii*, to Frankish ones, like the *Vita Hilarii* by Venantius Fortunatus or the dossier of hagiographies dedicated to St Martin. The intensive use of the *HT* also should be assessed within the overall Carolingian framework: the early ninth century had witnessed a renewed impulse to produce and disseminate manuscripts containing this text, which in turn allowed the most learned men of the time to use it.

The Milanese compiler thus worked on a text that was much more than a hagiographic portrait of Ambrose: its references and comparisons – openly declared or subtly suggested – to biblical characters and prestigious fellow saints created a model for a proud and learned bishop who regarded himself as a central figure on the Carolingian political stage.

The *De vita et meritis* sets the biography of the ideal *episcopus*, an unyielding *defensor ecclesiae* more than a wonder-worker, whose task it was to protect his flock and his church against the dangers of heresy and the abuse or intervention of lay authorities in ecclesiastical matters. It is not a text meant for liturgical lecture, but a mirror and an edifying reading intended for a committed churchman whose office had placed him in the midst of very worldly affairs: a stage where skills and virtues such as *constantia* and *zelum* were highly valued instruments. Thus, the *De vita et meritis* presented the Milanese archbishops with a useful handbook: their role as mediators between the emperor and his kin, the popes and the local elites was never more pronounced than during the long reign of Emperor Louis II of Italy (840–75). After Louis' death, with the subsequent struggle for empire, this Carolingian frame started to creak. In a disintegrating political world, the model Ambrose provided lost its potency, and from the early tenth century the church of Milan started

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[69] Especially since the bishopric of Chur had been part of the metropolitan jurisdiction of the Milanese church until the mid-ninth century. Cf. Ferrari, 'Manoscritti e cultura'.

once again to look at the history of its episcopal origins.[70] By then, the *De vita et meritis* had become useless and would have been condemned to oblivion, had not a monk of St Gall bound it together with other texts. Thus has been handed down to us the only witness of this learned and engaged Carolingian enterprise.

[70] Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica*.

Part III

Changing Senses of the Other from the
Fourth to the Eleventh Centuries

9 Pagans, rebels and Merovingians: otherness in the early Carolingian world

Richard Broome

During the eighth century the *regnum Francorum* became increasingly expansionist, a process which began under Pippin II and Charles Martel and culminated in their descendant Charlemagne's Saxon Wars.[1] Such expansionism necessarily altered the way in which the community of the kingdom was perceived by its members and those who wrote about its recent past, with historians and hagiographers naturally looking beyond the borders of the kingdom to identify those who were nominally excluded from the community.[2] The community itself was identified with the positive traits of orthodox Christianity, strong military rulers and loyalty to the Carolingian dynasty,[3] while the excluded were those who challenged such concepts. Three excluded groups in particular dominate the early Carolingian sources: pagans, rebels and Merovingians. The presentations of these groups involved a great deal of misrepresentation, and the research of recent decades has shed light on a 'non-Carolingian' narrative of the eighth century: the peripheral peoples need not be seen as rebels;[4] the later Merovingians were not useless kings;[5] and there have been serious attempts to investigate the realities of early medieval Germanic paganism, if such a term can be used.[6]

Yet even for Carolingian authors there was a great deal of ambiguity in the portrayal of those identified as 'others'. The *regnum Francorum* had long been based on the idea that Franks ruled non-Franks, and that the latter owed some kind of notional loyalty to their rulers made them part of the community even if they were not Franks.[7] Nevertheless, Carolingian authors were very aware and made extensive use of ethnic and geographic

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[1] For an overview of the period see McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 63–136.
[2] On early medieval communities see Pohl, 'Introduction: ethnicity, religion and empire'.
[3] Reimitz, '*Omnes Franci*', pp. 53–4.   [4] Geary, *Aristocracy*, pp. 138–48.
[5] Gerberding, *Rise*; Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 273–92; Fouracre, 'Long shadow', p. 14. For a refutation see Kölzer, 'Die letzten Merowingerkönige', pp. 33–6.
[6] Wood, 'Pagan religions'.
[7] Goetz, '*Gens*, kings and kingdoms'; Nelson, 'Frankish identity'; Wolfram, 'How many peoples'.

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labels; many of the groups and individuals we encounter in the sources are identified as – for example – Frankish, Bavarian or Saxon. But while such labels as Bavarian or Saxon implied difference from a Frank they did not necessarily imply exclusion or otherness: what was important was a sense of moral judgement. For this reason the others of the early Carolingian period were not the peripheral peoples as such, since these could be integrated into the *regnum Francorum*. Rather, the others were those identified as pagans or rebels; those outside the Christian community or acting disloyally towards their rulers. Yet the purpose of the Carolingian wars and contemporary missionary efforts was to integrate these peoples, and rebels could, by definition, only rebel against those who were already thought to rule them. A further complication was added by the Carolingian attitude to the recent Frankish past, particularly the late seventh and early eighth centuries, which came to be seen as a time of degeneracy and weakness when the Franks were ruled by useless kings and which led in turn to a denunciation of the later Merovingians. This was an attitude which risked making other not those supposedly outside the kingdom but the very history of the community itself, an idea which would not fit with Carolingian attempts to stress continuity with the past.[8] One last point to bear in mind before proceeding is that these ideas of otherness were not fixed; they were part of an ongoing discourse in which authors drew on a common pool of signs, symbols and labels but did so in ways which suited their own needs and the expectations of their contemporary audience. Thus the depictions of pagans, rebels and Merovingians changed – sometimes radically – over the course of the eighth century and into the ninth.

What we shall look at here, then, is how early Carolingian historians and hagiographers approached the idea of 'otherness' and how they created a sense of distinction that did not necessarily exist in reality but which was essential to the Frankish world view during the first generations of Carolingian rule. We shall begin by considering how the Carolingians defined paganism through the identification of beliefs that were considered unacceptable in a Christian society. We shall then look at how authors presented the wars of the Carolingians as wars against rebels and addressed the issue of exclusion and integration inherent in such presentations. Next we shall analyse how authors dealt with the later Merovingians – the so-called *rois fainéants* – and the usurpation which brought the Carolingians to the throne. Within the analysis of each group we shall also consider the portrayals of three individuals: Radbod of Frisia, Grifo and Childeric III respectively. Between them, these three highlight

[8] McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 63–5.

the variety present in the early Carolingian discourse of otherness and how depictions of others could change over time while still maintaining a sense of exclusion. Finally, we shall examine presentations of groups further removed from the early Carolingian world – either geographically or temporally – which we might expect to have been 'others'. We shall see that Muslims, Slavs and earlier members of the Merovingian dynasty were not subjected to the same kinds of hostile presentations as those groups already considered, despite the fact that they could have been. Therefore we can consolidate the idea that for Carolingian authors it was actually those closest to the community who were seen as others, further highlighting the sense of ambiguity in such a discourse. What will become apparent from this overview of a variety of presentations of different groups is just how important a particular presentation of the recent past was to these authors, and how central the control of Frankish cultural memory was to the legitimation of Carolingian power.

Pagans and paganism

In many ways pagans were the most definite other for Carolingian authors.[9] Paganism had been the antithesis of Christianity since Late Antiquity, with the modern word 'pagan' deriving from the Christian label for any non-Christian practice, even if collectively these practices had little in common.[10] In a world where Christianisation and the enforcement of orthodoxy were matters of political policy as much as of spiritual belief, we should not be surprised that pagans and paganism were causes of concern for churchmen and hagiographers. It should also not come as a surprise that the eighth century saw the start of determined efforts to define paganism, although this often meant generally unacceptable beliefs rather than pagan practices in the modern understanding of the concept. Such efforts can be seen particularly clearly in the texts composed and influenced by the circle surrounding the Anglo-Saxon missionary Boniface, particularly the *Concilium Germanicum* (742) and the related document *Indiculus superstitionum*.[11] A letter from Daniel of Winchester to Boniface likewise highlights the interest in pagan beliefs.[12] Also within this tradition are the documents of Charlemagne related to the governance of Saxony, *Admonitio generalis* (789) and *Capitulatio de*

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[9] Palmer, 'Defining paganism'.   [10] Wood, *Missionary Life*, pp. 5–6.
[11] Boniface, *Epistolae*, 56; *Indiculus superstitionum*, pp. 19–20. See Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 122–4.
[12] Boniface, *Epistolae*, 23.

partibus Saxoniae (*c*. 792).[13] These texts contain examples of the practices late eighth-century churchmen expected pagans to perform, but historians have debated both the reality of such beliefs and the extent and nature of *interpretatio Romana* – the interpretation of 'Germanic' gods as their classical equivalents: was this an attempt by Christians to place contemporary pagan beliefs in a classical framework, or a reflection of the reality of syncretic beliefs which had been influenced by exposure to the Roman world? Such a question is not easy to answer.[14] The Carolingians were not attempting to understand paganism on its own terms, though, and generally had little interest in the realities of pagan belief and practice. Thus, it is interesting to note that these definitions do not always distinguish between what we would think of as heresy, superstition and paganism.[15] This may be a reflection of the fact that Boniface in particular worked as much – if not more – in areas that were already Christian but not necessarily 'orthodox' as he did in pagan areas.[16] Just as in Late Antiquity, when 'pagan' and 'paganism' were catch-all terms for non-Christian practices, these eighth-century attempts to define 'paganism' should be seen more accurately as attempts to define the beliefs and practices that would result in exclusion from the Frankish community.

Hagiographical texts also contain descriptions of pagan beliefs and practices. Among the most explicit examples are the vivid depictions of attempted human sacrifice in *Vita Vulframni*, a text composed at the monastery of Saint-Wandrille at the turn of the ninth century.[17] According to the author, while preaching in Frisia Wulfram witnessed several sacrifices in which he intervened and saved the victims.[18] Similar to this is the story of Liudger's mother found in Altfrid's *Vita Liudgeri*, composed in the 840s. Here Liudger's great-grandmother attempts to drown her granddaughter before the latter had eaten 'earthly food', although this is presented as something that pagans believed to be acceptable, rather than occurring in the context of a sacrifice.[19] While it is not always easy to draw the line between *topos* and reality in such passages,[20] it is worth noting that the importance of water in both cases seems to parallel certain references in *Lex Frisionum*, also believed to have been composed in the early ninth century.[21] However, these authors were not attempting

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[13] *Admonitio generalis*, 64; *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, 1, 6–10, 22.
[14] Wallace-Hadrill, *Frankish Church*, pp. 18–19; Wood, 'Pagan religions', p. 254; Palmer, 'Defining paganism', 407–8.
[15] Wood, 'Pagan religions', p. 261.
[16] Wood, *Missionary Life*, pp. 57–64; Wood, 'An absence of saints?', pp. 340–2; Clay, *Shadow of Death*, pp. 177–84.
[17] Wood, *Missionary Life*, p. 92.   [18] *VV*, 6–8.   [19] Altfrid, *VL*, 6–7.
[20] Wood, 'Pagans and holy men', pp. 348–9; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 135.
[21] *Lex Frisionum*, *Additio* XI, 1.

to define paganism but to present their audience with personal encounters between Christians and pagans. Such personal encounters can be explored further through presentations of the pagan leader Radbod.

Radbod of Frisia

Of the individual pagans mentioned in early Carolingian texts none is more prominent than Radbod, the ruler of Frisia from the 680s until his death in 719. It is therefore worth considering how depictions of him differed from one text to another. The first hagiographer to depict Radbod at length was Willibald, author of *Vita Bonifatii*, who wrote in the 760s. *Vita Bonifatii* places Boniface's first mission to Frisia in the context of Charles Martel's war against Radbod, but for Willibald the main outcome of this war was not the political destabilisation of the region. Rather it was the religious impact which the 'pagan invasion' had: the Radbod of *Vita Bonifatii* is an archetypal pagan persecutor who seeks to devastate the churches of Frisia, expel the priests, raise idols and restore temples.[22] While this may be an exaggeration of what was actually a targeting of Charles Martel's supporters in the area, the depiction of Radbod shows how central the concept of the pagan persecutor could be, and also sets the scene appropriately for Boniface's return to Frisia in 754 and his martyrdom at the hands of Frisian pirates.[23] This Radbod is completely beyond the pale and irredeemable, as are the inhabitants of Frisia whom he represents.

Those who followed Willibald in writing about the Frisian mission took a more nuanced approach to the region's infamous ruler, however. In his *Vita Willibrordi* (*c.* 796) Alcuin avoids such an explicit denunciation of Radbod.[24] Instead he portrays Radbod as a figure with whom Willibrord could debate the progress of the mission, stating that the saint 'was not afraid to approach King Radbod of Frisia and his pagan people', but that he was unable 'to soften Radbod's heart of stone to life'.[25] Alcuin stopped short of portraying Radbod as an active persecutor of Christianity, even if the Frisian ruler was also not an active helper of the missionaries. It is clear that Alcuin felt Radbod to be an obstacle to the mission, though, since he claims that the pagan's death paved the way for Charles Martel's conquest of Frisia, which in turn allowed the mission to progress more smoothly.[26] This sentiment was also displayed by Altfrid, who borrowed the relevant passage from *Vita Willibrordi* in his

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[22] *VB*, 4.   [23] *VB*, 8.   [24] Wood, *Missionary Life*, pp. 79–81, 85–6.
[25] *VW*, 9.   [26] *VW*, 13.

Vita Liudgeri, suggesting that there was no attempt by the ninth-century Christians of Frisia to rehabilitate Radbod.[27]

Vita Vulframni provides us with our most vivid and unusual depiction of Radbod.[28] Here the Frisian ruler is not depicted as opposing Wulfram's mission in any way; in fact, he allows the saint to preach to anyone who wishes to hear the word of God and even allows the saint to recruit those he is able to miraculously save from being sacrificed to the gods.[29] Yet despite his goodwill, Radbod is unwilling to be converted himself, and we actually hear his reasons for this. First, when on the verge of being baptised, Radbod declares to Wulfram that he would rather spend eternity in the company of his ancestors than in the company of a few paupers, the citizens of heaven.[30] Second, Radbod had been deceived by the Devil. This is first implied in Wulfram's reaction to his claim about spending eternity with his ancestors, but made more explicit in the following chapter, when the Devil appears to Radbod in a dream and promises him a golden hall in which to spend eternity. The Devil even promises to show the hall to him, something Wulfram would be unable to do with the promised heavenly residence. One of Radbod's followers and a deacon are then shown a golden hall by a demonic guide. The guide and the hall turn to dust when the deacon invokes the power of Christ, and when they return they discover Radbod has died unbaptised.[31]

Each author presented Radbod in a way which reflected his aims and the construction of his text. Willibald aimed to highlight the multifaceted nature of Boniface's career, as well as to stress the saint's appeal to a Frankish audience,[32] not least because Boniface appears to have been somewhat unpopular among his peers during his lifetime.[33] For this reason, his Boniface shares the enemies of the Carolingians. In addition to his hostile portrayal of Radbod, Willibald denounces Charles Martel's Thuringian rival Heden as a heretic despite the latter having been a supporter of Willibrord's monastic foundation at Echternach.[34] Alcuin's purpose in *Vita Willibrordi*, meanwhile, was – at least partly – to show that the most important tools in the conversion of pagans were not miracles, conquest or forced conversion, but education and preaching, which brought an understanding of the new religion.[35] He was therefore keen to highlight the peaceful interaction that could take place between missionaries and pagans in order to show that cooperation was possible. Willibald

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[27] *VL*, 4.   [28] Wood, 'Saint-Wandrille', pp. 13–14; Wood, *Missionary Life*, pp. 92–3.
[29] *VV*, 6–8.   [30] *VV*, 9. See Lebecq, 'Le baptême manqué'.   [31] *VV*, 10.
[32] Wood, *Missionary Life*, pp. 61–4.   [33] Ewig, 'Milo'.
[34] *VB*, 6. Wood, *Missionary Life*, pp. 62–3. On Heden see Mordek, 'Die Hedenen'; Fouracre, *Charles Martel*, pp. 113–14.
[35] Wood, *Missionary Life*, pp. 82–8.

had hinted at this in his description of Boniface's conversion of Hesse –
which involved the famous felling of the Oak of Jupiter[36] – but Alcuin
went further and made it the focal point of his missionary hagiography,
even if he still had to admit that military conquest could be useful.[37]
Vita Vulframni may well have been a direct reaction to Alcuin's text, since
it involves a Neustrian saint who allegedly interacted more closely with
Radbod than Willibrord had, came close to converting and baptising the
Frisian leader, and relied heavily on miracles to undertake the conversion
of the Frisians.[38] What we appear to have in this text, then, is an attempt
by the monastery of Saint-Wandrille to claim some of the glory associated
with the Frisian mission, and to show that a Neustrian bishop associated
with the monastery had been just as important in the conversion of Frisia
as Willibrord and Boniface, two saints more readily associated with the
Carolingians and Austrasia: its portrayal of Radbod as a ruler willing to
tolerate the missionaries may in fact be more in line with the memory
of his role as an ally of Charles Martel's Neustrian enemies Ragamfred
and Chilperic II.[39] We must remember, though, that in *Vita Vulframni*
Radbod staunchly defends his paganism and dies unbaptised. Even in
this almost sympathetic text, then, he remains other.

Rebels

Rebels are ubiquitous in the early Carolingian sources, although attempts
to define rebellion were perhaps less zealous than attempts to define
paganism, at least before the advent of Charlemagne's oaths of loyalty.[40]
Rebels were excluded from the Frankish community because they had
removed themselves from it by acts of disloyalty against the Carolingian
rulers who held the community together. The concept of rebellion could
be used not only to justify Carolingian wars of expansion, but also to
explain why the rulers had undertaken wars against those who were
supposed to be their subjects. Unlike pagans, then, rebels could be found
not just on the peripheries of the Frankish realm, but also within the
regnum Francorum itself, and the latter could be particularly problematic,
as we shall see. Yet the peripheral peoples were the primary target of the
discourse of rebellion, and because of this there was an ambiguous but
crucial ethnic element to the discourse. Indeed, the link between rebellion
and ethnicity seems to have been so deeply ingrained in the minds of

[36] *VB*, 6. See Palmer, 'Defining paganism', 411–12; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 124–9;
Clay, *Shadow of Death*, pp. 288–9.
[37] *VW*, 13. Wood, *Missionary Life*, p. 85.   [38] Wood, *Missionary Life*, pp. 92–3.
[39] Wood, 'Saint-Wandrille', p. 14.   [40] See Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft*.

Carolingian authors that certain peoples – those who had proven most difficult to conquer or integrate – were seen as inherently rebellious. The Saxons represent the most obvious case of this, and several annal entries report that the Saxons 'rebelled in their usual manner', or words to that effect.[41] Einhard's presentation of Charlemagne's Saxon Wars in *Vita Karoli* represents the most extreme version of this trend, since unlike earlier authors he did not distinguish between the different groups of Saxons.[42] But it is clear that it was rebelliousness rather than ethnicity that equated to otherness, since the annals report that both Saxons and Frisians marched to war with the Frankish army.[43]

At the same time, many peoples were rebellious because they had been led astray by their leaders. Examples of such leaders are Hunoald of Aquitaine and Odilo of Bavaria, both of whom had been given their positions of power by Charles Martel but then renounced the loyalty they had sworn to his sons.[44] Such figures seem to have served a particular purpose in the sources. Firstly, they represented a counterpoint to the Carolingian rulers, but secondly – and perhaps more importantly – they allowed for only a single figure to be excluded: if an entire people was rebellious it would be difficult to incorporate it into the Frankish community, as in the case of the Saxons, although at least some of them were led astray by Widukind.[45] If a people had been led astray by its leader, though, integration could theoretically take place after the leader's death. But if the idea of rebellion was intrinsically linked to ethnicity and the peripheral peoples, how were rebellious Franks to be portrayed? As an answer, we shall now turn to the treatment of Charles Martel's son Grifo in the historical narratives of the period.

Grifo

Although early-Carolingian sources attempt to stress the unity of the Franks under the Carolingian dynasty, there were several disagreements within the royal family itself which proved to be unavoidable. Perhaps the most interesting example of this in terms of looking at changing approaches to others is Grifo, Charles Martel's son by his second wife Swanhild. Grifo actually came incredibly close to wielding real power in the Frankish kingdom, as shown by a letter he received from Boniface,[46] and his father almost certainly imagined that he would inherit joint

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[41] *ARF*, and *AMP*, s.a. 776–95. On the Saxons see Springer, *Die Sachsen*, pp. 166–261.
[42] *VK*, c. 7. See Flierman in this volume.   [43] *ARF*, s.a. 789–91.
[44] *AMP*, s.a. 742–3. On early medieval Aquitaine see Rouche, *L'Aquitaine*. On Odilo and Bavaria see Hammer, *'Ducatus' to 'Regnum'*, pp. 58–64; Brown, *Unjust Seizure*.
[45] *AMP*, s.a. 777–82.   [46] Boniface, *Epistolae*, 48.

authority with his brothers, probably consisting of parts of Neustria, Austrasia and Thuringia.[47] Instead Grifo fell into dispute with his half-brothers Pippin III and Carloman and spent most of the 740s imprisoned in Neufchâteau, and the remainder of his life from 747–53 variously at war with or fleeing from Pippin.[48] Yet we learn nothing about Grifo from the earliest Carolingian version of Frankish history – the so-called *Continuations to the Chronicle of Fredegar* (*c.* 751–86)[49] – except that he died in 753 while attempting to cross the Alps to the Lombard kingdom.[50] Fredegar's continuator remained almost silent about the wayward member of the Carolingian dynasty, and it seems that he preferred to ignore this divisive character rather than attempt to deal with the implications of his actions.

By the turn of the ninth century, though, we can see a growing interest in Grifo, since he features in both versions of *Annales regni Francorum* (*ARF*).[51] In the original version, composed *c.* 793, we learn that Grifo made an alliance with the Saxons in 747, but then fled to Bavaria in the following year and took over the duchy before being thwarted by Pippin III, who offered him control of twelve counties in Neustria. Not satisfied with this, Grifo fled to '*Vasconia*' and Duke Waifar of Aquitaine.[52] The revised version, composed probably shortly after 800, adds more detail to Grifo's story, while our fullest account of his career comes from *Annales Mettenses Priores* (*AMP*), composed *c.* 805.[53] Between them these sources present a much more explicitly rebellious vision of Grifo. Thus Grifo's attempt to exercise the authority he had been given by his father is portrayed as a rebellion against his brothers, simultaneously emphasising their legitimacy and his illegitimacy.[54] Not only this, but when he rebels against his brothers, he leads other Franks into rebellion with him, described by the author of *AMP* as 'Many fickle young men of noble Frankish birth' who 'were led away from their own master'.[55] In this sense, then, Grifo embodied the spirit of rebellion as much as any of the peripheral leaders, and was actually worse, since he was a Frank.

It is probably Grifo's alliances with various peripheral peoples that condemn him most in the eyes of a Carolingian audience, though, since these place him outside the mainstream of Frankish society among the

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[47] Becher, 'Eine verschleierte Krise'.

[48] See Collins, 'Pippin III', pp. 76–87; Airlie, 'Towards a Carolingian Aristocracy', pp. 112–21.

[49] Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 92; Collins, 'Fredegar', pp. 112–17.

[50] Fredegar, *Continuations*, c. 35.

[51] On *ARF* see McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 101–19.   [52] *ARF*, s.a. 747–8.

[53] Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, pp. 332–3.

[54] Revised *ARF*, s.a. 741.   [55] *AMP*, s.a. 748.

rebellious peripheral peoples. Immediately after being released from cap-
tivity by Pippin he flees to the Saxons, who have already been established
as inherently rebellious. He then provides them with a leader around
whom they can rally in their disloyalty to Pippin; in other words, he
forsakes his position in the Frankish community for power outside it.[56]
Grifo then flees to Bavaria, a region he had a legitimate family link to,
and which he is able to subject temporarily before being defeated by
Pippin.[57] Next he flees to Aquitaine before finally attempting to cross
the Alps to the Lombard Kingdom. In each of these cases he is also
associated with fellow antagonists of the Franks, Waifar and Aistulf, each
of whom took their turn as Pippin's chief rival in the sources.[58] Two
points are worth considering here. The first is that Grifo is continually
presented as a contrast with Pippin. The latter leads the loyal Frankish
army and is generous in victory, while Grifo's followers are disloyal and
treacherous and Grifo rejects Pippin's attempts to make peace.[59] The
second is the constant association between Grifo and peripheral peoples,
which highlights the ambiguity of both parties in the sources. As already
stated, these peoples were not inherently bad; it was only when ethnic
labels were combined with the concepts of paganism or disloyalty that
they became negative. Likewise, we should not understate the fact that
Grifo was not only a Frank, but a member of the Carolingian family,
and thus a Frank *par excellence*. In highlighting Grifo's alliances with or
leadership of peripheral groups, then, the historians were attempting to
lessen his 'Frankishness' by conflating the already related ideas of rebel-
liousness and peripheral status; after all, he is consistently depicted as
'fleeing' from the *regnum Francorum* to the peripheral regions.

But why this need or desire to present an audience with a narrative of
Grifo's actions fifty years after his death? It may be that the increasing
strength of the Carolingian dynasty filled its historians with increasing
confidence in describing their victories over rival leaders.[60] However, it
seems there was more involved in the case of Grifo. The last two decades
of the eighth century saw two alleged rebellions against Charlemagne
from within his own family; the first by his cousin Tassilo III of Bavaria,[61]
the second by his son Pippin the Hunchback.[62] These rebellions resulted
in a renewed interest in the oaths of loyalty which Charlemagne's sub-
jects had to take, and they may also have sparked a renewed interest in
that last great family dispute which escalated into fratricidal war. There

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[56] Revised *ARF*, s.a. 747.   [57] Revised *ARF*, s.a. 748; *AMP*, s.a. 749.
[58] *AMP*, s.a. 753–6, 760–3.   [59] Revised *ARF*, s.a. 748.
[60] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 117–18.   [61] Airlie, 'Narratives of triumph'.
[62] Nelson, 'Charlemagne – *pater optimus*?', pp. 276–8.

are certainly similarities in the way the rebellions were portrayed. Like Grifo, Tassilo was an outsider despite his descent from Charles Martel; indeed, he was more a Bavarian than a Frank, being the son of the 'rebellious' Odilo and Charles' daughter Hiltrude. Tassilo also associated himself with those beyond the borders of the *regnum Francorum* when he attempted to ally with the Avars.[63] Pippin the Hunchback's rebellion is more obscure, but this may be because he was the most 'Frankish' and had the least association with peripheral peoples, making it difficult to associate his disloyalty with the usual suspects. Nevertheless, the presentation of Grifo suggests that simply 'rebelling' was enough to lose one's place in the community. The roles of women in fomenting rebellion are also mentioned in all three cases. The Revised *ARF* state that Pippin's rebellion was a reaction to the 'intolerable cruelty' of his step-mother Fastrada,[64] while Paul the Deacon and Einhard describe his mother as a concubine, emphasising his illegitimacy.[65] While Grifo and Tassilo were not acting in response to female tyranny, they were encouraged in their actions by women; Grifo by his mother, the Bavarian 'concubine' Swanhild,[66] and Tassilo under the influence of his 'spiteful wife' Liutberg.[67] What we can see here, then, is that by the turn of the ninth century authors were more willing, and more able to deal with Frankish disunity, and did so through the use of a trait which placed the guilty parties outside the Frankish community, even when they were Franks.

The Merovingians

Of the three groups here discussed, the Merovingians represent the most uniquely Carolingian vision of otherness, even if the *topos* of *rois fainéants* was taken to far greater extremes in later centuries.[68] Early Carolingian authors had to come to terms with the fact that Pippin III was a usurper, and the way for them to do this was to justify the Carolingian takeover by ignoring the later Merovingians,[69] or by portraying them as useless and idle,[70] doing nothing but acting as political figureheads.[71] The descendants of Dagobert I (generally regarded as the last of the powerful Merovingians),[72] were excluded from having had any positive role in the course of Frankish history: at best they were non-kings and at worst their inactivity had caused divisions and trauma in the Frankish kingdom which had taken the Carolingians a century to resolve. *AMP*, which

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[63] *ARF*, s.a. 788.   [64] Revised *ARF*, s.a. 792.
[65] Paul the Deacon, *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*; *VK*, c. 20.   [66] *AMP*, s.a. 741.
[67] *ARF*, s.a. 788.   [68] Peters, *Shadow King*.   [69] *Continuations*, cc. 11–33.
[70] *AMP*, s.a. 688–93.   [71] *VK*, c. 1.
[72] Kölzer, 'Die letzten Merowingerkönige', p. 33.

contains the most anachronistic picture of the late Merovingian world,[73] represents the latter viewpoint most explicitly in the way it describes Pippin II's wars against non-Franks. First the author states that when Pippin II took up leadership of the Austrasians, the Suevi, Saxons and Bavarians 'were struggling to defend their own unique freedoms' due to 'the idleness of kings,' and the civil wars which had divided the kingdom.[74] Later the author explains that Pippin II's external wars were fought to acquire an extensive list of peoples who 'formerly were subjected to the Franks'.[75] In both cases the author blames the sorry state of affairs on the weakness of kings who had failed to prevent civil war and the fracturing of Frankish hegemony. Einhard targeted not just the supposed inactivity of the later Merovingians, but also their allegedly degenerate and outdated customs and practices. He did so by concentrating on Childeric III – the last Merovingian – specifically, although it is clear from the language used to introduce Childeric that he was supposed to stand for all the later members of the dynasty. The two most infamous Merovingian features attacked by Einhard – besides the idleness – were the long hair and beard which set the king apart from his subjects and the ox-cart used to transport him from place to place.[76] Merovingian hair has enjoyed a special place in modern scholarship,[77] with various explanations of it as a symbol of sacral kingship,[78] a more secular but no less important symbol of political superiority over subjects,[79] or most recently a sign of Biblical virility in the model of Samson.[80] The ox-cart, though less discussed, appears to have been a part of the late Roman administration which survived into Merovingian Francia.[81] Given the Carolingian interest in Roman precedents it seems that Einhard meant to turn this perfectly legitimate sign of political power – like the long hair – into an object of ridicule; a symbol of otherness.

Childeric III

As with Grifo, when it came to discussing the later Merovingians – and Childeric III in particular – it appears that Carolingian authors became more confident the further in time they were writing from Pippin's usurpation: certainly, in the earlier sources Childeric appears more as a non-entity than a figure to be accused of bad kingship. Fredegar's continuator, who took the first ten chapters of his work from the last

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[73] Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, pp. 340–9.   [74] *AMP*, s.a. 688.
[75] *AMP*, s.a. 691.   [76] *VK*, c. 1.   [77] Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache*, pp. 3–42.
[78] Le Jan, 'Die Sakralität'.   [79] Diesenberger, 'Hair, sacrality'.
[80] Goosmann, 'Long-haired kings'.
[81] Wallace-Hadrill, 'Review', 789; Murray, '*Post vocantur Merohingii*', pp. 130–2.

ten of *Liber historiae Francorum* – a Merovingian text composed in 727 – mentions the late seventh- and early eighth-century kings, but tones down his model's positive representations of them.[82] When taking the narrative beyond the accession of Theuderic IV in 721, though, the continuator makes no mention at all of the Merovingians, instead focusing entirely on the Carolingian mayors. Thus Childeric III is conspicuous by his absence, at least to a modern audience. This can be seen as an attempt to write the last Merovingian out of history in order to emphasise the rule exercised by Charles' sons, but it also shows that this author felt no need to actively denigrate the later Merovingians, and ignoring the last two was enough to pave the way for Pippin III's accession. Perhaps, though, as with Grifo, the author felt unable to deal with the implications of the events of the early 750s.

ARF largely avoided the Merovingian issue since its account begins in 741, but it too neglects to mention Childeric's accession in 743, an event which is only known from charter evidence.[83] His deposition is mentioned, though, in relation to Pippin III's claiming of the kingship. The author writes: 'Following the custom of the Franks, Pippin was elected as king . . . Truly Childeric, who falsely was called king, was tonsured and sent into a monastery.'[84] So here we have Childeric denounced as a false king, but no further information is provided, and we are given nothing about why he was judged in this way. It is interesting to note, given *AMP*'s overt hostility to the Merovingians, that they make no mention of Childeric or his deposition.

Finally we come to the most explicit denunciation of the Merovingians found in a Carolingian source: Einhard's outlandish portrayal of the royal scapegoat Childeric III as a long-haired, long-bearded king who was transported to and fro in an ox-cart to act as nothing more than a symbol of authority through which the mayors could rule.[85] This may well have had some basis in reality, but the point was not to represent the real Childeric, it was to present a king who was everything a good Carolingian ruler was not. Nonetheless, given that Einhard meant Childeric to stand for all the later Merovingians, this was not just how he and his contemporaries pictured one king; it was how they imagined an entire series of kings, even an entire period of Frankish history, with Childeric now providing the embodiment of all that was wrong with that period. As with rebel leaders, this provided an important discursive tool. Laying the problems of the late Merovingian period specifically on Childeric meant the Franks were not blamed for their degeneracy, and Childeric's

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[82] *Continuations*, cc. 1–10.   [83] Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 290.
[84] *ARF*, s.a. 750. On monastic 'retirement' see Goosmann in this volume.   [85] *VK*, c. 1.

deposition both became a redemptive act and allowed for a sense of uninterrupted continuity in the Frankish community.

Ultimately, though, what we see from *AMP*'s general denigration combined with Einhard's specific denunciation is that as the Carolingians became more powerful, so their historians showed a greater willingness to deal with the Merovingian issue. That the most explicit criticisms of the previous dynasty come from the period after Charlemagne's imperial coronation should not be overlooked. It was not simply that authors saw a continuing need to address this problem; it was that after 800 they could do so because Charlemagne's actions had proved the ultimate legitimation of his father's usurpation. They also had brought the contrast between Merovingian and Carolingian styles of rule into contrast more sharply than ever before, and meant that authors who had grown up during the reigns of Pippin and Charlemagne judged the Merovingians by the standards of royal power with which they were familiar; standards which emphasised strong military rule and expansionist warfare, activities the later Merovingians had not undertaken. Here, then, we can see the emergence of the idea that the later Merovingians had not lived up to the correct standards of kingship, or more accurately the Carolingian expectation of kingship as embodied by Charlemagne, and it seems sensible to conclude that this was an expectation shared by Einhard, the author of *AMP* and their audience.

Proximity and otherness

In his *Vita Karoli* Einhard reported a Greek proverb to the effect that 'if a Frank is your friend he is clearly not your neighbour'.[86] While he mentioned this in the context of Byzantine distrust of Charlemagne's imperial coronation, the proverb actually seems like a reasonable representation of the views we find in the early Carolingian sources. After all, one thing which strikes us about the groups and individuals so far discussed is that they were in close proximity to contemporary Carolingian society, either geographically or temporally; they were the neighbours of the Franks. It makes sense, of course, that the immediate enemies of the Frankish community would receive the harshest treatment. Yet we must also consider that the Saxons, for example, received such a harsh treatment because of their ambiguous situation with regards to membership of the Frankish community: their peripheral nature meant they could be used to highlight the traits which would result in exclusion from the community. Such a theory is consolidated by the treatment in the sources of those further in

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[86] *VK*, c. 16.

space or time from the community, and we can see depictions of groups or individuals we might expect to be part of the discourse of otherness but who instead are treated with ambivalence or even praise. We shall now briefly consider, then, the portrayals of Muslims, Slavs and early Merovingians.

Even when authors chose to present a nuanced picture of pagans they still focused on a strong sense of religious dichotomy between Christianity and paganism. Such dichotomy, however, was not the focal point for depictions of relations between the Carolingians and Islam. Fredegar's continuator drew on the imagery of Joshua's siege of Jericho when discussing Charles Martel's victory over the Muslims in Aquitaine,[87] suggesting a religious aspect to the confrontation, but these Muslims had invaded the *regnum Francorum*, and other than this it is difficult to find a sense of religious dichotomy in the sources. Indeed, one of the most famous Carolingian campaigns against the Muslims of Spain – Charlemagne's campaign of 778 – was used to highlight the treachery of the Basques who ambushed the Frankish army in the Pyrenees and the Saxons who took advantage of the king's absence to rebel.[88] Generally speaking the Muslims, like the Byzantines, were treated as a people who could be dealt with as equals, which included the sending and receiving of embassies and the mutual giving of gifts.[89]

A similar pattern can be seen with regard to the peripheral peoples. While various peoples were labelled as rebels in the Carolingian sources, it tended to be those who had been recently conquered who were most vehemently targeted, as in the case of the Saxons. More distant peoples who remained outside direct Frankish rule during Charlemagne's reign could be presented in a more nuanced fashion. The Slavs, for example, could certainly have been considered within the Frankish sphere,[90] and were still pagan in the eighth century, but received a more ambivalent treatment than the Saxons. The Slavs were subjected to neither religious nor political denunciations in the same consistent manner as were the Saxons, and there was a much greater tendency to distinguish between sub-groups of Slavs. Indeed, there seems to have been little sense at all of a homogeneous Slavic group.[91] This was probably dictated above all by the nature of Frankish diplomatic relations with the Slavs, wherein certain groups allied with the Franks and others with their enemies, particularly the Saxons, but because they had not been subject to a drawn-out war of conquest like the Saxons, there was no need for Frankish authors to

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[87] *Continuations*, c. 13.   [88] *ARF*, s.a. 778.
[89] *ARF*, s.a. 777–92. See McCormick, 'Charlemagne'; McCormick, 'Pippin III'.
[90] See Curta, *Making of the Slavs*, pp. 36–119; Curta, 'Slavs'.   [91] *AMP*, s.a. 789.

present the Slavs as uniformly other. This meant the role of the Slavs in the historical discourse was to praise loyalty and show that it would be rewarded, while alliance with 'others' would not be tolerated.

Likewise the Merovingians: it was only those who were closest in time to the Carolingians, and who had lived alongside Pippin II, Charles Martel and Pippin III, who were subjected to *damnatio memoriae*. The Merovingian historical works, with their positive depictions of Clovis I in particular but also some of his descendants, continued to be read in the Carolingian period, even if in altered forms:[92] only the later chapters of *LHF* were reworked to an extent that subverted the author's original message.[93] Indeed, while the later members of the Merovingian dynasty were 'other', Carolingian authors actively promoted the idea of continuity between the two royal dynasties, and thus a continuity of the community as a whole. Even as early as the 760s the earlier Merovingians were being used as the standard against which the new regime would be measured: Clovis' Catholicism became the template for the explicitly Christian style of rule employed by the Carolingians.[94] The early Merovingians were also judged as the standard for Carolingian rule of non-Franks, as shown by a reference by Fredegar's continuator to Pippin III's ability to return the Saxons to the tribute which they had paid to Chlothar I, and from which they had been excused by Dagobert I.[95] This idea of dynastic continuity went even further in the genealogies of the Carolingian dynasty,[96] which linked the family to a daughter of Chlothar II, a notion which offered the dynasty a level of legitimacy it otherwise lacked, while also conveniently bypassing the later, idle members of the Merovingian line.[97] As a final point, it is worth remembering that Clovis (Louis) and Chlothar (Lothar) became dynastic names for the Carolingians alongside Charles and Pippin.[98]

Conclusions: ideal and reality

Each of the authors and sources here examined attempted to depict an idealised world in which the Franks and their missionary allies were confronted with enemies but triumphed over them. They achieved this depiction by conjuring up a world strongly divided between 'the Franks' – embodying the positive traits of Christianity, unity, loyalty and strong

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[92] Reimitz, 'Providential past'.   [93] *AMP*, s.a. 688–92.
[94] Innes, 'Immune from heresy', pp. 101–4.
[95] *Continuations*, c. 31. Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, IV, 14; Fredegar, *Chronicon*, IV, 74.
[96] *Genealogia Karolorum*.   [97] See Wood, 'Genealogy', pp. 234–5.
[98] Jarnut, 'Chlodwig und Chlothar'.

rule – and 'the others' – embodying the negative traits of paganism, rebellion and weak rule. But of course such a heavily idealised world belies the complex reality which existed in the eighth century. The peripheral peoples described in the sources were part of the Frankish world, whether or not they were Christian, and this world had been stabilised by three centuries of Merovingian rule.[99] This world, however, was not what the Carolingians imagined their own should be like. Carolingian rule over the peripheries was more consolidated than Merovingian rule had been, and the early Carolingians were military leaders in a way the later Merovingians had ceased to be; the ongoing successes of the Carolingians only served to highlight such dynastic differences. We should not be surprised, then, that those authors attempting to provide a narrative of the eighth-century Frankish world relied increasingly on an idealised dichotomy between the Franks and their enemies. What is more difficult to determine, though, is how far this was a conscious decision and how far it was instinctive or subconscious, or even a result of audience expectation. After all, the 'othering' of peripheral peoples and the old dynasty allowed not only for the justification of the Carolingian dynasty and its actions, it also allowed authors to make sense of the world in which they lived and its contrasts with the late Merovingian world. To put it more plainly, those who had grown up under Pippin III and Charlemagne and heard the exploits of the missionaries working across the Rhine would expect the world to work in a certain way; they would expect to find the dichotomy which is present in the sources. Yet the authors at least knew the world was not as black and white as such expectations might suggest, and allowed for ambiguities in their portrayals of others, partly by focusing on scapegoats, but more generally by allowing that others could be (re)integrated into the Carolingian Frankish community. Even in such idealised portrayals, then, we can still see that any pagan was a potential Christian, any rebel was simply a misguided subject, and that the Merovingian dynasty still represented the source of Frankish royal power.

[99] Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 322–4.

10   Who are the Philistines? Bede's readings of Old Testament peoples

Ian Wood

The peoples of the Bible as ancestors and models in the early Middle Ages

The Bible was the key text for the Christian writers of early medieval Europe as they defined the peoples to which they belonged and their position in the world. Since the Creation narrative and the opening chapters of Genesis were regarded as fact, they necessarily provided the starting point for the understanding of the origins of any people. As was recognised by many a world chronicle,[1] everyone must have descended from the sons of Noah. There was indeed a well established genealogy of nations, set out by Jerome in his *Hebraicae quaestiones in libros Geneseos*, which was streamlined by Bede to present the peoples of Asia as the descendants of Shem, and derived those of Africa from Ham and of Europe from Japheth.[2] Because Noah was everyone's ancestor scholars writing in the Christian tradition had somehow to place themselves, their people and their neighbours within this scheme.

Yet the Bible was not only read literally: for Bede four types of reading were possible, the literal or historical, the typological or allegorical, the anagogical (setting out 'the sense leading to higher things') and the tropological (or moral). Not that he brought them all into play at once: in the *Commentary on Genesis* he stresses the first three,[3] and at one point in that on Samuel the second and the fourth.[4] In fact the different readings could be contradictory, as can be seen in a very simple way in the treatment of the descent from Noah. The descendants of Ham include peoples that we would now associate with the Holy Land and the Middle East (in other words Asia) rather than Africa, the continent to which they

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[1] But see Pohl, 'Ethnic names and identities in the British Isles', p. 16.
[2] Genesis 9:1, 18–19, 27; 102–32: Jerome, *Hebraicae quaestiones*, pp. 10–14. Bede, *In Genesim*, trans. Kendall, *Bede On Genesis*, pp. 215–16.
[3] Bede, *In Genesim*, on Genesis 18:6–7: trans. Kendall, p. 291.
[4] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 10:14–16. For a description of Bede's methodology, Kendall, *Bede On Genesis*, pp. 8–14: DeGregorio, 'Bede and the Old Testament', pp. 132–5.

were assigned: alongside the Ethiopians, the Egyptians and the Libyans, the offspring of Ham include the Canaanites, the people of Babylon, Nineveh, Sodom and Gomorrah as well as the Philistines.[5] But Ham was cursed by Noah for laughing at him, and he thus came to represent the Jews who laughed at Christ.[6] As a result Shem, the ancestral figure of the peoples of Asia, represents only those Jews who came to believe in Christ, while Japheth, the ancestor of the Europeans, also represents Gentile believers.[7] Bede's ascription of specific regions of the world to the descendants of the sons of Noah reflects only a historical reading, but history could be trumped by allegory.

Moving to a later Biblical generation, Abraham's seed included all believers, Jew or Gentile,[8] while Ishmael, his son by Hagar, was the ancestor of the Saracens, 'who hold the whole breadth of Africa in their sway, and they also hold the greatest part of Asia and some part of Europe, hateful and hostile to all'.[9] The Ishmaelites (or Hagarenes), however, are also seen by Bede as symbolising the Old Covenant (and could thus be understood as an allegory of the Jews), while Isaac symbolised the New.[10]

The application of non-literal interpretations of the peoples of the Bible was not merely a theological issue: it lay at the root of one of the key notions employed in understanding the success and failure of individual peoples of the early medieval period: that of the New Israel. Already in the sixth century Gildas had taken the notion and applied it to the Britons.[11] Two centuries later Bede thought that the Britons had forfeited their privileged position, which in his view had been transferred to the Anglo-Saxons.[12] The idea of a New Israel would also have resonance in the Carolingian period.[13] Yet, as we shall see, the concept of the New Israel, at least in Bede's day, was very much more complex than one might have imagined. This becomes especially apparent if one considers Bede's views

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[5] Bede, *In Genesim*, 9:27; 10:6–10: trans. Kendall, pp. 213, 217–20.
[6] Bede, *In Genesim*, 9:22–3:trans. Kendall, pp. 210–11: also p. 23.
[7] Bede, *In Genesim*, 9:26–7: trans. Kendall, p. 212.
[8] Bede, *In Genesim*, 17:8: trans. Kendall, p. 282.
[9] Bede, *In Genesim*, 16:12: trans. Kendall, p. 279.
[10] Bede, *In Genesim*, 17:24–5: trans. Kendall, pp. 286–7: also p. 26. Scarfe Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World*, pp. 123–39.
[11] Gildas, *De Excidio Britonum*, 1. 8; 26. 1, ed. George, *Gildas' De Excidio Britonum*, pp. 134, 144: with pp. 34, 35, 54. See also Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?', pp. 156–7.
[12] Bede, *HE*, I 22; II 2; V 23; Stancliffe, *Bede and the Britons*, pp. 1–5; Cowdrey, 'Bede and the "English People"', 504, 506–7; Tugène, '"L'Histoire ecclésiastique" du peuple anglais'; Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?', pp. 157–8 (where Aidan and Cuthbert are wrongly described as British); McClure, 'Bede's Old Testament kings'.
[13] Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?' on the idea and its limits; de Jong, 'Empire as *ecclesia*'.

not just of the Israelites, but also of other peoples of the Old Testament. In what follows I wish to look carefully at Bede's comments on a number of peoples, and especially on the Philistines, above all in his *Commentary on Samuel*, in order to understand better the function of the tribes of the Old Testament in early medieval, and especially Bede's, thought. Such an analysis draws attention to the danger of any simple reading of a contrast between Chosen and non-Chosen peoples, and thus points to the sophistication and flexibility with which what one might regard as an early-medieval version of the concept of 'the Other' was employed.

The New Israel

At first sight the use of the idea of the New Israel suggests a sharp distinction between peoples favoured by God, and those who were not Chosen. Gildas' Britons like Bede's Anglo-Saxons were threatened by enemies who were constantly testing them, as the Philistines and other peoples of the Old Testament had tested the Israelites. It is easy to imagine that such notions would lead to a simple distinction between the Chosen and those not destined for salvation: between Us and Them. At times this distinction is clearly envisaged, both by Gildas and by Bede, who had no doubt that the Britons in failing to follow the advice they had been given were faced with temporal and eternal punishment.[14]

The notion of the New Israel was, however, a complex one. Identification with the Israelites was fraught with difficulty, not least because the Old Testament people were inconstant in their behaviour and thus in what they represented. As Bede commented in his letter to bishop Ecgbert, only a few kings of Judah between David and Zedekiah 'were men of faith': most were wicked.[15] The Israelites regularly disobeyed God's commandments, and so called into question their position as the Chosen People: and with their rejection of Christ in the New Testament their privileged position came to an end and was instead given to those Jews and Gentiles who accepted Christianity. The new Christian peoples of the post-Roman period, however, were no more obedient to divine commands than the Israelites had been, as Gildas and Bede pointed out. Thus, although the early Middle Ages boasts a persistent rhetoric of the New Israel, that rhetoric should not be understood in any simple, black-and-white way. The theologians who used it knew only too well that the Israelites had not lived up to their Covenant with God, and they were also aware that their own contemporaries were equally liable to fail in keeping the New Covenant.

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[14] Bede, *HE*, II 2.   [15] Bede, *Epistola ad Ecgbertum Episcopum*, 11.

Although the images of the New Israel and of the Chosen People run throughout early medieval historical writing, the frailty of the Old Israel was clearly apparent to Christian authors. We can see this especially clearly in a verse-by-verse biblical commentary, which inevitably draws attention to the number of occasions that the Israelites failed to obey God's commandments. Further, given the various types of interpretation available (literal, typological, anagogical and tropological), biblical commentators pored remorselessly over the different ways in which the behaviour of the Israelites could be read. At one moment they could be seen as ideal followers of God, at another (and more frequently) as heretics, apostates or pagans. Equally, a people who one might not expect to be exponents of virtue (among them the Philistines) could in a specific biblical verse appear as a representation of those fit for salvation. The Persian king Cyrus could even represent the Saviour.[16]

Consciously contradictory readings of the Old Testament

Bede was fully aware of the contradictions that such an approach could occasion, as he set out in a lengthy comment on his reading of Saul, who appears in the *Commentary on Samuel* as a false Christian,[17] a type of the Jews,[18] a schismatic and heretic,[19] and as a man misled by heretics[20] and beset by false brothers.[21] Commenting on the king's relationship with David, Bede stated that '[t]he same Saul figuratively evokes the people of the Jews, sometimes representing those ruling, sometimes teaching true things, sometimes believing in Christ, sometimes neglecting Christ's commands, sometimes despising Christ and persecuting him, sometimes threatening, trapping, cutting down and killing his followers'.[22] Bede saw that he had to explain these contradictions, perhaps because he was worried that the apparent inconsistencies in his *Commentary* might themselves be taken as misleading.

If it perhaps seems strange to someone, that the same Saul can at one and the same time be said to signify good and bad equally, let him look at the holy man Isaac blessing his son but not knowing at all that that same son was the type of the Jews, who did not see by faith Christ the saviour, whom they had long hymned as the blessed one who would come in the name of the Lord, when he was present

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[16] Bede, *In Ezram et Neemiam*, 1, 1–2; DeGregorio, Bede On Ezra and Nehemiah, p. 12.

[17] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 15, 23, 26. For Bede's picture of Saul, Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel', pp. 138–9.

[18] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 20:25–6.   [19] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 23:24.

[20] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 26:19–20.   [21] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 22:19–22.

[22] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 18:16.

in the flesh: and let him see the same son blessed by an angel and at the same time rendered lame, signifying the Jewish people blessed in those believing in Christ but lame in those persecuting Christ. And so good things are represented through good men, and bad things through bad men, and good things through bad men, and bad things through good men, quite freely according to places and times. And in the receipt of rewards the good do not carry off for themselves anything other than for good things, nor do the evil win evils other than those they themselves did. In just this way even though [the phrases] 'a black Ethiopian' and 'a white Saxon' are written in one and the same colours [of ink], it is immediately and easily possible to see without any controversy which is native to which colour. But it is different in the case of a painting where unless each of them is depicted in his appropriate colour and dress, the painting that has set forth the images stands accused of an impudent lie.[23]

Not for Bede a simplistic set of one-to-one parallels, but rather a series of free-standing riffs, each set off by a precise quotation, which needed to be read together to understand the total picture.

This is a very much more complex stance than that expressed in the Preface of the *Ecclesiastical History*, addressed to king Ceolwulf:

Should history tell of good men and their good estate, the thoughtful listener is spurred on to imitate the good; should it record the evil ends of wicked men, no less effectually the devout and earnest listener is kindled to eschew what is harmful and perverse, and himself with greater care pursue those things which he has learned to be good and pleasing in the sight of God.[24]

The apparent contradictions of the biblical commentary were not the stuff of advice to the king.

The context of Bede's *Commentary on Samuel*

The *Commentary on Samuel* is a particularly rewarding text for looking at Bede's thought, not least because it is very tightly dated, which allows us to say something of the context in which it was written. This allows us to identify a bank of possible allusions, although there is no sense that the history of the Israelites provided an exact parallel for events in the eighth century. The *Commentary on Genesis* also contains important material for an understanding of Bede's use of the biblical *gentes*: it is after all

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[23] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 10:25. I am indebted to Chris Grocock and Danuta Shanzer for correcting my translation.

[24] Bede, *HE*, *praef.*: trans. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 2. Cowdrey, 'Bede and the "English People"', 514.

the work that deals with the descent of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Europe from the sons of Noah and of Abraham.[25]

The *Commentary on Genesis* can only be dated in relation to that on Ezra.[26] In the Preface to the Genesis commentary Bede tells Acca that he is breaking off his work after Book 1, to write about Ezra and Nehemiah.[27] Books 2–4 therefore follow on from the commentary on the two minor prophets. Unfortunately there is disagreement about the date of the Ezra commentary, with Paul Meyvaert placing it between 711 and 715 and Scott DeGregorio placing it in the mid 720s.[28] With the Samuel commentary we are on firmer ground, because Bede tells us that he had already finished the second and third books, and was turning his mind to the fourth when he heard about the resignation and departure for Rome of his abbot Ceolfrith.[29] Not only does this give us a date of 716 for the conclusion of Book 3, it also allows us to understand something of the circumstances in which Bede was writing.

A number of significant events took place in 716. Looking back on the year at the end of the *Ecclesiastical History*, which he claimed to have completed in 731,[30] Bede stated that 'Osred, king of Northumbria, was killed, and Ceolred, king of Mercia, died. Ecgbert, the man of God, converted the monks of Iona to the catholic Easter and corrected their ecclesiastical tonsure.'[31] It would seem that in retrospect he thought the solution to the disagreements over Easter to be the most significant development of the year. He may not have thought so in the winter and spring of 716–17. In the Samuel commentary he only uses the word *pascha* on four occasions, twice in response to its presence in the biblical text:[32] scarcely a major haul, given how much the question of Easter seems to have meant to Bede, or given the number of occasions the first book of Samuel raises questions of ritual correctness, which could have prompted a discussion of the right celebration of Easter. To judge

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[25] Bede, *In Genesim*, on 10:1–30; 16:1–12; 17:24–5: trans. Kendall, pp. 215–26, 277–9, 286–7: see also pp. 21–7 (though on p. 26 'Saracens/Arabs' would be better than 'Muslims'). See Scarfe Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World*, pp. 123–39.

[26] Kendall, *Bede On Genesis*, pp. 45–53, 323–6; DeGregorio, *Bede On Ezra and Nehemiah*, pp. xxxvi–xlii.

[27] Bede, *In Genesim*, pref.; trans. Kendall, pp. 65–7.

[28] Meyvaert, 'The Date of Bede *In Ezram*'; DeGregorio, *Bede On Ezra and Nehemiah*, pp. xxxvi–xlii.

[29] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, p. 213. See Grocock and Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth*, pp. xxxix–xliii: Bede's comments at the beginning of Book 4 of the Samuel commentary are translated at pp. 101–3, n. 114.

[30] For the date of composition, Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, p. 242, n. 36.

[31] Bede, *HE*, V 24; trans. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 567.

[32] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 5:5; 17:38; 17:40; 31:4.

by the works written in 716–17 he was more struck at the time by the departure of Ceolfrith, by the murder of king Osred and by the accession of Coenred.[33] The relative chronology is uncertain, but it would seem from a close reading of the first three books of the Samuel commentary that Osred was killed before Ceolfrith's departure.[34] We may guess that the two events were related: in all probability Ceolfrith was not happy at Osred's murder, although there would seem to have been some within the Wearmouth-Jarrow community who were.

Indeed, it would seem that the community was deeply divided at the time. Another Bedan text of this period, the *Historia Abbatum*, almost certainly written in late 716 or early 717, is greatly concerned about the issue of unity.[35] The issue recurs throughout the text.[36] In particular Bede attributes a long speech to the dying Benedict Biscop, founder of Wearmouth, in which his monastery is compared to Israel. According to Biscop, the Israelites had always been successful when united, and this was a lesson that the community of Wearmouth-Jarrow should learn.[37] Whether or not Biscop really did say as much while he was dying in 689–90, Bede clearly felt that the unity of Wearmouth-Jarrow was under threat in 716–17, and that the divisions might be disastrous. Israel was not just a model for a kingdom: it could also be the model for a monastic community. The comparison is taken up in the *Life of Ceolfrith*, written at Wearmouth, shortly after Bede's *Historia Abbatum*, where the monks are warned by their abbot as he set out for Rome in 716 not to become divided as the Hebrews had been under the sons of Solomon,[38] and where Benedict Biscop is described as a New Moses to the New Aaron of Ceolfrith.[39]

Equally important to understanding the situation at the time of Bede's composition of his *Commentary on Samuel* is the question of a British threat. As has been noted by Clare Stancliffe, Bede, in his prose *Life of Cuthbert*, has the saint envisage that Lindisfarne might fall into the

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[33] See Grocock and Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth*, pp. xxxix–xliii. Also Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel'; Stancliffe, *Bede and the Britons*, pp. 30–2. For the murder of Osred, see the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS D*, pp. xviii–xxvii, 10.

[34] Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel', p. 139; Grocock and Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth*, pp. xli–xlii.

[35] See Grocock and Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth*, pp. xxxix–xlii.

[36] The unity of the English is also a key issue in the *HE*: Cowdrey, 'Bede and the "English People"', 511–12.

[37] Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, 13. For the question of Biscop's role in the foundation of Jarrow, see Grocock and Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth*, pp. xxv–xxxii.

[38] *Vita Ceolfridi*, 25.   [39] *Vita Ceolfridi*, 6.

hands of schismatics.[40] Since the work was written between 713 and 721, and probably towards the end of that period, the only schismatic people who could have presented a danger to Lindisfarne are the Britons of Strathclyde. Although they had suffered set-backs at the hands of the Irish of Dál Riada in 711 and 717,[41] they could still have presented a substantial threat to the Northumbrian kingdom.[42] Osred was on the British frontier at the time of his murder, perhaps for military reasons.

The British threat, the murder of Osred and the division of the Wearmouth-Jarrow community surely impinged on Bede's thought as he wrote the *Commentary on Samuel*[43] – a choice of subject, like the Book of Ezra, that was unique to Bede in the late and post-Roman period. At times it is highly likely that he had very specific analogies in mind. There would seem to be implicit comparisons of Saul and Osred: Samuel may sometimes be meant to call to mind either Wilfrid or Bede's own abbot, Ceolfrith. So too, at certain moments the Britons seem to be evoked by the unfaithful Jews,[44] and also by the Philistines.[45] However, Bede does not make his comparisons explicit, although on a considerable number of occasions he asks the reader to think about the present: the word *hodie*, for instance, appears fifty-six times in the Samuel commentary.[46] In most of these instances his concern is for the current state of religion and with the threat of heresy, although in two cases he raises the question of the anointing and killing of the Lord's anointed, perhaps to draw attention to the murder of Osred.[47] There is also a reference to the

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[40] Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, 39. Stancliffe, *Bede and the Britons*, p. 22. On problems in Lindisfarne in the reign of Osred, see Higham, *(Re-)Reading Bede*, pp. 197–8.

[41] *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 711, 717.

[42] Stancliffe. *Bede and the Britons*, pp. 29–30; Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel'.

[43] Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel'.

[44] Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel', pp. 140–1.

[45] Bede saw a connection between the Philistine treatment of the Ark of the Covenant and the Easter controversy; *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 5:5.

[46] See Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel', pp. 142–3. See the online database of the *CCSL* edition of Bede's *Commentary on Samuel* (www.corpuschristianorum.org/centres/steenbrugge.html); other words/phrases implying a connection with the present are *in praesenti* seven times; *ad praesens* three times; *hoc tempore* three times. For a selection of examples of the use of *hodie*, see Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 5:11; 15:27–8; 17:3; 23:26–8; 26:2–3: *tempore novissimae*, on 22:9–10; *in praesenti regno*, on 13:13; *in praesenti/modernis temporibus*, on 23:26–8; *ad praesens*, on 23:26–8; *praesens ecclesiae tempus*, on 27:4; *hoc tempore*, on 27:11.

[47] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 15:27–8, and 24:7. See Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel', pp. 142–3.

threat of persecution, which might possibly hint at fear of attack by the Britons.[48]

Old Testament kings as fluid models

Bede's methodology, however, did not encourage him to set up a consistent pattern of analogues. Saul might call Osred to mind at one moment, and the Philistines might evoke the Britons at another, but the similarities were fleeting. In the *Ecclesiastical History* it is not Osred, but rather the pagan Æthelfrith who 'might indeed be compared with Saul . . . but with this exception, that Æthelfrith was ignorant of the divine religion'.[49] Interestingly, this comparison has nothing to do with Bede's own analysis of Saul in the Samuel commentary. It was a different point that he wished to emphasise:

For no other king had subjected more land to the English race or settled it, having first either exterminated or conquered the natives. To him, in the character of Saul, could fittingly be applied the words which the patriarch said when he was blessing his son, 'Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey and at night he shall divide the spoil'.

The biblical quotation is only relevant to Saul because he was of the tribe of Benjamin.[50]

Figures of the Old Testament do not, therefore, become fixed points of comparison for individual Anglo-Saxons: neither Æthelfrith nor Osred could be seen consistently as a New Saul. Indeed, in Bede's verse *Life of Cuthbert* the young Osred was a New Josiah.[51] Rather, one specific action or quality echoes another 'according to places and times'.[52] One should not automatically expect that when Bede was talking of the Israelites he had in mind the Anglo-Saxons. It is worth looking at his comments on various of the Old Testament peoples to see the extent to which he responds to each verse individually, rather than working with a fixed notion of the Israelites or the Philistines.

Here it is important to remember quite how complex is the narrative of the first book of Samuel. Otherwise known as the first book of Kings, it is the book that deals with the institution of kingship in Israel,[53] an issue

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[48] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 26:2–3.
[49] Bede, *HE*, I 34, trans. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 117. Cowdrey, 'Bede and the "English People"', 513, detects a parallel between Samuel and Saul and Cuthbert and Ecgfrith in *HE*, IV 26.
[50] Genesis 49:27.
[51] Bede, *Vita sancti Cuthberti metrica*, ed. Jaeger, ll. 553–5; Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel', p. 144, n. 81.
[52] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 10:25.   [53] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 8:18–19; 10:1.

about which Bede has surprisingly little to say, given that '[t]he kingship that mattered to him was a historical institution, originating in Israel, not in the forests of Germany'.[54] But then God was unhappy with the desire of the Israelites for a king: the elevation of Saul was scarcely the moment to discuss royal office. The book deals with the relation of king and priest,[55] but it is also about war. With good reason the fourth-century Gothic bishop Ulfilas decided not to translate the Books of Kings.[56] The first book of Samuel is after all a book in which God demands that Saul commit genocide, and punishes him for not doing so.[57] The twists and turns of the wars, in which the Israelites were neither consistently successful nor consistently in the right, meant that no simple picture of a Chosen People could be derived from this book of the Bible.

Meanings of Old Israel and its neighbours

The Israelites are inevitably central to the Samuel commentary: the narrative is concerned with their history. Their actions, however, made it difficult for Bede to present them as representing any one people allegorically or anagogically. Whereas the virtuous Israelites represent the Catholic Universal Church,[58] others (like the blind Eli) represent the Jews who fail to recognise Christ.[59] Although in his *Commentary on Genesis* Bede tends to distinguish between Israelites and Jews and to use the latter term for the more recent people,[60] he is by no means consistent in the *Commentary on Samuel*: the Jews who were fearful of the Philistines are the early disciples of Christ fearful of persecution by Jews![61] The perfidious Jews can be those rejecting Christ,[62] as well as heretics and false brothers.[63] At one moment Bede comments that 'the perfidy of the *gentes* rages against the Jews and against the heretics, for here Israel signifies both'.[64] On the other hand David's wife Abigail is the symbol of the penitent Jews or the faithful synagogue.[65]

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[54] Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship*, p. 78. Cowdrey, 'Bede and the "English People"', 517.

[55] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 13:7; 15:30–1.

[56] Philostorgius, *Church History*, 2, 5; trans. Heather and Matthews, *The Goths in the Fourth Century*, pp. 143–5.

[57] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 15. See Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel', pp. 139–40.

[58] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 3:20; 11:7–8.

[59] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 4:15; 31:4–5.   [60] Kendall, *Bede On Genesis*, p. 25.

[61] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 7:7–8.   [62] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 24:2; 25:7–8.

[63] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 18:16.   [64] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 29:1.

[65] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 25:23–4; 25:42.

The neighbouring peoples are treated in much the same way as the Jews, although the picture is less complex, because there is less that can be said in their favour: the Moabites, Ammonites and Edomites represent heretics falling from the truth.[66] Bede also comments on Moabites and the Ammonites in his Genesis Commentary, where, as the incestuous offspring of Lot and his daughters, they are pagans who will not be saved.[67] In the Samuel commentary the Ammonites represent heretics.[68] Bede may have had the Britons in mind.[69] The Ammonites also appear in the Ezra commentary, where they and the Moabites are said to represent heretics, and again a connection with the Britons has been suggested.[70] The Amalakites can be understood as heretics and especially Arian heretics,[71] but also as good pagans.[72] Yet the neighbours of the Israelites do not always represent evil groups. There is a good Egyptian, who provides the image of one who sides with the catholics,[73] while the Hittite Abimelech represents those who abandon idolatory and follow Christ.[74]

The Philistines and the problem of David's presence

The people other than the Israelites that receive most attention are the Philistines. They represent the followers of false gods[75] as well as heretics.[76] Goliath is singled out as providing a type of the Devil: his limbs can represent pagans, perfidious Jews, heretics and false brothers.[77] Yet two episodes in the first book of Samuel complicate this hostile reading. First, there is the Philistines' capture of the Ark of the Covenant. When they placed their prize in the temple of Dagon, it caused the idol of the god to fall. The men of Ashod recognised the power of the Ark and returned it to the Israelites. In so doing they recognised the Truth, but demonstrated that they did not want to receive it: they were thus representative of heretics, or more specifically Arians.[78] This Bede presents as having specific relevance to his own day: indeed words and phrases like *hodie* and *tempori praesentis aevi* run through his comments on the passage. With regard to the procession in which the Ark was carried

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[66] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 14:47.
[67] Bede, *In Genesim*, on 19:31–2; Kendall, *Bede On Genesis*, pp. 307–9.
[68] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 11:1; 11:11.
[69] Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel', p. 140.
[70] Bede, *In Ezram et Neemiam*, 13:1–2; DeGregorio, *Bede On Ezra and Nehemiah*, pp. 219–20. Stancliffe, *Bede and the Britons*, p. 40.
[71] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 30:1–10.   [72] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 15:6.
[73] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 30:11–12.   [74] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 26:6.
[75] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 4:1.   [76] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 17:50–1.
[77] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 16:6; 18:16.   [78] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 5:1–12.

through the lands of the Philistines he states that 'this parading of the Ark is appropriate to the present time when each wishes the hard things of the tough words of the Lord to be fulfilled by someone else rather than himself. But the barbarian nations, which is grave enough, . . . who have recently received the faith of Christ, soon weakened with effete laziness, think this should rather be given to others than that it should be practised among them any longer.'[79] More complicated is a later episode, when David, persecuted by Saul, goes to join the Philistines, and indeed is welcomed by Achis. For Bede this reception of David is an allegory of believers among the *gentes*. Here the Philistines are the people who are to be saved, *gentes salvandas*, while the Israelites are the heretics and Jews.[80]

Again Bede thinks that the contradictions raised by such a verse-by-verse commentary had to be faced directly:

If it seems absurd to anyone that the faithful may be represented by the infidel Philistines, and rather thinks that they present the type of the pagans (*gentiles*), he should know that those pagan worshippers of many gods were accustomed to fight both the Jews and also the heretics, these in the cult of one true God and those in the name of Christ, knowing certainly that Achis, who is understood as brother, the man who kindly receives David as an exile, who gives him a place to live, and who trusts in his virtue and friendship, so that he asks him to set out to the battle with him, signifies the faithful among the *gentes*.[81]

The first book of Samuel, and thus Bede's commentary, ends at a curious point in the narrative. Saul has committed suicide: his sons are dead. If at this point Bede saw Osred as Saul (which he may well have done), the Philistines might have called to mind the Britons. A direct parallel, however, was out of the question, for at this moment in the biblical narrative David was in exile with the Philistines, who for the time being are understood to be *gentes* fit for salvation. They are not here presented as heretics. Rather the heretics are the sons of Saul: Malchisue represents Arius and Abinadab a Manichee, but most surprising for anyone who knows of the friendship of David and Jonathan, the latter is presented as Macedonius.[82]

Heretics in the *Commentary on Samuel*

Given the recurrent stress placed by Bede on comparison with his own day, the list of heresies presented here, or indeed named elsewhere in the *Commentary on Samuel*, are not those that one might have expected. In

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79 Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 5:8.   80 Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 27:1–28:2.
81 Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 28:1.   82 Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 31:2.

Bede's eyes, the Britons were heretics primarily because of their stance over the calculation of Easter.[83] Yet in commenting on the first book of Samuel, the fleeting references to Easter apart,[84] Bede does not talk of the heresies that modern historians find in eighth-century Britain. Pelagius, who was a Briton, is mentioned once:[85] no more often than Sabellius, Nestorius, Eutyches, Fotinus and Macedonius.[86] The two heresies Bede mentions most frequently are Arianism (which appears five times)[87] and Manichaeism (which appears four times).[88] Clearly Bede is thinking back to the fourth- and fifth-century debates about heresy, and indeed Nicaea and Athanasius are mentioned explicitly,[89] as is Augustine.[90]

There is, therefore, a problem in knowing how to understand Bede's frequent reference to heretics. Bede is insistent that the capture and return of the Ark of the Covenant has relevance to his own day. Given that he portrays the men of Ashod as heretics, he may have expected his readership to make a connection between them and the Britons. After Ecgbert's conversion of Iona in 716 they were the only neighbours of the Northumbrians who were still heretics.[91] Indeed, the episode of the Ark in the temple of Dagon is one of the occasions when Bede does mention the question of Easter, over which the Britons were heretical.[92] On the other hand he presents the men of Ashod as representing Arians,[93] when he could equally have portrayed them as Pelagians or followers of a heretical Easter calculation. Thus, while Bede may have intended to allude to the Britons in his discussion of the Philistines, he did not wish the connection to be hard and fast. In scattering the names of several of the standard heretics, Macedonius, Sabellius, Arius, Fotinus, Nestorius and Eutyches, as well as the Manichees, through his text, Bede adopted a general distinction between orthodox and heretical of the sort that was enshrined in generations of religious rhetoric, rather than a specific one between the Catholics and the Britons. *Hodie* would appear not just to mean the early eighth century, but the whole period since the triumph of the Church.

The unbelieving or wrongly believing Jews, Philistines and others in Bede's *Commentary on Samuel* were not to be associated exclusively with a single group of heretics. Nor is it only unbelievers or wrong-believers

[83] Stancliffe, *Bede and the Britons*, p. 10.
[84] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 5:5; 17:38; 17:40; 31:4.
[85] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 13:15: p. 109. For Pelagianism, Bede, *HE*, I 17; I 21; V 21.
[86] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 11:11; 31:2.
[87] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 5:9; 11:11; 30:5; 30:9–10; 31:2.
[88] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 8:12; 11:11; 12:14–15; 31:2.
[89] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 30:9–10.   [90] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 21:2–3.
[91] Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel', pp. 143–4.
[92] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 5:5.   [93] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 5:9.

who are the butt of Bede's criticism. In the same passage he also attacks those whose failing is not one of belief, but simply that they are too idle to obey God's commands. They are like those that Bede condemned in his final work, the *Letter to Ecgbert*, which is much concerned with living the Christian life properly. Those who do not obey the spirit as well as the letter of divine Law are equivalent to the heathen and the Pharisees,[94] while Ecgbert himself is to be a new Moses.[95]

Britons, Anglo-Saxons and the uncertainties of salvation and damnation

Although Bede acknowledges a line of biological descent from the sons of Noah down to the peoples of Europe in his *Commentary on Genesis*, that reading is less important than others. The analysis of the Israelites and their neighbours in the Book of Samuel does not allow any simplistic search for parallels between the peoples of the Old Testament and those of early England. What matters is not the descent of a people, rather it is their adherence to God's law: thus the Israelites could at one and the same time be the descendants of Shem and of Ham, blessed and cursed by Noah.

Bede's interpretation of the Israelites and their neighbours was fluid, partly because of their actions, and partly because of the different exegetical methods employed to elucidate how they should be understood. One might ask whether his reading of the Anglo-Saxons and the other peoples of the British Isles was equally flexible. In recent years Bede has been seen as playing a major role in the creation of the English nation.[96] His reading of the Old Testament might encourage us to place more emphasis on the discordant elements in his presentation of the *gens Anglorum* and indeed of the other inhabitants of Britain.

Bede famously claimed that three groups, Angles, Saxons and Jutes, migrated to different areas of Britain, much as the sons of Noah had migrated to the three continents of the world.[97] Clearly this schematic picture does not reflect the reality on the ground.[98] Moreover, this origin

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[94] Bede, *Epistola ad Ecgbertum episcopum*, 17.

[95] Bede, *Epistola ad Ecgbertum episcopum*, 9; citing Numbers 11:16.

[96] Among crucial discussions are Cowdrey, 'Bede and the "English People"'; Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas*, and the origins of the *gens Anglorum*'; Richter, 'Bede's *Angli*: Angles or English?'; and Brooks, *Bede and the English*.

[97] Bede, *HE*, I 15. Sims-Williams, 'The settlement of England in Bede and the Chronicle'. On the possibility of Bede structuring his narrative according to the Pentateuch, Cowdrey, 'Bede and the "English People"', 502–3, n. 7.

[98] Myres, 'The Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes', 146, claimed that Bede invented the three peoples. Among recent surveys, see Hills, *Origins of the English*.

legend is one of two accounts provided by Bede. The second, which he sets out in the context of the missionary intentions of the Anglo-Saxon *peregrinus* Ecgbert, talks of Frisians, Rugians, Danes, Huns, Old Saxons and Boructuari.[99] The two statements come at different moments in the narrative, and they have different functions: the first essentially adds detail to Gildas' claim that the Saxons arrived in three keels,[100] whereas the second provides a prologue to Bede's discussion of the continental missionary work of Anglo-Saxons.[101] As with his comments on the peoples of the Old Testament, so too his remarks about those of his own day were 'according to places and times'.[102]

Bede knew that the peoples of his own day had evolved.[103] The West Saxons had been the *Gewissae* until recently.[104] The Northumbrians had been the *Transhumbrenses*.[105] Nor had Bede himself always talked of his people as *Angli*: in 703 he referred to them as *Saxones*,[106] and in 716 his abbot, Hwaetbert, described Wearmouth as lying in *Saxonia*.[107] Bede was apparently attracted to the term Angle because of its use by Gregory the Great, but he may also have liked the verbal association of Angle/Angel.[108]

In other words Bede knew that his picture of the arrival of Angles, Saxons and Jutes was only one version of their history. But that scarcely mattered, for what was important was not the descent of peoples, but their salvation and their role in the salvation of others. The Britons were the Other to Bede not because they were ethnically different or spoke a different language,[109] but because in his view they had done nothing to save the pagan English, and because their views on the tonsure and

[99] Bede, *HE*, V 9; Wood, 'Before and after the migration to Britain'.
[100] Bede, *HE*, I 15; Gildas, *De Excidio Britonum*, 23.3. Myres, 'The Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes', 146; Pohl, 'Ethnic names and identities in the British Isles', p. 24.
[101] Bede, *HE*, V 9. See Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, p. 181. Also Pohl, 'Ethnic names and identities in the British Isles', p. 16.
[102] Bede, *In 1 Samuhelem*, on 10:25.
[103] On the confusion of names, Pohl, 'Ethnic names and identities in the British Isles', pp. 11–14.
[104] Bede, *HE*, III 7; Walker, 'Bede and the *Gewissae*', 174–86. Wood, 'Before and after the migration to Britain', p. 50.
[105] *Transhumbrana regio*: Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, 4; Bede, *De temporum ratione*, 66: trans. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, p. 228; Bede, *HE*, III 14; Hunter Blair, 'The Northumbrians and their southern frontier', 100–1.
[106] Bede, *De temporibus*, 22; see the comments of Brooks, *Bede and the English*, pp. 18–19.
[107] Letter of Hwaetbert, Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, 19; *Vita Ceolfridi*, 30.
[108] For the pun: *Vita Gregorii*, 9; Bede, *HE*, II 1; Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, 1; *Vita Ceolfridi*, 27. Pohl, 'Ethnic names and identities in the British Isles', pp. 17, 19–20, notes that Bede often used 'Angle' in a religious context and 'Saxon' in a military one.
[109] Language is stressed by Cowdrey, 'Bede and the "English People"', 502–4. Pohl, 'Ethnic names and identities in the British Isles', p. 13.

on the date of Easter were heretical.[110] They were, therefore, not among the *gentes salvandas*. By contrast the Irish belonged to the category of good men stained by significant faults, for unlike the British they had embarked on evangelising the Northumbrians.[111] Moreover, they had corrected their one major fault, when the monks of Iona abandoned their old method of dating Easter. Indeed they had done so at precisely the moment that Bede was writing his *Commentary on Samuel*.[112] The issue was not biology, or even language, but faith.

Bede's views on *gentes* was more fractured and fragmented than a cursory reading of the *Ecclesiastical History* might suggest. Ultimately what mattered was not whether the Northumbrians were the biological descendants of Japheth or Woden, but whether they would be saved. Nor did it matter whether the Britons were latter-day Philistines, for the enemies of the Israelites might be *gentes salvandas*: and at the end of the first book of Samuel it is the Philistines and not the Israelites who are in the right. Put simply, a deep knowledge of the Old Testament, such as that possessed by Bede, did not encourage simple black-and-white distinctions between Us and Them based on bloodlines. The black-and-white was religious, and came down to a matter of whether or not each individual was *salvandus*. Consideration of the Children of Israel did not lead Bede to any simple conclusions. Rather, the Bible was a text to think with. Its complex narrative, considered literally, typologically, anagogically and tropologically, and commented on verse-by-verse, allowed a wide range of discordant thoughts. Bede's theology only allowed one set of binary opposites: the saved and the damned. Yet however much a mortal might think he could distinguish between them, he could rarely be certain.

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[110] Bede, *HE*, I 22; II 2; V 22; Stancliffe, *Bede, Wilfrid and the Irish*, p. 7; Stancliffe, *Bede and the Britons*, pp. 4–18.
[111] Bede, *HE*, V 22; Stancliffe, *Bede, Wilfrid and the Irish*, pp. 10–11.
[112] Bede, *HE*, V 24.

11   *Gens perfida* or *populus Christianus*? Saxon (in)fidelity in Frankish historical writing

Robert Flierman

Among Charlemagne's many achievements, one stands out as particularly bloody and hard-fought: the conquest and Christianisation of his eastern neighbours, the pagan Saxons. All in all, it took the Frankish king more than three decades (772–804) and over fifteen campaigns fully to incorporate the region between the lower Rhine and the Elbe into his realm. Looking back at this enterprise some decades after the ordeal, Charles' biographer Einhard declared that 'no war undertaken by the Franks was longer, crueller and more toilsome'.[1]

Modern scholarship has come to offer various explanations for the protracted nature of Charlemagne's Saxon campaigns. For Martin Lintzel, the key was in the Saxons' rigid class structure. While most of the Saxon aristocracy was quick to side with the Franks, Saxon freemen and freedmen, led by the enigmatic nobleman Widukind, waged a desperate battle to defend ancient customs and prevent further deterioration of their social position.[2] Hans-Dietrich Kahl proposed a thesis of 'escalation'.[3] The incorporation and Christianisation of Saxony had not been Charlemagne's objective from the start. Rather, an initial Frankish raid into Saxon territory triggered an increasingly high-staked game of reaction and counter-reaction between the two neighbouring forces, which eventually escalated into a full war of conquest and conversion. More recent scholarly contributions tend to stress that eighth-century Saxony was inhabited by several more or less independent Saxon groups, each of which would have had to be subjugated, and kept subjugated, separately.[4] In fact, 'the Saxons' did not emerge as a coherent political entity until the second half of the ninth century.[5] The difficulty of fighting a fragmented

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[1] *VK*, c. 7, p. 9.

[2] Lintzel, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, vol. I, pp. 95–127. For Widukind, Hartwig, *Widukind* and Althoff, 'Der Sachsenherzog'.

[3] Kahl, 'Karl der Große'.   [4] Becher, '*Non enim habent regem*'; Wood, 'Beyond satraps'.

[5] Becher, *Rex*, pp. 302–7.

opponent was exacerbated by the lack of a clearly defined administrative hierarchy in Saxony, at the top of which Charlemagne could install himself.[6] A swift dynastic takeover, such as had secured the Lombard kingdom in 774 and Bavaria in 788, was simply not an option among the king-less Saxons.

Taking all this into account, one is inclined to conclude that the incorporation of Saxony was bound to be a difficult and protracted process. This, however, is not how Frankish historians perceived the matter. For Einhard, the prolonged nature of Charlemagne's *Saxonicum* had only one real cause: Saxon infidelity. 'It could certainly have ended sooner', he asserts, 'if not for Saxon *perfidia*'.[7] He continues:

It is difficult to tell how often they surrendered themselves, beaten and suppliant, to the king, promised to fulfil his orders, gave the required hostages without delay and accepted the legates that were sent to them. At several points, they were so tamed and mollified, they even professed themselves willing to abandon their worship of devils and submit willingly to the Christian faith. But as often as they were ready to do these things, so eager they always were to overturn them . . . hardly a single year went by after the war against them had commenced, in which they had no such change of heart.[8]

Einhard is not the only Frankish author to charge the Saxons with collective infidelity. The eighth- and early ninth-century annals that act as early witnesses to Charlemagne's Saxon campaigns, tend to rehearse a similar story: Charlemagne conquered and converted 'the Saxons' rather rapidly, but spent decades crushing down on Saxon rebellion and apostasy.

This contribution takes a closer look at the claim of Saxon infidelity as it developed in Frankish history-writing of the eighth and early ninth centuries. Its approach to the topic is twofold. On the one hand, the chapter continues along the lines set out earlier in this volume by Richard Broome. It seeks to understand the widespread accusation of Saxon infidelity in the context of a more general Carolingian preoccupation with 'faith' or *fides*, a complex and loaded concept, that carried at once political (loyalty, fidelity) and religious (Christian faith) overtones. *Fides* developed into a core elite value under the Carolingians, and a widely advertised norm of conduct. It was a norm of conduct the Carolingians were quick to impose and eager to avenge, even in regions where Frankish dominion was yet to be fully established. One is hard-pressed, indeed, to find a group on the periphery of the Frankish realm, whom Frankish historiography did not, at one point or another,

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[6] Reuter, *Germany*, pp. 66–7.   [7] *VK*, c. 7, p. 10.   [8] *VK*, c. 7, p. 10.

come to brand unfaithful.[9] As already underlined by Richard Broome, accusations of rebellion and infidelity belonged to the standard narrative tool-set of the Frankish historian, applied wherever Carolingian claims of hegemony were challenged or Frankish aggression stood in need of legitimation.[10]

However, as the second part of this contribution means to show, the incorporation of the Saxons presented an exceptional case, in which the Carolingian discourse on (in)fidelity reached an exceptional intensity, as well as longevity. While it is unclear to what extent Charlemagne was aware of circumstances in Saxony when he first crossed the Rhine, neither he nor his advisers seem to have anticipated the degree of resistance they were to meet over the subsequent decades.[11] Such resistance challenged not just the ambitions of Charlemagne and his missionary allies, but also the historians tasked with narrating these ambitions. Many of these historians were accustomed to relate the past and present deeds of the Franks in terms of triumph and hegemony.[12] More problematically, as Eric Shuler recently underlined, they had a tendency to treat incorporation and conversion more like 'events assignable to a specific date', than the delicate fruits of long-term processes of acculturation.[13] The conquest and Christianisation of Saxony, it is fair to say, did not conform to any such expectations. What the Franks got instead was a bloody and drawn-out affair, in which victories and treaties failed to be definitive in the light of Saxon fragmentation, and in which staged mass-baptisms were seldom a guarantee for lasting conversion, no matter how loudly one celebrated such events. Charging the Saxons with infidelity, to king as well as to God, was one way for Frankish commentators to negotiate this unsettling reality, and to try and salvage the suggestion, so essential to Frankish cultural memory, of perpetuated triumph. Naturally, blaming a people for resisting its own conquest required a deeply subjective and selective recall of events. But as many of the contributions collected in this volume suggest, this was very much par for the course for those looking at the past in the early Middle Ages; as it still is today, for that matter.[14]

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[9] The *ARF*, for instance, refer to *perfidia* seventeen times just between 810 and 829, always to incriminate individuals or peoples on the fringes of the Carolingian empire: the dukes of Venice (810, 811), Sclaomir and Ceadragus of the Abodrites (819, 821, 826), Tunglo of the Sorabs (826), Ljudevit of Pannonia (819, 821), the Gascons (819, 824), Aizo the Saracen (826), Wihomarcus and the Bretons (811, 824, 825), the 'mountain-dwellers' of the Pyrenees (824). *ARF*, pp. 130–78.

[10] See the chapter by Broome in this volume.   [11] Springer, *Die Sachsen*, pp. 175–8.

[12] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 113–18.   [13] Shuler, 'The Saxons', 43.

[14] Assmann and Czaplicka, 'Collective memory' and Rigney, 'Plenitude'.

The early roots of fides

Already in Antiquity *fides* had a wide range of meanings. For the period up to AD 200, the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* provides no fewer than thirteen definitions, including but not limited to: trust or having trust placed in one, a promise or the fulfilment of a promise, proof, credit, honesty, good faith, sincerity, loyalty, trustworthiness and belief.[15] *Fides* seems to have found its way into Roman Law from the earliest stages of the Republic, with trust and good faith developing into important legal principles.[16] This legal, normative character extended beyond the realms of forensics and commerce, into what we would deem the social realm: the mutual obligations between patron and client. *Fides* also regulated the conduct of soldiers, who swore oaths (*sacramenta*) to obey their commanders, later replaced by an oath of allegiance to the emperor.[17] To *fides*' legal credentials were also added religious ones.[18] Literary and numismatic evidence testifies to a deity worshipped under the name Fides, her temple located on the Capitol.[19] The temple walls are said to have been adorned with copies of international treaties. Indeed, it is in the context of foreign relations that the intricate web of normative, ethical, religious and legal connotations came to bear most heavily on *fides*.[20] To stand by one's allies and keep to agreements with foreign powers was deemed a principal duty and a quintessential Roman quality.[21]

One of the preferred opposites of *fides*, was *perfidia* or its adjective *perfidus*. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* lists faithlessness, treachery or falsehood.[22] Alternatively, *perfidia* can be defined as a transgression of *fides*, potentially allowing the former to take on as broad a range of meanings as the latter.[23] Just as Roman authors held up *fides* as the essence of Roman-ness, so *perfidia* was an attribute liberally applied to Rome's enemies. And among these enemies, none was accused more often and tenaciously than the Carthaginians or Phoenicians, who were, in the words of Cicero, the most treacherous of all peoples.[24] Variations on the theme can be found in Livy, Sallust, Lucan, Horace, Valerius Maximus

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[15] This excludes references to the stringed instrument: *OLD*, pp. 697–8.
[16] Gottfried, 'Fides (Recht)', pp. 507–9; Becker, 'Fides', pp. 801–24. See also Nörr, *Die Fides*, pp. 4–12.
[17] Phang, *Roman Military Service*, pp. 117–21.
[18] Fraenkel, 'Zur Geschichte', 189–91 and Freyburger, *Fides*, pp. 319–30.
[19] Prescendi, 'Fides (Religion)', pp. 506–7; Freyburger, *Fides*, pp. 229–317.
[20] Nörr, *Die Fides*, pp. 4–12.
[21] We are duly reminded here of J. H. Thiel's assessment of the Romans as 'great masters both of patriotism and hypocrisy': Thiel, 'Roman war guilt', p. 23.
[22] *OLD*, p. 1338.   [23] Freyburger, *Fides*, pp. 85–6.
[24] Cicero, *Pro Scauro*, 19.42. For an overview, Isaac, *The Invention*, pp. 324–51.

and Silius Italicus, who refer to Carthaginian *perfidia*, *fraus* and *calliditas*, but also employ the more ironic *Punica fides*, 'Punic faith'.[25] Opinions differ on why the Romans chose to depict their ancient enemy in such a manner.[26] To an extent, the perfidious Carthaginian acted like the ultimate 'other' to the Roman self-image of loyalty and trustworthiness. Yet Roman authors were not above inverting the picture. In Virgil's *Aeneid*, it is the proto-Roman Aeneas, rather than the Carthaginian princess Dido, who abandons ship (or rather abandons *by* ship), and acts *perfide*.[27] On a different level, *Punica fides* allowed Roman historians to rewrite on their own favourable terms a glorious yet troubling episode from their past, when Rome had itself repeatedly acted without good faith and with undue severity, epitomised in the utter destruction of Carthage following the Third Punic War. Here, the unfaithful Carthaginian most clearly foreshadows the perfidious Saxon of Frankish historiography.

With the rise and spread of Christianity, *fides*' range expanded further. In the works of the Church Fathers and the Vulgate, *fides* came to refer to belief in Christ, the (dogmatic) tenets of such belief, and to Christian faith in its totality.[28] Though not in the Vulgate, *perfidia* expanded accordingly.[29] Still a transgression of *fides*, *perfidia* came to denote disbelief, unbelief or heresy, basically anything that deviated from dogmatically sound Christian faith and practice. To be sure, new meanings did not replace old ones.[30] Nor was there a strict semantic divide between loyalty, on the one hand, and Christian faith, on the other.[31] For many of the early Church Fathers, loyalty was an inherent part of Christian faith and belief. Tertullian, in particular, liked to present Christians as soldiers of Christ (*milites Christi*).[32] Just as a regular soldier owed loyalty to the emperor, so a *miles Christi* owed loyalty to Christ. The sacrament of baptism, through which a catechumen entered the ranks of the faithful, could double as a pledge of loyalty. Conversely, we see that Roman military oaths became more Christianised as well. By the beginning of the fifth century, a soldier would swear by God, Christ, the Holy Spirit and the emperor.[33]

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25 Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.38; Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 21.4.9, 28.19.6 and 30.42.20; Sallustius, *Iugurtha,* 108.3; Lucan, *De bello civili*, 4.736–7; Horace, *Carmina*, 4.4; Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri IX.* 3.8.1, 7.4.4 and 9.6.2E; Asconius, *Sili Italici Punica*, 1.5, 2.54, 11.592.

26 Gruen, *Rethinking the Other*, pp. 115–40; Isaac, *The Invention*, pp. 324–51; Waldherr, '*Punica fides*'.

27 Starks, '*Fides Aeneia*'.

28 Blaise, *Dictionnaire*, 'Fides'. Also Weijers, 'Some notes', 82–3.

29 Blaise, *Dictionnaire*, 'Perfidia'.   30 Becker, 'Fides', pp. 830–1.

31 Weijers, 'Some notes'.   32 Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft*, pp. 101–4.

33 Vegetius, *De re militari*, 2.5. See also Phang, *Roman Military Service*, pp. 119–20.

In line with such views, those accused of heresy or apostasy often stood accused not just of having deviant beliefs, but also of betraying God, Christianity or its representative institutions. *Perfidia* could convey many of these connotations at once. Cyprian of Carthage denounced as *perfidi* those Christians who had 'lapsed' from their faith under Decius' persecutions.[34] Visigothic authors were obsessed with the *perfidia* of the Jews, which referred to Jewish unbelief, as well as their alleged infidelity to the Visigothic kingdom.[35] The Anglo-Saxon monk Bede liberally applied the epithet *perfidus* to enemies and persecutors of the Church, among which he counted heretics, Jews, apostate kings and the Devil.[36]

The Frankish kingdom under the Carolingians was heir to both Roman and patristic traditions where the use and understanding of *fides* was concerned. Loyalty to the king developed into a key virtue under the Carolingians, widely advertised in both narrative and normative sources. Assemblies and armies we find regularly portrayed as gatherings of *fideles*, 'the faithful men' of the ruler.[37] Such faith was vested in oaths of loyalty, which the king's magnates, and from 789 onwards, all inhabitants of the realm were required to swear.[38] Yet (sworn) loyalty to the Carolingians was but one obligation of 'the faithful'. Faith in Christ was another. Over the course of the eighth century, the Frankish kingdom was increasingly conceptualised as a Christian polity, in which Carolingian kings wielded divinely ordained authority over, and carried responsibility for, the Christian people, referred to alternatively as *populus Christianus*, *populus Dei* or *ecclesia*.[39] In such a polity, the lines between acting according to royal command, and acting according to God's command, were vague, if they existed at all.[40] Both Pippin III and Charlemagne convoluted their faithful with those of God, by referring to them on occasion as *fideles Dei ac nostri*.[41] The chanceries of Louis the Pious and his sons issued documents

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[34] Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, 14.20. I was first made aware of Cyprian's use of the term *perfidia* through Alan Thacker's study on Bede's use of the term, Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel', p. 135.

[35] González-Salinero, 'Catholic anti-Judaism', pp. 136–7. For the claim of Jewish *perfidia* by patristic and medieval authors in general, see Bastiaensen, 'Les Vocables', and Blumenkranz, 'Perfidia'.

[36] Thacker, 'Bede, the Britons and the Book of Samuel'.

[37] Odegaard, *Vassi and Fideles*.

[38] See on oaths, Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft*; Esders, 'Treueidleistung'; and Odegaard, 'Carolingian oaths'.

[39] De Jong, '*Ecclesia* and the early medieval polity'; Hen, 'The Christianisation'; Garrison, 'The Franks'.

[40] See also Nelson, 'Kingship and empire', p. 61 and Helbig, '*Fideles dei et regis*'.

[41] *MGH Epp.* IV, no. 20, p. 528.

addressed to 'all who are faithful to ourselves and to the Holy Church of God' (*omnes fideles sanctae Dei ecclesiae et nostri*).[42]

That infidelity could be perceived as an equally convoluted crime, is perhaps not really surprising when it comes to the Saxons. Charlemagne sought both to conquer and convert his eastern neighbours. By extension, Saxon resistance to this ambition was measured also along two lines: the Saxons opposed Charlemagne and they opposed God. But even in cases where the religious dimension seems less evident, the boundaries between political and religious infidelity could be porous. A good example is the 792 conspiracy of Pippin the Hunchback. A royal charter issued in 797 recalls how 'our son Pippin and others unfaithful to God and to ourselves (*dei infidelibus ac nostris*), impiously tried to lay hands on the life and the realm granted to us by God'.[43] The suggestion is clear: by acting against Charlemagne and his God-given kingdom, the conspirators had been unfaithful to God.

The Carolingians demanded *fides* not just from their 'own' people of the Franks, but also from the other peoples under their dominion. Such dominion need not necessarily have been real or secure for the norm of *fides* to be imposed, or the accusation of infidelity to surface. In fact, claiming rebellion or perfidy was a convenient way to explain and legitimate Carolingian aggression, something Frankish historians appear to have understood very well. The so-called *Continuations of Fredegar*, composed at some stage between 751 and 786 under the patronage of a cadet branch of the Carolingian family, are careful to underline the 'reactionary' character of the military efforts of Charles Martel and his warlike progeny.[44] Campaigns against the Bavarians, Alemanni and Saxons are shown to ensue only after these peoples have betrayed their *fides*, justifying the inevitable Frankish response.[45] Infidelity is even more ubiquitous in the early ninth-century *Annals of Metz*.[46] Here, eighth-century Carolingian expansion is made to appear more like an extended string of punitive expeditions against unfaithful subjects, among which we find the Aquitanian dukes Hunoald and Waifar, count Blandinus of Auvergne, Maurontus the duke of Provence, the Lombard king Aistulf and the Saxon leaders Theoderic and Widukind.[47] It is problematic to uncover

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[42] Helbig, '*Fideles dei et regis*', 290. For *fides* under Louis the Pious, de Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 62–3.

[43] *MGH DD Kar.* 1, no. 181, p. 244. On this, Hammer, 'Pipinus rex', 239–40.

[44] Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 92 and McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 36–9.

[45] Fredegar, *Continuations*, cc. 29, 31, 32, 35, pp. 181–2.

[46] On the date, Hoffmann, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 10–12, 41–51; Haselbach, *Aufstieg*, pp. 9–21.

[47] *AMP*, s.a. 737, 739, 742, 743, 744, 754, 761–3, 768, 769, 778, 782.

the 'reality' underlying such claims of infidelity in Frankish historiography. Certainly, Frankish authority was frequently contested in the eighth century, especially in times of crisis. When an opportunity for greater autonomy presented itself following the death of Charles Martel in 741, powerful dukes like Hunald and Odilo did not hesitate to seize it, no doubt reneging on earlier agreements. On the other hand, Frankish historians tended greatly to overestimate the degree of Frankish authority over peripheral regions. Moreover, as Matthias Becher showed in his exhaustive analysis of the political demise of the 'unfaithful' Bavarian duke Tassilo, they were adept at tampering with the evidence and retrospectively altering it in their favour.[48]

772–785: from *gens perfida* to *populus Christianus*

When it came to the eighth-century Saxons, there was a large discrepancy between Carolingian ambition and reality. Over the course of the eighth century, the regions north-east of the Rhine became the object of increasing military and missionary attention. But before 772, the effects were largely superficial.[49] As we saw above, this did not prevent the *Continuations of Fredegar*, a text that possibly predated Charlemagne's reign, from making far-reaching claims of authority over the Saxons, whom we already find credited with an inherent proclivity (*more consueto*, *solito more*) towards rebellion.[50] Alternatively, the fact that the Saxons stand out in such a way could be used to argue for a later dating of the *Continuations*.

Under Charlemagne, Frankish ambitions towards the Saxons were realised, but slowly and erratically. The unpredictable character of the process, in particular, deserves to be underlined, as this was what most confounded contemporaries. Whereas Einhard and other ninth-century historians could look back at Charlemagne's Saxon campaigns as a thirty-three-year war with a clearly demarcated beginning (772) and end (804), those involved in the events could not, at least not while these events were still playing out. It is important for us to realise, that this 'lack of foresight', as we might call it, also applied to the earliest accounts of Charlemagne's Saxon campaigns. To an extent, eighth-century annalists too were unaware of how things were going to turn out in Saxony, and they too could be taken aback by unforeseen developments and set-backs. I say to an extent, because many of the Frankish annals that report on the Saxon campaigns, were composed after 772. Of the texts dealt with

[48] Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft*.
[49] Springer, *Die Sachsen*, pp. 166–74; Wood, 'An absence', pp. 335–40.
[50] *Continuations*, cc. 32, 35, pp. 181–2.

below, only the *Annales Petaviani* (*AP*) may have been updated annually from 772 onwards, though it is unclear whether this was indeed the case.[51] The *Annals of Lorsch* (*AL*) run from 703 to 803, but the entries up till 785 – the year the Saxon leader Widukind finally surrendered – were put down retrospectively, in a single effort.[52] Much the same goes for the *Annales regni Francorum* (*ARF*), arguably the most extensive eighth-century set of annals, which are thought to have commenced *c.* 788, at which point the entire section from 741 to 788 was written down.[53] Their circumstances of composition inevitably affected the kind of story these annals could and would tell about the Saxon campaigns. Hindsight allowed the compilers of the *AL* and the *ARF* to report on the period 772–85 as a bitter struggle against Saxon infidelity, but a struggle that was eventually won with the baptism of Widukind. Neither anticipated that Widukind's surrender too provided only temporary relief, shattered in 792 by renewed Saxon insurrections.

All three annals report on Charlemagne's early campaigns with great optimism. The Frankish king is seen to enter Saxony in 772 with a spectacular assault on the Irminsul, a pagan site of worship, which the Franks destroy amidst divine support and biblical miracles.[54] Over the subsequent years, Franks and Saxons come to meet several times in battle, but by the end of 776 the Saxons seem to get the point and are ready to surrender themselves to Charlemagne and to Christ. The *AP* put things confidently: 'when the pagans had seen that they could not resist the Franks, their leading men, struck with fear, came to king Charles suing for peace, and a large multitude of the people was baptized'.[55] But this is nothing compared to the *ARF*, which go to considerable lengths to prove that by 777, the majority of the Saxons had utterly and undeniably committed themselves to Charlemagne and Christianity. Already in 775, Charlemagne is shown to accept into submission three major Saxon groups: the Eastphalians, the Angrarians and the Westphalians.[56] References to specific Saxon sub-groups are abandoned in favour of collective Saxon activity in the entry of 776, when Saxons come 'from all corners' to the Lippespringe, to surrender their land (*reddiderunt patriam*), pledge to be Christians, and place themselves under the authority of Charlemagne and the Franks. At the Paderborn assembly of 777, the deal was purportedly sealed for good:

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[51] Löwe, *Geschichtsquellen*, vol. II, pp. 186–7.
[52] Collins, 'Charlemagne's imperial coronation', pp. 55–7 and Halphen, *Études*, pp. 31–6.
[53] McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 20–9. For scholarship up to 1953, see Löwe, *Geschichtsquellen*, pp. 246–54.
[54] *ARF*, s.a. 772, p. 34.   [55] *AP*, s.a. 776, p. 16.
[56] *ARF*, s.a. 775, p. 42. See Becher, '*Non enim habent regem*' and Wood, 'Beyond satraps'.

There a multitude of Saxons was baptized, and according to their custom pledged their whole freedom and property if they should once again change their mind following that evil custom of theirs, and *not keep the Christian faith and their fidelity to the Lord King Charles, his sons, and the Franks.*[57]

There is reason to believe that the Franks genuinely considered the assembly at Paderborn an important step towards the Christianisation of Saxony.[58] A poem, composed for the occasion by Paulinus of Aquileia, celebrates 777 as the year 'the Saxon nation, sprung from evil blood, deserved to get acquainted with the kingdom of heaven'.[59] Charlemagne fulfilled this lofty enterprise 'through a thousand triumphs' and 'the dew of the salvation-bringing font'. In the end, 'he led a new progeny of Christ into the [heavenly] hall'.

What the compiler of the poem did not anticipate, but the compilers of the *AL* and *ARF* did, was that the new progeny of Christ was soon to make a spectacular exit from the heavenly hall. In 778, while Charlemagne was away to settle matter on the Spanish border, a Saxon host fell on the Rhineland. The effects were devastating, physically as well as symbolically: the Saxon force razed Paderborn to the ground, pillaged the right bank of the Rhine and dissolved whatever ecclesiastical organisation had been established so far.[60] The *ARF* hedge their bets where Saxon motives are concerned: the Saxons 'rebelled' because they had heard that Charlemagne was away in Spain, because Widukind had persuaded them and because 'evil custom' drove them towards such behaviour.[61] The *AL* stress collective Saxon infidelity: 'because the lord king stayed in these parts [Spain], the Saxons, that perfidious people (*gens perfida*), betraying their faith (*mentientes fidem*), came forth from their own borders and moved violently up to the Rhine, burning and destroying everything, leaving nothing unharmed'.[62] Note that the *AL* refrain from specifying *fides* either politically or religiously. Both are implied.[63]

The setback of 778 did not put a stop to Frankish ambitions in Saxony, nor to Saxon resistance against these ambitions. Hence, the annals treat

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[57] *ARF*, s.a. 777, p. 48, my emphasis. I follow here, with some alterations, the translation by Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles*, p. 56.

[58] Wood, 'An absence', pp. 36–40.

[59] *De conversione*, pp. 380–1. On authorship, Schaller, 'Der Dichter' and Rabe, *Faith*, pp. 54–74.

[60] See Johanek, 'Der Ausbau', pp. 495–6 and Lampen, 'Sachsenkriege', p. 267.

[61] *ARF*, s.a. 778, p. 52. Note that this is the same *consuetudinem malam* which the Saxons had purportedly sworn to keep in check in 777.

[62] *AL*, s.a. 778, p. 32.

[63] Note also that the *Annales Mosellani*, which are closely related to the Annals of Lorsch at this point, have the Saxons betray not *fides*, but *fides Christi*, *AM*, s.a. 778, p. 496.

us to another string of 'conquests' and 'conversions', interrupted by inevitable acts of Saxon infidelity. The *AP* report how in 780 'the most illustrious king Charles once again moved into Saxony with an army of Franks, as far as the river Elbe; and he acquired the entire region under his powerful arm'.[64] That same year, the annals suggest, the region was thoroughly Christianised: 'the Saxons left their idols, worshipped the true God, and believed in his works; at this time they also built churches'. Yet 782 witnessed another 180 degree turn: 'the Saxons rebelled and were reduced to their former path, forsaking God and the faith (*fidem*) they had promised'.[65] The *AL* and *ARF* report on the period 778–85 in a similar fashion, but stress the involvement of Widukind, the elusive Saxon leader, who is said to have been hiding with the Northmen at this point. Both have him involved in 782, when a Frankish army was annihilated near the Süntel Range and Charlemagne retaliated by staging a massacre at Verden. The *ARF* rehearse the standard double motive: 'the Saxons rebelled in their usual fashion, because Widukind persuaded them'.[66] The *AL* put things similarly: 'when [Charlemagne] heard they had again fallen from their faith and joined Widukind in rebellion, he re-entered Saxony and destroyed the land and an immense crowd of Saxons with a cruel sword'.[67]

By 785 Widukind and his allies were ready to throw in the towel. The precise circumstances of his surrender are difficult to reconstruct, as this was the sort of highly symbolic occasion that early medieval authors tended to reshape according to their audiences' expectations.[68] The *ARF* report that the surrender was prearranged between Charlemagne and his Saxon adversary.[69] After he had been given guarantees for his safety, Widukind, in the company of other supporters, came to Attigny, the heart of the Frankish realm, to submit himself publicly to Charlemagne and receive the sacraments of baptism. The *ARF* leave little doubt about the significance of the event: *tunc tota Saxonia subiugata est*. The *AL* have the proceedings of 785 unfold in even more triumphant fashion. First, the Saxons surrendered themselves to Charlemagne and 'again accepted the Christian faith which they had earlier spit out'.[70] Then Widukind, 'the source of many evil deeds and instigator of *perfidia*', came to Attigny, where he was received from the baptismal font by Charlemagne himself.[71] The *AL* conclude the entry of 785 with the observation that 180 years have passed since the death of Gregory the Great, the pontiff who famously initiated the conversion of the (Anglo-) Saxons on the

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[64] *AP*, s.a. 780, p. 16.   [65] *AP*, s.a. 782, p. 17.   [66] *ARF*, s.a. 782, p. 60.
[67] *AL*, s.a. 782, p. 33.   [68] On this, Buc, *The Dangers*.   [69] *ARF*, s.a. 785, pp. 68–70.
[70] *AL*, s.a. 785, p. 34.   [71] *AL*, s.a. 785, p. 34.

Isles.[72] The point is obvious: with the baptism of Widukind, Gregory's pious endeavour was finally brought to conclusion.

The triumphant tone of the annals is mirrored in several letters composed in the wake of Widukind's surrender. Soon after the events, Charlemagne wrote to Rome to notify the pope of his victory and ask for liturgical celebrations to be held in honour thereof.[73] Hadrian was only too happy to oblige. In his reply, dated to 786, the pontiff confessed himself ecstatic that 'in our times and yours, a nation of pagans is led to a true and great religion and a perfect faith, and is subjugated to your royal authority'.[74] As late as 790, the Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin wrote to his good friend and teacher Colcus, informing him that through Charlemagne's efforts (*instante rege Carolo*), the Saxons and Frisians had been converted to the Christian faith (*ad fidem Christi conversi sunt*).[75] Alcuin, incidentally, expressed no misgiving over the fact that conversion had been achieved through a combination of rewards (*premiis*) and threats (*minis*).[76]

'Like a dog returning to its vomit': the insurrection of 792

It seems, then, that following the events of 785, the Franks, as well as their historians, liked to think they had completed their work in Saxony. For the subsequent years, the *ARF* can be seen to integrate the Saxons into their 'triumphant narrative' as yet another people marching under the divinely raised banner of the Franks.[77] Saxons are part of the Ingelheim assembly of 788, passing judgement on the Bavarian duke Tassilo for his supposed infidelity.[78] A year later, Saxons are shown to support and advise Charlemagne on his campaign against the Slavs.[79] Finally, when Charlemagne launches a campaign against the Avars in 791, Saxons are part of the attacking force. The *ARF* relate how Franks, Frisians and Saxons collectively decided to march on Pannonia, 'because of the intolerable outrage committed by the Avars against the Holy Church and the Christian people'. Christian victory is secured by three days of praying and fasting on the Avar border.[80] The Saxons, the reader is slowly led to conclude, have become part of the *populus Christianus*, not just in name, but also in deed.

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[72] *AL*, s.a. 785, p. 32. For the connection between the continental Saxons and the Saxons on the Isles, see Story, 'Charlemagne and the Anglo-Saxons', pp. 196–8.

[73] Charlemagne's request does not survive, we know of it through Hadrian's response.

[74] *MGH Epp.* III, no. 76, pp. 607–8.   [75] Alcuin, *Epistulae*, no. 7, p. 32.

[76] Wood, *Missionary Life*, pp. 86–8.   [77] McKitterick, *History and Memory*.

[78] *ARF*, s.a. 788, p. 80. See also Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft*.   [79] *ARF*, s.a. 789, p. 84.

[80] *ARF*, s.a. 791, p. 88. On this entry, de Jong, 'Het woord en het zwaard', 476–80.

Contrary to Frankish expectations, however, Saxon membership of the *populus Christianus* was anything but secure. Late in 792, a sworn association (*coniuratio*) was uncovered, involving Charles' oldest son Pippin the Hunchback, as well as magnates from Neustria, Austrasia and, in all likelihood, Bavaria.[81] The culprits had only barely been dealt with, when news began to arrive of a renewed Saxon rebellion. The insurrection started with an unanticipated Saxon attack on a Frankish force moving along the Weser, which may have taken place as early as July 792.[82] The successful attack seems to have initiated a larger uprising, which by the end of 793 had turned into a 'full-scale rebellion' (*omnimoda defectio*).[83] Charlemagne did not respond until late in 794. But when he did, it was with utmost severity. Between 794 and 804, Saxony was systematically beaten into submission through near-annual campaigns, focused mainly on the Weser–Elbe region.[84] Those who resisted were taken from their homesteads and resettled in Francia and Bavaria.

It is hardly surprising that in the wake of the renewed Saxon rebellions of 792, anti-Saxon rhetoric went into overdrive, with the accusation of infidelity once more taking central stage. The *AP* create a contrast between the norm of *fides* and Saxon betrayal of this norm: while Charlemagne was residing in Bavaria in the company of his *fideles*, the Saxons 'betrayed the faith, which they had pledged so long ago to king Charles; they strayed, deviated and were overtaken by darkness'.[85] The reader is then reminded of another conspicuous betrayal of *fides*: Pippin's 'evil plot'. The *ARF* seem intent at first at covering up the various disasters of 792. The majority of the manuscripts leave out Pippin's rebellion altogether.[86] The news that 'the Saxons had again betrayed their faith' is made to reach Charlemagne only at the end of 793; an attempt, it seems, to shorten the gap between the insurrection of 792 and Charlemagne's belated response in 794.[87] Yet the *ARF* leave little doubt where they stand with regard to the Saxons. When Charlemagne eventually sets out with two armies to quell the Saxon insurrection, the Saxons are shown to take refuge in cowardly deceit: 'when they had heard they were surrounded from two sides, God dissolved their plans, and they promised, albeit fraudulently, that they would be Christians and faithful to the lord king'.[88]

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[81] Hammer, 'Pipinus rex', 235–76; Nelson, *Opposition to Charlemagne*, pp. 5–26; McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, pp. 68–79.

[82] *Annales Sancti Amandi*, s.a. 792, ed. Pertz, p. 14; *Annales Guelferbytani*, s.a. 792, ed. Pertz, p. 45; *AM*, s.a. 791 (which is 792), p. 497.

[83] Reviser, s.a. 793, p. 95.   [84] Lampen, 'Sachsenkriege', pp. 269–70.

[85] *AP*, s.a. 792, p. 18.   [86] *ARF*, s.a. 792, p. 90.

[87] *ARF*, s.a. 793, p. 94.   [88] *ARF*, s.a. 794, p. 96.

On the whole, these are relatively moderate reactions. The *Annals of Lorsch*, which had celebrated Widukind's baptism as the triumphant conclusion to 180 years of Saxon mission, reacted in a considerably less even-tempered manner. 'The Saxons', we are told, 'exposed what long since lurked in their hearts. Like a dog returning to its vomit, they returned to the paganism they had earlier spit out, again abandoning Christianity, and betraying both God and the king who offered them so many benefactions, to side with the pagan nations in their vicinity.'[89] The image, first posed in Proverbs 26:10, of a dog returning to its vomit, was something of a trope in relation to (Saxon) apostasy.[90] Here, it allowed the annalist to castigate, in the most graphic of terms, the Saxons once again abandoning Charlemagne and his Christian polity in favour of 'the pagan nations'; an act that could not but combine political and religious betrayal. As the annalist underlines once more when reporting how the Saxons tried to join forces with the pagan Avars: 'they first tried to rebel against God, and then against the king and the Christians'.[91]

The benefits of hindsight: remembering the Saxon Wars after 804

The almost tangible indignation encountered in the *Annals of Lorsch* in relation to the events of 792, is the indignation of a narrator caught by surprise. Working in a year-by-year fashion, from 785 onwards, the compiler of the *Annals of Lorsch* seems not to have known beforehand that 792 would witness another Saxon rebellion. Obviously, to those writing in the ninth century, this lack of foresight no longer applied. They knew the conquest of Saxony had been a bloody and protracted experience, which continued for over three decades amidst many an unanticipated set back. On the other hand, ninth-century authors were increasingly confident that 804 had really been the end of it and that Saxony was now part of the Carolingian empire. How, we might ask, did such knowledge effect their views on the Saxon campaigns?

It should be underlined from the start that hindsight did not necessarily result in a more forgiving stance towards Saxon opposition. Nor was it easy to clean the slate of the, by now, well-entrenched notion of Saxon infidelity. One notorious example of this is the so-called Revised Version

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[89] *AL*, s.a. 792, p. 35.
[90] Hen, 'Charlemagne's Jihad', 43, n. 60. See also Hadrian's letter in *Codex Carolinus*, ep. 77, pp. 608–9; Alcuin, *Epistulae*, no. 110, p. 157.
[91] *AL*, s.a. 792, p. 35.

of the *Annales regni Francorum*, or 'the Reviser' for short.[92] As the name suggests, the Reviser offers a rewritten version of the *ARF* for the period 741–801, with minor revisions continuing up to 811. It is unclear when the Reviser commenced this enterprise: between 814–17, or as late as 829. The Reviser wrote in a sophisticated, almost classical style, to the extent that Frankish campaigns in Saxony seem at times to recall martial episodes from Tacitus or Livy, a resemblance furthered by the Reviser's frequent citations from these authors.[93] He appears, moreover, to have been particularly well informed about events in Saxony, invoking eye-witnesses[94] and complementing the narrative of the *ARF* with details and stories found nowhere else (Widukind being a Westphalian noble, for instance).[95] Yet the annalist's apparent familiarity with the Saxons did not translate to sympathy towards them. On the contrary: hindsight, coupled with an ethnocentricity to match that of his Roman examples, induced the Reviser to direct a narrative onslaught against the Saxons, whose perfidy he presents as the indisputable *Leitmotif* of the Saxon Wars.

The effect is instantly recognisable if we return once more to Widukind's baptism in 785, an event, we remember, that provoked contemporary commentators into triumphant statements about the end of the war. Not so the Reviser, who instead draws his readers' attention to things to come: 'that obstinate Saxon infidelity (*illa Saxonicae perfidiae pervicacitas*) came to rest for a number of years, for that reason mainly, that they could not find opportunities to revolt'.[96] The 785 entry is characteristic of the Reviser's approach. As a rule, he refers to Saxon *perfidia* not just when reporting on actual Saxon transgressions, but also, and far more intently, when reporting on agreements and (baptismal) oaths he knows are going to be broken in the future.[97] For the Reviser, the hallmarks of Saxon perfidy are not the rebellions of 778 or 792. They are the mass-baptisms of 776 and 777, when large hosts of that 'unfaithful people' (*populus perfidus*, *gens perfida*) offered 'deceitful promises concerning the preservation of their faith'.[98] The Reviser's assessment goes beyond anything we have seen so far: the Saxons are no longer just a people committing acts of infidelity; they are an inherently deceitful people.

Casting the Saxons in such a light may have appealed to Frankish audiences in the wake of Charlemagne's Saxon campaigns, as it allowed

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[92] Collins, 'The "Reviser"'; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 27–31; Kaschke, *Karolingische Reichsteilungen*, pp. 283–90.
[93] On classical style, Collins, 'The "Reviser"', pp. 203–5.
[94] Reviser, s.a. 798, p. 105: *narravit legatus regis Eburis nomine.*
[95] Reviser, s.a. 777, p. 49.   [96] Reviser, s.a. 785, p. 71.
[97] Reviser, s.a. 775, 776, 777, 785, 795, 796 and 797.
[98] Reviser, s.a. 776, 777, pp. 47–9.

them to embrace Saxon infidelity as the driving force behind three vexing decades. Yet it also raised an uncomfortable question: if the Saxons had been such a perfidious bunch, why had Charlemagne ever trusted their insincere promises? Had not the Franks, on more than one occasion, been taken in by Saxon 'deceit', believing a conclusion had been reached when it had not? The Reviser offered a bold solution: Charlemagne and the Franks had accepted from the start that they were in for the long haul. In fact, already in 775, at a spring assembly at Quierzy, the Frankish king allegedly resolved 'that he would go to war against the perfidious and treaty-breaking people of the Saxons, and would persevere up till the point that they were either defeated and subjected to the Christian religion, or entirely destroyed'.[99] Modern scholars are generally inclined to accept this 'resolution of Quierzy', which is attested nowhere else, as genuine.[100] Already in 775, Charlemagne and his advisers prepared for an all-out war of conquest and conversion. But perhaps we should allow for the possibility that this particular episode was of the Reviser's own invention; a skilful and retrospective attempt to reduce three decades of frustrating and bloody conflict to a story of cathartic simplicity: Charlemagne 'persevering' against Saxon *perfidia*. Certainly, the introduction of the Saxons as a 'perfidious and treaty-breaking people', when their actual track-record at this point listed a single and failed attack on Hesse in 774,[101] bespeaks a ninth-century perspective. For the Reviser, as for his readers, Saxon infidelity was not something that had to be proven by events. With hindsight, it was a given.

We commenced this investigation with Einhard and his *Vita Karoli*. It is suitable that we conclude with him as well. Widely read and copied, the *Vita Karoli* carried the final responsibility for fixing the notion of Saxon infidelity into the minds of posterity. Charlemagne's courtier composed his famous biography *c.* 817–30.[102] His indebtedness to earlier annalistic reports, possibly even the Reviser, has long been noted.[103] It is not altogether surprising, in this light, that Einhard too came to play the *perfidia* card. As we saw above, Einhard explicitly blamed Saxon infidelity for the protracted nature of the Saxon War. But far from turning his account into an all-out attack on the Saxons, as the Reviser had done, Einhard

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[99] Reviser, s.a. 775, p. 41. Note that one of the few occasions the extremely rare term *foedifragus* ('treaty-breaking') is attested with classical authors, is when Cicero uses it against the Carthaginians: Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.12.38.

[100] Johanek, 'Der Ausbau', pp. 494–5; Springer, *Die Sachsen*, pp. 181–2.

[101] Reviser, s.a. 774, pp. 39–41.

[102] For a short introduction to this long-standing issue, Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious*, pp. 9–11.

[103] Halphen, *Études* pp. 78–88 and Ganshof, 'Einhard', pp. 2–3.

used the Saxon case to bring out several of Charlemagne's key qualities. Keeping to the overall theme of this volume, we could say he started to see and employ Saxon resistance as a resource, rather than a deficiency, of the past. Confronted with near-annual Saxon *perfidia*, the Frankish king had showed both magnanimity (*magnanimitas*) and steadfastness (*constantia*).[104] He had neither abandoned his enterprise, nor suffered Saxon infidelity without exacting swift revenge and due punishments (*perfidiam ulcisceretur et dignam ab eis poenam exigeret*). Such perseverance was all the more impressive, because Charlemagne confronted a people fundamentally opposed to his ambitions: 'the Saxons, like nearly all the nations of Germania, were violent by nature, given to the worship of devils and adverse to our religion, and deemed the violation and transgression of neither human nor divine law dishonourable'.[105]

In the end, therefore, what Einhard stressed was not Saxon infidelity, but Charlemagne's victory over Saxon infidelity. As he concluded in a highly suggestive passage:

It is evident that the war waged for so many years was brought to an end on these conditions, proposed by the king and accepted by the Saxons: that having abandoned their worship of devils and ancestral customs, they would accept the sacraments of Christian faith and religion, and be united with the Franks into a single people.[106]

Conclusion

This contribution looked at the accusation of Saxon infidelity in Carolingian historiography. More generally, it looked at Carolingian use and adaptation of (the resources of) the past. Carolingian understanding of the concept of *fides* was deeply indebted to Roman and patristic discourses. But as the Saxon case showed, Carolingian historians used this cultural inheritance creatively and for their own specific purposes. Roman historians had already recognised that the accusation of infidelity was a convenient device to exculpate (retrospectively) oneself in matters of war. The narrators of Carolingian expansion, whose need for justification matched if not outstripped that of their Roman predecessors, developed this stratagem further. In texts like the *ARF* and the *Annals of Metz*, infidelity became more or less synonymous with resistance to Carolingian interests and ambitions. Thus, the story of Carolingian expansion was refashioned into a tale of just retribution: Frankish kings setting straight

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[104] *VK*, c. 7, p. 10. On these and other qualities attributed to Charlemagne, Ganz, 'Einhard's Charlemagne', p. 45.
[105] *VK*, c. 7, p. 9.   [106] *VK*, c. 7, p. 10.

the infidelity of subjected peoples. Carolingian failure and defeat could be refurbished in similar fashion: the Rhineland Raid of 778, to invoke but one military catastrophe at the Saxon front, was the result not of miscalculation on Charlemagne's part, but of Saxon perfidy.

But *fides*' use as a tool of legitimation was only one aspect of its reception in Frankish history-writing; there was also the matter of its multiple meanings. In patristic times, *fides*' already impressive semantic range had extended even further. *Fides* came to combine connotations of loyalty, belief and (Christian) faith. Carolingian historians were well aware of the term's patristic heritage. But rather than problematising this heritage and its potential for ambiguity, they capitalised on it. The Carolingian realm under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious lacked solid boundaries between political and religious allegiance: its inhabitants owed fidelity to king *and* to God, with the implicit understanding that these things were two sides of the same coin. *Fides* adequately expressed this fluidity. And so did its counterpart: *perfidia*.

By way of conclusion, I would call attention to another theme of this volume: otherness. I do so in full awareness that this contribution, though addressing a topic highly relevant to the theme of otherness, has so far declined to engage with it directly. Nevertheless, I feel the above study of Saxon infidelity allows for an afterthought on the matter: that the Saxons of Carolingian historiography make for a problematic 'other', if they deserve the label at all. We have seen Carolingian historians engage in a good deal of misrepresentation of and vilification towards the Saxons. Saxons were variously credited with infidelity, lawlessness and an irredeemable proclivity towards rebellion and deceit. In this guise, Saxons were diametrically opposed to the Carolingian norm of *fides*. Yet to call these Saxons 'others', runs into an important objection: that despite the unsavoury accusations levelled at the Saxons, most if not all Frankish historians were willing to accept them as Christian members of the Frankish realm. If anything, it was Frankish impatience to claim the Saxons as insiders and *fideles*, that allowed the charge of *perfidia* to thrive as it did. As such, few of the texts dealt with above can be said to fully 'exclude' or 'other' the Saxons. Infidelity was a damnable Saxon trait, that conveniently allowed the Franks to shift the blame for a lengthy war from the aggressors to the victims. But it was also an erasable trait: the Saxons could, and did, become part of the Christian people.

12   Fragmented identities: otherness and authority in Adam of Bremen's *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*

Timothy Barnwell

From its origins in the second half of the ninth century the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen defined itself in terms of the northern peoples: the Danes, Swedes, Slavs and others whom it sought to convert. The actual role of Hamburg-Bremen in the conversion of these peoples was relatively slight, but the myth of the church's special mandate to convert the North was central to the way in which the clergy of the church legitimised their institution to themselves and others. How else could one explain the presence of a twinned archdiocese on the very edge of Christendom? Hence, when Adam of Bremen came to write a history of the archbishops between 1066 and the early 1080s, the northern peoples played a central part in his narrative. When framed by the history of the northern world, the archdiocese could appear part of the titanic struggle between Christianity and paganism, rather than as the remnants of a failed mission to the North preserved only by the vagaries of Carolingian infighting and the audacity of its archbishops.[1] Adam's desire to present Hamburg-Bremen as a great missionary archdiocese destined to convert the North led him to compile the most comprehensive description of northern history, geography and ethnology that had ever been written. His work is unavoidable for historians wishing to consider issues of northern identity prior to the twelfth century, and there is a vast historiography on the subject, most recently summarised by Idlar Garipzanov and Volker Scior.[2]

In the first instance, this chapter is about identity. Few sources provide us with such insights into how Western Christendom imagined the *alter mundus* on its northern border, and it is tempting to see if modern notions

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[1] Garipzanov, 'Christianity and paganism', pp. 15, 18, 23–8; Knibbs, *Ansgar, Rimbert and the Forged Origins of Hamburg-Bremen*, pp. 1–13; cf. Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia*, pp. 102–14.

[2] Garipzanov, 'Christianity and paganism' pp. 13–17; Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde*, pp. 29–38.

of otherness resonate with Adam's account of the North, which so often appears as an inversion of his own society.[3] As such, the second part of this chapter will focus on Adam's concepts of barbarism and paganism, notions which would seem to encapsulate the sense of moralised difference which historians usually have in mind when they discuss otherness. I will argue that while we can meaningfully say that the North was 'other' for Adam, ultimately this statement is inadequate. Adam's work is far too complex and contradictory for such summaries. The harder we look, the harder it is to find any sort of coherent notion of paganism or barbarism underpinning his work. At best, we might say that there are a number of different concepts of barbarism and paganism, yet even this conclusion seems to shy away from the full consequences of a close study of Adam's account of those he described as 'pagans' and 'barbarians'. This chapter is therefore also about variety; the variety in Adam's thought, and the capacity of our own scholarly tools and assumptions to handle such variety.

We must begin by reintegrating the issue of identity into its wider context. Identity is not something which stands apart from the rest of life, but which is embedded within it. If we separate issues of identity out from the rest of human experience, this is merely for our own convenience, and reflects our own limitations rather than any limitations of the subject itself. There are many ways of doing this; we might consider Adam's aims or the prejudices of the society, his sense of correct literary style or his expectations of his audience. I would like to begin this chapter by discussing one such factor, which has wider significance for how we analyse Adam's text. This is Adam's attitude towards consistency.

For I do not think that Adam was particularly concerned with being consistent, at least not how we might expect. His work is full of contradictions and inconsistencies: some, Adam was clearly frustrated with; others were inadvertent and overlooked, the product of almost two decades of composition and revision; but many were the result of a mindset which consciously allowed and introduced contradictions into the work. Such contradictions are not errors to be ignored or obstacles to overcome, but are fundamental to the way in which Adam chose to present his subject.

The most striking example of this is Adam's description of Archbishop Adalbert. Adalbert had died a few years before Adam completed his work, and Adam dedicated the third book of his history to a description of his career.[4] Adalbert was a tricky subject for any author; supremely arrogant,

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[3] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, 4.XXI (21), ed. Trillmich and Buchner (henceforth: Adam, *Gesta*).
[4] Adam, *Gesta*, 3.

he was loathed by many for his aggressive defence of his church's author-
ity, as well as for his proximity to the young Henry IV. But Adam was
a partisan of Hamburg-Bremen, writing to Adalbert's successor Liemar,
who had continued many of these same policies.[5] Adam's solution was
ingenious. Rather than choosing to describe Adalbert as either a hero or
villain, or rationalising his failings and making him merely ambiguous,
Adam chose to present Adalbert as both the hero of his church and its
destroyer; as both the defender of the widows and the poor and the mad-
man who squandered his church's wealth on bandits and prostitutes.[6]
This paradoxical representation of Adalbert's life culminates in Adam's
account of Adalbert's death. Adam gives two accounts of Adalbert's
death: in one he is repentant and saved, a good man who had enriched
his church; in the other he dies deluded by his ambition, accompanied by
Adam's dark murmurings about the state of his soul.[7] Adam provides no
means of choosing between these two accounts; they stand in opposition
to one another, and the tension between them is left unresolved. I would
argue that the contradiction is fundamental to Adam's account; that we
are not supposed to choose one account or the other, but to take both,
and the contradiction with them.

Adam's handling of Adalbert's legacy is an extreme example, and we
have little reason to assume that the majority of contradictions in Adam's
work are this kind of consciously developed paradox. Adam's approach
might be better described as an attitude informed by a number of sources
and expressed in a variety of ways, rather than a set theory to which he
consciously adhered. Consistency was a concern for Adam, but not a
priority in the way it is for most modern scholars. The modern historian
searches for consistency, and makes sense of the past by arranging it
into coherent patterns and narratives. Adam also did this, but his work
is not characterised by this search. His narratives are fragmented and
contradictory, and the underlying logic is closer to exegesis than his-
tory. Contradictory statements were far less of a problem when both the
author and their audience assumed that any passage could have multiple
meanings, and that the different tools for finding these meanings – the
moral/tropological, typological, eschatological and literal/historical read-
ings of a text, and the innumerable variations of these – could be applied

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[5] Adam, *Gesta*, 3.II (2), 3.V (5), 3.VIII (8), 3.XXVII (26); Bruno of Merseburg, *Historia*,
2,3, ed. Wattenbach; Johnson, 'Adalbert', 151–4, 170–8; Robinson, *Henry IV*, pp. 43–62,
72, 85–9, 133–5, 197, 270; Weinfurter, *The Salian Century*, pp. 126–30, 133; Cowdrey,
Gregory VII, pp. 454–6.

[6] Cf. Adam, *Gesta*, 3.I (1), 3.XXIV (23) and Adam, *Gesta*, 3.XXVII (26), 3.XXXVIII
(37), 3.XLIX (48), 3.XLVI (45), 3.LVII (56), 3.LVIII (57).

[7] Cf. Adam, *Gesta*, 3.LXII (61) – 3.LXV (64) with 3.LXIX (68), 3.LXX (68).

with great flexibility. As Gregory the Great stated at the beginning of his influential *Moralia in Job* 'as the fitness of each passage requires, the line of interpretation is studiously varied accordingly'.[8] There is much to be said for this approach, but this chapter will explore just one of the factors which encouraged the conceptual fragmentation of Adam's work, and which serves to illustrate some of the effects this fragmentation had on Adam's account of the northern world. This is Adam's concept of literary authority.

Literary authority

We know almost nothing about Adam of Bremen; we only know his name because Helmold of Bosau mentions it in his *Chronicle*.[9] Adam himself does not use it. In the short term this anonymity was more feigned than real; Adam clearly expected his audience to know who he was.[10] But Adam's decision to appear anonymous hints at his understanding of the task he was undertaking. In part it was an expression of humility, linking Adam's work to the core texts in Hamburg-Bremen's history which were similarly presented as anonymous, with the author of the *Life of Rimbert* explicitly advocating the virtues of doing so.[11] But it is also the first indication which Adam gives of the ancillary position of the author in his own mind. We have not yet come to what Foucault termed the 'privileged moment of individualisation in the history of ideas', when the Author came to dominate the understanding of what a text was.[12] Adam was perfectly capable of distinguishing between individual authors and treating them differently when he needed to. But if we look at how he refers to their works, as the 'Deeds of the Franks', the 'Annals of the Caesars', the 'Testimony of the Romans', and so on, the authority of these texts seems to come not so much from the individual author as from their status as literature.[13] This impression is reinforced if we compare the way that Adam frames oral and literary testimony. Even in the case of such a prestigious informant as the Danish King Svein Estrithson, Adam regularly reassures his readers of the veracity and learning of his source. Svein, we are told, remembered the deeds of the barbarians 'as

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[8] Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, XXVII.11, ed. Adriaen, I.4. *Ut ergo uniuscujusque loci opportunitas postulat, ita se per studium expositionis ordo immutat*, trans. J. H. Parker and J. Rivington, *Morals on the Book* of *Job*, p. 9.
[9] Helmold of Bosau, *Cronica*, 1.14, ed. Schmeidler.
[10] Adam, *Gesta*, 3.III (3), 3.LVII (56).
[11] *Vita Rimberti*, 9, ed. Waitz; Wood, *The Missionary Life*, pp. 134–5.
[12] Foucault, 'What is an Author?', p. 115.
[13] Adam, *Gesta*, 1.XXXVII (39) *Gestis Francorum*; 1.XXXVIII (40) *Annalibus cesarum*; 1.II (2) *Romanorum testimonio*.

if they had been written down'.[14] In contrast, Adam does not seem to regard the information provided by his literary sources as requiring any sort of justification, even when the text is obscure or anonymous. It was the medium, rather than the individual, that defined how Adam treated his sources.[15] This prioritisation of the medium over the individual is important for understanding the way in which Adam treats his sources and how he perceived his role as an author.

Ernst Goldschmidt wrote that 'we are guilty of anachronism if we imagine that the medieval student regarded the contents of the books he read as an expression of another man's personality and opinion', but we might invert this statement, and consider that the medieval student was also the medieval author.[16] The habits of thought associated with reading a text might easily be transferred to the writing of a text. We should not assume that Adam's primary concern was to express his own personality and opinion, or confuse what Adam wrote in his work with his own view of the world. In writing, Adam was assuming the identity of an author in which the author was secondary to past literary authorities and the standards of the genre. It is possible to look for Adam's own ideas and identities in the work, but it is far easier to discuss discourses of identity detached from any individual, for, to a great extent, this is what Adam presents us with.

Adam's attitude to authority was not such that he could simply use his literary sources to reflect his own ideas and then discard them. This would be unthinkable for him. To write literature was to imitate and incorporate past authority. This desire to imitate past authority is clearest when we see Adam including ideas taken from authority which appear superfluous or contrary to his own aims and ideas. This discrepancy between Adam's own ideas and those which he includes from his sources is most visible in his use of archaic terminology to describe the North, which he describes as inhabited by Hyperboreans, Amazons, Cyclopes and other monstrous peoples. Writing credible geographical literature meant including such peoples in his account of the North, but what is revealing is how tentative Adam is when equating these established concepts with his own ideas.[17] While he tries to connect established ideas with his own knowledge, he seems unwilling to conflate the two. Adam knows that the inhabitants of

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[14] Adam, *Gesta*, 2.XLIII (41): *qui omnes barbarorum gestas res in memoria tenuit, ac si scriptae essent.*

[15] Merrils, *History and Geography*, pp. 5, 23, 25–7, 33; Lozovsky, *The Earth is our Book*, pp. 3–8, 138–40, 152–3; Lewis, *The Discarded Image,* pp. 2–12, 148, 200–6, 209–15; Constable, *Culture and Spirituality*, pp. 27, 38–40.

[16] Goldschmidt, *Medieval Texts*, p. 113.

[17] Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde*, pp. 120–4.

his 'land of the women' are not quite the same as Amazons; that cyclopes are not same as his giants; that his Northmen do not entirely fit the description of the fabled Hyperboreans; and that King Svein's Finns are distinct from Solinus' monstrous races.[18] Yet while Adam seems aware of this disparity, he nonetheless tries to make these connections, not because it helps him to express his own ideas, but because he needed to integrate his work with authority to make it appear legitimate, in his own eyes as much as those of anyone else.

We can also see this tendency in Adam's more extended use of his literary sources. It is important to recognise that Adam had very few sources to draw upon when trying to describe the northern world. Jordanes' *Getica*, Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*, Pliny's *Natural History,* and Frechulf's *Histories* were all unknown to him when writing.[19] Those sources he did draw upon when describing the North, primarily Solinus' *Polyhistor*, Capella's *De nuptiis*, Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* and Virgil's *Georgics*, had remarkably little to say about it.[20] What is revealing is that Adam nonetheless used these sources repeatedly throughout his work.

For example, Adam uses the twelfth chapter of Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* throughout, presenting part of his fourth book as a commentary on it.[21] Adam is open about the fact that he is reusing this source here, and acknowledges that he has struggled to find any other sources about the Baltic. But he uses the little information that Einhard provides to structure his own information on the North. Einhard describes the Baltic as an 'unexplored gulf', so Adam does the same, and then goes on to describe those he knows to have explored it.[22] He does not present his information as contradicting, or even updating, Einhard's account, but as confirming it; his desire to reflect the content of his literary authority

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[18] For the Amazons, see Adam, *Gesta*, 4.XIV (14), 4.XIX (19), 4.XXV (25) and 3.XVI (l5): *cum in patriam feminarum pervinisset, quas nos arbitramur Amazonas esse*. For the cyclopes see Adam, *Gesta*, 4.XII (40). Compare Adam's account of the Hyperboreans, Adam, *Gesta*, 4.XII (l2), 4.XXI (21) with Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis*, VI.664, 693, and Solinus, *Collectanae Rerum Memorabilium*, 25, ed. Mommsen. For the Finns see Adam, *Gesta*, 4.XXV (25).

[19] Jordanes, *Getica*, 1–6, ed. Giunta and Grillone; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardum*, I.1–14, ed. Waitz; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, IV.76–105, VII.10–12; Frechulf, *Histories*, I.17, ed. Allen. It seems likely that Adam, or a later commentator, only discovered Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* and Pliny's *Natural Histories* after the first draft of the work had been completed. Adam, *Gesta*, 4. Schol. 129 (123), 4. Schol. 149(143).

[20] Virgil, *Georgics*, I.30, 204–258, III.339–383, 460–462, IV.170–175, 453–527; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, I.2, 17–20, II.1, 12, IV.7, VI.33, VII.11, 13; Capella, *De nuptiis*, VI.614, 618, 661–666, IX.925–928; Einhard, *VK*, c. 12, ed. Holder-Egger; Solinus, *Collectanae Rerum Memorabilium*, 24–6, 29–34, ed. Mommsen.

[21] Einhard, *VK*, c. 12, ed. Holder-Egger; Adam, *Gesta*, 2.XIX (16), 4.X (10)–4.XIV (14).

[22] Adam, *Gesta*, 4.X (10).

outweighed the desire to express his own ideas. Similarly, Adam's use of Virgil, Lucan, Solinus and Capella, all of whom know even less about the North than Einhard, can be seen as reflecting Adam's concern to incorporate authoritative material into his work, irrespective of whether this led him to introduce superfluous or contradictory themes.[23]

Pagans and barbarians.

Far more could be said about Adam's attitude towards literary authority, and this was just one factor encouraging him to place relatively little emphasis on consistency. Adam presents us with an unusually fragmented view of the world: his ideas about what it meant to write historical and geographical literature; his blending of genres and his love of paradox; his concept of truth and theological training; and the changing circumstances within which he wrote his work, all helped form a text in which consistency was not the norm. This makes analysing much of Adam's work extremely problematic. Almost any form of literary analysis relies on the assumption that there is some element of consistency in the text under consideration, derived from the author's aims, the shape of their society, or whatever other paradigm the historian chooses to apply. The historian seeks to make connections, and there is always a strong temptation to identify a single statement or passage in the work, and say that *this* moment can be used to understand the whole. In the case of Adam's work there are two such phrases which have been taken to represent Adams attitude towards pagans and barbarians. Both are taken from the first book of Adam's work. Adam writes, 'it is enough for us to know that to this day they [the Danes] were all pagans', echoing this sentiment a few chapters later when he writes, 'it seems useless, in my judgement, to scrutinize the doings of those who did not believe'.[24] Most discussions of Adam's perception of the North reference one or both of these statements, yet neither is a particularly useful summary of Adam's attitude towards the North in general, or the sentiment in these specific passages.[25] From either perspective Adam was contradicting himself. In the passages themselves Adam clearly *was* interested in the doings of

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[23] For example cf. Adam, *Gesta*, 2.XXI (18); Virgil, *Georgics*, IV.453–527.

[24] Adam, *Gesta*, 1.LII (54): *Nobis huc scire sufficiat omnes adhuc pagonos fuisse . . . ,* trans. Tschan and Reuter, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, p. 47; Adam, *Gesta*, 1.LXI (63): *Meo autem arbitratu, sicut inutile videtur eorum acta scrutari, qui non crediderunt . . . ,* trans. Tschan and Reuter, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, p. 52.

[25] For example, Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde*, p. 118; Goetz, 'Constructing the past', p. 38; Theuerkauf, 'Die Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte', p. 129.

pagans, for this was precisely what he was trying to describe.[26] But on both occasions Adam's sources failed him, and it was this which provoked the literary sleight of hand by which Adam changed his subject from a history of the Scandinavian kings to the more easily dismissed topic of pagans. He disparaged pagans, but only because he lacked the sources to do anything else.

Across the work as a whole Adam's attitude towards pagans and barbarians was far more complex and contradictory than these extracts imply. His perspective on pagans and barbarians shifted from moment to moment, and there is little possibility of unearthing any unifying concept underlying these perspectives. To an extent existing scholarship has recognised this: older studies epitomised by those of Gerhard Theuerkauf, Piergiorgio Parroni, and Johannes Nowak have emphasised the conceptual variety and contradictions in Adams' work as a whole; while more recent work by Ildar Garipzanov, Volker Scior, David Fraesdorff, Henrik Janson and others has revealed the richness and subtlety of Adam's description of the North.[27] But these two thoughts are rarely brought together. The contradictions in Adam's work are acknowledged, but too easily ignored in discussions of identity. Even during a remarkable exploration of the contradictions in Adam's work, Gerhard Theuerkauf continued to assume that Adam had a single, coherent concept of paganism, which prevented him from seeing pagans as anything but Christianity's barbarous other.[28] This has been the overall tendency in scholarship on Adam's work; to recognise the subtleties and contradictions in Adam's work, even while assuming that his view of pagans and barbarians was essentially negative, centred around a few well-worn stereotypes and an enduring sense of hostility. Often this position is implicit, although some scholars such as Robert Bartlett and Anthony Perron have explicitly linked Adam's ideas into wider concepts of paganism and barbarism.[29] My aim is not to reject these analyses, but to qualify them. Each of these authors has contributed to our understanding of Adam's text, sharpening our awareness of some aspect of his work. Yet none of these approaches seems compatible with a close analysis of Adam's text which allows room for Adam's inconsistencies; a text in which Adam's

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[26] Cf. Adam, *Gesta*, 1.XV (17), 1.XXXVIII (40), 2.XVII (15), 2.XXIII (20).

[27] Theuerkauf, 'Die Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte'; Parroni, 'Surviving sources', 352–5; Nowak, *Untersuchungen zum Gebrauch der Begriffe populus, gens und natio*; Garipzanov, 'Christianity and paganism'; Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde*, pp. 10–137; Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden*, pp. 144–56, 251–317; Janson, *Templum noblissimum*.

[28] Theuerkauf, 'Die Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte', pp. 131–6.

[29] Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales,* pp. 131–46; Perron, 'The face of the "pagan"'.

attitude towards pagans and barbarians appears unresolved and unde-finable. Ultimately, this raises the question of how we might accept a range of views on Adam's work which appear plausible yet fundamen-tally incompatible. But first we must consider Adam's attitude towards pagans and barbarians in more depth.

The terms 'barbarian' and 'barbaric' denote a wide range of concepts in Adam's work. My purpose here is not to catalogue these, but to indi-cate something of their variety by focusing on the moralised aspect of the terms. Scholarship has tended to focus on the negative, moralised connotations of the language of barbarism; the notion of barbarians as cruel, passionate and prone to tyranny. This is justifiable, but it ignores the conceptual variety of Adam's work. Adam often did use the term 'barbarian' as we might expect, exploiting its connotations of savagery and cruelty. Thus Anskar dared to go alone among the barbarians, even though they were shunned by all for their cruelty; Theotimus tamed the barbarians of their ferocious nature; and the peoples of the North were taught to sing hallelujahs, where they had previously known only how to gnash their teeth barbarously.[30] But such negative representations do not predominate, and we can generally connect such usages with Adam's aims, and his desire to imitate his literary models.

More generally, Adam's use of the term 'barbarian' appears to be intended as a label with few or no moral connotations. While tone is immensely difficult to deduce from a text, especially one which origi-nated in such a distant society, there is little in the context of most of Adam's uses of the term 'barbarian' to suggest that the connotations of the term were meant to be negative. Adam uses it in a variety of ways: for various peoples and groups of peoples including the Danes, Swedes, Slavs, Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons and their customs; to denote vernacular languages; and to describe places, both barbarism as a whole and places within it such as 'the barbarian sea' (the Baltic).[31]

Significantly, Adam is also able to assume the perspective of those he at times labels 'barbarians'. Thus he claims that Adalbert was persuaded not to travel to Denmark in person, because he was told that the 'barbarous peoples' would be more easily converted by their own 'than by persons

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[30] Cf. Adam, *Gesta*, 1.XV (17), 2.l (48), 4.XLIV (42); Rimbert, *Vita Anksarii*, 7,8, ed. Waitz; Cassiodorus, *Historia tripartita*, IX.47, ed. Jacob and Hanslik; Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, XXVII.11, ed. Adriaen.

[31] For various peoples: Adam, *Gesta*, 2.LXV (63), 3.XVII (16), 3.LIV (53), 4.VI (6); for the vernacular 2.LXXIX (75); for various places 2.XVII (15), 2.LVII (55), 4.I (1), 4.IV (4), and 4.X (10): *idemque mare Barbarum seu pelagus Scithicum vocatur a gentibus quas alluit barbaris.*

unacquainted with their ways and strange to their kind'.[32] Similarly, he presents those living around the Baltic as being barbarians in the eyes of the Danes.[33] While there is more than a hint of the moralising division we associate with the term in the second example, what is notable is the flexibility with which Adam uses it. He is not locked into a simple dichotomy of Christian civilisation and pagan barbarity; he can appreciate that the barbarians too have their outsiders, which may include himself.

At times Adam even labels groups and individuals with which he has clear sympathies as 'barbarians'. Svein Estrithson, regularly praised by Adam, is called 'the brightest amongst the barbarians'.[34] Newly converted groups are often described as barbarians, as are those whom Adam laments remain trapped in paganism through negligent priests and avaricious princes.[35] When Adam describes the Christian Frisians as behaving barbarously, he seems to approve of them doing so.[36]

The distinction between Christian(s) and pagan(s) was integral to Adam's work in a way in which the barbarian as a cruel outsider simply was not.[37] A history of the mission required its pagans, and so did significant parts of Adam's Christian and institutional identities. He seems to have struggled with the idea that pagans might be anything but the antithesis of Christians and Christianity. Much of what Adam knew about the North undermined this view, and he did not always perceive those he described as pagans in this way, but this concept of paganism was dominant throughout his work. Once he had brought it to mind, he struggled to dismiss it. Occasionally he is explicit about this struggle: he expresses surprise that Harald Bluetooth chose to aid Christian missionaries before he had been baptised; and confesses that he is perplexed that Archbishop Unni may have been given royal permission to preach, even though these kings did not believe.[38] More often, Adam tailored his accounts of conversion and relapse to fit this dominant idea of paganism as Christianity's opposite. Thus he tended to present conversion or relapse as instantaneous and comprehensive; both intuitive qualities of conversion if conversion is assumed to be a shift from one opposing state to another, between which there is no middle ground. He also tended to exaggerate the success of missionaries and make the moment of

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[32] Adam, *Gesta*, 3.LXXII (70): *per ignotas ritumque nationis abhorrentes personas*, trans. Tschan, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, p. 179.
[33] Adam, *Gesta*, 4.VI (6).
[34] Adam, *Gesta*, 3.LIV (53): *Illo tempore clarissimus inter barbaros fuit Suein, rex Danorum, qui reges Nortmannorum Olaph et Magnum constrinxit magna virtute.*
[35] For example, Adam, *Gesta*, 1.XXI (23), 3.XV (14), 3.LIV (53), 4.XXXI (30).
[36] Adam, *Gesta*, 3.XLII (41).
[37] See especially Garipzanov, 'Christianity and paganism', pp. 15, 20, 23.
[38] Adam, *Gesta*, 1.LIX (61), 1.LXI (63).

conversion far more dramatic than it truly was; thus the pagans are more fearsome and the missionaries more heroic.[39] This leads him to alter comprehensively some of his most important sources, such as the *Life of Anskar* – something which he strenuously avoided doing elsewhere – suggesting that Adam felt he had good cause to do so.[40] It also created many inconsistencies across Adam's work as a whole: the same nations are converted numerous times, while Christians appear among nations Adam claimed were wholly relapsed, and pagans within nations he had described as wholly converted.[41] This perception of pagans as other, as antithetical to all things Christian, dominated Adam's thought. Although he may have exploited the notion to create dramatic conversion narratives or fulfil the norms of the genre, we should not overemphasise the extent to which Adam chose to do so. It is too simplistic to say that Adam could only perceive the unconverted northern peoples through this narrow definition of paganism, yet Adam does seem to have had a very limited ability to question the validity of this concept, or to consider alternative concepts of paganism, when he had already brought this one to mind. Sometimes it was enough to affirm that the pagan was other.

However, there are many different concepts of paganism in Adam's work. Just as the majority of Adam's descriptions of those he labels as 'barbarians' or 'barbaric' do not fit with a straightforward dichotomy of civilisation and barbarism, neither do the majority of his references to 'pagans' and 'paganism' suggest that Adam only associated these terms with an inverted image of Christendom. Adam could use the language of paganism to describe a wide variety of peoples, places, customs and individuals, including Northmen he liked, and Christians he did not.[42] In so far as it is meaningful to talk of Adam's attitude towards pagans and paganism in the singular, we must say that it was fragmented and contradictory. For example, the work itself was centred around an unresolved tension between an understanding of paganism which necessitated missionary activity, and that which was necessary to carry it out. In the first, the pagan was fundamentally different, defined by and conflated with their paganism; conversion was a transformation from one state to

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[39] Adam, *Gesta*, 1.XV (17), 1.XVI (18), 1.XXI (12), 1.XXIX (31), 2.XLII (40), 3.XX (19), 3.LI (50); cf. Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia*, p. 128.

[40] Cf. Adam, *Gesta*, 1.XVI (18), 1.XXV (27), 1.XXVIII (30), 1.XXIX (31); Rimbert, *Vita Anksarii*, 12, 17, 24, ed. Waitz.

[41] Cf. Adam, *Gesta*, 1.XII (13), 1.XV (17), 1.LV (58), 2.V (5), 2.XXIII (20), 2.XXV (22), 2.XXVII (25), 2.XXXVI (34), 2.XLI (39), 2.XLII (40), 2.LII (50), 2.LVIII (56), 2.LIX (57), 1.LXI (63), 2.LXVI (64), 3.LI (50).

[42] Cf. Adam, *Gesta*,1.XLVII (49), 2.XXII (19), 2.XXVIII (26), 2.XXXIV (32), 2.XLVIII (46), 2.LVIII (56), 2.LXVI (64), 3.I (1), 3.XIX (18), 3 XXIII (22), 3.LI (50), 3.LVI (55), 4.I (1), 4.XVIII (18), 4.XXI (21), 4.XXII (22), 4.XXVIII (28).

another, between which there was no middle ground. But while such a dichotomy might lend an urgency to missionary work, it was hardly a practical guide for how to go about it. The effective missionary had to separate the individual pagan from their paganism, and recognise that conversion could be a long and rather mundane process. In doing so, the missionary came uncomfortably close to treating paganism as comparable to Christianity, even while being motivated by a dichotomy which hardly allowed such comparisons.[43]

Fragmented identities

Adam's presentation of pagans was characterised by such contradictions, and many more examples might be given. But rather than cataloguing the diverse usages of the language of paganism, I would like to approach the issue from the other direction, by arguing that there was no unified concept of paganism underlying Adam's work. To illustrate this point, I would like to take the example of Adam's description of the Prussians from Book 4 of his history.[44] Here, Adam presents us with a number of distinct perspectives on the Prussians, which he makes little effort to synthesise. For the purposes of this chapter we might distinguish four different ways of imagining the Prussians, but these merely serve as illustrations; they are not presented as definitive.

Firstly, Adam describes the Prussians as humane (*homines humanissimi*), for they go out and rescue mariners from pirates and stormy seas. This is in contrast to the more conventional pagans who lived in the islands neighbouring the Prussians, whom Adam describes in the preceding passage as killing anyone they encountered at sea.[45] As Gerhard Theuerkauf suggests, Adam had probably acquired this understanding of the Prussians through his conversations with sailors in the ports of Hamburg and Bremen.[46]

Adam develops this piece of dockside rumour into a comment on the failings of his own society. The Prussians, he tells us, scorn the furs which have 'inoculated our world with the deadly poison of pride'.[47] In doing so, Adam transforms the Prussians from benevolent sailors into that most

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[43] Cf. examples of the first view: Adam, *Gesta*, 1.XVI (18), 1.XXIX (31), 2.XLII (40), 1.LIX (61), 1.LXI (63), 2.XXXVI (34), 3.XX (19), 3.LI (50), with examples of the second: 2.XXVI (23), 2.XL (38), 2.LVII (55), 3.XV (14), 3.XXI (20), 3.LXXII (70), 4.XXVIII (28), 4.XXXI (30), 4.XXXIV (24).

[44] Adam, *Gesta*, 4.XVIII (18).   [45] Adam, *Gesta*, 4.XVII (17).

[46] Theuerkauf, 'Die Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte', pp. 122, 126–8.

[47] Adam, *Gesta*, 4.XVIII (18): *quarum odor letiferum nostro orbi superbiae venenum propinavit*, trans. Tschan, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, p. 199.

well-worn of clichés, the noble savage. Adam is no longer concerned with the Prussians themselves, but with an imagined other through which he can condemn his own society's obsession with wealth and status, a theme to which he returns throughout his work.[48]

Sitting uncomfortably alongside these two perspectives was Adam's knowledge that the Prussians not only remained pagan, but that they were responsible for the martyrdom of the missionary Adalbert of Prague in 997. Adam could hardly ignore this, for it was common knowledge and he was, after all, writing a history of the mission. Yet he seems aware that this missionary perspective on the Prussians hardly complimented what he had heard from Hamburg-Bremen's merchants, and his own moralising take on their stories. Nonetheless, Adam makes little more than a gesture towards synthesising these accounts.

Finally, Adam may even have been reflecting something of the Prussians' own understanding of themselves and others in his claim that they barred Christians from entering their sacred groves and springs. We can't be sure of this, and at the very least Adam's information about the Prussians was probably second-hand. Adam was also prone to using imaginative descriptions of paganism as a way of commenting on a situation, and indeed the notion that the Prussians shared everything with the Christians except their sacred places was a rather nice way of summarising Adam's mixed feelings towards them.[49] Nonetheless, Adam takes a peculiar stance in this moment, inverting the right order of things and imagining a world in which Christians were the outsiders, who must be kept from the sacred places. Such a perspective on the Prussians, presented without qualification despite following a reference to Adalbert's martyrdom, is testimony to Adam's remarkable ability to empathise with those he classified as outsiders. But it is also testimony to the fragmentary nature of his work. The only unifying element in the account was Adam's notion of what was, or was not, appropriate to include. It makes little sense to analyse the account in terms of Adam's concept of the Prussians, or his concept of paganism, for there are no such concepts to be found in the passage. Instead, Adam imagined the Prussians from a variety of perspectives, which were only indirectly related to one another.

I would like to take this argument slightly further, and suggest that we might approach each moment in Adam's text as being, in some sense, unique. A claim of barbarity in the third book can be used to illustrate this point. Adam writes:

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[48] Adam, *Gesta*, 1.LXIII (65), 3.LXIX (68).
[49] Adam, *Gesta*, 4.XXI (26) – XXIX (28); Janson, 'Adam of Bremen', pp. 81–7; Garipzanov, 'Christianity and paganism', pp. 25–7.

Spurred on by avarice, the duke moved against the Frisians because they did not pay the tribute which they owed. He came into Frisia accompanied by the archbishop, who went only for the sake of reconciling the mutinous folk with the duke. And since the duke was fond of Mammon, he demanded the total sum of the duty, and when he could in no wise be placated with seven hundred marks of silver, the barbarous people soon became furiously enraged and '. . . rushed on the sword for freedom's sake'.[50]

In order to analyse this passage, we must begin with a general sense of what medieval authors tended to mean when they described a people as 'barbarous'. We have no alternative but to begin with such generalisations. From the context, it is apparent that Adam was trying to evoke a sense of barbarians as violent and passionate, a notion which appears entirely unoriginal; Greek and Roman authors had said much the same thing.

Yet Adam's depiction of the Frisians is more complex than this. The Frisians were Christian, not pagan, and many of them belonged to the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen – Adam could not mean that they were barbarous in the same sense that the more distant and exotic peoples of the North were barbarous. Nor is it clear whether Adam felt that the Frisians were wrong to act barbarously; indeed his claim that they fought for the sake of liberty suggests a certain amount of sympathy for their cause. Adam goes so far as to describe their rebellion in the words of Virgil's *Aeneid*, which had originally described the Romans' fight against Tarquin, the last king of Rome.[51] The Frisians may have been acting barbarously, yet they were also behaving like Romans, those self-proclaimed adversaries of barbarism and tyranny. In place of Tarquin, the Frisians have the Saxon duke Bernhard, whose greed is described in terms which subvert his Christian credentials, for 'you cannot serve God and Mammon'.[52]

Adam leads his audience to a complex and contradictory understanding of the Frisians; we are to see them as a barbarous people violently rebelling against their duke, but also as somehow Roman, fighting for their freedom against a duke whose tyranny and greed can only be described as barbarous. In this context there is little use in falling back on general definitions of barbarism, which can be no more than a starting

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[50] Adam, *Gesta*, 3.XLII (41): *Dux avaritiae stimulo motus in Fresones, quod debitum non inferrent tributum, venit in Fresiam, comitem habens archiepiscopum, qui ea tantum gratia profectus est, ut discordantem populum duci reconciliaret. Cumque dux mammonae cupidus totam pro censu rationem poneret necdum DCC argenti marcis posset ullo modo placari, mox barbari gens, nimio furore succensa, 'in ferrum pro libertate'*; trans. Tschan, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, p. 149.

[51] Virgil, *Aeneid*, VIII.618–50.   [52] Matthew 6:24, cf. Luke 16:9–13.

point for understanding this passage. We might try to identify various aspects of the description for the purposes of analysis – ideas of Christianity, ethnicity, freedom, *Romanitas* and barbarism – but this is for our own convenience. The moment is unique, and the elements we use to define the stance which Adam takes in this moment are constitutive of it, in so far as they are present at all.

This insistence on uniqueness does not sit comfortably alongside the notion of otherness usually employed by historians. Each discipline has used the language of otherness differently, yet most have treated 'the other' as one part of a pair; 'other' with a small 'o' stands in contrast to 'Otherness' with a capital 'O'. A colonial discourse which defines and categorises the colonised is juxtaposed with a sense of the colonised as unique and indefinable; a named and describable God is contrasted with a sense of *mysterium tremendum* and a God utterly beyond human reason.[53] With some notable exceptions, few historians have used the term to evoke such paradoxes.[54] Otherness, whether capitalised or not, usually only indicates one kind of relationship. Isolating one part of the dichotomy does not prevent sound analysis, but it does mute the sense of contradiction which it provokes. It makes it easier for us to treat our statements as more definitive than they actually are, and we must consider reintroducing this sense of tension into our discussions of otherness, both when recreating medieval concepts of the other, and when reflecting on our own aims and methods. Insisting on the uniqueness of each moment in a text is one way of doing so. For how could any moment in the text ever mean quite the same thing as another? Adam's society, a web of innumerable connections and imperfect exchanges, was in constant flux and, although we have more invested in ignoring this, so was Adam himself. Anything beyond an assertion of the uniqueness of each moment is a simplification; not so much inaccurate as limited. Thinking consists in making connections despite these limitations, and indeed thought is impossible without them. But paradox shows up the limitations in our thought, encouraging movement, and undermining the possibility of settling on sealed definitions, which ends thought. Medieval authors tended to be more tolerant of paradox and the sense of ambiguity and unresolved tension which accompanies it. By describing the Prussians through a series of contradictory statements Adam provides a more accurate description than if he had simply presented his audience

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[53] For example, Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 94–5; Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, pp. 1–4, 12–5, 19–21, 25–30; Bonhoeffer, *Act and Being*, pp. 30–44; Barth, *The Humanity of God*, pp. 20–5, 27–31, 37–52.

[54] See McLaughlin, 'Gender paradox and the otherness of God' for one such exception.

with any one of these statements; for all of them were, to some extent, true. But more than this, by refusing to settle on a single definition of the Prussians Adam adopts a stance towards the Prussians, and indeed his own understanding of them, which allows room for, even demands, further thought. The Prussians are defined, but the definition is dynamic. Any serious student of theology was forced to engage with such paradoxes; the first who are last, the weak who are the strong, the burden that is both light and easy, and a cross to bear daily.[55] Hence Bede's reflections on an exegesis which allowed the Philistines to be both pagans and the *gentes salvandas*, and the juxtaposition in the *Collectio 400* of the commandments both to love and hate one's enemies.[56] Adam himself was part of a generation of scholars who embraced the possibilities of paradox more than most.[57]

Here we return to the issue with which we began, the problem of consistency. Adam's work is one of inconsistencies and contradictions. His presentation of those he described as pagans and barbarians is far more fragmented and contradictory than has often been appreciated. Underlying these contradictions was an attitude towards consistency quite unlike our own. Adam seems far less concerned with consistency than we are, and when he does prioritise it, it is in ways which often seem foreign to us. This attitude flowed from different sources, and expressed itself in various ways, but there were moments when Adam deliberately introduced contradictions into his work as a way of better understanding his subject. Hence when Adam was faced with the challenge of describing Adalbert's legacy, he opted to insist that Adalbert was both a great man, and a terrible one. Adam's account was contradictory, but it was all the richer for that. We might learn from this approach.

Adam's perspective on the North shifted from moment to moment, to the point where each passage can be meaningfully described as unique. Doing so allows us the flexibility to make sense of many of the more peculiar passages in Adam's work. We do not have to try and fit such moments into the more rigid patterns demanded by an analysis of his text in terms of concepts like society or the author. And yet both Adam's aims and his society are crucial for understanding his work, as Ildar Garipzanov, Volker Scior, David Fraesdorff, Henrik Janson and many others have shown.[58] Like Adam, we are faced with a number of perspectives which

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[55] Matthew 20:16; 2 Corinthians 12:10; Matthew 11:30; Luke 9:23.
[56] See the contributions by Ian Wood and Sven Meeder in this volume.
[57] Lesieur, *Devenir fou pour être sage*; McLaughlin, *Sex, Gender, and Episcopal Authority*, p. 158.
[58] Garipzanov, 'Christianity and paganism'; Scior, *Das Eigene und das Fremde*; Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden*; Janson, *Templum noblissimum*.

are incompatible with one another; for the concepts of the author or the society will never neatly align, and to insist on the uniqueness of each passage is to deny the validity of either approach. The solution is not to try and smooth out the differences between these approaches, to find a point where all these different perspectives might agree; for this would merely create a new concept, albeit a rather complex one. To seek a single definition that might encompass the whole of Adam's thought on the North is to misunderstand the nature of Adam's work, and the relationship of thought to reality. Different concepts allow us to see the world in different ways; the world remains the same, but our perspective changes. The fullest understanding of Adam's work would come from accepting all of these perspectives, together with the subsequent contradictions. Adam's descriptions of pagans and barbarians were simultaneously an expression of the anxieties and prejudices of Adam's society (as Robert Bartlett and Anthony Perron have argued), tools by which Adam could pursue his aims (as Henrik Janson and Ildar Garipzanov have argued), and yet so riddled with contradictions and inconsistencies that each description must be taken as unique.[59] Each of these approaches is distinct, and incompatible with others, and these approaches cannot be synthesised. Yet if we wish to understand the work, we must accept all of these perspectives, and the contradictions with them.

[59] Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 131–46; Perron, 'The face of the "pagan"'; Janson, 'Adam of Bremen', pp. 81–7; Garipzanov, 'Christianity and paganism', pp. 18–28.

Part IV

The Migration of Cultural Traditions in Early Medieval Europe

13 Transformations of the Roman past and Roman identity in the early Middle Ages

Rosamond McKitterick

The exploration of many eclectic uses of the resources of the past in this volume has uncovered how they helped to shape identities in the post-Roman successor states of western Europe in the early Middle Ages. Particular texts compiled in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages not only reflect social and cultural identities but can also be understood as part of an effort to shape the present by means of restructuring the past. Not the least influential of these texts are those offering a narrative of Roman history, a representation of the city of Rome, and the integration of Christian and imperial Rome into the 'cultural memory' of early medieval Europe.[1] The past two decades, indeed, have witnessed an extraordinary resurgence of interest in late antique Rome that has moved matters greatly forward from the older and too easy assumptions of the transformation of the city into a Christian capital under papal rule in the course of the fourth century.[2] A wealth of new material has come to light as a result of major excavations, quite apart from the elucidation of martyr cults, burial practice, social organisation and aristocratic factions, the function of the fifth-century emperors, the Roman clergy, and the contributions of the popes themselves.[3] The publication in 2012 of Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly's edited volume *Two Romes* is expressive and characteristic of these developments.[4] It addresses the topics of buildings and infrastructure, topography and archaeology, political history, the question of imperial presence, literary representation, the

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[1] Assmann, *Erinnerungsraüme*.

[2] Bauer, 'Sankt Peter' and Behrwald and Witschel (eds.), *Rom in der Spätantike*.

[3] Only a sample of the more recent work can be give here: Pelliccioni, *Le nuove scoperte sulle origini del Battistero Lateranense*; Liverani (ed.), *Laterano 1*; Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*; Pietri, *Roma christiana*; Harris (ed.), *The Transformations of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity*; McEvoy, 'Rome and the transformation of the imperial office'; and McEvoy, *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West*; Rüpke, *Fasti Sacerdotum*; Norton, *Episcopal Elections 250–600*; Sessa, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy*; Wirbelauer, *Zwei Päpste in Rom.*

[4] Grig and Kelly (eds.), *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*.

Christianisation of the city, and of course the relationship between Old Rome and 'New Rome' or Constantinople.

In common with most recent studies, however, Late Antiquity has been the primary focus. Extending the discussion into the early medieval period offers a host of new perspectives on the developments of Late Antiquity. In particular, what can surviving texts tell us about how the Roman past was perceived, and how might perceptions of the Roman past have been transformed by the late antique and early medieval historians themselves in order to accommodate the dramatic changes of the fourth and fifth century? It has become increasingly clear how rigorously we need to interrogate the historical evidence in order to discern the degree to which changes in the representation and understanding of the Roman past might themselves have shaped or had an impact on the identity of those in Rome and responsible for writing history. Identity in this context is perhaps best defined as the sense of self and self-definition, but it needs nevertheless to be understood as collective in both promotion and reception. It is obvious that memory and the markers of identity in the past are embodied in texts and objects, but such texts and objects are far from passive. They may themselves have been created in order actively to articulate as well as to form identity and to shape memory; they were designed to reach and influence audiences. It is this wider context that has provided the framework for my own work on the sixth-century *Liber pontificalis* and its continuations.

In earlier work on the historiographical context of the *Liber pontificalis*, I have argued that the sixth-century author of the first section,[5] from St Peter to Pope Silverius, appropriated the classical and late antique Roman historiographical genre of serial biography. That is, the most influential models for the extraordinary format of the *Liber pontificalis* were not the martyr narratives or even biblical models but rather the serial biographies of Roman emperors, not least those by Suetonius, the *Historia augusta* and the pseudo-Aurelius Victor.[6] Further, the *Liber pontificalis* offered a new perception of time: instead of Roman history *ab urbe condita* or universal history from the Creation, the *Liber pontificalis* presented Roman time from the pontificate of St Peter. As is well

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[5] Geertman, 'La genesi del Liber pontificalis romano', esp. p. 37; Duchesne (ed.), *Le 'Liber pontificalis': texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886–92 and second edition with vol. III, ed. C. Vogel, Paris 1955–7) (cited subsequently as *LP*).

[6] McKitterick, 'Roman texts and Roman history'. Some elements of this argument are also in McKitterick, 'La Place du *Liber pontificalis* dans les genres historiographiques du haut Moyen Âge'. Compare Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, ed. Ihm; *Historia Augusta*, ed. Hohl; and Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus*, ed. Festy. Compare Mauskopf Deliyannis, 'A biblical model for serial biography'.

known, the mid-sixth-century text was substantially extended, first of all in the seventh century, and thereafter on a more-or-less life-by-life basis to the end of the ninth century. The *Liber pontificalis* presents Christian and Christianised Roman history simultaneously, and reorients its audiences' perceptions of Rome and its past. It constructs the popes as the rulers of Rome, and thereby replaces the ancient as well as contemporary Byzantine emperors.

The *Liber pontificalis*'s representation of Roman history in the various redactions of the first ninety-seven Lives from St Peter to Pope Hadrian proved to be enormously influential throughout the Middle Ages, even if dissemination of the later Lives, from Leo III (795–815) to Stephen V (885–891) was far more limited.[7] The importance of the epitomes of the *Liber pontificalis* in circulation in early medieval Europe is also gradually being appreciated, both as information about the popes, and as an extension of the framework of time and space within which a particular monastery's history might be perceived, and against which a community might define its own identity.[8] Two crucial components of the history and identity of Christian Rome are the Apostles Peter and Paul, though their representation in the *Liber pontificalis* at least, clearly gives precedence to Peter and played a crucial role in the promotion of the cult of the so-called *princeps apostolorum* in western Europe in the early Middle Ages.[9]

In this chapter I wish to address three further questions. First of all, what is the active role of the city of Rome itself in the narrative of the *Liber pontificalis*? Secondly, how did the *Liber pontificalis* articulate or help to shape perceptions of a specifically Roman and Christian identity? Thirdly, what more can be said of the *Liber pontificalis*'s historiographical context and its implications in relation to the themes of the city of Rome and Roman identity? A particularly crucial and hugely influential late antique text in terms of historical writing, is the universal *Chronicle* of Eusebius-Jerome, first composed by Eusebius in Greek and covering the years from Abraham to 324, and then translated into Latin by Jerome and continued to 378. This text has not hitherto been considered as part of the potential resources of the authors of the *Liber pontificalis*. I shall explore, therefore, the *Chronicle*'s representation of Rome and the Roman imperial past in relation to that of the *Liber pontificalis*.

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[7] Bougard, 'Composition, diffusion et reception'. Recent work on the redactions, especially of the Lombard recension, see Gantner, 'The Lombard recension of the *Liber pontificalis*'.

[8] See, for example, Abbo of Fleury, *Epitome*, ed. Gantier; and McKitterick, 'Rome and the popes'.

[9] See my pair of studies, 'The representation of Old Saint Peter's', and 'Narrative strategies in the *Liber pontificalis*'.

The role of the city of Rome in the *Liber pontificalis*

By the role of the city of Rome in the narrative of the *Liber pontificalis* I mean more than the way the text documents the transformation of the city. Certainly, the city provides an essential topographical context for the narrative sequence of popes, and the Christian impact on the topography of Rome is perhaps the most familiar aspect of the text.[10] It may be useful, therefore, to summarise these briefly.

After the conversion of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity, the imperial city gradually became a holy city of Christian basilicas and saints' and martyrs' shrines, the residence of the pope, an international city of pilgrims, artists and craftsmen, and a major focus of secular and religious politics. This can be charted in the *Liber pontificalis* from the very first biography of Peter where the sixth-century authors claimed as Peter's first burial place:

the temple of Apollo on the Via Aurelia, close to the place where Peter was said to have been crucified, and close also to Nero's palace on the Vatican hill and to the triumphal territory.[11]

The Life of Cornelius (251–3), however, attributes the translation of Peter's body from the Via Appia to the Vatican hill to the middle of the third century, at the same time that Paul, also disinterred from his resting place on the Via Appia, was reburied on the Via Ostiensis:

In his time at the request of a certain lady Lucina, he took up the bodies of the apostles Saints Peter and Paul from the Catacombs at night; in fact first of all the blessed Lucina took the body of St Paul and put it on her estate on the Via Ostiensis close to the place where he was beheaded; the blessed bishop Cornelius took the body of St Peter and put it close to the place where he was crucified, among the bodies of the holy bishops at the temple of Apollo on the Mons Aureus, on the Vatican at Nero's palace, on 29 June.[12]

This reference is part of a sequence of accounts of the burial of the early bishops of Rome in various cemeteries outside the walls of the city,

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[10] Classic studies are Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum Christianarum Romae*; Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City*; Reekmans, 'L'Implantation monumentale chrétienne'; de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*; Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom im Frühmittelalter*.

[11] *LP* I, Life 1 Peter (c. 64/67), p. 118: *Qui sepultus est via Aurelia in templum Apollinis, iuxta locum ubi crucifixus est, iuxta palatium Neronianum, in Vaticanum, iuxta territurium Triumphalem*; trans. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, p. 2.

[12] *LP* I, Life 22 Cornelius (251–3), p. 150: *Hic temporibus suis, rogatus a quodam matrona Lucina, corpora apostolorum beati Petri et Pauli de catacumbas levavit noctu: primum quidem corpus beati Pauli accepto beata Lucina posuit in praedio suo via Ostense, iuxta locum ubi decollata est; beati Petri accepit corpus beatus Cornelius episcopus et posuit iuxta locum ubi crucifixus est, inter corpora sanctorum episcoporum, in templum Apollinis, in monte Aureum, in Vaticanum palatii Neroniani, III kal. Iul.*; trans. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, p. 9.

including a cluster on the Vatican hill and a papal necropolis on the Via Appia. Whatever the merits of the claims for St Peter, they were sufficiently entrenched by the fourth century for Constantine to build the basilica dedicated to St Peter on the Vatican hill.[13]

Thereafter the scattering of earlier references to Christian cemeteries in the *Liber pontificalis* was augmented by a steady catalogue of major basilicas within Rome, many credited to Constantine himself. Allusion is made to these Christian basilicas with the clear assumption that the sixth-century readers have already accommodated them and are familiar with these landmarks in their mind's eye. For the most part, indeed, the directives for orientation concerning what places are near to what are largely in terms of cemeteries or existing basilicas. Apart from the major roads into the city, notably (clockwise from the north) Via Flaminia, Via Salaria, Via Nomentana, Via Tiburtina, Via Praenestina/Via Labicana, Via Latina, Via Appia, Via Ardeatina, Via Ostiensis/Laurentiana, Via Portuensis and Via Aurelia, and the Via Lata within the city, the *Liber pontificalis* contains only a handful of references to ancient Roman monuments in the portion produced in the mid sixth century. These are usually rather general in nature, often mentioned apparently in passing as part of the topographical indicators for new Christian churches. Yet these in themselves suggest the amalgamation of Roman imperial and secular building and the newer Christian monuments in the imaginative understanding of the authors of the *Liber pontificalis*, and its communication to that of their various audiences.[14] Certainly the text is addressing an audience assumed to be familiar with the places mentioned in order to aid their own orientation as well as colour their understanding of the significance of particular locations. The subsequent dissemination of the text meant a wider communication throughout western Europe of this coupling of pagan imperial landmarks and Christian buildings in an historical landscape. It is important, moreover, to distinguish this textual record of a landscape of memory from that which the physical remains themselves communicated to visitors to, and the inhabitants of, Rome.[15]

[13] Classic discussion by Chadwick, 'Saint Peter and Saint Paul in Rome', provides discussion, text and translation. See also Saghy, '*Scinditur in partes populus*', and Cooper, 'The martyr, the *matrona* and the bishop'; Picard, 'Étude sur l'emplacement des tombes des papes'; Borgolte, *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation*; Liverani, Spinola and Zander, *The Vatican Necropoles*.

[14] For different perspectives, see Warland. 'The concept of Rome in Late Antiquity', and Roberts, 'Rome personified, Rome epitomized'.

[15] See van Deventer, 'Rome, city of memories'. I am grateful to Maarten Deventer for allowing me to read his thesis.

In the list of Constantine's donations in the Life of Silvester, for example, some of the new foundations are distinguished by references to particular Roman monuments. Thus St Peter's basilica is 'at the temple of Apollo' and S. Croce 'in Jerusalem' is referred to as a basilica in the Sessorian palace, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura was built on the Via Tiburtina on the Ager Veranus, and the church dedicated to Saints Marcellinus and Petrus 'on the land between the two laurels'. The Mausoleum for Helena was constructed on the Via Labicana at the Third Mile.[16] Silvester himself contributed the titulus of Equitius 'close to Domitian's baths' (S. Martino ai Monti) and endowed it with property within the city, namely a house with a bath in the region of Sicininum, a garden in the region Ad Duo Amantes, and a house in the region Orpheus.

This occasional topographical precision continued into the accounts of the later fourth-, fifth- and sixth-century church endowments. Mark, for example, at whose petition 'Constantine presented a cemetery on the Via Ardeatina' also built a basilica on the Via Ardeatina and another 'in Rome close to the Pallacinae'.[17] Julius 'built two basilicas, one in Rome close to the Forum, the other across the Tiber, and three cemeteries: on Via Flaminia, Via Aurelia and Via Portuensis'.[18] Liberius lived at the cemetery of St Agnes with Constantine's sister and built the basilica which bears his name close to the market of Livia.[19] Felix built a basilica on the Via Aurelia and was beheaded close to the city walls alongside the aqueduct of Trajan.[20] Damasus built two basilicas: one to St Laurence close to the Theatre and the other on the Via Ardeatina.[21] Anastasius built a basilica called Crescentiana in the Second region of Rome on the Via Mamurtini, Celestine dedicated the basilica of Julius (later S. Maria in Trastevere) and Sixtus built the basilica of Mary close to the Market of Livia (i.e. S. Maria Maggiore).[22] In Leo I's time, God's handmaid Demetrias built a basilica to St Stephen on her estate at the Third Mile of the Via Latina; Leo himself built a basilica to the bishop and martyr Cornelius near the cemetery of Callistus on the Via Appia.[23] Simplicius dedicated the basilica of St Stephen (S. Stefano Rotundo) on the Caelian hill in Rome and in Rome close to the Licinian palace another basilica of S. Bibiana.[24] Inside Rome Gelasius constructed the basilica of Saints Silvester and Martin from the ground up close to the baths of Trajan

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[16] *LP* I, Life 34, cc. 16, 22, 24, 26, pp. 176, 179, 181, 182.   [17] *LP* I, Life 35, p. 202.
[18] *LP* I, Life 36, p. 205.   [19] *LP* I, Life 37, p. 207.   [20] *LP* I, Life 38, p. 211.
[21] *LP* I, Life 39, p. 212.   [22] *LP* I, Life 41, p. 218, Life 45, p. 230 and Life 46, p. 232.
[23] *LP* I, Life 47, pp. 238, 239.   [24] *LP* I, Life 49, p. 249.

and Felix IV built the basilica of Cosmas and Damian in Rome in the area called the Via Sacra close to the temple of the City of Rome.[25] Even as late as the seventh century, it is clear that the ancient toponymy of Rome was maintained. Gregory I dedicated the church of the Goths in the Subura in the name of St Agatha the Martyr, Sabinian's funeral procession was taken out by St John's Gate and conducted outside the walls to the Milvian bridge, and Adeodatus dedicated the church of St Peter on the Via Portuensis close to the Pons Meruli . . . and enlarged the monastery of Erasmus on the Caelian hill.[26] Dramatic changes were also noted, as in the life of Boniface IV, who asked the emperor Phocas for the temple called the Pantheon and in it he made the church of the ever-virgin Mary and all martyrs (609).[27] In a passage full of references to city sites, Honorius (625–38) built the church of Hadrian at the Three Fates. A later manuscript preserves an addition made to the Life of Honorius recording his establishment of a mill on the wall at the 'place of Trajan close to the city wall' and his repairs to water channels.[28]

Yet Rome's antique past, both in physical terms and as an idea, remained a constant factor in many respects. Although the topography of the city within the walls changed radically with new points of orientation provided by the great new Christian basilicas, and new Christian names for many of the Gates, the Aurelian Walls remained a spectacular feature of the urban landscape, and the popes themselves gradually took over the responsibility for their upkeep.[29] So too, the water supply and repair of the aqueducts became the responsibility of the church.[30] The internal dynamic of the city, its daily rhythms, how its spaces were used, the places on which patronage was concentrated, and its institutional structures and its social hierarchies were transformed during the early Middle Ages.[31] Liturgical processions according to the new Christian organisation of time traversed the city.[32] Nevertheless, eighth-century pilgrims,

[25] *LP* I, Life 51, p. 255 and Life 56, p. 279.
[26] *LP* I, Life 66, p. 312, Life 67, p. 315 and Life 79, p. 346.
[27] *LP* I, Life 69, p. 317 and compare above Ward and below Gantner in this volume, p. 250.
[28] *LP* I, Life 72, p. 324 (BAV, Vat. lat. 3764, s. xi^ex from Farfa or Cava).
[29] Dey, *The Aurelian Wall*, and Coates-Stephens, 'The walls of Aurelian'.
[30] Coates-Stephens, 'The water supply of Rome'; see also for general context Squatriti, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy*.
[31] In addition to the work cited in note 6 see also Saxer, 'La chiesa di Roma dal V al X secolo'.
[32] Van Dijk, 'The urban and papal rites'; Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*; and Dyer, 'Roman processions of the Major Litany'.

such as the person responsible for the Einsiedeln itinerary, described a city in which imperial monuments and ancient Roman roads acted not simply as landmarks on the way to the shrines of Christian saints, but are part of this pilgrim's understanding of the city.[33] Texts like the Einsiedeln itinerary, indeed, can arguably be seen as witnesses to the effective dissemination of the *Liber pontificalis*'s particular representation of the city of Rome.

Perceptions of a Roman and Christian identity

While the topographical transformation of Rome represented in the *Liber pontificalis* is very striking, a second issue needs to be explored, namely the way in which the *Liber pontificalis* articulated or helped to shape perceptions of a specifically Roman and Christian identity. There are all kinds of other ways in which the *Liber pontificalis* embeds its narrative in Roman society. In the early portion in particular there are notes of endowment by the bishops of Rome, emperors, foreign kings and members of the wealthy lay population, such as the ubiquitous Lucina, Priscilla, Vestina, Demetrias, and all those responsible for the endowment of the *tituli* and *diaconiae*.[34] The *Liber pontificalis*, for example, reports the magnificent donations of Constantine and Constantius (St Peter's, S. Paolo, S. Croce, S. Agnese, S. Lorenzo on Via Tiburtina, SS. Marcellinus and Petrus, and the mausoleum of Helena on the Via Labicana). On the outskirts of Rome there are gifts to the basilicas of Saints Peter, Paul and John the Baptist at Ostia, and St John the Baptist at Albano. Still further afield there was the church of the Apostles in Capua, the basilica in Naples, and the aqueduct and forum in Naples.[35] Gallicanus also made gifts to St Peter's and the church of Saints Peter, Paul and John the Baptist at Ostia.[36] The Emperor Valentinian endowed St Peter's with decoration for the *confessio* of St Peter, and gave a silver *fastigium* to the Constantinian basilica, and a *confessio* for St Paul.[37] Gifts to St Peter's are recorded from Clovis king of the Franks, Theoderic king of the Goths, the emperors Justin and Constans II.[38] The last named also bestowed gifts on S. Maria Maggiore

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[33] *Notitiae ecclesiarum Urbis Romae*, ed. Valentini and Zucchetti; and *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, ed. Walser. See also McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, pp. 35–61, and the comments by Izzi, 'Representing Rome'.

[34] Liverani, 'St Peter's and the city of Rome', and Machado, 'Roman aristocrats and the Christianisation of Rome'; Machado, 'Between memory and oblivion'; Pietri, 'Régions ecclésiastiques et paroisses romaines'; Thacker, 'Rome of the martyrs'.

[35] *LP* I, Life 34, cc. 9–33, pp. 172–87.

[36] *LP* I, Life 34, c. 29, p. 25.   [37] *LP* I, Life 46, p. 233.

[38] *LP* I, Life 54, p. 271, Life 58, p. 285 and Life 78, p. 343.

but rather spoiled the effect of these gifts by stripping the bronze roof tiles from the Pantheon, only recently (in 609) converted into the church of S. Maria ad Martyres.[39] Among the aristocracy and wealthy landowners, the general Belisarius made a gift of spoils from the Vandals to St Peter's, gifts and alms for the poor, and a hostel on the Via Lata.[40] Lucina I's estate on the Via Ostiensis became, as noted above, the resting place of St Paul.[41] After nineteen years of widowhood, Lucina II, widow of Marcus, dedicated her house as a *titulus* in the name of the blessed Marcellus and there confessed to the Lord Jesus Christ by day. After Marcellus' death she collected his body and buried it in the cemetery of Priscilla.[42] This cemetery on the Via Salaria associated with Priscilla was one in which many Christians were buried.[43] Vestina's will made a bequest indicating that a basilica of the holy martyrs should be constructed from the proceeds from her ornaments and pearls, but some of the land granted also appears to have been Vestina's.[44] As noted earlier, God's handmaid Demetrias built a basilica of St Stephen on her estate at the Third Mile of the Via Lata.[45] Further, Albinus the praetorian prefect and Glaphyra his wife are credited with building, from the ground up and at their own expense, the church of St Peter on the Via Trebana on the farm of Pacinianus.[46] The priest Peter, described as 'bishop' in the *Liber pontificalis*, but as priest on the magnificent mosaic inscription recording his gift in the church, endowed S. Sabina on the Aventine Hill.[47] The comment in the Life of Sisinnius is typical of the overall motivation for these gifts, for 'he had a resolute mind and was concerned for the inhabitants of this city'.[48]

The *Liber pontificalis* also highlights the Roman, or at least Italian, origin of the greater majority of its bishops by means of its formulaic note of the origin of all the bishops. Altogether forty-seven out of the ninety earliest popes to the early eighth century were Roman, and twenty were from elsewhere in Italy. This is illustrated in the following lists.

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[39] *LP* I, Life 69 and 78, pp. 317 and 343. See Rankin, '*Terribilis est locus iste*'.
[40] *LP* I, Life 61, p. 296.
[41] *LP* I, Life 22, p. 150; see Cooper, 'The martyr, the *matrona* and the bishop'.
[42] *LP* I, Life 31 p. 164.
[43] Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*. See also Costambeys, 'The culture and practice of burial in and around Rome in the sixth century', pp. 721–7; Lambert, 'Le sepolture in urbe nella norma e nella prassi'; Osborne, 'Death and burial in sixth-century Rome'; Brogiolo and Cantino Wataghin (eds.), *Sepolture tra IV e VIII secolo*.
[44] *LP* I, Life 42, p. 220.   [45] *LP* I, Life 47, p. 238.
[46] *LP* I, Life 53, p. 263.   [47] *LP* I, Life 46, c. 9, p. 235.
[48] *LP* I, Life 89, p. 388; trans. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, p. 91.

Popes up to s. vi^med (earliest section of *LP*, Lives 1–60)

Roman origin	30
Elsewhere in Italy	11 (incl. Campania, Tuscany, Albano, Tivoli, Samnium)
'Greece'	10
Africa	3
Sardinia	2
Spain	1
Galilee	1
Syria	1

Popes to 715 (Lives 61–90)

Roman origin	17
elsewhere in Italy	5 (Campania 3, Tuscany 2)
Sicily	3
'Greece'	5 (NB one, Conon, from Thrace, brought up in Sicily trained in Rome; another was allegedly a son of a bishop from Jerusalem)
Syria	5 (but NB one, Sergius, said to be born in Syria and trained from boyhood in Rome and another, Gregory III, also trained in Rome)
Dalmatia	1

The eighth- and ninth-century popes were also predominantly Roman.[49]

Popes to 891 (Lives 91–112)

Roman origin	20 (after 772 all popes were *Romani*)
Sicily	2 (Constantine; Stephen III)
'Greek'	1 (Zacharias)
Syrian	1 (Gregory III)

Further, the *Liber pontificalis* creates a record of the Christianisation of the past of many of Rome's families by the simple process of identifying so many of them as martyrs, with relics of those now accorded holy status brought from their extra mural cemeteries into the city from the seventh century, and increasingly from the time of Paul I onwards and installed in many new shrines and churches.[50] The most spectacular translation

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[49] On the importance of the Greek element for the eighth-century popes see Gantner, 'The label "Greeks"'.

[50] *LP* I, Life 95, cc. 4 and 5, p. 464 and the inscriptions in the porticoes of S. Silvestri in capite and S. Maria in Cosmedin in Rome. See also Goodson, 'Building for bodies'.

of relics was that accomplished by Paschal I in the early ninth century.[51] This attention to the dead on the part of the living, and the restoration and custodianship of cemeteries are constant themes in the *Liber pontificalis*, and a fundamental aspect of the way the text expresses the impact of Christianity on Roman identity. Thus Leo II 'built a church in Rome close to St Bibiana's where he deposited the bodies of saints Simplicius, Faustinus, Beatrice and other martyrs, and dedicated it in the name of the apostle Paul on the 22nd Day of February'.[52]

The *Liber pontificalis* and the *Chronicle* of Eusebius-Jerome

The third issue to be explored further, as noted in the introduction to this chapter, is the *Liber pontificalis*'s historiographical context and particularly its relation to the *Chronicle* of Eusebius-Jerome.[53] The Greek version no longer survives. When Jerome translated the text into Latin and extended the entries to 378 and the Battle of Adrianople he made many additions of his own throughout Eusebius' text. Some of these have been deduced from their absence from the independent Armenian translations from the Greek made in Late Antiquity.

It would be useful to explore, therefore, not only the representation of the Christian Church and its implications for Roman identity in the *Liber pontificalis*, but also whether they may have been under-pinned by the distinctive elaboration of Roman history in the *Chronicle* of Eusebius-Jerome. Both the *Chronicle* and the *Liber pontificalis* indeed, have long seemed to me to be fertile texts with which to assess the impact of Christianity on Roman identity. Rather than considering them as unrelated texts, however, I wish to explore the connections and possible cross-fertilisation between these two influential pieces of historical writing.[54]

Jerome's entire enterprise of translation and continuation of this text could be understood as a way of exploring and expressing his own identity and links with Rome. The literary palimpsest of Rome Jerome constructed in his letters and exegesis, as Lucy Grig, invoking Jonathan Raban, has elucidated, is a 'soft city of illusion, myth, aspiration, nightmare'.[55] From the perspective of the *Chronicon*, however, Rome is also a 'hard city anchored in an historical past that is charted through its material remains and historical protagonists'. In this respect the date of its

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[51] Goodson, *The Rome of Paschal I.*
[52] *LP* I, Life 82, c. 5, p. 360.   [53] Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. Helm and Mommsen.
[54] Compare the papers by Pohl and Ward in this volume.
[55] Grig, 'Deconstructing the symbolic city', and Raban, *Soft City*, p. 10.

production is significant. After his childhood in Dalmatia, Jerome had spent his boyhood at school in Rome in the 340s, and reached Constantinople, via Trier, Antioch and Chalcis, in *c.* 379. He returned to Rome in 382 before retreating in 385 to Palestine for the rest of his life.[56] The scholarly consensus for the chronology of Jerome's own references to his having completed his translation suggest that he had finished it by 381 (along with other translations of Greek texts) while he was still in Constantinople. The move to Rome shortly thereafter, however, could be an indication of Jerome's own anticipation of a return to his homeland and reinforcement of his own sense of identity as well as a wish to shape a more collective understanding of Rome's past.[57] It is significant that Jerome noted in the preface to his translation that he had 'added some things which seemed to me to have been omitted in Roman history which Eusebius the originator of this book not out of ignorance but since he was writing in Greek, seems to have skipped over *those things less necessary to his fellow easterners*'.[58]

It would be a mistake to think of Eusebius-Jerome's chronicle as merely including the Roman empire as one among many in the charting of the rise and demise of empires. It does do this of course, and Jerome's narrative ends with the battle of Adrianople. But the text communicates very much more than a bald story of rise and decline and more too than a Latin literary history, even if both these themes are powerful elements of the *Chronicle* as a whole.[59] Above all there is the subtle chronological punctuation Jerome himself introduces into the text, for he actually charts the development of Rome. It needs to be registered that the final section of his narrative includes Damasus (366–84), the pope who thoroughly established Rome as a city of saints and who had himself acted as Jerome's patron.[60] The preface with which the *Liber pontificalis* compilers supplied their text in the sixth century provides a reminiscence of that relationship, for it presents the *Liber pontificalis*, however improbably, as a history Damasus had prepared for Jerome at the latter's request.[61]

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[56] See Kelly, *Jerome*; Williams, *The Monk and the Book*; Cain, *The Letters of Jerome*, pp. 99–128.

[57] For an alternative perspective see Vessey, 'Reinventing history'.

[58] Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. Helm and Mommsen, p. 6: *quae mihi intermissa videbantur, adieci, in Romana maxime historia, quam Eusebius huius conditor libri non tam ignorasse ut eruditus, sed ut graece scribens parum suis necessariam perstrinxisse mihi videtur* (my emphasis); for a translation and further notes see the invaluable website constructed by R. Pearse, www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_00_eintro.htm.

[59] Vessey, 'Reinventing history', p. 283.   [60] Saghy, '*Scinditur in partes populus*'.

[61] *LP* I, p. 117.

The *Chronicon* is a late antique history book, copied in the Carolingian period and throughout the Middle Ages. There are two fifth-century copies of this text extant, the fragments of one of which is in Leiden, now VLQ 110A, written in Italy in the fifth century, though other leaves from this same manuscript are also to be found in Paris and in the Vatican Library.[62] This remnant of the fifth century can be compared with the copy made of it when it was still intact in the ninth century at St Mesmin, Micy in the Loire valley, now Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 110. But there is also an even more sumptuous version of the *Chronicon*, in four colours, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Scaliger 14 from the very late eighth or early ninth century, and very probably made for Charlemagne himself.[63]

The *Chronicon* does not take the form of continuous narrative about the succession of empires, but is presented in columns, recording different chronological sequences, such as years since the birth of Abraham, Olympiads and the regnal years of kings, judges, archons and emperors. The *Chronicle* is then constructed in relation to these columns of dates in columns spread at first over two pages or an opening, and later on one page. Sometimes the columns are colour-coded, as in Scaliger 14. They are devoted to the rise and fall of the empires of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Athenians, Romans, Macedonians, Hebrews, Egyptians and others, nineteen in all.[64] The demise of a line of kings or of an empire is quite simply signalled by the removal of a column. Gradually, with the advance of Rome, and the conquest of Egypt, the columns steadily decrease until only two remain, those of the Romans and Jews. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in AD 71 the Romans alone remain. One or two columns, the section known to modern scholars as the 'historical notes' but adapted from the label *spatium historicum* given it by the *Chronicon*'s first editor, Joseph Scaliger, in 1606,[65] then records events, quite briefly, such as the career of Moses and Alexander the Great, the founding of Rome, the victories of Cyrus, the fall of Troy, the birth of Christ, the destruction of Jerusalem, and so on.[66] Christopher Kelly has

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[62] Paris, BnF, lat. 6400 B (fos. 1–8, 285–90) and BAV, Reg. lat. 1709A (fos. 34–5): *CLA* x, no. **563. In what follows on the structure of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius-Jerome I draw in part on McKitterick, 'Glossaries and other innovations in Carolingian book production'.

[63] See Fotheringham (ed.), *The Bodleian Manuscript*.

[64] See Burgess, *Studies in Eusebian and post-Eusebian Chronography*, pp. 90–8; Burgess, 'Jerome explained'; and Inglebert, *Les Romains chrétiens face à l'histoire de Rome*, pp. 217–80. See also the excellent survey by Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, vol. I, especially pp. 99–132 and 173–88.

[65] Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, vol. II.   [66] Kelly, 'Past imperfect'.

noted that Eusebius transformed Greek mythology into history by charting it within his chronology, alongside the Hebrew events based on the Bible and Josephus. Kelly argued that the shape of the past was indisputably determined by the Old Testament.[67] So it is in Eusebius' version, but the adjustments Jerome made in relation to the history of the Latins and Rome actually subtly and steadily Christianise the history of Rome.[68] Jerome's juxtaposition of Roman and Jewish history, moreover, enables much of the narrative of the Jews supplied by Josephus to be summarised so that it forms a backdrop for the emergence of Christian protagonists in the history of Rome. In other words, the shape of Jerome's past is determined by the history of Rome.

The *Chronicon* is not only concerned with Christian Rome, for the pre-Christian history of the Latins and Romans is also charted. The Fall of Troy marks a major break in the text, and the first king of the Latins who were later called Romans is reported. But Jerome gives them a pre-Trojan history by noting that before Aeneas, Janus, Saturnus, Picus, Fauvius and Latinus had reigned. After Aeneas came Ascanius who fathered the Julian family. This chronology coincides with Samson in the Hebrew column and Hercules in the Greek. The fifth king of the Latins, Latinus Silvius, coincided with David, the first king of the Hebrews as well as with the foundation of Carthage.

The chronological chart and juxtaposition are of course the work of Eusebius, and Eusebius also appears to have provided a rather laconic series of notes in which the universal theme is clearly maintained with the succession of kings set out in comparative columns. Rome's rise to prominence, with new cities and colonies and the succession of consuls and emperors meticulously noted, was part of this overall scheme.

If one focuses on the additions Jerome made to Eusebius' text, however, then a very different picture emerges, which contributes to a distinctive, if schematic, history of Rome. As already noted, many of the notes in the Latin version of the *Chronicon* but not in the early medieval Armenian translation are presumed to be the additions and editing made by Jerome to the original Greek of Eusebius, even before he extended the text to cover the years to 378. It is natural enough for Jerome to have expanded the Roman entries I suppose, but it still means that he provides a clear progression of a narrative of Rome right up to his own day in which he is able to incorporate Christianity even more than Eusebius had done. It would also be interesting of course to determine the character

[67] Kelly, 'The shape of the past', p. 27.
[68] For further illustrations see McKitterick, 'World history in a Carolingian manuscript', available on the website of Leiden University Library.

of any Armenian additions not found in the Latin text, to see whether
the opportunity was taken by the Armenian translator to reorient that
narrative more in favour of incorporating Armenia's Christian past into
the story. Such work would need to make allowances for the lacunae in
the two thirteenth-century manuscripts in which the text is extant, as
well as for possible accretions between the original translation and the
later copies.[69] In addition the intervention of a Syriac version compli-
cates the transmission of the Greek text in the eastern Mediterranean
still further.[70] That work remains to be done. In the meantime, Jerome's
additions can be summarised as follows.

First of all, as H. Peter long since noted, Jerome consolidated the
intellectual inheritance of Rome by recording the names and *floruit* of
the famous writers of Rome: Varro, Virgil, Livy and others, as a brief
counterpart to his *De viris illustribus* in which he provided a bibliograph-
ical guide to Christian authors.[71] Of Statius Caecilius, 'the writer of
comedies', for example, he reported that 'some say he came from Milan'
and was buried next to the Janiculum. He was at first a comrade of
Ennius who was buried on the Appian Way in Scipio's monument.[72]
Secondly, Jerome noted the political rulers of Rome and events within
the city, such as the fates of Vestal Virgins, and the burning and destruc-
tion of particular buildings. Thirdly, he recorded the succession of the
bishops of Rome, which of course forms part of the succession of bishops
of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria also recorded by Eusebius in his
Ecclesiastical History. The popes and some of the lengths of reigns dif-
fer from the list in the *Liber pontificalis*, for here in the *Chronicon* Cletus
and Anacletus are conflated. In addition, Jerome adds notes about the
long ancestry of particular families and institutions, such as the *gens Julia*
founded by Julius who had migrated with Romulus to Rome. Jerome pro-
vides notes on legends associated with Rome's topographical landmarks,
such as that of Aventinus (about the same time as Elijah the prophet),
the elder son of Romulus who was buried 'on that hill which is now part
of the city and gave that place its permanent name', or Tarpeia crushed
by the round shields of the Sabines from which the Tarpeian hill takes
its name on which the Capitol now stands.[73] Similarly, Tullius Hostilius
is said to have enlarged the city by adding the Caelian hill, and Ancus
Martius (about the same time as the career of the Old Testament prophet
Jeremiah) added the Aventine hill and the Janiculum to the city as well as

[69] Karst, *Die Chronik*, pp. xi–xii and xxix–xxx.   [70] Karst, *Die Chronik*, p. xvii.
[71] Peter, *Die geschichtliche Literatur über die römische Kaiserzeit*, vol. II, p. 377; Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Richardson.
[72] Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. Helm and Mommsen, pp. 138, 140.
[73] Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. Helm and Mommsen, p. 89.

founding Ostia. Coinciding in the *Chronicle* with the first captivity of the Jews/Jerusalem, Tarquinius Priscus built the circus at Rome, augmented the number of Senators, instituted the Roman games, and constructed walls and sewers, while Servus added three hills – the Quirinal, Viminal and Esquiline – and was the first to institute a census. Other short formative episodes in the structuring of Rome's political system are indicated. Coinciding with the period of the Babylonian captivity of the Jews and the careers of Esther and Mordecai, Jerome recorded the first holding of the centennial games and how the Romans through ambassadors sought out laws from the Athenians from which the Twelve Tables were inscribed. He noted that *decemviri* were created 302 years from the founding of the city, and the creation of the tribuneship of the *plebs* and the *aediles*. Further, Appius Claudius Caecus laid out the Appian way in 364 BC. Topographical landmarks are noted with the burial of Augustus in the Campus Martius. A neat and understated link between the emperors and the emergence of Christianity is provided in the observation about Nero who, in addition to all his other crimes and extravagant activities, was the first to carry out a persecution against the Christians in which 'Peter and Paul gloriously died at Rome'.[74]

The topographical emphasis is maintained. By AD 89 for example, there is a note of the many building works in Rome, in which the Capitol, Forum transitorium, Portico of the Gods, temple of Isis, the Serapeum, the stadium, pepper granaries, the temple of Vespasian, the temple of Minerva, the Forum of Trajan, the Baths of Trajan, the Senate House, the Mica Aurea, Ludus Matutinus and Pantheon had all been added to the major landmarks of the city.

This is just a sample of the constant reminders of Rome inserted into the text. The history of the Roman empire in Eusebius-Jerome's *Chronicle* actually presents itself predominantly as the history of the city of Rome. From the birth of Christ it becomes an account of the Christianisation of Rome and the Roman empire. The succession of popes thereafter provides the chronological framework, interspersed with events in Rome and imperial actions, even including the notice under 245 of the first Christian emperor Philip and his son and colleague, also called Philip, during whose reign 'the millennium of the city of Rome was completed, because of which solemnity innumerable beasts were killed in the great circus and theatrical games celebrated in the Campus Martius, the people staying awake for three days and nights'. The Roman column in the text from the birth of Christ onwards indeed might just as appositely be

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[74] Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. Helm and Mommsen, p. 185.

labelled *Christiani*. The conjoining of Roman and Christian identity is a striking feature of this text.

Lucca Biblioteca Capitolare 490

That the *Chronicle* of Eusebius-Jerome of the late fourth century and the *Liber pontificalis* of the mid sixth century should be considered in relation to each other is not a random idea on my part. It is signalled by the inclusion of both texts in one famous codex written *c.* 800, Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare 490, a historiographical and legal compilation that reflects a further transformation of the Roman past at the turn of the eighth century. It appears to have been compiled at Lucca itself. I have only space to offer a few comments on this manuscript, before I offer some final suggestions about the way the *Chronicle* and the *Liber pontificalis* reflect the impact of Christianity on Roman identity, and how their respective presentations of the Roman past are the crucial connection between them.

I should say at once that Lucca 490 has received a lot of expert attention very recently, not least from Clemens Gantner and Gaia Elisabetta Unfer Verre,[75] in addition to the earlier summary in Mommsen's edition of the *Liber pontificalis* of 1898, Schiaparelli's classic study of the Lucchese scriptorium in the early Middle Ages in 1924 and his series of plates, and the descriptions and plates in E. A. Lowe's *Codices latini antiquiores* III, of 1938.[76]

This substantial codex, comprising 354 folios, occupying 47 quires and measuring approximately 290 × 195 mm, is apparently formed by four codicological units probably assembled, as Unfer Verre has suggested, in two volumes. Their contents and the palaeographical and chronological affinity (as distinct from the reappearance of the same hands) between the two volumes, moreover, would make an original conception as a two-volume compilation possible, with the first volume being largely historical and the latter comprising thematically related supporting material, not least the *canones*. Altogether the present-day codex contains besides the Eusebius-Jerome *Chronicle* and the *Liber pontificalis* a great many other texts, not least Isidore's *Chronica maiora*, Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* in

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[75] Gantner, 'The Lombard recension of the *Liber pontificalis*', and Unfer Verre, 'Ancora sul 490. Precisazioni e problemi aperti'.

[76] After Mommsen in *MGH Gesta pontificum romanorum* 1, 1 *Liber pontificalis (pars prior)*, pp. lxxiv–lxxv; Schiaparelli, *Il codice 490*; and Lowe, *CLA* III, no. 303 a–f. See also Petrucci, 'Il codice n. 490 della biblioteca capitolare di Lucca', and Petrucci and Romeo, *Scriptores in urbibus*, pp. 89–104.

the translation by Rufinus, Jerome-Gennadius' *De viris illustribus* and two canon law collections (the *Hispana* and *Sanblasiana*).[77] These all merit far more investigation in themselves, as well as because of their inclusion in the same two-volume compendium, than can be attempted here.

The Lucca manuscript is particularly well known because it contains the so-called Lombard recension of the *Liber pontificalis*, a recension in which, as Clemens Gantner has established, the negative references to Lombards and the positive descriptions of Franks in the text of Life 94 of Pope Stephen II have been toned down to make the text more palatable to Lombard readers and generally less extravagant in its language.[78] The Lucca manuscript offers the *Liber pontificalis* in three tranches, Peter to Constantine, the four popes Gregory II, Gregory III, Zacharias, Stephen II possibly copied from a *libellus* containing these four Lives, and the Lives of the three popes Paul I, Stephen II and Hadrian I added by the same scribe who copied the *Chronicon*. The text breaks off after the version of Life 97 (Hadrian I, 772–95) from which a small passage relating to the building programme was omitted.[79] The *Chronicle* of Eusebius in the Latin translation made by Jerome in the fourth century occupies fos. 2r–30r in this manuscript, and with the continuation by Jerome taking the narrative to 378, is also a distinctive member of the *Chronicle*'s early medieval tradition.

The layout of the Eusebius-Jerome *Chronicle* found in most of the early medieval copies of the text has been followed to some degree in the earlier part of the text, in that the columns are indicated even if compression onto one page subordinates the columnar layout and highlights the text. From fo. 15v, and the emergence of the column headed *Romanorum*, the columns of year indicators and dating are pushed to the outer margins and the text dominates each page. The principle of universal history the layout so neatly reflected, however, has not been entirely lost, but it has been given a different role, that of background for the history of Rome and the Romans. The layout in Lucca 490, contrives to emphasise the history of Rome not just after the destruction of the Jews in AD 71 but from its very foundations. It reduces the biblical narrative. It follows Jerome but far less subtly introduces a new strand that runs side by side with the succession of empires.

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[77] Schiaparelli, *Il codice 490*. For the collation see Lucca Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana 490, Schema I, http://old.fefonlus.it/codex/materiali/struttura, consulted 12 June 2012.

[78] The brief account I offered of the contents of this manuscript in McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 51–2, is inadequate. See now the discussions by Gantner and Unfer Verre, above note 75.

[79] Bougard, 'Composition, diffusion et reception'.

Anyone familiar with the Jerome text will immediately wonder how a text that can occupy an entire large codex in lavish format such as Leiden, Scaliger 14 (190 fos.) or Leiden, VLQ 110 (166 folios) could fit into 60 pages in Lucca 490. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 219, the seventh-century copy associated with Fleury and dated very firmly to the fifth year of Childebert and of Pippin, that is, 699, may provide some clues, for it fits the *Chronicle* onto 76 leaves (162 pp) and fits the usual double page spread into two columns on one page; the text resolves to long lines in the section on Romans only.

Because the Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.II manuscript is the only full copy of Jerome's *Chronicon* from Italy (Leiden, VLQ 110A is but a fragment) I compared a sample of leaves from Lucca 490 with the Oxford text.[80] The Oxford text includes what Traube nicknamed quarter uncial,[81] though it is a label that has stuck in referring to the script of the additions of short informative notes, dating from the fifth or sixth century added to Auct. T.II. fos. 82v–83r, for example, about Greek individuals such as *Pythagoras philosophus*. This and most of the Greek information is omitted from Lucca 490, though the information about Jews and Romans is retained. Lucca however manages to compress seven pages of the uncial Auct. T.II pages onto one of Lucca 490. It does so partly by omitting a few lines of text here and there, deleting date columns, and simply inserting headings when it reaches any notice of a particular group that would normally have been recorded in a column of its own. So on fo. 17r of Lucca 490, for example, the Roman date column is omitted but a notice about the Romans is entered next to the note of Darius' reigning year. The Macedonian column and the Greek events column are also omitted and the Egyptian column is only included where there is an event. Elsewhere however, on fo. 19r, for example, the Greek column is included.[82] In contrast to the scribe of the fifth-century codex Oxford, Auct. T.II, the scribe of Lucca 490 highlighted the birth of Christ on fo. 23v.

Although exactly how the scribes of the Lucca codex have transformed the *Chronicon* remains to be established in detail, these few examples mirror an effort to articulate Roman and Christian identity, further augmented by other elements of the historical compilation of Lucca 490 and buttressed with many other crucial and relevant texts. Whether this represents an individual or a general understanding of the Roman and

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[80] Fotheringham, *The Bodleian Manuscript*.
[81] Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, vol. II, p. 27, and Lowe, *CLA* IV, p. xvi.
[82] A fuller study of the *Chronicle*'s presentation in Lucca 490 is in preparation.

Christian past in northern Italy of which this is one instance remains to be considered further.

These three different instances of the presentation of the Roman past reveal Jerome's transformation of Eusebius and the *Liber pontificalis*'s transformation of Suetonius and the *Historia Augusta* and the genre of serial biography. Both present the Roman imperial past and Christianise it by juxtaposition rather than replacement. In this respect the texts achieve a similar transformation to that effected by the imposition of the Christian liturgical calendar on the Roman organisation of the year.[83] The connection between them signalled by Lucca 490 points to the creation in the late eighth century of a further transformation of both texts in combination in one codex. Both the *Chronicon* in Jerome's translation and the *Liber pontificalis* had the potential to transform the understanding of Rome's past. Jerome's original translation of Eusebius' *Chronicle* text in the late fourth century reoriented the themes of Eusebius' original text in order to highlight aspects of Rome's past in the context of universal history from the Creation and the formation of a Christian Roman identity. The *Liber pontificalis* authors in the sixth century, and those who continued the original core text into the late eighth and the ninth centuries in the context of the history of Rome, presented the popes as the successors of St Peter, prince of the apostles and leaders from Rome of the entire Christian Church. The Lucca 490 codex confirms that these texts were not passively received. Active engagement with them resulted in further transformations of the presentation of the Roman past and of the way in which Rome and Roman identity might be both perceived and incorporated into a wider sense of the Christian past and Christian identity in the early Middle Ages. The successive engagements of the translators, historians and scribes considered in this chapter, therefore, are telling instances of the ways in which cultural memory might be shaped by a very selective use of the cultural resources of the past.

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[83] Pietri, 'Le Temps de la semaine à Rome'; Salzman, *On Roman Time*; and Salzman, 'The Christianization of sacred time and sacred space'.

14   The eighth-century papacy as cultural broker

Clemens Gantner

Cultural power-brokers

The chapter will take a close look at the strenuous efforts made by the popes to position their institution, the papacy, as cultural broker between East and West and between past and present for the Latin West and the Greek East. According to the social anthropologists who coined the term, 'cultural brokers' are persons who act as mediators between different social contexts, communities and cultures.[1] But cultural brokerage is not restricted to one single individual; it can also be practised by a group.[2] The term is normally used for individuals who happen to be at home, or at least to have superior contacts, in two (or more) cultural contexts and who thus can use that position both for their own advantage and for public benefit. This wide definition also applies to the papacy in the eighth century, and to a portion of the inhabitants of the city of Rome in the early Middle Ages. But it is still far from a sufficient description of the papal role. The popes did not restrict themselves to being mere brokers; the position they tried to establish for themselves was one of superior power. Yet it depended of course on whatever concrete cultural or political question was at issue.[3]

Since Antiquity, Rome had always been a meeting place for people with diverse cultural backgrounds. In late republican and imperial times, Rome had, for example, been Graecised to some extent (just as the

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[1] See Reimitz, 'Cultural brokers of a common past'; Reimitz, 'The historian as cultural broker'; and Hinderaker, 'Translation and cultural brokerage'. The concept was developed by Eric Wolf, 'Aspects of group relations', who never used the exact expression, but defined nearly all aspects of it; it was refined by Clifford Geertz, 'The Javanese Kijaji', who used it for his study on the relations of nation-orientated communities and locally orientated communities. The theory has proven to be useful also in a broader sense, see Connell-Szasz, 'Introduction', esp. pp. 17–20.

[2] Already Wolf, 'Aspects of group relations', 1076, used the concept of '"broker" groups'.

[3] For a concrete example of how the papacy worked with its historical writings see Gantner, 'Lombard recension'.

Greek/Hellenic East had been Romanised in its turn).[4] During the fifth
and sixth centuries Rome ceased to be the capital of a huge empire and
the Western Roman empire was gradually reduced to a few remaining
regions in Italy and Spain.[5] But even reduced in status, the Eternal City
never seems to have stopped being an international city. Further, the
upheavals also presented an opportunity for the papacy, for it was able
to gain even more political and economic power in Rome.[6] Gregory the
Great in particular played a considerable role in the restoration of much
of the religious prestige the papacy had lost in the Laurentian schism.
The papacy further consolidated its spiritual and political power during
the seventh century. But there was more: in constant disputes with the
emperors, mostly but not exclusively in the field of religious politics,
the popes developed quite close ties with the East. Granted, these ties
had never been completely severed, but they intensified in conflict.[7] The
personal and cultural ties with the East became stronger, because the
culturally Greek population of Rome itself was growing fast; following
the Islamic expansion and religious discord, people were arriving from
Asia Minor, the Levant, Armenia, southern Italy and Sicily to name only
the most important regions.[8] It was all the more significant that many
of these arrivals were clerics or monks, who helped to introduce Rome
to Greek religious customs and policy. The consequent acquisition of
knowledge ultimately enabled the papacy to play more than an arbitrary
role in matters concerning the Christian empire.[9]

From the time of Gregory the Great onwards, but certainly in the
eighth century, the papacy styled itself as *the* key player in the Latin West
despite the potential competition offered by several powerful potentates
as key representative of the empire in the West. As far as the emperor and
the 'Greek' core of the empire were concerned, the pope presented him-
self as the most important representative *of* the West in political matters
concerning the West. For both Greek East and Latin West, this self-
confident position on the part of the pope was coupled with the claim
of being supreme in all religious matters, responsible in theory for the
whole Christian world. Granted, these claims and self-positioning often
did not reflect the reality the papacy faced. Still, the position the papacy

[4] See Duboisson, '*GRAECVS, GRAECVLVS, GRAECARI*'.
[5] On the changes and continuities in Europe and the Mediterranean see Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, esp. pp. 17–55.
[6] Humphries, 'From emperor to pope?', esp. pp. 57–8.
[7] On this topic, see Gantner, 'The label "Greeks"'.
[8] Gantner, 'Die Päpste und ihre "Griechen"'.
[9] See Hinderaker, 'Translation and cultural brokerage', p. 358, on the importance of status and standing of a cultural broker.

aspired to was higher than that of an ordinary broker: it can possibly be described as 'powerful cultural broker', or 'cultural power broker'.

The sociologist Serra Tinic describes the modern USA as the most important 'cultural power broker'[10] of our times, trying to sell and impose its media and culture internationally. That observation seems quite correct, if a little too much of a generalisation. In contrast to the papacy of the eighth century, the USA produces nearly all that cultural capital itself. Thus it is not only a broker, but the most important producer and player in the field of culture. The papacy was an important player too, and a portion of the cultural capital it dealt with was actually generated in Rome, but the papacy still remained far more of a broker dealing *between* parties and with 'imported' capital than today's USA. Thus the term of a cultural power *broker* seems even more fitting for the early medieval papacy.

The Roman contact zone

Before considering the cultural resources with which the popes could deal, the question of the *environment* in which they were operating needs to be considered.[11] Geographically, the horizon of the papacy was large; it comprised at least the former Roman empire around the Mediterranean. Besides, the papacy existed in symbiosis with the city of Rome and its surroundings, in the eighth century organised as the duchy of Rome.[12] The *ducatus* was in turn a branch of the Exarchate of Ravenna, another important point of reference and region of interest for the papacy. Politics in Central Italy in the period from the fifth to the eighth century were shaped by the rivalry between Ravenna and Rome. The former mostly had the upper hand in the military realm, whereas the papacy tended to dominate the cultural and the ecclesiastical sphere.[13]

Rome and its immediate surroundings formed a contact zone between several cultural spheres in the Mediterranean, though it has to be conceded that *all* those cultures were heirs to the Roman empire.[14] Not least

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[10] Tinic, 'Walking a tightrope', p. 109.
[11] Hinderaker, 'Translation', pp. 371–2: 'scholars should be attentive to the contexts in which brokerage takes place . . . Each situation has its own poetic, the terms of which are shaped by the culture in which it originated.'
[12] See Bavant, 'Le Duché byzantin de Rome', who, however, sees the duchy of Rome emerge sooner than can be proven. See also Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 53–6; Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government*, p. 58, with n. 3; and Delogu, 'Il passaggio dall'antichità al medioevo', pp. 20–1.
[13] On the ongoing rivalry between Ravenna and Rome see for example Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, pp. 191 and 265.
[14] See Pohl, Gantner and Payne (eds.), *Visions of Community*.

as a consequence of this basic kinship, the cultural spheres were far from being totally distinct, but were rather shaped and redefined by people acting in the contact zones. Central Italy was the most crucial of these, dominated as it was by the papacy as a key institution.[15]

The city of Rome was a contact zone in at least two ways relevant for this study: First, it was a contact zone between the Latin and Greek languages, culture and religious practice. Second, it was a contact zone between regions that still adhered to the ancient political idea of the (Roman) empire, whereas most other regions in the Latin West, even those which were neighbours of the duchy of Rome, were governed by new political entities. Most of these new political entities defined their polity at least partly in ethnic terms.[16] This double contact zone made the papacy at home in two worlds, the imperial 'Byzantine' and the Latin Western world of ethnic kingdoms.

The Roman Council of 649 portrays religio-political aspects of the contact zone especially well. Emperor Heraclius had promulgated monotheletism for the whole empire in 638. This was a doctrine unacceptable to many theologians. In Rome a council was held against it in 649 under Pope Martin I. The theological leadership at the council seems to have been assumed by the former abbot and leading anti-monothelite theologian Maximus the Confessor, and his followers. The proceedings of the council were conducted in two languages; interestingly, its acts were first produced in Greek and then translated into Latin.[17] As a reaction Emperor Constans II had Martin I and Maximus tried in Constantinople (for high treason) and both ultimately died in exile.[18]

What is important here, however, is the way in which the international council acted.[19] A Pope born in the Roman duchy (*de civitate Tudertina provincie Tuscie*)[20] cooperated with Maximus, a Constantinopolitan theologian and monk, whose following consisted of people from all over the eastern Mediterranean.[21] Abbots from Syria and Palestine

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[15] Wolf, *Europe and the People without History*, p. ix: 'we seem to have forgotten, that human populations construct their cultures in interaction with one another, and not in isolation'.
[16] See Pohl, 'Introduction: strategies of identification'.
[17] On the council and the question of authenticity of the acts see Cubitt, 'The Lateran Council of 649'; and Allen and Neil, *Maximus the Confessor*.
[18] A detailed account can be found in Brandes, '"Juristische" Krisenbewältigung'.
[19] Cubitt, 'The Lateran Council of 649', has shown that the council actually had most of the indicators of an ecumenical council and was probably intended to be universal. Even though the importance of its acts was recognised at the Council of Constantinople (the Sixth Ecumenical Council) in 680/81, it was never fully recognised by all church authorities.
[20] *Liber pontificalis* (*LP*) I, Life 76, p. 336.
[21] Brandes, '"Juristische" Krisenbewältigung'.

were present as were monks from North Africa.[22] The acts of the council were drawn up in Greek, possibly because the Greek element dominated the council and because the main addressees of the proceedings were in Constantinople. Certainly, many in the Roman delegation were able to understand Greek to some extent. The pope himself had been *apocrisiarius*, the main representative of the Roman bishop at Constantinople, and we may assume that he was sufficiently proficient in Greek.

Because the council was planned as a universal council, it would have been hard to find an alternative place for it to have been held. Rome's position as a contact zone between Greek and Latin and as an outpost of the *imperium* in the West made the council possible in the first place. The pope's place on the cultural map enabled Martin I to hold the council as a very successful act of papal religious politics – clearly the papacy managed to establish itself as a key party in the conflict through the council – but it was also an act of papal cultural brokerage. As a broker, Martin made use of several elements of the papacy's cultural resources.

The cultural and political resources of the popes

The papacy disposed of a rich and sometimes contradictory repertoire of Romanness and Christianity. This complex consisted of different layers of cultural resources or cultural capital.[23]

Ancient Rome

When thinking of the modern representation of the city of Rome, one could expect 'Ancient Origins' to be one of the bases of perception and representation of the Eternal City from the inside and the outside in the early Middle Ages as well. However, we have virtually no evidence that this was actually the case. The vast majority of early medieval pilgrims' guides concentrate solely on the Christian geography of the city, especially on the shrines of the martyrs outside the city centre.[24] Christian landmarks were also mentioned in the processions and litanies that were held at all important church feasts.[25] Not so the ancient landmarks:

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[22] *Concilium Lateranense a. 649*, ed. Riedinger, pp. 48–9; Sansterre, *Les Moines grecs*, vol. I, pp. 10–1 and 78.

[23] Bourdieu, 'Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital'; Détrez, 'Le Capital culturel', esp. 6–7.

[24] See Bauer, 'Die Stadt Rom im Spiegel spätantiker und frühmittelalterlicher Beschreibungen', esp. pp. 103–7. See *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, ed. Walser, for pilgrims' guides of Rome.

[25] See, for example, the litanies held under Zacharias and Stephen II: *LP* I, Life 93, p. 429 and Life 94, p. 442.

the Colosseum only features once in the *Liber pontificalis* and that only when in 768 the *tribunus* Gracilis, a partisan of the illegitimate Pope Constantine II, was blinded there.[26] The Circus Maximus or the Forum Romanum are never mentioned in the eighth-century lives. On the basis of this evidence, it would be the obvious conclusion that in contrast to the earlier sections of the *Liber pontificalis*,[27] the antique heritage not only did not serve as cultural capital for the papacy but was actively negated at times. However, there was at least the need to integrate certain ancient buildings, like the old *curia* of the senate which was turned into the church of St Hadrian by Pope Honorius,[28] and the Pantheon, which was turned into the church of the Ever Virgin Mary and All Martyrs by Pope Boniface IV[29] – the *Liber pontificalis* frequently calls the church *Sancta Maria ad Martyres* from then onwards.[30] Thus the antique geography *was* in special ways put to use, also as a cultural asset. What is more, the anonymous author of the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* chose to include a series of ancient landmarks into his routes through Rome.[31] The text shows that the notion of Rome *did* comprise its antique heritage, at least for people from north of the Alps[32] – to whom much of the papal communication of the time was directed.

Still, classical Rome was probably the part of its cultural capital the papacy exploited the least. But we should not forget that classical education still constituted an important part of the upbringing of the Italian elites. Even though we have no evidence as to which texts were actually available in Rome or the papal *schola*, we can safely assume that key texts for Roman self-perception, like Virgil's works or Livy's histories, were used in some form.[33]

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[26] *LP* I, Life 96, p. 472. Duchesne, *Le 'Liber pontificalis'*, vol. I, p. 482, n. 23, discusses whether this still refers to the colossal statue of Nero or the amphitheatre nearby.

[27] See Rosamond McKitterick's contribution in this volume.

[28] *LP* I, Life 72, p. 324.   [29] *LP* I, Life 69, p. 317.

[30] See *LP* I, Life 78, p. 343 (Vitalian); Life 83, p. 363 (Benedict II); Life 96, p. 472 (Stephen III); and Life 97, p. 514 (Hadrian I).

[31] *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, ed. Walser.

[32] Bauer, 'Die Stadt Rom im Spiegel spätantiker und frühmittelalterlicher Beschreibungen', pp. 107–10; McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, pp. 57–8.

[33] For suggestions about the ready availability of these texts in the Middle Ages see Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*. Certainly, ecclesiastical education was far more important than classical, as Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West*, pp. 415–21, rightly states. However, Riché says that ancient grammars and literature were mainly kept as gifts for foreign powers, which certainly is an over-interpretation of Pope Paul I sending Greek texts to the Carolingians. Rather, the existence of Greek grammars is indicative of a flourishing educational system. See also McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, p. 57.

The late Roman Christian empire

Besides the obvious Christian dislike for the pagan Roman past, there was another factor that prevented the antique past from being used more intensively: the 'better' Antiquity, namely, the late Roman Christian empire.[34] It was the memory of Constantine the Great and Pope Silvester and of the builder-popes of the fourth and fifth centuries that dominated the antique past and was so important to the papacy.[35] Perhaps the most frequently mentioned figure in the papal writings of the eighth century was Constantine. For example, St John Lateran, the pope's patriarchal church, was frequently referred to in the *Liber pontificalis* as *basilica Constantiniana*.[36] His memory was also connected with Old St Peter's and San Paolo fuori le mura. The popularity of the narrative was probably at a peak when the *Constitutum Constantini* was produced at some point in the later eighth century.[37] Constantine undoubtedly was a very ambiguous hero of early medieval Christendom. This was a fact, however, that the eighth-century papacy only allowed to become prominent when it was essential for its self-representation.[38] If Constantine was indeed shown in the original version of the famous Leonine Triclinium mosaic in the Lateran, where in the present reconstruction he is shown on the left side together with Pope Silvester, he would have been paralleled with Charlemagne just as Leo III is compared to Pope Silvester. Because of the heavy deterioration of this side of the mosaic at the time of the first literary descriptions in early modern times this has to remain speculative. It is still possible that this spectacular physical representation commissioned by an eighth-century pope would constitute a further example for the papacy's use of a particular resource of the past.[39]

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[34] McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, p. 56.

[35] Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, pp. 85–268; and Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum Christianarum Romae*. See Lipps, Machado and von Rummel (eds.), *The Sack of Rome in 410 AD*, based on the international conference held at the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, 4–6 November, 2010.

[36] For example *LP* I, Lives 92, 94 and 97, pp. 419, 440, 507 and 510, in the *vitae* of Gregory III, Stephen II and Hadrian I.

[37] I refrain from calling the *Constitutum* 'forged', for the text cannot be regarded as a forgery in the conventional sense. On the *Constitutum* see Goodson and Nelson, 'Review article: the Roman contexts of the "Donation of Constantine"', and Edwards, *Constantine and Christendom*, pp. xl–xlvii and 92–115.

[38] The *LP vita* of Pope Silvester had still shown Constantine as antagonistic towards the pope. See for example Walter Pohl's contribution in this volume.

[39] The triclinium mosaic of course has to be treated with extreme caution, see Scholz, *Politik – Selbstverständnis – Selbstdarstellung*, pp. 113–24, who is very critical of the reproduction of the right side of the mosaic. However, see the more optimistic account in

Contacts with the existing Roman ('Byzantine') empire

The contacts with the existing Roman empire, albeit now based in the East, were something that gave the papacy a quite unique position. There were of course other places in the Latin West where one could make contact with imperial officials or gather information about the empire even more easily. Naples and Amalfi, for example, were certainly more dependent than Rome on the imperial infrastructure, especially on the navy.[40] Apart from the closer political ties, information from the East seems to have reached the southern duchies sooner than Rome, as *Codex Carolinus* letter 58 by Pope Hadrian I, for example, implies.[41] Rome, however, certainly trumped the southern Italian imperial dependencies in terms of accessibility for and connections with the rest of Latin Europe. Ravenna until 750 was more similar to Rome in this respect; it even possessed closer ties with the East. These closer ties with the empire, however, were probably also Ravenna's weakness. Its various institutions were not detached enough from the interests of the empire to be as useful as a cultural broker as the papacy. The papacy certainly possessed a lot more cultural capital *besides* the connection with the empire that as a whole made it more interesting as a broker. The relationship between the papacy and the empire and its officers had, as is well known, taken a turn for the worse by the eighth century.[42] Still, besides being at odds in religio-political matters and besides seeking for autonomy from the emperor, with the exarchate weakened and eventually lost, the papacy was perhaps the last powerful institution in Central Italy imperial officials *could* regard as an ally. How the papacy used its contacts with the East to its advantage in dealings with the West (and to the considerable advantage of its 'cultural clients') will be shown in more detail below.

The papal res publica

While still at least part of the empire *de iure* throughout most of the eighth century, the popes attempted to carve out a space where they could rule autonomously for themselves in Central Italy: this space was increasingly called *res publica* in the papal sources, sometimes with the explanatory enlargement *Sancti Petri*. Around the middle of the century, both the

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Goodson and Nelson, 'Review article: the Roman contexts of the "Donation of Constantine"', 460–6.

[40] See Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, esp. pp. 1–35.

[41] *CC* ep. 58 (Hadrian to Charlemagne, AD 776), ed. Gundlach, pp. 583–4 at 583.

[42] See Noble, *Republic of St. Peter*; Hartmann, *Hadrian I*, pp. 157–95; and Gantner, 'The Label "Greeks"'.

empire and the papal space could be called *res publica*, which does not make it easy to distinguish the two concepts.[43] So, while the papacy built much of its prestige on the tenuous ties with the East, at the same time it sought to detach itself politically. The final step was taken by Pope Hadrian in 775/6, when he did not recognise the rule of the new emperor Leo IV.[44] Thus we can see the interplay of centrifugal and centripetal forces. Apart from being crucial for papal self-perception, the *res publica Sancti Petri* controlled by the papacy and the way it was presented were important features of the papal cultural capital; the papacy's territorial policy was thereby associated with its most important cultural resource: the (Roman) church.

The church

The *ecclesia* as an institution *and* as an idea was probably the concept used most frequently in the writings produced by the papacy. The pope was seen as the head of the church in the West and as one of the most important religious instances in the East. This position enabled the papacy to use all its other cultural and political capital effectively. The cases of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria show, however, that even though sees could still claim patriarchal rank, they could nevertheless be marginalised by lack of other resources and lack of political and personal connectedness after becoming Islamic conquests. Apart from the high office, the long history of the Roman church provided the papacy with ample resources for negotiation. The most eminent churches have already been mentioned. Besides, the Roman church could draw on an ample reservoir of saints and martyrs – and their relics.[45] Just to give an example: when the Carolingians desired to promote the cult of a saint in close connection with St Peter, the papacy could offer the apostle's supposed daughter Petronilla.[46] Even though the supply of saints' relics from the catacombs and cemeteries of Rome was near inexhaustible, the papacy

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[43] On the *res publica* see Noble, *Republic of St. Peter*, esp. pp. 94–8. The use of *res publica* for the space under control of the Roman church can be found in *CC* ep. 8 (Stephen II to Pippin, 755), ed. Gundlach, p. 497: *sanctam Dei ecclesiam et nostrum Romanorum rei publicę*. However, Raymond Davis has shown several passages where *res publica* still probably meant the empire in the *Liber pontificalis* lives of Zacharias and Stephen II. See Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, 8, p. 43, n. 56 (Zacharias, c. 15) and p. 61, n. 39 (Stephen II, c. 21).

[44] Hartmann, *Hadrian I*, pp. 164–9. See also Gantner, 'The Label "Greeks" '.

[45] See Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I*, pp. 197–256, esp. 211–23; and Smith, 'Old saints, new cults'.

[46] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 146–8; Reimitz, 'Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch'; and Saxer, 'Petronilla'.

also actively imported more saints' cults and relics, especially from the East.[47]

Biblical resources

Inseparably connected with the Roman church, the papacy's cultural repertoire also had a biblical component, mainly based on its apostolic foundations. St Peter was the most important Roman saint and his church was the most important church in the Latin West by the eighth century. The papacy could even write letters in the guise of its main saint.[48] It thus put St Peter to direct political use, especially in the dealings with the Franks.[49] Besides, St Paul and his veneration in Rome also stand out among the many Roman saints.[50] Apart from this obvious strategy, the papacy at times also tried to appropriate other biblical images. In one version of the text of the *Liber pontificalis* life of Zacharias, for example, the pope is styled a new Moses, travelling under cover of a cloud to free Ravenna from the Lombards.[51] Generally, the pope was depicted as a prophet in this *vita*.[52]

Moral and theological prestige

With the standing of the popes as patriarchs of the West came also high moral and theological prestige. In the eighth century this was mainly based on past greatness. Dionysius Exiguus, who lived and worked at Rome and was associated with the papacy, had set in his various works the main standards for Western canon law and the computation of time in the early sixth century, still valid in the eighth century.[53] Gregory the Great loomed large over his successors, as far as learning was concerned. He was certainly used as the model Roman theologian and politician in the eighth century, when first his *Dialogues* were translated into Greek by Pope Zacharias, and later, probably under Hadrian I, some of his letters were compiled into the collections that comprise the greater proportion of the letters that have come down to us.[54] In the seventh century, the acts of the anti-monothelite council of 649 had been widely recognised

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[47] See the forthcoming work on 'imported' eastern cults by Maya Maskarinec.
[48] See *CC* ep. 10 (St Peter to Pippin), ed. Gundlach, pp. 501–3.
[49] See Bougard, 'La Prosopopée au service de la politique pontificale'.
[50] See McKitterick, 'Narrative strategies in the *Liber pontificalis*'.
[51] *LP* I, Life 93, p. 429, n. * and p. 430, n. *.
[52] Gantner, *Freunde Roms*, pp. 147–8; Gantner, 'Studien', pp. 104–13.
[53] McKitterick, 'Constructing the past in the early Middle Ages', pp. 107–9.
[54] Norberg (ed.), *Gregorii magni registrum*, pp. v–vi; and Hartmann, *Hadrian I*, p. 176 with n. 100.

as a fine piece of theological discussion. These had been largely drawn up by the papacy's culturally Greek allies.[55] This initiated a phase during which the papacy seems to have deferred to its culturally Greek experts in major theological discussions. The papacy did not produce any documents to counter the Quinisext canons, for example, and simply relied on the Dionysian collection.[56] We know of no larger theological argument the papacy put forward against 'iconoclasm', not even after it had been thoroughly defined in 754 at the council of Hiereia – to which the pope may not even have been invited.[57] After the second council of Nicaea in 787 Hadrian I was unable to dissuade the Franks from condemning the conclusions of the council, which had been very favourable to the papacy's position.[58] He did give, however, a good summary of the papal position on iconoclasm (but probably deliberately avoided the theological position of images!) in his statement sent to Emperor Constantine VI and Empress Irene in 785 during the preparations for Nicaea.[59] Still, it becomes quite clear that the papacy in general depended heavily on external contributions when it came to theological issues. It also relied on culturally Greek experts at Rome, like Peter, hegumen of the Greek monastery St Saba, one of the two papal envoys to Nicaea.[60] In the theological sphere, the eighth-century papacy was thus more of a broker than a producer of resources.

The uses of cultural capital in the early eighth century: Lombards, Franks – and Greeks

With these important features of the papal cultural repertoire established, a few examples will illustrate how it was put to use.

As a consequence of the well-known success story of the papal–Carolingian alliance of the second half of the eighth century, one tends to overlook Rome's other communication partners, for example Lombards, Bavarian dukes and, at least up until the 730s, Eudo's Aquitanian

[55] Cubitt, 'The Lateran Council of 649', p. 134.
[56] On the background see Herrin, 'The Quinisext Council (692)', pp. 163–4.
[57] Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium*, pp. 189–97. The first responses we know about that must have gone beyond simple admonitions to adhere to the old customs of the church were stated by papal legates at the council of Gentilly in 767 (Noble, *Images*, pp. 142–4; McCormick, 'Textes, images et iconoclasme'); the first ones we actually *have* are the clear but cursory remarks that were made at the Roman council of 769 (*Concilium Romanum a. 769*, ed. Werminghoff; and *LP* I, pp. 476–7 with a condensed version of the text. See Gantner, *Freunde Roms*, pp. 117–18 and 128–9).
[58] Hartmann, *Hadrian I*, pp. 278–91; Noble, *Images*, pp. 158–206.
[59] Noble, *Images*, pp. 149–57; *Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea*, ed. Lamberz, pp. 119–73.
[60] Noble, *Images*, p. 160.

Franks. The Byzantine empire, until 750 certainly the most important point of reference for the papacy, has already been mentioned.

In 743, Pope Zacharias travelled north to negotiate with the Longobard king Liutprand, who had seized Ravenna earlier that year. The papacy's goal was the return of the city to imperial control. Initially, Liutprand seems to have tried to avoid a meeting with the pope, but then admitted him to Pavia, where the pope celebrated two masses, the second in the presence of the king on the feast of saints Peter and Paul.[61] Zacharias made use of the apostolic and moral capital his office provided. Acting as the speaker of the Central Italian people, he was also able to exploit its geographical and historical dimensions.[62] In the end, Zacharias prevailed: Ravenna returned to imperial rule for the last time. Furthermore, the events of 743 enabled the papacy to portray its actions as successful cultural brokerage in the *Liber pontificalis*, making up for its inability to apply military force. King Liutprand, however, had not completely lost in this transaction. He had acquired papal and thus apostolic support for his reign, and had shown himself to be a pious ruler, benevolent and generous to the apostles and their vicar. He had thus nearly gained in prestige what he had lost in territorial and tactical possessions, even though the pope managed to profit even more from the exchange.

The second important partner in Zacharias' diplomatic effort was the empire: its Italian officials seem to have appointed the pope as negotiator in the affair.[63] The emperor temporarily regained Ravenna, but yet again the papacy probably profited even more from the interaction in the longer run since its prestige in the East was undoubtedly enhanced and since it had emphatically demonstrated that it was the most important institution in Central Italy.

Zacharias successfully dealt with Liutprand's successor Ratchis by applying essentially the same strategies.[64] By the early 750s, the papacy was in a unique position: it had established excellent direct contacts with Pippin and his Franks, while it still entertained close relations with the empire. Due to the weakness of the empire in the West, especially the weakness and eventual non-existence of imperial power in Ravenna, the papacy was the last powerful player left in Italy that also possessed

[61] *LP* I, Life 93, p. 430.
[62] Zacharias also acted in the field of church regulations, for example at the council of Rome of 743: see McKitterick, 'History, law and communication', 962–9.
[63] *LP* I, Life 93, pp. 429–30: The exarch and the archbishop, the most eminent officials of Ravenna, both appeal to the pope to intervene with Liutprand on their behalf (*ut pro eorum curreret liberatione*).
[64] For details see Gantner, *Freunde Roms*, pp. 150–3.

enough cultural capital to be an acceptable partner for Western poten-
tates. The pontificate of Zacharias had gained the papacy a standing as a
political quasi-representative of Central Italy and of the emperor.[65] Not
least because of this new role, the popes felt entitled to supply third par-
ties with imperial cultural and social capital (though in no case can it be
shown that this authority was actually conferred upon them by imperial
authorities). This was the position that enabled Stephen II to perform the
most important act of cultural brokerage by a pope in the early Middle
Ages – his visit to Francia in 753/4. This well-known event will not be
examined here in detail; suffice it to say that the pope acted as a cultural
broker in manifold ways: he used the whole range of his cultural capi-
tal described above, for example the special papal relations with worldly
rulers since the times of Silvester, the moral and theological power of the
Roman church as well as its apostolic foundation: in 756 he even wrote
a letter in the name of St Peter himself.[66]

For the purposes of this contribution, the most interesting part of
the papal brokerage in 754 was the bestowal of the title 'patrician of
the Romans' upon Pippin and his sons. The pope utilised the papacy's
unique contacts with the empire. In this particular case, *patricius Romano-
rum* may well have been a genuine imperial *patrikios* title (in *later* Greek
sources one finds a πατρίκιος τῶν Ῥωμαίων) and in all probability was at
least perceived as such.[67] More specifically, the exarchs of Ravenna had
nearly always also carried *patricius* among their titles, albeit without the
attribute *Romanorum*.[68] Still, and this is why this example is so instructive,
the bestowal of the *patricius* title was not the big success the papacy hoped
for. It is telling that the *Liber pontificalis* does not mention its bestowal at
all. Further, the title is not to be found in any of King Pippin's extant offi-
cial documents. Of Pippin's sons and co-patricians Charlemagne alone
used it eventually, but it was a full twenty years after he had received the
title in 754 and only in the aftermath of his intervention in Italy in 774.[69]
Charlemagne probably began to use the title not to please the pope, but
rather to underline his competence to rule in Italy. Even though the title
was mentioned in some Carolingian sources dealing with the events of
754,[70] the Carolingians do not seem to have embraced it altogether. The

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[65] This showed in the *Liber pontificalis* life of Stephen II, again in the negotiations concern-
ing Ravenna. See *LP* I, Life 94, pp. 441–6, and Bertolini, 'Il primo "periurium"'.

[66] *CC* ep. 10, ed. Gundlach, pp. 501–3. Bougard, 'La Prosopopée au service de la politique
pontificale'.

[67] Deér, 'Patricius-Romanorum-Titel', and Noble, *Republic of St Peter*, pp. 278–80.

[68] Michels, 'Patricius, Patrikios, I. Westen'.   [69] See Wolfram, *Intitulatio I*, pp. 225–36.

[70] *Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. von Simson, pp. 45–6, and the so-called *Clausula de unctione
Pippini*, ed. Stoclet, pp. 2–3.

popes on the other hand used it constantly in their letters to Carolingian recipients, as the *Codex Carolinus* letters clearly show. We can thus see cultural brokerage partly failing – even though the papal act in 754 and the use of the title in the letters certainly helped the papal cause nonetheless.

The title of *patricius* was not an isolated case: in their diplomacy of the 740s and 750s, the popes in many ways treated the Carolingian rulers like high officials of the empire. The most instructive example may be letter number 12 of the *Codex Carolinus*, in which Pope Paul formally informed King Pippin of his recent election after his brother's demise.[71] In this letter, the new pope used a formula contained in the Roman *Liber Diurnus*,[72] a collection of model letters mostly from the seventh century assembled for the use of the papal chancellery. The specific formula was originally designed for the mandatory notice sent to the exarch after a papal election.[73] The diplomatic implications were conceivably not clear to the Carolingian court, but the papal letter-bearers probably communicated that fact.[74] In short, the popes went to some lengths to provide the Frankish kings with big and small imperial or at least quasi-imperial glories, in sum likening them to or even equating them with the exarchs. Certainly, not all of these strategies worked the way they had been planned, but in their totality by 757 they helped the papacy to obtain to some degree the political position to which it had aspired.

The window of opportunity of the early 750s soon closed. The papacy gradually came to focus its efforts mainly on one target group – the Carolingians. That happened partly because the Byzantines had proven to be very unreliable partners, who had not supported Rome (or Ravenna) in a satisfactory way in the first years of Stephen's pontificate – a fact that is mentioned openly in the *Liber pontificalis*: 'and in particular [the pope] saw that no help would come his way from the imperial power'.[75] The council of Hiereia in 754, moreover, precipitated what proved to be the final disruption between the papacy and the emperor. This led the emperor to seek direct contact with the Franks, something that

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[71] *CC* ep. 12 (Paul to Pippin), ed. Gundlach, pp. 507–8.

[72] *Liber Diurnus*, Vat. 59 = Clairmont 59 = Ambrosiana 53: 'Nuntius ad exarchatum de transitu superscriptio' ed. Foerster, p. 113f.

[73] This may have been done to emphasise Paul's correct administration after his contested election – a detail that the pope withheld in the letter.

[74] See Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, vol. I, p. 523, n. 186 (we have no information about the identity of the letter-bearers) and p. 609 (it is at least certain that they were *papal* envoys).

[75] *LP* I, Life 94, p. 444: *[papa] cernens presertim et ab imperiale potentia nullum esse subveniendi auxilium*. Trans. Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, 8, p. 58.

threatened the papacy's position strongly, which explains the spirited attacks on the Byzantines in papal letters of the 750s and 760s.[76]

We can see the consequences of this development also on the strictly textual and intellectual level: an interesting papal act of brokerage in this period was done when Pope Paul I sent several Greek manuscripts to Pippin in 758.[77] At first sight this event might seem insignificant, but it shows two things: Firstly, the Franks turned to Rome *first* when they needed information on the Greek language, culture and religion. Secondly, the pope was more than eager to keep it that way and thus to secure the prerogative of interpretation for the Lateran. Again, we have to note that the papacy only partly succeeded in this endeavour. But Pope Paul tried to *obtain* that prerogative, providing us with an example of the papacy's active effort to play the role of the cultural broker in order to maintain and enhance its political, economic and theological standing. This was not a short-lived development: the popes had been actively conveying liturgical and canonical regulations to the Franks throughout the eighth century via the *Liber pontificalis*, letters and legates.[78] At the end of the eighth century, Pope Hadrian I provided Charlemagne with a series of important texts, most notably the so-called *Dionysio-Hadriana* (an expanded version of Dionysius Exiguus' canon law collection) and the so-called *Hadrianum*, the Roman sacramentary of the 'Gregorian' type.[79] Mainly via the *Liber pontificalis*, the papacy also quite successfully conveyed its own view on Roman, Italian and even at times imperial history and shaped the historical perception of generations to come.[80] To impart the papal view on things the papacy at times may even have produced more than one version of the *Liber* to reach different target audiences.[81]

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[76] On my view of the vicissitudes of the papal–Byzantine relationship, see Gantner, 'The label "Greeks"'.

[77] *CC* ep. 24, ed. Gundlach, p. 529: *Direximus itaque excellentissime praecellentiae vestrae et libros, quantos reperire potuimus: id est antiphonale et responsale, insimul artem gramaticam Aristolis [sic], Dionisii Ariopagitis geometricam, orthografiam, grammaticam, omnes Greco eloquio scriptas, nec non et horologium nocturnum.* See Gantner, 'Die Päpste und ihre "Griechen"'. On the date see Kehr, 'Ueber die Chronologie', pp. 124 and 156.

[78] For example in many *CC* letters; see also the papal correspondence with St Boniface.

[79] A very good, if a rather pessimistic summary can be found in Hartmann, *Hadrian I*, pp. 267–77.

[80] See McKitterick's contribution in this volume. Also, it was largely impossible for writers of the ninth and tenth centuries to write Lombard history of the eighth century after Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* (which ends with the death of Liutprand in 744) without resorting to the *Liber pontificalis*, see Pohl, *Werkstätte*, e.g. p. 59 on the *Chronicon Salernitanum*.

[81] See the in-depth manuscript study in Gantner, 'Lombard recension': the life of Stephen II existed in three distinct recensions and several sub-recensions in the eighth century.

One might still ask why the papacy did not do even more in the field of culture. One could ask, for example, why the Carolingians relied so much on Lombard intellectuals like Paul the Deacon or Fardulf of St Denis instead of seeking input from Rome.[82] The explanation for such relative shortcomings in papal cultural brokerage probably lay in the self-definition of the papacy. The popes could only claim a dominating, even patronising role in their relationships, something that would not always have been appealing to self-confident addressees. The papacy's communication partners probably sometimes deliberately chose other sources of cultural information. Measured against its human and intellectual resources and against the background of the unstable political situation of the Apennine peninsula, however, the efficacy of papal cultural brokerage in the eighth century was still considerable.

In the ninth century the papacy relied on the same cultural foundations as in the eighth, and especially so after 846, when the financial impact of the Saracen attack on Rome and the continuous Saracen threat in the whole western Mediterranean ended the economic boom Rome had enjoyed in the previous decades.[83] Granted, it is especially true for the ninth century that each pontificate shifted its use of papal capital: for example under Pope Nicholas I, who emphasised (and considerably expanded) papal moral authority, while under John VIII the papacy focused on its leading role in the church in an attempt to make a strong stand against the external enemies threatening Latin Europe.[84] Again, there was no automatic success; sometimes the emphasis on the Roman position was certainly obstructive. One later ninth-century instance is the popes' inability to adapt to Bulgarian needs, which led to the failure of the papal mission there.[85]

During the troubles in Rome in the late ninth and tenth centuries, the papacy was reduced in political power and in prestige.[86] This led to a decline in its standing as cultural power broker during the tenth century. Remembering Eric Hinderaker's assertion that 'brokers were defined less by what they did than by who they were',[87] we can see that even though the papacy still possessed nearly all its cultural capital, its unstable condition prevented it from profiting from its own cultural

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[82] On Paul see Pohl, 'Paulus Diaconus', esp. pp. 529–30. On Fardulf see Villa, 'Lay and ecclesiastical culture', pp. 189 and 198; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 46–7.
[83] Gantner, 'New visions', pp. 405–7 with n. 20.
[84] Gantner, 'New visions', pp. 408–11 and 415–19.
[85] Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk zur Großmacht*, pp. 390–412, esp. 397–8 and 408–9.
[86] See Zimmermann, *Das dunkle Jahrhundert*, and McKitterick, 'The church', esp. pp. 139–42.
[87] Hinderaker, 'Translation and cultural brokerage', p. 358.

capital in the way it had done previously. Yet it was also its cultural capital that prevented the papacy from even further decline.[88]

During the eighth century, the papacy reached the peak in its position as cultural power broker between East and West and between past and present, though one has to concede that the popes both before and after the eighth century used similar strategies and worked with essentially the same cultural capital. That the papacy had to establish a position as monopolist in the cultural field suggests its relative lack of military and political power. As a cultural broker the papacy applied its cultural resources fairly effectively, establishing itself among the most powerful players in Italy *and* the Latin West during the eighth and ninth centuries.

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[88] See Fichtenau, 'Vom Ansehen des Papsttums im zehnten Jahrhundert'.

15 Transformations of Late Antiquity: the writing and re-writing of Church history at the monastery of Lorsch, *c*. 800

Helmut Reimitz

At the beginning of the 790s Alcuin, one of the most eminent scholars at the court of Charlemagne, wrote a letter to his former pupil, Ricbod, the abbot of the monastery of Lorsch. In addition to his good wishes and advice, Alcuin cautioned Ricbod against his love for Virgil. Ricbod ought to direct his interests to the research of holy writings rather than to the study of Virgil's (*Utinam evangelia quattuor, non Aeneadem duodecim, pectus compleant tuum*).[1] For a long time such remarks have been seen as evidence for a 'Carolingian' Renaissance, and Ricbod's admiration of classical culture and education was regarded as typical of widespread efforts in the Carolingian kingdom and empire to revive and emulate classical models and standards. More recent research has shown, however, that the political necessities of the eighth-century West drove the emphasis on learning.[2] The 'Carolingian' Renaissance was in many ways an experimental process which responded to a new need for a culture of wide-reaching political and social integration created by the political and military success of Carolingian politics.[3]

Consequently, the 'resources of the past' re-appropriated by Carolingian politicians, scholars and intellectuals included more than the resources of the classical and late classical Roman world. They also drew on the adaptations of late Roman models and resources developed in the post-Roman kingdoms in the centuries before the Carolingian rise to power. In my contribution to the study of this multifaceted process I shall focus on the writing and rewriting of Roman and post-Roman history in the monastery of Lorsch during the time of Ricbod (784–804), the admirer of Virgil, and of his successor Adalung (804–37). A closer

[1] Alcuin, *Epistolae*, 13, p. 39.
[2] Nelson, 'Kingship and empire', p. 52; on Carolingian politics as a learning process see also her *Opposition to Charlemagne*.
[3] See McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, esp. ch. 5; and already Brown, 'Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance'.

look at the transmission and appropriation of histories at Lorsch will show that Ricbod's love for Virgil might well be connected to much more specific reflections and debates about the resources of the past and their use for the creation of new visions of community than simply an esteem for classical culture.

Due to its close ties to the bishopric of Metz as well as the Carolingian court, Lorsch became one of the most vital laboratories for research into the resources of the past soon after its foundation. Founded in the 760s by members of a noble Rhineland family, it was soon placed under the jurisdiction of Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, a relative of the founders,[4] and one of the driving forces behind the early Carolingian reforms under Pippin III.[5] The monastery stayed in close contact with the bishopric under Chrodegang's successor Angilram, who took over the see in 769. Angilram, like his predecessor, had close connections with the Carolingian court, and after the death of Fulrad of St Denis in 784 he was in charge of the royal chancery.[6] Lorsch's close connections with the Carolingian court were not just mediated through the bishops of Metz; the Carolingian rulers themselves took the monastery under their protection. The entire royal family was present at the consecration of the Church in 774.[7] The abbots Ricbod and Adalung both enjoyed close connections with the Carolingian court.[8] Consequently Lorsch became one of the wealthiest and most important monasteries in the Frankish kingdoms and at the same time one of the most influential cultural centres of the Carolingian reforms.

This is also impressively documented in the extant manuscripts from Lorsch. Thanks to the transmission of several ninth-century library catalogues and many manuscripts of the time (and their comprehensive palaeographical and codicological study by Bernhard Bischoff[9]) we have extraordinarily detailed evidence for reconstructing the creation of the library in the context of the intensified cultural efforts of the Carolingian *correctio*.[10] The most comprehensive catalogue of the books at Lorsch

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[4] Cf. Innes, *State and Society*, p. 18; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 99–100; Corradini, 'Lorsch', pp. 610–11.

[5] Claussen, *The Reform*, pp. 19–57.

[6] Wattenbach, Levison and Löwe, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, p. 251; but see the discussion in McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 44–7, with n. 163; Häring, 'Angilram', col. 635; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 124–7.

[7] Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, p. 124.

[8] Semmler, 'Die Geschichte der Abtei Lorsch'.

[9] Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*; see now the digital reconstruction of the library www.bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/ (accessed 18 July 2013).

[10] Brown, *Rise*, pp. 437–62; de Jong, 'Charlemagne's church'; and McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 292–372.

was written in 860 and lists about 500 titles and 300 extant manuscripts or manuscript fragments from the library.[11] The oldest library catalogue dates from about 830, to the time of Abbot Adalung, but the catalogue lists many works that must have come to the library under his predecessor Ricbod.

Even a brief and superficial look at the catalogues and extant manuscripts shows that the main focus of the Lorsch scholars was the study of patristic texts.[12] The existing copies demonstrate that they are not the result of random copying and collection but rather of serious research and careful selection. As the layout, format and other traces in the extant manuscripts reveal, some of the exemplars that were used to produce these manuscripts must have been very old copies. They may well have been papyrus rolls or early parchment codices.[13] However, age does not seem to have been the only criterion for their preservation. The texts were also carefully read, checked against other traditions and meticulously edited to be brought into line with the new standards of the Carolingian *correctio*.[14]

Similar processes can be observed with regard to the production and reception of historical texts at the monastery of Lorsch. Although the number of history book manuscripts written and kept at Lorsch cannot compete with the quantity of patristic texts, Lorsch still had an impressive historical collection.[15] The great importance accorded to historiography is most evident in the catalogue drawn up around 860, in which the list of historical works directly follows the list of biblical books.[16] The active interest in history at Lorsch already becomes apparent in the oldest manuscripts written in the 'Older Lorsch Style'. This script, used until the first decade of the ninth century, is so similar to the minuscule used at Metz and the Carolingian court that Bischoff even regarded it as a product of the interaction and exchange of scribes between these three cultural centres.[17] Bischoff identified twenty-three extant manuscripts written in this style. Among the many patristic works and authors there are six historical works: Orosius' *Septem libri historiarum adversos*

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[11] Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, pp. 102–35; Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*.
[12] Becker, 'Präsenz'.   [13] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 201–8.
[14] See Becker, Licht and Weinfurter (eds.), *Karolingische Klöster*; esp. the contributions of Julia Becker, Kirsten Tobler, Ulrich Eigler and Tino Licht. The volume publishes some of the results of a larger project on 'Wissenstransfer von der Antike ins Mittelalter: Bedingungen und Wirkungen dauerhafter Verschriftlichung am Beispiel des Klosters Lorsch' at the University of Heidelberg.
[15] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 196–210.
[16] Katalog Ca, p. 137, in Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*, pp. 189–91; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 197.
[17] Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, p. 36.

paganos;[18] the Latin translations of the Antiquities,[19] and the Jewish Wars[20] of Flavius Josephus. Rufinus' translation and continuation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*,[21] Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*[22] and a Carolingian version of Gregory of Tours' *Histories* augmented with the fourth book of the *Chronicle* of Fredegar with its *Continuations* until the death of Charles Martel in 741.[23] Rosamond McKitterick has suspected the use of very old exemplars for some of the late antique works on the basis of the format of the manuscripts.[24] However, even here the old texts were not merely copied; they were carefully studied, sometimes compared with other versions and prepared as new editions.

A good example for the careful and critical study of the texts is the copy of the first Latin Church history, the translation and continuation of Eusebius' *Church History* that Rufinus of Aquileia wrote at the beginning of the fifth century.[25] Its modern editor, Theodor Mommsen, regarded the Lorsch copy of the text (BAV, Pal. lat. 822) as the best extant version. Mommsen's judgement, however, was not based on an understanding that the manuscript presented the most faithful copy of an old exemplar. It was rather based on his observation that the Lorsch copyists punctiliously edited and corrected many of the errors and misunderstandings of the exemplars of Rufinus' history in circulation at the time. While Mommsen appreciated the work of the Lorsch editors as a careful and intelligent critical edition, he also mentioned the many interpolations they had added to Rufinus' text as the downside of the scribes' ability to think on their feet.[26] In his preface to the edition Mommsen promised a more detailed discussion of these interpolations but he obviously did not find the time to publish it before his death in 1903, the same year his edition appeared.[27]

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[18] BAV, Pal. lat. 829; Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*, no. 64, p. 190.

[19] BAV, Pal. lat. 814; Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*, no. 62, p. 189.

[20] BAV, Pal. lat. 170; Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*, no. 63, p. 189.

[21] BAV, Pal. lat. 822; Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*, no. 61, p. 189.

[22] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Weiss 34; Häse, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse*, no. 189, p. 259.

[23] Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. lat. 864.

[24] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 203.

[25] BAV, Pal. lat. 822; on Rufinus' translation and continuation, see Humphries, 'Rufinus' Eusebius', and on Rufinus still Thélamon, *Païens et chrétiens*.

[26] See the introduction of Mommsen in Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Schwartz and Mommsen, vol. II, pp ccli–cclxviii, here cclxiii. See also the comments of F. Winckelmann *ibid.*, vol. I, p. IX; and Hammond Bammel, 'Das neue Rufinfragment', pp. 491–3.

[27] Some interesting insights into the circumstances and shortcomings of the edition can be found in the correspondence between Mommsen and Adolf Harnack, published by Rebenich, *Theodor Mommsen und Adolf Harnack*, pp. 199–204; 600–7; 780–8, 800–5, 872–3, 954–5, 975.

A closer study of these interpolations is beyond the scope of this chapter, the more so as it would involve the comparison with even more manuscripts than Mommsen included in his edition, something which was attempted by Caroline Hammond Bammel who produced a fine study of the earliest manuscripts of the text. To the three manuscripts that Mommsen included in his edition (from Lorsch, Chelles and Lucca respectively),[28] she added three further manuscripts (from Corbie (books 6–11), the Alemannic region, and Freising) and three fragments which were all written in the late eighth and early ninth century.[29] As Hammond Bammel rightly remarked, the preliminary character of Mommsen's edition of Rufinus as a complement to the Greek 'original' of Eusebius and his selective use of manuscripts clearly complicates the comparison of different versions, their relation to each other and to a reconstructed archetype of the texts.[30] Nevertheless, her survey of the early manuscript transmission impressively demonstrates the intensified interest of Carolingian scholars, compilers and copyists in the late antique *Church History* of Rufinus.

While a detailed study of the interpolations into the text mentioned by Mommsen would require a new edition of Rufinus' *Church History*,[31] the Lorsch copy can still provide a number of interesting traces in relation to how it was intended and used for further study of its contents and models. There are, for instance, traces which show that the Lorsch scribes and compilers tried to help readers to navigate through the comprehensive eleven books of Rufinus. The manuscript has a table of contents at the beginning of every single book. On these pages the copyists or librarians inserted fixed strips of parchment to mark the pages where each book begins.

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[28] BAV, Pal. lat. 822; Paris, BnF lat. 18282 (Chelles, s. viii/ix; *CLA* V, 674), the third manuscript that Mommsen used, Lucca, Bibliotheca Capitolare 490 (Lucca, s. viii/ix; *CLA* III, 303b), is not discussed in Mommsen's introduction of the edition because he died before he could finish it. It is only mentioned in the introduction of Eduard Schwartz: Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Schwartz and Mommsen, vol. II, p. 32.

[29] Paris, BnF lat. 12527 (Corbie (s. viii/ix; *CLA* V, 643); Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 347 (975) (Alemannia, s. s.viii/ix; *CLA* VII, 878); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6383 (Freising, s. viii/ix; *CLA* IX, 1279; Bischoff, *Katalog*, p. 240). Fragments: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek lat. Ser. N. 3644 (Anglo-Saxon minuscule written either in England or in an Anglo-Saxon centre on the continent, s. viii; *CLA* X, 1515); Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29041 (Würzburg?; s. ix; Bischoff, *Katalog*, p. 288; Paris, BnF lat. 10399 and 10400 (Chelles, s. viii; *CLA* V, 594); see Hammond Bammel, 'Das neue Rufinfragment', pp. 499–505; for a brief overview over the manuscript transmission until the twelfth century, see Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung*, pp. 78–9.

[30] Hammond Bammel, 'Das neue Rufinfragment', pp. 492–3.

[31] Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 124.

Another example of the careful reading and study of the exemplar for this copy is provided in the many marginal notes added by Lorsch scribes. Some of the marginal glosses of the manuscript correspond exactly with the words in the so-called *Leiden Glossary*, an early medieval glossary containing lists of words in batches extracted from a number of different texts, including a selection from Rufinus' *Historia ecclesiastica*.[32] Hitherto, the production of these glossaries has been envisaged as a process of assembling marginal notes and interlinear glosses in texts from standard authors such as Rufinus.[33] More recent research has shown that the creation, dissemination and use of these glossaries was a much more complex process. They seem to have been created in a process in which scholars continued to register key passages from religious and literary authorities in close cooperation with their students. As Michael Lapidge and Bernhard Bischoff argued in their study of the Biblical commentaries from the School of Canterbury, such notes could be created 'as much by the activities of the students recording a master's observation as by the annotating activity of the master himself'.[34] The marginal notes in Rufinus' *Church History* of the Lorsch manuscript can be seen not only as evidence for the complexities of intertextual relations between glossaries and the texts that inspired the batches in these collections of glosses. They also suggest a constant interchange between masters, students, scholars, scribes and the religious and literary authorities they explored. Lapidge suggested that the dialogue documented in the manuscripts with Rufinus' *Church History* originated in the school of Canterbury during the time of Aldhelm, whose interest in Rufinus' *History* is indeed well attested.[35] This might well have been the case. But the marginal notes are written in different hands.[36] This indicates that the batches were not just copied from the exemplar but

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[32] Examples: BAV, Pal. lat. 822, fo. 32v: *archisinagogus* (ad Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3, 4, 10, p. 195,9, cf. *Leiden Glossary*, XXXV, 130, ed. Hessels, p. 35 and Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 126); fo. 33v: *dispicatis: incises vel inruptis* (ad Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3, 6, 6, p. 201, 27 cf. *Leiden Glossary*, XXXV, 134, ed. Hessels, p. 35 and Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 126); fo. 44v: [*pet]alum vestis in quo scriptum [est] nomen dei vel tetragrammaton* (ad Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3, 31 3, p. 265, 13; cf. Latin-Anglo-Saxon glossary IV, 34, ed. Hessels, p. 8 and Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 126); for the Leiden glossary see now McKitterick, 'Glossaries'.

[33] Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 119; with reference to Lindsay, *Ancient Lore*.

[34] Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*; quote from Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 119; see now also McKitterick, 'Glossaries'.

[35] Lapidge, 'Rufinus', pp. 128–9.

[36] See, for instance, Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 8, 10, p. 761, 21 (*post tergum alii vinctis manibus adpendebantur et trochleis distenti membratim divellebantur*) with the gloss in BAV, Pal. lat. 822, fo. 130v: *trochos grece, rota latinen per quas funes trahuntur*. Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 127.

that some of the words in them were also added to the notes from *c.* 800 onwards.

Lapidge preferred to see the Lorsch Eusebius-Rufinus as a direct copy from an exemplar written at Canterbury around 700 and brought to Lorsch around 800. Hammond Bammel, however, suggested that the exemplar of the Rufinus manuscript came to Lorsch from Canterbury via the Carolingian court.[37] The close connections between Lorsch and the court might indeed be the more plausible context for the scholarly exchange reflected in the Lorsch manuscript of Rufinus. It belongs to a group of manuscripts with a number of the same scribes in common and who share an interest in Anglo-Saxon scholarship.[38] One of these scribes was Rado, who was Angilram's successor as archchancellor at the Carolingian court.[39]

In any case, as many further marginal notes, nota-symbols and other signs, such as pointing fingers, highlighting certain passages show, the scholars and students at Lorsch continued to read and study the text. Other members of the group of manuscripts written in the Older Lorsch style also indicate that the learned monks at Lorsch were not only interested in Rufinus' history of Christianity, Church and empire in the late Roman world but also in the application of its model to the history of the post-Roman West. One of the scribes who compiled the Lorsch manuscript of Rufinus' *Church History*, for example, was also involved in the copying of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, a text clearly influenced by the structure, scope and language of Rufinus' work.[40]

A few years after the production of the ecclesiastical histories of Rufinus and Bede, the compilers and scribes at Lorsch created their own *historia ecclesiastica*: a new Church history in which the Lorsch historians combined Gregory of Tours' *Histories* with the fourth book of the Fredegar *Chronicle* and its *Continuations* until the death of Charles Martel in 741. The manuscript is one of the most spectacular examples of the editorial work inspired by earlier models at Lorsch. The labelling of this

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[37] Hammond Bammel, 'Das neue Rufinfragment', p. 50.

[38] The other manuscripts are BAV Pal. lat. 1753, which contains the *Ars grammatica* of Marius Victorinus, the *Cento* of Proba along with Aldhelm's treatise *De metris*; Paris, BnF, lat. 1668 with Bede's *De arte metrica* and Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginate*; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Weiss. 34 with Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica.* and BAV, Pal. lat. 207 (Augustinus, *Tractatus in evangelium Johannis*); see Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, pp. 31–3; and the comments on the script in the manuscript description of the digital publication of the manuscript www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-katalogisate/sammlung51/werk/pdf/bav_pal_lat_822.pdf (Bibliotheca Laureshamensis digital).

[39] I owe the information about the identification of Rado's hand in the manuscript to Julia Becker: see her contribution in Becker, Licht and Weinfurter (eds.), *Karolingische Klöster*; for Rado see also Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, p. 81, nn. 104 and 108.

[40] Lapidge, 'Rufinus', p. 122.
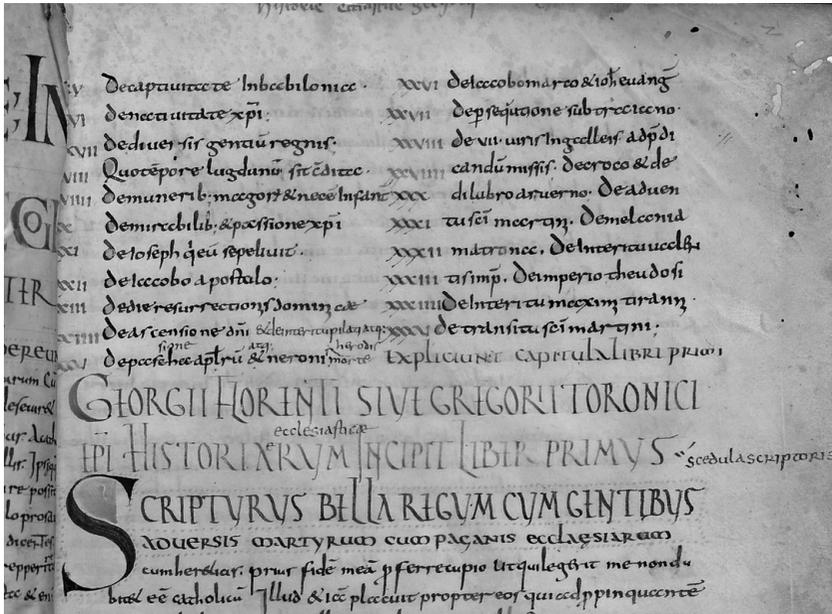
Figure 15.1 Beginning of Book 1 of Gregory's *Histories* in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Lorsch (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. lat. 864, fo. 2r)

history book as a Church history seems to have been quite important to the compilers of the manuscript. The scribes had originally started the first book with the heading *Georgi Florenti sive Gregorii Toronici episcopi historiarum incipit liber primus*.[41] However, a contemporary corrector who had inspected the text by comparing what had already been copied against another exemplar or draft changed the heading to *historiae ecclesiasticae liber primus* (see Figure 15.1). In the same script, he also inserted the note *scedula scriptoris* on the margin of the page. Words like *schedae* and *schedulae* were often used to describe smaller booklets or unbound leaves,[42] but it is entirely possible that in this case *schedula* could also be translated as 'rough draft'.[43]

It is actually difficult to imagine the complex production of this manuscript without an intermediate drafting process. This version of

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[41] Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. lat. 864, fo. 2r; for the title of Gregory's *Histories* see Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, pp. 104–7.

[42] See Pilsworth, 'Vile scraps'; Poulin, 'Les *libelli*', with further references.

[43] Tengström, *Die Protokollierung*, pp. 35–49.

Gregory was neither a copy of the complete *Decem libri historiarum* nor a copy of the Merovingian recension produced only a generation after Gregory's death. In order to update Gregory's vision of community to the transformed political and social circumstances of the seventh century, the Merovingian compilers had rewritten Gregory's text in a six-book version, from which they omitted not only the last four books,[44] but also a series of chapters in the first six books. This six-book version became quite popular in the Merovingian period. It is extant in no fewer than five Merovingian manuscripts, and in a further manuscript copied probably in northern Italy in the second half of the eighth century.[45] One copy of the six-book version must also have been available to the compilers of the new *historia ecclesiastica* at Lorsch. The codicological autopsy shows that they worked with one Merovingian six-book version as well as a relatively complete version of Gregory's *Ten Books*.[46] For their compilation of the narrative of the first six books, the compilers worked on the basis of the Merovingian six-book edition and used certain chapters from the complete *Decem libri* (though by no means all of them) to supplement it. After the end of the first six books, the use of Gregory's text grows particularly selective. Above all, the last two books (9 and 10) were dramatically shortened and brought together into one ninth book. The text concludes with a tenth book comprising the fourth book of the Fredegar *Chronicle* and the first twenty-four chapters of the Carolingian *Continuations* of Fredegar.[47]

The care with which the compilers combined the account of the Fredegar *Chronicle* with Gregory's is already evident in the prologue to the fourth book of the *Chronicle*. First, the compilers skipped all the remarks in the prologue that referred to sources other than Gregory and only included the chronicler's statement that he had picked up the story where Gregory had ended. But the Fredegar chroniclers had worked with the

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[44] For a more detailed discussion of the six-book version see Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity*, ch. 2, section 1.

[45] Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 624 (684) (B1 in Bruno Krusch's Stemma); a near-complete version of books VII to X was added as late as the first half of the eighth century; the same version is also transmitted by the possibly north Italian Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale lat. 9403 (produced around 800) (*CLA* X, 1544); Paris, BnF lat. 17654 (beginning of eighth century); *CLA* V, 670, possibly written at Jouarre, see McKitterick, 'Nuns' scriptoria', p. 5; Paris, BnF lat. 17655 (Corbie, end of seventh century, *CLA* V, 671); Leiden, Universiteitsbibliothek, VLQ 63 (Tours, first half of the eighth century); a fragment is Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Fragm. Aug. CIV (France, beginning of the eighth century, *CLA* VIII, 1122); see Bourgain and Heinzelmann, 'L'œuvre de Grégoire de Tours', pp. 282–3.

[46] Reimitz, 'Social networks', pp. 262–3.

[47] For the *Continuations* of the Fredegar *Chronicle* as part of a comprehensive rearrangement and continuation of the original text see now Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*.

six-book recension which ended with Chilperic's death in 584. Consequently, the prologue of the Fredegar *Chronicle* ended with the sentence: 'Here I have tried to put in all I could discover from that point at which Gregory stopped writing, that is, from the death of king Chilperic' (*quo Gregori fines gesta cessavit et tacuit, cum Chilperici vitam finisse scripsit*).[48] This was no longer valid in the case of the Lorsch version because the compilers had used all ten books of Gregory. So besides omitting references to all the sources that the Fredegar *Chronicle* had used before the start of the 'fourth book' (in addition to Gregory), they also omitted the last clause of the prologue (*cum Chilperici vitam finisse scripsit*) in order to adapt the prologue to fit their own compilation.[49]

The compilers, however, not only built on different versions of texts written in the Merovingian kingdoms for their reorganisation and reinterpretation of Gregory's *Histories*. They also built on the models of earlier Church histories (Rufinus and Bede) copied a few years before they embarked on the compilation of the new *historiae ecclesiastica*.[50]

Although none of the scribes working on the above-mentioned group of manuscripts to which the copies of Rufinus' or Bede's *historiae ecclesiasticae* belong, can be identified as having a hand in the production of the manuscript now in Heidelberg, Pal. lat. 864, this codex shows striking similarities in layout and organisation of the text to the Rufinus manuscript (cf. Figure 15.2).[51] Like the Lorsch Rufinus codex it has a table of contents at the beginning of every single book where inserted fixed strips of parchment again mark the pages where each book begins.

The arrangement of the new *historia ecclesiastica* was oriented towards the model of the Rufinus manuscript with more than simply the text's navigational aids. The model also seems to have played an important role in the arrangement of the whole compilation. In the foreword to his translation and continuation of the Eusebian ecclesiastical history, Rufinus described his reorganisation of Eusebius' text. He specified that he had shortened the last two books of the Greek text (9 and 10) and combined them into a ninth book. To this ninth book he appended – like 'two little fish' (*pisciculos duos*) – his own continuation.[52] This model appears to have been adopted for the rewriting of a *historia ecclesiastica*,

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[48] Fredegar, *Chronicae*, IV, praefatio, ed. and trans. Wallace-Hadrill, p. 3.
[49] Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. lat. 864, fo. 112r.
[50] For Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. lat. 864; as a late representative of the Older Lorsch Style, see Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, p. 32.
[51] Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, p. 32.
[52] Eusebius-Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, Prologus, II, ed. Schwartz and Mommsen, p. 952.
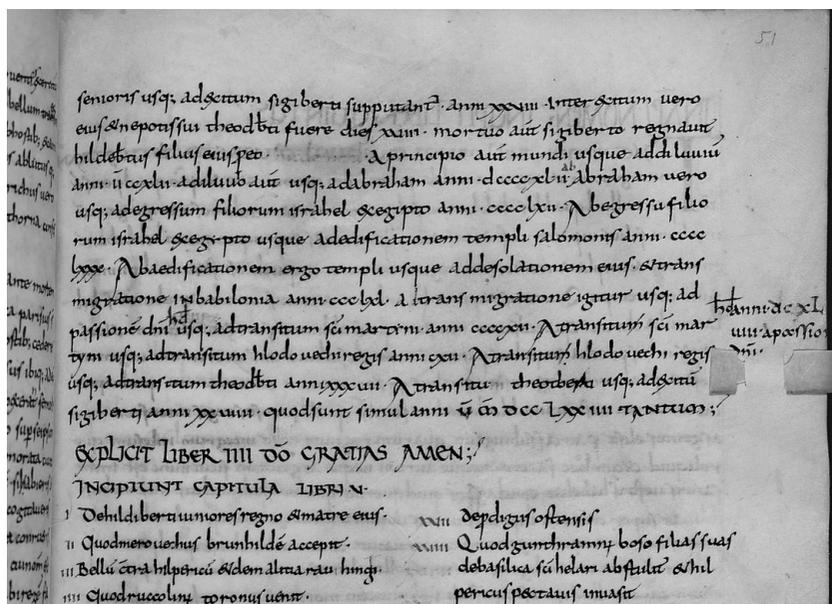
Figure 15.2 Bookmarks in the Lorscher *Historia ecclesiastica* (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. lat. 864, fo. 51r)

in which a selection from Gregory's ten books was now reduced to nine (by combining Gregory's books 9 and 10 to a new ninth book) and was continued with the text of the 'Fourth Book' of the Fredegar *Chronicle* and the first twenty-four chapters of its Carolingian continuation.

Through this continuation the compilers connected Gregory's Christian vision of community to the framework of the Carolingian-Frankish *regnum*. However, it should not be overlooked that such a continuation was also a very specific choice of a particular past for an alternative vision of community than that developed in the Fredegar *Chronicle*. The fourth book of the Fredegar *Chronicle* was part of a larger world-chronicle which included the oldest extant narrative about the descent of the Franks and their kings from the heroes of Troy. In doing so, the chroniclers took up a discussion with Gregory about the early history of the Franks.[53] In Gregory's *Histories* the Franks only appear as historical players after Gregory has already laid out the foundation of his spiritual topography of Gaul in his first book. At the same time he carefully avoided giving the Franks a common history grounded in an ancient and mythical past.

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[53] See Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity*.

In a lengthy discussion of the impossibility of finding reliable sources for the history of the first Frankish kings, Gregory shows that only after their arrival in Gaul did the Franks have kings; only then can the Franks be located in time and space.

Instead Gregory's vision of a common history strongly privileged the long past of Christian Gaul. This history begins during the time of the emperor Decius when seven holy men were sent from Rome to Gaul where they proceeded to spread Christianity *in Galliis per omnibus*.[54] They went to cities where only a 'few believed'; they ordained priests, taught them how to chant psalms. They gave instructions on building churches, and how one ought to worship the Almighty God. Building on the foundations of these saintly men and bishops, Gregory proceeded to compose a spiritual genealogy of Christian Gaul, its cults and bishoprics. In mapping this spiritual topography he provided a new structure for the integration and identification of all social groups in Gaul, and not just for the Franks and their kings. While Gregory developed the foundations of his spiritual topography in his first book which ends with the arrival of St Martin of Tours, he recounted the establishment of the political framework of his time, the Merovingian kingdom, in his second book. As Gregory presented it, the establishment of Merovingian rule over all of Gaul – *per totas Gallias* – was an immediate consequence of the Merovingian kings' decision for Gregory's vision of a Christian society – a history that had begun with Clovis' conversion to Catholic Christianity.

The compilers of the Lorsch compendium were certainly well aware that they were replacing the conception of Frankish history and identity of the Fredegar *Chronicle* and its prestigious origins in Troy with Gregory's vision of community and its origins in the Christian past of Gaul. To produce their new *historia ecclesiastica*, they had used the version of the Fredegar *Chronicle* which had most likely been authored or authorised by the uncle and the cousin of Pippin, the first Carolingian king, Childebrand and Nibelung.[55] The two Carolingians not only continued the text, they also rearranged and reworked the collection of older chronicles which preceded the fourth book. Among other changes, they interpolated an additional text on the Trojan origins of the Franks into the chronicles' epitome of Jerome, namely, the *historia Daretis de excidio Troiae*, a fictitious eye-witness account of a certain Dares of the siege of Troy probably composed in the fifth century AD.[56] The text of Dares was

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[54] Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, I, 30, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 22.
[55] For a comprehensive discussion see now Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*.
[56] Faivre d'Arcier, *Histoire et géographie*.

slightly altered and extended in order to fit its new title in the chronicle where it is transmitted as a *Historia Daretis de origine Francorum*.[57]

The fact that a manuscript of this version must have been in Lorsch is not only documented by the copy of the fourth book of the *Chronicle* of Fredegar and its continuation in the new *historia ecclesiastica* of Lorsch. The above-mentioned Lorsch-catalogue which was drawn up after the mid-ninth century mentions the 'little book of Quintus Julius Hilarion on the origins of the world until the resurrection; in the same book excerpts from the Chronicle of Jerome and then the Chronicle of Hydatius from the first year of the emperor Theodosius to Justinian in one codex' (*Libellus Quinti Julii Hilarionis de origine mundi usque ad resurrectionem Item in eodem libello Hieronimi chronica excerpta inde Idacii ab anno primo Theodosii Augusti usque Iustinianum in uno codice*).[58] This certainly refers to the reworking of the Fredegar *Chronicle* by Childebrand and Nibelung that starts with Hilarian's *De cursu temporum* instead of the *Liber generationis* with which the Merovingian version of the chronicle begins. A manuscript that is now in Troyes and which transmits those selfsame parts has long been believed to be this Lorsch codex.[59] However, Bischoff showed that this manuscript was actually written at Fulda and suggested that it was in fact a copy of the (now lost) Lorsch codex.[60] As the Fulda manuscript was written at the beginning of the ninth century, the Lorsch exemplar must have been in the library of Lorsch before that time. It is thus very likely that it was in the library of Lorsch when the Lorsch historians and scribes compiled the new *historiae ecclesiastica* comprising their selection of Gregory of Tours and parts of the Carolingian version of the Fredegar *Chronicle*.

Another interesting codex from the early Lorsch library, in which the history of Troy and the Trojan ancestry of the Franks plays an important role is Paris BnF lat. 7906 (fos. 59–88). This book was probably written in the 780s and transmits part of Virgil's *Aeneid*, the *Historia Daretis de excidio Troia* and the first seventeen chapters of the *Liber historiae Francorum*, another Merovingian history which even starts with its own version of the Trojan origins of the Franks.[61] Although the *Aeneid* is written in two columns whereas the other two texts are written in long

[57] See Dares Phrygius, *Historia de origine Francorum*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SS RM 2* (Hanover, 1888), pp. 194–200.
[58] Cat. 3a, ed. Häse, *Mittelalterliche Buecherverzeichnisse*, no. 106, p. 137.
[59] Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 802; see Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 99–100, where the manuscript is erroneously dated to the second half of the ninth century.
[60] Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, pp. 75–6.
[61] Paris, BnF lat. 7906 (+ Paris, BnF lat. 5018); see Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, p. 36; Gerberding, 'Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 7906'.
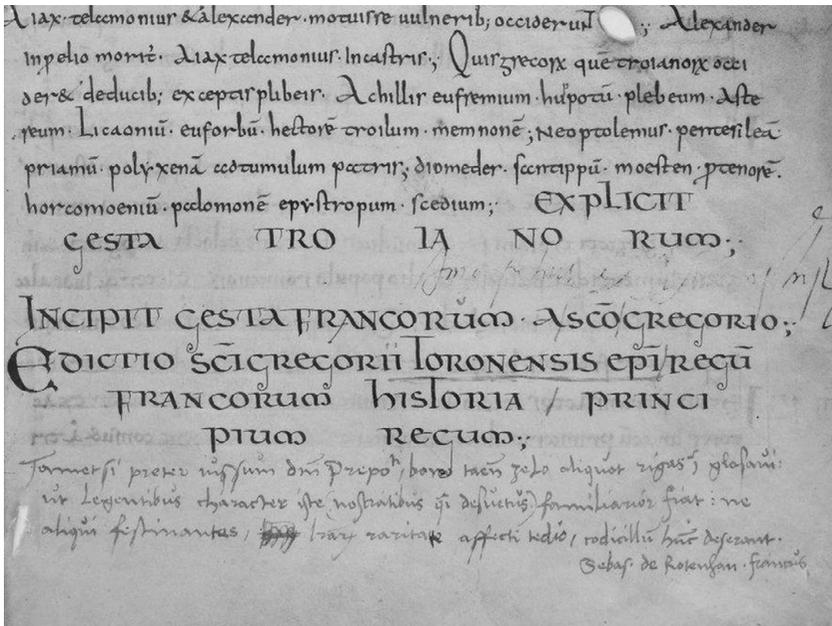
Figure 15.3 End of the *Historia Daretis* of Dares Phrygius on the Fall of Troy and beginning of the *Liber historiae Francorum* (Paris, BnF, lat. 7906, fol. 81r)

lines, both the script and the ruling show that the *Dares* text was copied in the same scriptorium as the *Aeneid*. The relationship between the *Historia Daretis* and the *Liber historiae Francorum is* even more striking. The text of *Dares* ended with an explicit written in a display script, *Explicit Gesta Troianorum*. Below it, in the same script, the *Liber historiae Francorum* begins with *Incipit Gesta Francorum* (Figure 15.3). Bernhard Bischoff suggested with his usual caution that the codex belonged to a group of manuscripts that had been written at Lorsch before the scriptorium had developed the Older Lorsch Style. Bischoff also pointed out that the manuscript accorded with Abbot Ricbod's interest and love for Virgil as criticised by Alcuin.[62]

Whether or not Ricbod was behind the composition of this manuscript, it nevertheless perfectly documents a critical study of these texts. The texts were corrected, and certain remarks in the margin of the pages also show that they were carefully read and studied. One particularly

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[62] Cf. above, p. 262 with n. 1.
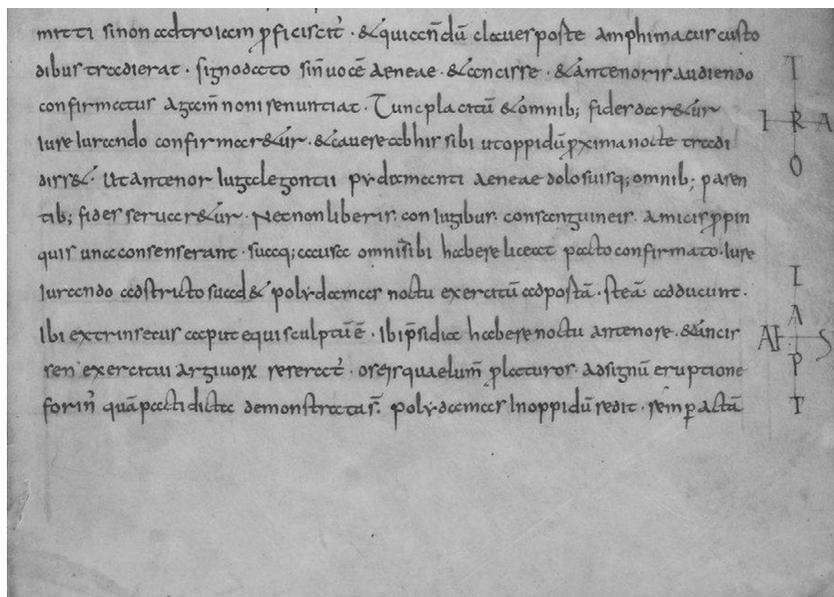
Figure 15.4 *Troia capta est* (Paris, BnF, lat. 7906, fo. 80r)

interesting case is a marginal note to Dares' *Historia de excidio*. Someone wrote in the margin on fo. 83r, in a cross-like script, *[Quomodo] Troia capta est* (see Figure 15.4). The phrase *Troia capta est* is used liberally and flashily in many manuscripts of the Eusebius-Jerome *Chronicle* – some of them even devote an entire page to single out this particular event (which in the chronicle itself takes place long after the beginning of biblical history) (see Figure 15.5). Some of the extant manuscripts of the Eusebius-Jerome *Chronicle* also transmit their words in pictorial arrangements.[63] Such correspondences show forcefully that not only should the connections between different texts compiled within a single manuscript be considered. They have also to be understood as just one part of a broader ensemble of texts and works of Trojan, Roman and Frankish history.

In this context, the Paris compilation's titling of both the *Historia Daretis* and the *Liber historiae Francorum* as *Gesta* might well be treated as the result of a critical appraisal of the available traditions of the Franks' Trojan lineage. The version of the Fredegar *Chronicle* that was available at Lorsch claimed that one could find evidence of the Franks' Trojan

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[63] For a comprehensive discussion of the layout of the extant manuscripts of Jerome's chronicle, Schöne, *Die Weltchronik des Eusebius* and McKitterick, 'Glossaries', pp. 33–9.
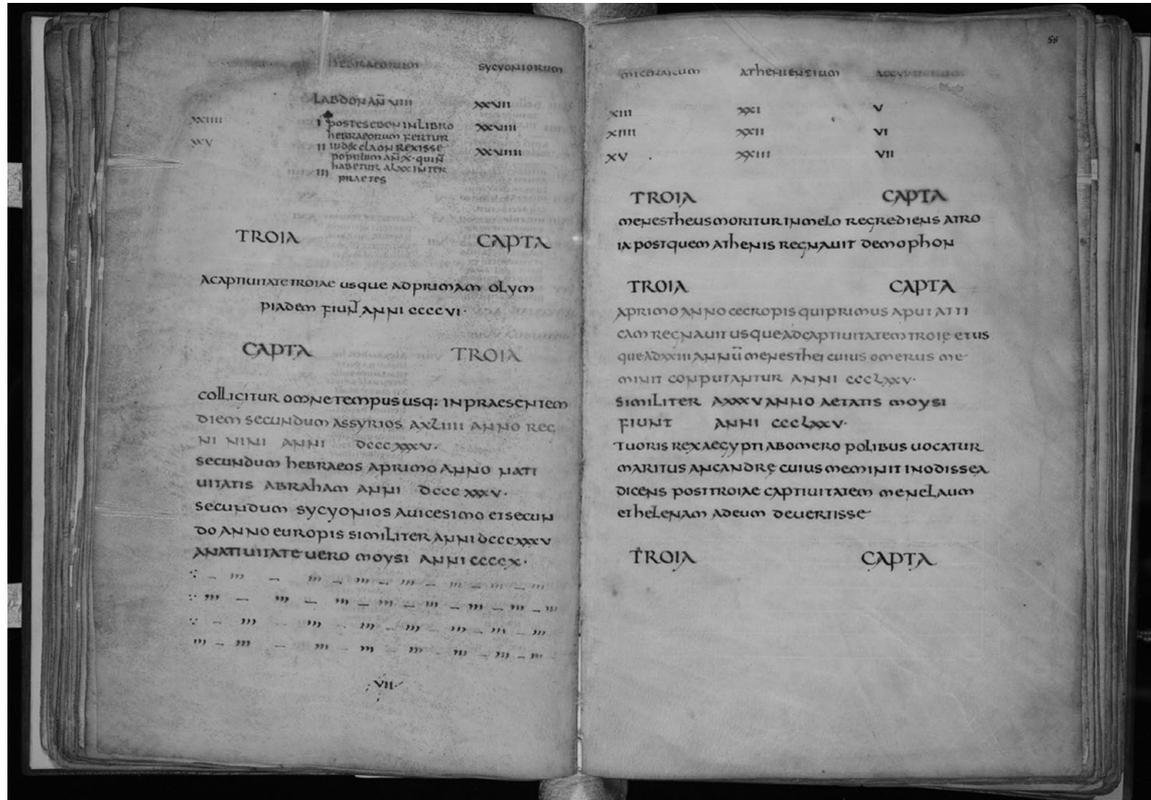
Figure 15.5 Eusebius-Jerome *Chronicle*, *c.* 800 (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms Scaliger 14, fos. 57v/58r)

ancestry already in the writings of the poet Virgil.[64] Lorsch's version of the *Chronicle* (probably the exemplar of Troyes BM 802) also featured the text of *Dares* which had been interpolated into the epitome of Jerome as *Historia de origine Francorum*. Nevertheless, the collection in the Paris manuscript does not attest to that version. The Lorsch historians' objection was not (yet) used to pursue what they had learned from Gregory of Tours' hopeless search for an early Frankish history. Rather, one might conclude from the compilation that some historians at Lorsch considered the version of the Franks' Trojan ancestry in the *Liber historiae Francorum* to be the most convincing.[65]

In the first decade of the ninth century, however, when the Lorsch historians compiled their Church history with their version of Gregory of Tours and parts of the Fredegar *Chronicle*, they clearly privileged Gregory's vision of a common past over the one of the Fredegar *Chronicle* and the *Liber historiae Francorum*. This seems to have been in accord with wider trends as they were also reflected in the intensified interest in Rufinus' *Church History* at other places in the Frankish world around 800.[66] However, the creation of a new Church history in Lorsch might well have been motivated by more specific reflections about history and identity in the bishopric of Metz with which Lorsch had such close connections. At precisely the time when the Lorsch historians compiled the new Church history, members of the *ecclesia* in Metz reworked the shared history of the bishopric with the Carolingian rulers. Like the Lorsch historians, the Metz genealogists replaced an emphasis on a Frankish-Trojan past with a Gregorian Christian vision of community defined by the descent from saintly ancestors from southern Gaul.

About three decades earlier Bishop Angilram of Metz had instructed the Lombard scholar Paul the Deacon, who was then staying in the Carolingian kingdom, to draw up a history of the bishops of Metz.[67] In doing so, Paul connected the spiritual family of the bishops of Metz with the Carolingian family through the link of Arnulf of Metz, who was celebrated as one of the ancestors of the Carolingians.[68] In his *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* Paul presented Arnulf as descendant of a most

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[64] Fredegar, *Chronicae*, III, 2. p. 93.
[65] For the conception of Frankish identity and history in the *Liber historiae Francorum* see my *History, Frankish Identity*, Chapter 8, for further references.
[66] See above, p. 266.
[67] See Pohl, 'Paulus Diaconus'; and now the new edition and translation of Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. Kempf. I am very grateful to Damien Kempf who sent me the manuscript before it was published.
[68] See the introduction of Kempf in his edition and translation: Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* pp. 10–3; Wood, 'Genealogy'.

noble and powerful Frankish family, *ex nobilissimo fortissimoque Francorum stemate ortus.*[69] According to Paul, the Trojan origins of the Franks meant much to the Carolingian ancestor. Arnulf had named one of his sons Anschisus (Paul's Lombard interpretation of the name Ansegisel, the father of Pippin II).[70] Paul explained to his readers that the name referred to Anchises, the father of Aeneas, 'for the people of the Franks, as it is told by the ancients, see themselves as descendants of the Trojan progeny (*prosapia*)'.[71] Frankish ancestry, however, is emphasised for the bishops of Metz as well as for the Carolingians. Later in the text, the *Liber* mentions Angilram's relative Chrodegang, who was also his predecessor as the bishop of Metz.[72] Chrodegang is described as a *vir egregius* born in Hesbaye (*ex pago Hasbaniensi*), the son of Sigram and Landrada and a member of one of the leading Frankish families of the region (*ex genere Francorum prime nobilitatis progenitus*). The Hesbaye was also one of the old heartlands of the Carolingian family.[73]

The genealogical construct of the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* may well have supported the plans to connect the families through the marriage of Louis the Pious and Irmingard.[74] Angilram, however, died in 791, three years before the familial bonds of his family with the Carolingians came true in that marriage. In Metz, however, no member of Angilram's family was immediately elevated to the see.[75] The see remained vacant for more than two decades.[76] It was in this situation that the family of the *ecclesia* of Metz decided to reorganise its genealogical bonds with the Carolingians in a 'Memorial about the genealogy of the most glorious emperor the Lord King Charles' (*commemoratio genealogiae domni Karoli gloriossisimi imperatoris*).[77] Otto Gerhard Oexle has convincingly argued that the text was written between 800 and 814 as a literary attempt on the part of the *ecclesia* of Metz to end the vacancy. The emphasis on the

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[69] Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, p. 70.

[70] I would like to thank W. Haubrichs (Saarbrücken) for this clarification.

[71] *Anschisum et Chlodulfum; cuius Anschisi nomen ab Anchise patre Aenee, qui a Troia in Italiam olim venerat, creditur esse deductum. Nam gens Francorum, sicut a veteribus est traditum, a Troiana prosapia trahit exordium* (Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. Kempf. p. 72.)

[72] Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, p. 87; on Chrodegang, see Claussen, *The Reform*.

[73] Werner, *Der Lütticher Raum*.

[74] Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, p. 59; de Jong, *Penitential State*, p. 17.

[75] Oexle, 'Die Karolinger'; for the organisation and reorganisation of the episcopal sees under Charlemagne see McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 299–305.

[76] Oexle, 'Die Karolinger', pp. 311–28.

[77] *Commemoratio genealogiae*, ed. Waitz, pp. 245–6; the best and most comprehensive discussion is still Oexle, 'Die Karolinger', p. 296; see also Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 115–16; Wood, 'Genealogy', pp. 235–6.

old and new familial bonds of the Carolingians with the bishops of Metz was supposed to remind the emperor of his particular responsibility for the bishopric.[78]

In order to emphasise the emperor's accountability for these bonds, the authors of the *commemoratio* built upon the main elements of Paul's construction, focusing on Arnulf as the most important link between the church of Metz and the Carolingians. In contrast to Paul, however, they did not associate the Carolingians with the Franks' Trojan origins or emphasise any common Frankish past. The 'common' ancestor Arnulf is not presented as a descendant of a most noble and powerful Frankish family who named his son after Anchises, the father of the Trojan hero and Frankish ancestor Aeneas.[79] Instead, the commemoration presents Arnulf as the grandson of Ansbertus, a member of a noble senatorial family of southern Gaul – *ex genere senatorum*.[80] It is very likely that this formulation was inspired by Gregory of Tours, who had used the phrase again and again in his *Histories*.[81] The senatorial ancestry that the text claims for Arnulf is then described in greater detail: it turns out to have included a number of saints and bishops from southern Gaul who also played an important role in Gregory's *Histories*. Oexle suggested that Gregory was the main source of the Metz genealogists at the beginning of the ninth century. As he showed in his detailed study, the *Histories* helped the Metz genealogists to construct common spiritual genealogies between the churches of Aquitaine and Metz, specifically Metz's cathedral church of St Stephen. It was particularly the donations to St Stephen in and from Aquitaine that he identified as the substrate of the genealogical web of the *commemoratio*.[82]

It may well be that the historians of Lorsch provided the historiographical background for this relatively brief commemoration through their compilation of the Lorsch *historia ecclesiastica*. As we have seen, there were close contacts between Metz and Lorsch from the foundation of the monastery from 764 onwards, which are also apparent in the similarities between the scripts that their respective scriptoria used.[83]

The parallels between the Lorsch compilation and the reconfigured genealogical connections of the bishops of Metz to the Carolingians are indeed striking. Both built on the many stories and episodes about the

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[78] Oexle, 'Die Karolinger', pp. 279–80, 345.   [79] Cf. above, n. 71.

[80] *Commemoratio genealogiae*, ed. Waitz, pp. 245–6; see also Reimitz, 'Ein fränkisches Geschichtsbuch'; Wood, 'Genealogy', p. 242.

[81] Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, pp. 7–29.

[82] Oexle, 'Die Karolinger', p. 279; see also Ewig, 'L'Aquitaine'; Levison, 'Metz und Südfrankreich'.

[83] Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, p. 36.

history of southern Gaul that Gregory's Histories provide, and actually use them in the same way. In fact, it seems as if the Lorsch compilers had created exactly the history that the Metz genealogists needed so as to be able to replace the belief of the Trojan and Frankish descent of the Carolingians and bishops of Metz with one of a senatorial and saintly ancestry from Aquitaine. In its continuation using the narrative of the Fredegar *Chronicle* with its respective continuations they also connected Gregory's vision to the framework of the Frankish *regnum* ruled by the Carolingians.

In doing so, the compilers not only supported the relocation of the common origins of the Carolingians with the family of the bishops of Metz; they also connected this common past to a specific vision of a *historia ecclesiastica* and the formation of a shared Christendom. The emphasis on the church of Gaul as the subject of this history involved not just a suggestion but the moral demand that the future of the *regnum Francorum* was to be safeguarded through its continual care for this specific Christendom. As with Gregory, this was based on the admonition that it was the duty of the rulers to maintain and strengthen the *religio*. In contrast to Gregory, however, through the continuation of his vision with a narrative until the death of Charles Martel, the political framework in which this moral demand was to be achieved was the Carolingian *regnum Francorum*.

To have this Christendom framed with the name of the Franks was surely against everything Gregory ever wanted. But the Lorsch compilers were not arguing against Gregory. Just like the Merovingian compilers before them, they tried to extrapolate his vision within the changed circumstances of the Carolingian empire. With the expansion of Carolingian rule over half of Europe, the Franks were forced to assert themselves ever more forcefully as representing the one true manifestation of Christendom (in the sense elaborated by Peter Brown) against other forms of Christian belief.[84] From the end of the eighth century onwards, the question of compatibility and convergence of these diverse Christian traditions led to intensified theological disputes in the Carolingian empire.[85] The more firmly Charlemagne believed the solution to this question was to present himself as *pastor*, *praedicator gentium* and patron of the Christian Church, the more intransigent the debates became.[86]

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[84] Brown, *Rise*, esp. pp. 220–66.
[85] De Jong, 'Charlemagne's church'; Ganz, 'Theology'.
[86] De Jong, 'Charlemagne's church'; Lauwers, 'Le Glaive et la parole'; Diesenberger, *Sermones*.

From the beginning of the ninth century, the churches north of the Alps were increasingly concerned with their influence on the formation of Carolingian Christendom. Charlemagne's new role as Roman emperor crowned by the pope in Rome in 800 certainly intensified these concerns.[87] It is no coincidence that such questions preoccupied the members of the church of Metz at this time. Metz was on the one hand one of the oldest bishoprics in Francia and a former royal residence,[88] and Bishop Chrodegang had been one of the key figures in the reforming efforts of the eighth century.[89] The *historia ecclesiastica* of Lorsch might therefore have been written to remind the Carolingian emperor that it was the alliance with the 'Frankish' church and their acceptance of its special 'Christendom' that had allowed the Carolingians to pursue their providential mission so successfully.

This was a message that was equally important to the community of Lorsch whose members and abbots had established their prominent role at the Carolingian court and in the Carolingian reform movement within the same ecclesiastical networks that connected the bishopric of Metz to the Carolingian court. Gregory's *Histories* were an excellent foundation on which to build this message, in which the Franks were integrated into a spiritual topography that had already been developed, and in which the key to their integration and political success was above all the willingness of their kings to support the Christian vision of community. In their efforts to delineate this peculiarly Frankish 'Christendom', however, the Lorsch compilers linked Gregory's *History* to the rise of the Carolingian rulers as Frankish *principes*. The model of Rufinus' *Church History* certainly helped to underline that it was the church which should be the main subject of historical reflection and future imperial politics. But with their compilation of a post-Roman Church history in the Frankish kingdoms the Lorsch historians also stressed that the history of the Christian Church had moved on. Important as the study of older Roman and Christian models was for the scribes and scholars at Lorsch, it was also crucial to emphasise that these models and resources were already being adapted and accommodated within the new spiritual and political horizons of the successor states of the Roman empire in the Latin West.

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[87] See Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity*.
[88] Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organization*, pp. 262–82; and Esders, '"Avenger of all perjury"'.
[89] Claussen, *The Reform*.

Conclusion

Mayke de Jong and Rosamond McKitterick

The central focus of this book has been the role played by the resources of the past in forming the cultural memory and the identities of communities in early medieval Europe. These resources were textual, and the communities were political and religious. The distinction between politics and religion is a modern, not an early medieval one. What we now think of as two separate domains, commonly referred to as 'church' and 'state', were then perceived as the complementary constituents of an all-encompassing *ecclesia*. It was not unusual to refer to the secular public sphere in terms of a *respublica*, yet this republic was contained within the *ecclesia*, together with the ecclesiastical institutions we currently call 'the church'. The Carolingian conception of *ecclesia* far exceeded the modern institutional view of 'church'. On the contrary, *ecclesia* was the closest equivalent of the polity in its most inclusive and general sense, be it a kingdom or an empire. As the chapters by Ian Wood and Mayke de Jong have made clear, this was therefore a world in which political discourse could be conducted in the form of biblical exegesis. This is but one instance of how various groups in early medieval Europe orchestrated the complex process of (re)appropriating and constructing different versions of the past, within the wider context of identity formation. In our separate case studies we have investigated this process, and the early medieval literate elites who were engaged in it. They had different and therefore potentially conflicting models at their disposal, so eclectic and often pragmatic choices were made between competing views of what constituted an authoritative model for the present: Roman history, biblical history or late antique imperial historiography, which was defined as much by Christian emperors as by Church Fathers.

These three legacies were integrated and transformed in a long-drawn-out process between *c.* 500 and *c.* 1000 into a new and authoritative vision of the past. This process entailed a tremendous cultural effort, mostly sustained by royal courts and the elites who emulated their example. It

involved a prodigious amount of sorting the wheat from the chaff: which texts could be safely said to be canonical, that is, linked to an authoritative past, and which ones should be discarded as dangerous for the survival of the community? Of course Scripture was canonical by definition, but during the first half of the ninth century, some biblical books such as I and II Maccabees and Judith were still in the process of being integrated into the canon; in fact, Hraban Maur's commentaries paved the way for this.[1] Obviously there was no automatic acceptance of Roman pagan history, but the same held true for some of its Christian successors. Rather than slavishly adhering to the authorities of the past, the studies by Graeme Ward, Rosamond McKitterick and Helmut Reimitz of Frechulf's *Histories*, the *Liber pontificalis* and the transmission of the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Eusebius-Rufinus respectively, establish how early medieval authors used these texts critically and selectively in order to create their own vision of what constituted the true narrative of the Christian past.

Although the discussions in this book range from the sixth to the eleventh century and from England to Italy, the strongest emphasis has been on the Carolingian world (*c.* 750–*c.* 900). This is no coincidence, for Carolingian rulers and their respective inner circles viewed themselves as accountable to God for the salvation of their people, and harnessed learning and the textual resources of the past to this purpose. This is of course known as the 'Carolingian Renaissance', a concept that, at least in textbooks, still tends to evoke primarily the revival of classical knowledge and Latin. Yet it was a religious movement, first and foremost, that in turn necessitated a massive recovery through the copying, ordering, divulging and studying of authoritative texts created centuries before. The entire operation centred on the correct understanding of God's law and its doctrinal implications; as Marianne Pollheimer and Mayke de Jong have shown, patristic writing and especially biblical commentary were the first and most important target. Not all these resources derived from Late Antiquity, however. Bede's exegesis, discussed by Ian Wood, acquired tremendous authority in the ninth century, on a par with that of Gregory the Great and other *patres*. The *Life of Alcuin* written at Ferrières shortly before 829, for example, envisaged a chain of masters and pupils that connected Gregory the Great, Bede and Alcuin. Hraban Maur, moreover, had Bede as one of his *auctoritates* in the margin of his commentary, with the Church Fathers and Isidore of Seville.[2] Frankish historiography from the sixth up to the

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[1] De Jong, 'The empire as *ecclesia*', pp. 191–226.
[2] See, for example, Hill, 'Carolingian perspectives on the authority of Bede', pp. 227–49.

mid-eighth century was also integrated into new Carolingian visions of the past, as Helmut Reimitz showed with regard to the compilation of post-Roman Church history in the post-Roman kingdoms. Yet in deciding which texts were authoritative, the association with the Christian Roman empire carried weight, as did the connection with Rome, the city of Peter and Paul, and of the apostles and the martyrs. Indeed, Clemens Gantner has argued that the papacy's own lack of military and conventional political power meant that the popes had to establish a position as monopolist in the cultural field. It was therefore as a cultural broker that the papacy applied its cultural resources and established itself among the most powerful players in Italy *and* the Latin West during the eighth and ninth centuries. In Carolingian world chronicles furthermore, the history of Christianity was inextricably linked to Rome, and the largely Frankish transmission of the *Liber pontificalis* reveals a lively interest in papal-Roman history north of the Alps. Consequently, in her contribution to this volume, Rosamond McKitterick explored the late antique and early medieval narrative histories of the Roman past which played such an influential role in Francia. She indicated how representations of the city of Rome, Christian and imperial Rome were woven into the cultural memory of early medieval Europe and how these texts both restructured the past and reflect the formation of new social and cultural identities.

Equally important were the models for imperial Christianity transmitted by late antique histories. As Walter Pohl concluded, taken as a whole, these texts suggest that 'Christian empire . . . was a form of government that had not yet been successfully put into practice for any considerable period of time, due to human weakness and the workings of the devil. Things could be done better. Empire was a resource of the past that could have a future.' This is at the heart of the part 'Learning Empire'. Thus Graeme Ward has elucidated how Bishop Frechulf of Lisieux, by means of a deliberate selection of sources, albeit with many significant omissions, created images of Constantine and Theodosius that addressed the concerns of the late 820s, namely the nature of imperial–episcopal cooperation. This issue is also addressed in the anonymous *Life* of Ambrose studied by Giorgia Vocino, in which Theodosius' penance has a central place. Both this *Life* and Frechulf's *Historiae* show the impact of Cassiodorus' *Historia tripartita* on ninth-century images of imperial humility and episcopal admonition. The early diffusion of this important text is investigated by Désirée Scholten. 'Learning empire' was one of the reasons for the popularity of the African author Junillus' *Statuta* (534) among Carolingian elites. It was a text that Marianne Pollheimer has established not only gave access to a better knowledge of the Bible and

its interpretations, but also contributed to current thought on the nature of imperial office. Once the Carolingian kingdom became an empire, the offices or 'ministries' of rulers, bishops, counts and other public figures were more explicitly defined. Paradoxically, as Mayke de Jong has demonstrated, we find the clearest articulation of the duties connected with ruling the public domain in texts produced in the turbulent 840s and 850s, when unanimity and loyalty were values not much in evidence, and therefore all the more present in the minds of Nithard, Dhuoda and Paschasius Radbertus.

Such authors, and other members of the Carolingian elite, shared an imagined community shaped by biblical history and law. Given the omnipresence of this frame of reference, one may well ask, was there such a thing as a 'Biblical Past'? The answer must be positive, for the historical or literal level of exegesis addressed chronological and geographical problems, often with recourse to secular or ecclesiastical histories; there is an awareness that sacred history, especially derived from the Old Testament, had occurred in ancient times that were different from the present. On the other hand, allegorical or tropological commentary could transform this distant past into a frame of reference for the present and the future: the victorious *ecclesia* doing battle with her enemies (Jews, heretics, and pagans). That the connection between biblical interpretation and contemporary concerns is more tenuous and complex than is suggested by the often cited 'biblical models' is clear, not only from Ian Wood's contribution on Bede and the Chosen People, but also from Sven Meeder's study of the use of biblical texts in a canon law collection that goes by the name of *Collectio 400 capitulorum*. As Meeder has argued, the introduction of biblical passages into this systematic legal collection did not result in a disregard for the passages' original meaning. There was the context of a biblical past that continued to matter, even if this was ancient and authoritative law that was introduced to address the concerns of the present. Such concerns are very much in evidence in the flexible and creative way in which authors who were also active in the public arena deftly used their exegetical expertise to mediate in political conflicts, or to hit back, implicitly or explicitly, at their enemies. In this respect it is essential to register Mayke de Jong's emphasis on how the Bible offered manifold models for identification to the polemicist as well as the peace-maker.[3]

As Walter Pohl and Ian Wood stressed in their introduction to this volume, identity is neither a given nor a stable entity; especially in larger groups, such as the elite of a polity, it needs constant maintenance, among

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[3] See also de Jong, *The Penitential State*.

other factors, by the interplay between the identification *by* others and *of* others. This dynamics of 'othering' in historiography and exegesis has been central to a number of the chapters in this book, framed by Richard Broome's more general examination of the idea of otherness in an expanding Carolingian world. Like others in Part III of this book, Broome's paper is more concerned with variety than with any kind of dichotomy between 'us' and 'them'. In the eighth and early ninth centuries, therefore, authors had a common pool of language, signs and symbols upon which to draw when depicting 'others', but this does not mean all did so in the same way, and so how and why each author presented his vision of 'otherness' is considered. These were by no means a mere construct, detached from actual conflicts and confrontations. Charlemagne and his Franks fought a long-drawn-out and bloody struggle against the Saxons. Charging the Saxons with infidelity, to king as well as to God, was one way for Frankish commentators to deal with this unsettling reality; it was also a highly specific way of 'othering'. Indeed, Robert Flierman has set out the process of transformation in perceptions and understanding: once classified as 'perfidious people' with the aid of biblical and classical notions of infidelity, sharply distinguishing them from faithful Franks, the Saxons over time came to join the inclusive ranks of the faithful as well.

Both Broome and Flierman underline the dynamic nature of such categorisation, a theme that was pursued even further by Timothy Barnwell, who concluded that no coherent pattern can be detected in Adam of Bremen's presentation of 'pagans' and 'barbarians'. But Adam's text also raises the problem of how to reconcile this apparently random approach with existing paradigms. The solution, according to Barnwell, may be to imitate Adam's own approach to consistency, and to recognise that the fullest understanding of an issue may come from accepting a paradox and its attendant contradictions, rather than trying to resolve the issue into a single, definitive perspective. This point is reinforced by the sheer complexity of Bede's manipulation of biblical figures discussed by Ian Wood. Depending on the context, Old Testament figures or groups could play a positive or negative role, to the point of being polyvalent when Bede characterised the Anglo-Saxons. But what then is the use of the concept of 'otherness' As Paul Veyne once observed, such broad concepts can serve as a useful heuristic tool for finding out about 'the inventory of differences', that is, whatever turns out not to fit the original paradigm or ideal type in question.[4] Grand schemes can be used to

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[4] Veyne, *L'Inventaire des différences*.

find out about complexity, and be undermined or even dismantled in the process.

The four main themes of this volume have proved to be wonderfully porous. Between 'Learning Empire', the 'Biblical Past', 'Changing senses of the Other', and 'The Migration of Cultural Traditions in Early Medieval Europe' there was, perhaps inevitably, but increasingly deliberately, a considerable degree of overlap and cross-pollination. None of our approaches or themes was either self-contained or self-sufficient, nor was that our intention. Certain types of sources have undoubtedly been privileged, notably historiography and other narrative sources, alongside and often combined with biblical commentary. Many of the chapters in the thematic sections into which this book is divided dealt with how classical, patristic and biblical parallels are used to understand the present, gaining new meaning and significance in the process. Nevertheless, there are also contributions in which such intertextuality has been less in evidence. Erik Goosmann's examination of literary reflection of Carloman's abdication and conversion (747) in Carolingian historiography, from the mid-eighth to the early tenth centuries, is a case in point. It explored how this controversial event was transformed from a problematic memory to a useful resource of the past. As one of our anonymous referees expressed it, 'here we are confronted with Carolingian reworking of the past in its purest form'. Other ninth-century historians considered in this book similarly integrated the uncomfortable Frankish past, Merovingian and otherwise, into their own narratives in order to suit their conceptions of order; two demonstrations of this are Flierman on Frankish representations of Saxon *perfidia* and Reimitz on the way in which Lorsch historians amalgamated late antique Church history with the writings of Gregory of Tours and Fredegar. Broome, moreover, showed that there was a post-Roman historiography that contributed to this common pool of language, signs and symbols to draw upon when depicting otherness. Alongside authoritative texts from the biblical and Christian imperial pasts, Merovingian historiography was harnessed to the cultural memory that centred on the Carolingian dynasty.

Cultural memory still sometimes tends to be erroneously associated only with non-professional engagement with the past, such as local or oral history.[5] As the introduction to this book made clear, we have offered a different perspective. With regard to the period addressed by the chapters in this book, cultural memory is still a useful concept, but by definition it cannot be restricted to small communities, nor to the 'popular' history of

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[5] Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*.

the 1970s that excluded anything reminiscent of 'clerical', that is, learned and by definition ecclesiastical culture. As the introduction explains, and the studies gathered here show, the cultural memory with which we have been concerned was articulated by learned men and occasionally women too, yet they were in no way detached from the social and political world they lived in, simply because they were learned, or clerics, or both. On the contrary, many of these authors were to some extent actors in the events they wrote about; most of the historiography and exegesis discussed in this volume was connected with the Carolingian court, in one way or another, and thus also to leading sections of the Carolingian lay elites. As the introduction has it, the cultural memory involved had different strands: 'it was mainly based on the inclusive constructions of Christian history that Eusebius/Jerome and others had assembled in Late Antiquity, which essentially blended biblical history with the classical tradition'.[6]

In another age, this would have been called intellectual history, and firmly relegated to the domain of a Carolingian Renaissance that smoothly integrated the great works of the past. This volume is by no means the first to have moved away from this model of 'imitation', for early medieval 'emulation and innovation' has already been on the agenda for at least two decades.[7] All the same, there is nothing obvious in the way in which Carolingian authors created a bedrock of past authority that was not just based on the Old and New Testaments but also on patristic texts. This concerted endeavour to create an authoritative past is well known, and the full exploration of this process, taking full account of the precious information from early medieval manuscripts, is now well under way. The Carolingian source material is abundant, for it was produced by one and a half centuries of contestation and conflict over what was orthodox or not, a topic that remained of the greatest importance to later medieval generations. The texts in question were produced in a Carolingian polity in which kings were in charge of determining orthodoxy, without being able to enforce this with any of the violent measures characteristic of (pre)modern states. All the same, even if early medieval heretics such as Gottschalk were not burnt at the stake, the discourse on orthodoxy versus heterodoxy that emerged in the ninth-century Carolingian polity was at once novel and experimental. They were also discussions that would determine future conflicts about the nature of belief and religious

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[6] McKitterick, *History and Memory*; Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Rise of Western Ethnicity, 550–850*.
[7] McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture*.

practice which, progressively but also deceptively, begin to seem more like the debates of the present.

In this volume we have collectively proposed an essential reorientation of Jan Assmann's fruitful distinction between normative and formative texts. The first tell you what to do, the second address the question, 'who are we'? Most texts discussed in this volume do both. Another quality must be highlighted, namely the way in which older texts can actually become agendas for present action and future change. This is extremely difficult to assess, but the constant transformation, and adaptation, of the textual resources of the past suggests how texts could shape and define a need for action and indeed set agendas for change, in order to make them suitable to the concerns of the early medieval present. We have only begun the necessary analysis of this phenomenon in this book, but our hope is that it will be investigated more fully in the future. It would entail taking a closer look at the elective affinities of the early medieval world, and especially of the Carolingians' selective use of the past, precisely because this has perhaps been too much taken for granted hitherto. Canonical versions of the past are not a given, they are the result of a process of selection, omission and elaboration. Other topics for future research have become clearer in the course of this project. What kind of elite are we dealing with in the ninth century that so much recognised itself in the strands of cultural memory considered in this book, biblical, patristic and otherwise? How did this canonical order of the past become integrated in their experience of the present? What was the contemporary resonance of such biblical commentary and canon law, especially when the authors and compilers thereof were so deeply involved in politics?

The case studies in this book have above all combined two elements: Firstly, we have offered an analysis of the transmission of texts and of the manuscript evidence. The extant manuscript material from the early Middle Ages has constituted a major resource to shed new light on the process of codification and modification of the cultural heritage, and for the study of cultural dynamics in general. Consequently a substantial amount of new and original manuscript material has been presented in this volume. Secondly, the chapters have considered how particular texts and their early medieval manuscript representatives in Italy, Francia, Saxony and Bavaria do more than reflect ethnic, social and cultural identities. Each author has argued that the texts themselves contributed to the creation of identities, gave meaning to social practice, and were often intended, directly or indirectly, to inspire, guide, change or prevent action. Collectively we have demonstrated that the written texts that have been transmitted to us are therefore traces of social practice and of

its changes, not only in a merely descriptive way, but also as part of a cultural effort to shape the present by means of restructuring the past. The resources of the past and the use made of them within any society have proved to be crucial elements in that society's sense of identity. This remains as true of our modern world as it was for early medieval Europe.

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